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by

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INTRODUCTION

As the title indicates, this is a survey of the Presbyterian-Episcopalian controversy in Scotland from the Revolution Settlement till the accession of George I. From the Reformation onwards through the 17th century there had been a continuing conflict as to what was to be the ecclesiastical polity of the Scottish Church. Both forms of church government had alternating terms of ascendancy and rejection. There were periods when "pure" forms of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism were asserted and attempted and other periods when the Church polity was an amalgam of Presbyterian and Episcopal practice. With the Revolution Settlement, Presbyterianism was established by the Parliament of 1690. "Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters" was dismissed as "a great and insupportable grievance ... and contrary to the inclinations of the people ever since the Reformation." The victory seemed to be with Presbyterianism as the established Church Government. So indeed it has proved in the event, but for a long time the issue was much more uncertain than many modern writers seem to allow. This is evident in the contemporary pamphlets on which this study is based and which are a feature of this period. Immediately after the Revolution and for a period extending till the accession of the Hanoverians, there poured out of the printing-presses a spate of these pamphlets. To read them is to obtain a most vivid picture of the period and the hopes and fears of the ecclesiastical
rivals. So great was this outpouring of pamphlets that it has seemed worth while to set out as many of these as possible in a Bibliography with indications of their contents and biographical notes on their authors. This Bibliography comprises the chief part of this study. Several considerations, however, may be briefly noted by way of introduction.

The Significance of the Pamphlets

The fact that there was such a large number of these pamphlets written has its own significance. It suggests what is a main contention of this thesis that these writings were something more than literary or polemical effusions. This was surely something more than "a battle of the books" over Church polity and worship. These men were not writing merely to score dialectical points over each other. Nor were they merely venting their spleen on each other — the Episcopalians getting back at their triumphant rivals; and the Presbyterians, stung by their attacks, making answer in the same vein. Something of that element there was undoubtedly, but there was much more. Otherwise this would be an interesting study of a peculiar and historical phenomenon, and nothing more.

What is asserted is that these pamphlets were weapons and ammunition in the struggle to influence public opinion in high places and in low, in Scotland, and especially in England, in Church and in State. They are at once a reflection, the most vivid and faithful
that we have, of the feeling and outlook, hopes and fears, moves and counter-moves of that exciting time when the fate of the Stewarts, the Union of Parliaments, and the religious Establishment of Scotland were being decided.

And for the rival pamphleteers the stakes were nothing less than the overthrow or the survival of the ecclesiastical settlement enacted in 1690. This involves two other convictions arising from a consideration of these documents and emphasized repeatedly throughout this study (1) that the issue was in doubt for years. The Revolution in Scotland was narrowly accomplished and for long hung in the balance. Time and again the Establishment seemed to be threatened. The Presbyterians hung on grimly to what they had gained against great odds, but they were never really secure till the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 had failed. Likewise the Episcopalians did not believe that the Revolution had come to stay and confidently looked for its overthrow. The King would come over the water and with the restoration of the Stewarts would come also the restoration of Episcopacy. Or the English would come to the help of their suffering co-religionists and overthrow these dangerous and irresponsible extremists. (2) This involves the second point, viz. that the attempt to influence English public opinion was a significant feature of the whole situation.

These two points are brought out in the discussion of the Topics written on in the pamphlets and are indicated throughout the Bibliography, but a brief word may be said on each here.
The Uncertainty of the Issue

This is something that has tended to be overlooked. Too many have assumed that the issue was decisively settled at the Revolution. But the ecclesiastical situation depended to some extent on the whole historical development which was different in Scotland from England.

The Revolution of 1688 was a turning point in British history. The coming of William of Orange and his acceptance as King by the two countries of England and Scotland meant the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. In both countries the change was permanent. But there the resemblance ends. In England the Revolution was quick and decisive. As A.V. Dicey says,

"In England the Revolution was, at bottom a conservative movement and this was especially true in relation to the National Church. Neither the Church of England nor its clergy were deprived by the Revolution of property or religious privilege."¹

In Scotland, on the other hand, the Revolution was really a revolution. It decided finally the conflict carried on with varying fortunes on either side for more than a century between the upholders of Episcopacy and Presbytery. It overthrew with the Stewart kings the established Prelacy and in its place established Presbytery. But the important point is that this was not done without a fierce and prolonged struggle of considerable complexity. A.V. Dicey, quoted already in an able summary of the Revolution in England is

¹. Scottish Historical Review, Vol.XIV, No.55. Thoughts on the General Assembly etc., p.197.
much less satisfying in his description of what happened in Scotland, and may be noted as typical of many historians' views of the Revolution in Scotland.

"The Revolution in Scotland decided finally the conflict carried on with varying fortunes on each side for more than a century between the upholders of Episcopacy and Presbytery, between kings determined to force Episcopacy upon the people of Scotland, and the Scottish people, who were equally determined that Presbyterianism should be the national and established religion ... From the Reformation till 1685, the triumph of the Crown seemed to be more and more complete. The Revolution gave final victory to the Scottish people."

This statement tends to give a false impression of unanimity and spontaneity which was lacking in the actual happenings. The Revolution did not have the overwhelming support suggested here and the victory was by no means so quick and decisive. "The final victory of the Scottish people" it may have been but this was not at once evident. A consideration of the relative strength of the parties at the Revolution will be attempted later. And while it is true to say that the Stewart kings in their drive for absolute power used a complaisant Prelacy, in all fairness, Episcopacy in Scotland between 1603 and 1688 was something more than just a part of Stewart political policy.

A truer account is that of W. Leslie Melville in his Preface to the Leven & Melville Papers.

"While the tyranny of the Stewarts in Scotland was far more searching and bloody than any ventured upon in England, they

possessed more powerful and more numerous and more devoted adherents in their ancient hereditary kingdom. In Scotland there was no such coalition as occurred in England. A large part of the nation, comprising nearly all the Episcopalians and the great majority of the Highland classes, continued determined Jacobites. In consequence of the absence of compromise and the more equal division of strength in the nation, the settlement of the Government was more difficult in Scotland than in England."

This is more accurate. There is no doubt that James had a considerable following in Scotland. Indeed the wonder is that the Revolution came as decisively as it did; and even after he fled he had high hopes of using Scotland as a base to recover his kingdom. Thus Somerville in his History written in 1742 states -

"It has generally been supposed that James VII was induced to quit the helm of government in England with great precipitancy, from the hopes of the resources of power which awaited in Ireland and Scotland, and particularly from the entire confidence he placed in the loyalty of the Scots, and their readiness to support his future efforts for the recovery of the Throne."  

Although Somerville goes on to maintain that this was a wrong assumption on the part of James, it was undoubtedly in the mind and reckoning not only of the exiled King but also of the Scottish Jacobites and very much in the minds of the English in the succeeding years. Crown and Government in England during the reigns of William and Anne had to keep an attentive eye on the happenings in Scotland. And as so many of the Episcopalians pledged loyalty to James, and as the Presbyterians were "by inclination and interest" (as an Episcopal pamphlet put it) for William and the Revolution, this was

1. Preface to Leven and Melville Papers (Barnatyme Club, 1815).
an important factor in the situation.

Hence the feeling of unsettlement in Scotland in the post-Revolution years. The Presbyterians held on grimly to what they had gained with such difficulty. They were often fearful and apprehensive. This can be exemplified, for example, in the period between 1688 and the Parliament of 1690, in the discussions between William and Episcopal leaders like Bishop Rose when the King hesitated between Presbytery, which was his own tradition, and Episcopacy, which was serving him well in England. Compton's letter to Rose is well-known, stating,

"wherefore he (the King) bids me tell you that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians."¹

This is also evidenced in remarks like that of Viscount Dundee in a letter to a friend in the opening months of William's reign, "I am sorry your Lordship should be so far abused as to think that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government these men have framed for themselves."² In other letters he suggests the country is ready to swing over. Writing to Lord Murray in July, 1689, he says, "The Parliaments of England and Scotland are by the ears and both nations in a flame."³

2. Letters of John Graham of Claverhouse (Bennatyme Club), p. 70.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
This can be supplemented from the Letters of the Earl of Crawford to Lord Melville in the days before the 1690 Parliament, when Episcopacy has been abolished but Presbytery not yet established. He writes gloomily as on 14th Nov. 1689. "The conformists do now openly boast that they shall get reposed to their former charges ... England will not thank him (the King) for anything less than the restoration of the Bishops."1

And in Dec. 1689. "I am very concerned at the continuing opposition to the Presbyterians interest and the stormy endeavours for restoring the other ..."2

Many others of his letters are in the same apprehensive strain.3

Leaving in his History, discussing Montgomery's Plot, says, "If a majority in the Parliament of 1690 could have been obtained to refuse the supplies and to dissolve the Parliament, the Jacobites might easily have recovered the Kingdom."4 W. Leslie Melville says this is to over-rate the Montgomery Plot;5 but it shows the possibilities that were in men's minds.

These quotations show the uncertainty that prevailed at the time, the fears of the Presbyterians and the hopes of the Episcopalians that the Establishment might be overthrown. And this might be repeated during later years. Hume Brown emphasises that if this was present in

1. Leven and Melville Papers, p.324.
2. Ibid., p.359.
3. Ibid., pp.338, 344, 357.
4. History, p.211.
5. Leven and Melville Papers, Preface XXXVIII-IX.
the minds of some in the early days of William's reign, it was still there in the minds in the days of Queen Anne. Seafield could write to Godolphin of "the needless fears of the Church." And Lockhart of Carnwath, claiming that it was he who prevailed upon the Ministry in London to give its support to the Tolerance Bill of 1712, states very frankly his object in promoting it. It was - "to convince the Presbyterian Clergy that the establishment of their Kirk could in time be overturned as it was obvious that the security thereof was not so thoroughly established by the Union as they imagined." (See further consideration of this under Topics discussed in Pamphlets.)

Enough has been adduced, perhaps, to show the uncertainty that prevailed from the Revolution right on till the accession of George I and the failure of the 1715 Rebellion. And it is against this background of uncertainty and the hopes and fears of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians that the issue was not finally settled, and that a complete reversal of fortunes might come, as in previous times, that the Pamphlets assume their true significance. Any effort that could be made to influence public opinion on this issue or discredit the established regime in Church and State was another blow struck for the counter-revolution.

The Influence of England on the Scottish Situation

In what has already been said, it will have been seen that a factor of great significance in the whole development was England. The Episcopalians had hopes not only in the Jacobite cause and the return of the Stewarts. Some had great hopes, as has been seen, that William would turn away from Presbytery and establish Episcopacy in Scotland as in England. And it seems likely from the quotation from Compton and others that William at least toyed with the idea. The Scots Episcopalians had a third great avenue of hope. That was to appeal to their co-religionists in England for sympathy and support. This was done very assiduously by various means, including that of issuing many pamphlets with an account of the sufferings of the dispossessed clergy and the follies and wickedness of the Presbyterians (see under Topics for fuller discussion of this point). Indeed the greater number of the Episcopal pamphlets were written with an eye to English opinion. The Presbyterians, perforce, had to reply to these challenges and vindicate themselves, also with the same constituency very much in mind.

But the desperate defence of the Presbyterians, although at the time it seemed that it must make the lesser appeal to the English than that of their fellow Episcopalians, in the event carried greater weight with Crown and Statesmen and Churchmen in England. This was just because the Scots Episcopalians were compromised in their loyalties and suspect of Jacobite leanings. However William might wish to
countenance the Scots Episcopalians, he could not risk it when so many had pledged loyalty to James, while on the other hand the Presbyterians were solidly for the Revolution Establishment, including his own regime. Similarly the English statesmen, taking note of the Jacobite contentions that the cause of William rested on "a slender bottom", considered it in the interests of the new regime of which they were a part, to support the Scottish Establishment, Presbyterian though it was. Carstairs was not slow to point out these obvious facts to King and Court in England, and the Presbyterian pamphlets made the most of this all-important point. The great Whig leaders supported the Establishment in Scotland in the reign of William, and also in the reign of Anne, when men like Godolphin and Harley were in power.

Later on, trouble for the Presbyterians came in 1712, when the Tory administration passed the legislation of 1712 which seemed anti-Presbyterian. But by that time, the foundations had been so well secured that this assault on Presbyterianism failed.

As for the English Churchmen, they expressed sympathy for their Scots Episcopalian brethren in their sufferings after the Revolution; they expressed indignation at the treatment they received; they collected considerable sums of money for the relief of those in distress. But like the statesmen, they did not go much further, for they too felt themselves to be part of the Establishment in England where counterpart was the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland. And Presbyterians or no, it was better than risking the return of the
Stewarts, with whose cause so many of the Episcopalians in Scotland
were bound up. So argued the majority of the English Episcopalians.
But the Scots Episcopalians, in the group of exiles in London, in
writings of men like Leslie and other sympathisers in London, and in
their pamphlets, strove hard to win their support and to rouse them
against the Scots Presbyterians. McCrie's saying stripped of its
partisanship has truth,

"The Scottish Episcopalians and Jacobites took up the pen ... and
employed it in writing against them calumnious invective ... which
they industriously circulated in England ... with a view to instigating
the English Church to take part with them and afterwards in over¬
turning the establishment of Presbytery."

The Presbyterians defended themselves and sought to rebut the
accusations and to advance the arguments mentioned above as likely to
appeal to the English. It will be seen once more that here the
Pamphlets were weapons in the struggle and, as such, are documents of
some importance. Here it may be worth while to note certain
qualities of the pamphlets which, although their worth is often decried,
make them valuable sources for the historian.

Value of the Pamphlets

The 17th - 18th century was the great period of pamphlet writing. In
Scotland there was this great outburst of pamphleteering on this issue.
The pamphlet has its merits for the historian. If G.M. Trevelyan is
right when he says that one of the functions of the historian is "to

find out what people of the past themselves thought and felt and intended ... to get inside the minds of the people ... and see their problems as they saw them, not as we see them now,” then that is what the pamphlet helps us to do. These are contemporary documents written in the heat of the actual controversy, not recollected later in tranquillity. The element of spontaneity and immediacy is of value. Granted their obvious faults - faults of exaggeration, misrepresentation, reiteration, bias, overstatement and understatement, abusive language and unworthy sentiments, and many other failings carefully excised from other writings - they still have the virtue of being alive, as genuine products of the time written in the midst of events and in emotions evoked by these events. A writer on the pamphlets in the 18th century says “The heart and genius of an age is best known in a free country by the pamphlets that come daily out, or the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation.” So from these raw, crude writings of this particular period of Scottish history, we can obtain much information, unobtainable elsewhere, as to the personalities of some of the protagonists in this controversy, their feelings and character and the case they were desirous of arguing or the policy advocated. In an age when popular newspapers with their correspondence column and special correspondents, as we know them, had not yet developed as a forum for the exchange of opinions and for the discussion of burning questions of the day, the pamphlet has its

2. Stark, Lord Cullen.
special place. From the great collection recorded in this Bibliography, much valuable information can be obtained on the protagonists in this controversy and the topics on which they wrote.

The Writers and their Pamphlets

98 Pamphleteers are included in the Bibliography with biographical notes and references. 385 Pamphlets are given in their full titles under their authors with an indication of their contents and place in the controversy. It is believed that this covers the most of the pamphleteers of the period and the known pamphlets.

Something must now be said by way of general introduction and it may be set out under two heads (1) The Protagonists (2) The Topics on which they wrote.

THE PROTAGONISTS

The writers noted in the Bibliography comprise in about equal proportions Episcopalians and Presbyterians, both clerical and lay. Details of these men and their individual viewpoints are indicated. Here we may make one or two general observations.

(A) On the claims of the opposing Parties (from their own writings) to represent the majority of the people of Scotland.

(B) On the protagonists in the period under review.

(C) On some characteristics of the rivals.
A. The Claims of the Opposing Parties

There has already been quoted the conclusion of an eminent English historian A.V. Dicey to the effect that "The Revolution gave final victory to the Scottish people." And the Act abolishing Episcopacy declared that "Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters is and hath been ... contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation ...." This was hotly disputed by the Episcopal party at the time and has been a subject of debate since.

It may be instructive in a study such as this to seek an answer to this question from contemporary or near-contemporary writers and especially from the Pamphlets which are the principal source on which this study is based.

The following statements may be noted -

From the Episcopal side: two Presbyterian admissions are often quoted -

There is the opinion of Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk who was near enough the period to have witnessed the battle of Prestonpans as a boy from afar off.

"When Presbytery was re-established in Scotland at the Revolution, after the reign of Episcopacy for 29 years, more than two-thirds of the country, and most of the gentry were Episcopalians."

From another Presbyterian, General Mackay, opponent of Viscount Dundee, in a letter to the Laird of Grant on 4th December, 1696.

"I tell you who know Scotland ... that if I were as much an enemy to that (i.e. the Presbyterian) interest as I am a friend, I would without difficulty, engage to form a more formidable party against it, even for their Majesties government, than could be formed for it."¹

Then there is the assertion of an English visitor, Edmund Calamy, a friend of Gilbert Rule and other leaders of the Presbyterians. Writing of his visit to Scotland in 1709, 21 years after the Revolution,

"After landing, we went to Forfar, where we found the Presbyterians, though the Church was legally established, far from beloved. This plainly appeared from the answer returned by the landlady of the house ... to a question started by me in our company. He asked her whether they were hearty lovers of the Presbyterians in that town. She answered with a hearty curse or two upon all of that sort, which she said, were the best marks of goodwill those of that stamp must expect from the inhabitants of that town."²

Now from Episcopalian sources.

The remarks of Viscount Tarbat are almost invariably quoted, often as a neutral opinion. Anyone who has studied Tarbat's life and writings know he was no neutral observer of the Presbyterians.

"The Presbyterians are the more zealous and hotter; the other more numerous and powerful. The present Parliament is more numerous of Presbyterians by the new method of election of burghs, but the major part of the nobility and barons (i.e. the lairds) are not for Presbytery."³

3. Leven and Melville Papers, p.125. See also his Memorial in the list of his writings.
The three quotations from Carlyle, Mackay and Tarbat are repeated in numerous histories.  

Beyond these familiar quotations there is to be found in the Pamphlets an animated discussion of this question. Many writers join in this. It is not possible to quote them all - a selection must suffice. Thomas Morer⁵, Chaplain to an English regiment in Scotland, in the First Letter of the Account of the Present Persecution etc. says,

"The Church Party was predominant in this nation both for numbers and quality."

Charles Leslie⁶, a London journalist, in Callicenus Redivivus, p.1.,

"it being known to all the world that the pretence of 'the inclinations of the people of Scotland' which was made the grounds for the abolishing of Episcopacy and the setting up of Presbytery there was a mere sham contrived by this Johnston (Secretary Johnston) and the bigot Presbyterian party in Scotland who were all put in power at the beginning of the Revolution, and set on the barbarous rebellions of the clergy in the West of Scotland that they might cry out, 'The inclinations of the people are against Episcopacy.' And having by these arts ... packed and then surprised the First Convention, or Meeting of Estates, to abolish Episcopacy; they dare not have another Parliament ... but keep the same Convention (only changing its name to a Parliament) to this day, because no free Parliament can be had in Scotland which would but the first day spew out Presbytery and re-establish the much more beloved Episcopacy. The Presbyterian interest standing on so slender a bottom ...."

1. Russell's History; A. Mure Mackenzie, Passing of the Stewarts, pp.291-293; Epochs of Scottish Church History (J. Wiseman on The Revolution - pp.63-65) and others.
2. See Bibliography for Morer and his writings. See also Sage, Fundamental Charter etc., 329 ff.
3. See Bibliography for Leslie and his writings.
Other Episcopalian writers might be quoted but it may be sufficient to quote John Sage who devoted a whole Pamphlet to an examination of this question in his *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*. In that writing he deals not so much with the merits of Episcopacy over against Presbytery or its Scriptural warrant as with the historical development in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution. His aim was to demonstrate the untruth of the Act of the Convention of 1689 stated in terms of the Claim of Right that

"Prelacy and superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters is and hath been, a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of this people ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from Popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished."

It was this Article that Sage called the "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery" and sought to disprove the writing of that name.

He devotes considerable space to asserting that Episcopacy had been set out and upheld in successive Parliaments from the Reformation onwards. He includes in the Episcopal form of Government, the system of superintendents experimented with and then laid aside by the Reformers. Asking 'Ten Questions' about the settlement of 1690 he makes the 'tenth', "Whether Scottish Presbytery was agreeable to the general inclinations of the people", and says -

"That the Nobility of the Kingdom (a very few not above a dozen

1. See Bibliography.
excepted) had all sworn the oath commonly called "the Test", wherein all fanatical principles and Covenant obligations were renounced and abjured; that not one of forty of the Gentry but had sworn it also, and not fifty in all Scotland, out of the West, did, upon the Indulgence granted by King James, anno 1687, forsake their parish churches to frequent meeting-houses: that the generalities of the commons live in cities and market towns: That all who could be of the common council in such corporations, or were able to follow any ingenious trade, were obliged to take the Test, and had generally done it: That the clergy stood all for Episcopacy, there being, of about a thousand, scarcely twenty trimmers betwixt the Bishop and the Presbyterian Moderator, which twenty, together with all the Presbyterian preachers, could not make up the fifth part of such a number as the other side amounted to: That in all the Universities there were not four Masters, Heads or Fellows inclined to Presbytery: That the Colleges of Justice and Physic at Edinburgh were so averse from it that the generality of them were ready last summer, viz. 1689, to take arms in defence of their Episcopal ministers."

A little further on he quotes from another pamphlet published anonymously but actually written by himself. Referring to himself in 'the Epistler' he says -

"The same Epistler in that same Epistle adduced another argument. That in the year 1687 and 1688 when the schism was in its elevation, there were but some three or four Presbyterian meeting-houses erected on the north side of the Tay, i.e. in the greater half of the Kingdom, and these too, very little frequented or encouraged; and that on the south side of the river - except in the five associated shires in the West. - (Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright) - the third man was never engaged in the schism. This was a matter of fact, and, if true, a solid demonstration that "Prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters was not then a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to the nation and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people." For had it been such how is it imaginable, when there was such an ample Toleration, such an absolute and unperturbed liberty - nay so much notorious encouragement

3. An Account of the Present Persecution, etc., The Third Letter, written by Sage, see Bibliography.
given by the then Government to separate from the Episcopal Communion, that so few should have done it? Whoso pleased might then have safely and without the least prospect of worldly hazard, joined the Presbyterians; yet scarcely a fifth or sixth part of the nation did it."

Here then is an Episcopal assessment of the relative strength of the Parties at the Revolution - scarcely a fifth of the nation Presbyterian. Indeed so sure were the Episcopalians of their numerical majority in the country that they called for a vote throughout the country. Sage in the Third Letter written in 1690 issued a public challenge

"craving a poll, deeming it the only proper method for coming at a sure account of the "inclinations of the generality of the people" ... for, if matters must go by the "inclinations of the people" it is just to ask the people about their inclinations."

When this suggestion was dismissed by Gilbert Rule and other Presbyterians as "an impracticable fantasy"², Sage retorted -

"Who sees not that this was plain fear to put it upon such an issue? What imaginable impossibility ... could make polling on this account impracticable? Was it not found practicable enough in the days of the Covenant when the veriest child, if he could write his own name, was put to subscribe it? What should make it more impracticable to poll the whole kingdom for finding "the people's inclinations" about Episcopacy and Presbytery than it was to levy hearth-money from the whole kingdom? Is it not as practicable to poll the kingdom about Church-Government, as it is to poll it for raising the present subsidy which is imposed by poll?"³

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1. An Account of the Present Persecution etc. The Third Letter, written by Sage, see Bibliography.
2. G. Rule, Second Vindication, Section 5 (on Third Letter).
The Presbyterian Claim

The Presbyterians completely denied the above claims. Having secured the Settlement by the Parliament of 1690 they had to hold their position and repel manoeuvres to overthrow it. But they did seek to answer this challenge by the Episcopalians, the more so as many of them who wished to assert the "intrinsic right of Presbytery" were themselves not too happy about the "fundamental charter" of Presbytery being reduced to the "inclinations of the people." That would not have been their basis for setting up Presbytery in 1690. However in the meantime, till this "intrinsic right of Presbytery" could be asserted, they rallied to rebut the claims of the Episcopalians on this level.

They asserted that they did in fact represent the majority of the country. Robert Wodrow quoted in his History, Patrick Warner's interview with William of Orange in 1687, when Warner said, "If Scotland was left to free choice, of three parts two would be Presbyterian"; and William replied, "I have been educated in that persuasion and hope to continue in it, and I assure you, if it ever be in my power, I shall make the Presbyterian Church Government the established Church Government of that nation, and of this you may likewise assure your friends." 2

To a statement such as that of Calamy quoted above with regard to

1. See Bibliography.
the town of Forfar, they countered by quoting the events in the West Country where, they claimed, the dislike of the curates was so intense that the moment they had the chance, the populace rose and ousted them from the churches.\(^1\)

This whole question was one of these committed to Gilbert Rule by the General Assembly of 1690 to explicate from the Presbyterian point of view, and his statement of the case is his *First* and *Second Vindications* and other writings\(^2\) can be taken to represent the Presbyterian position. Many others, Ridpath, Anderson, Forrester, Jameson etc., also argued the matter but we concentrate here on Rule's argument.

That was that in the West country there was an overwhelming majority against Episcopacy and for Presbytery. In other parts of the country there was also a desire for Presbytery, although often it could not be so freely expressed as in these other counties. In reply to the citing of the Parliaments which had voted for Episcopacy, he stated that they were not free assemblies and when freed they immediately brought back Presbytery. The widespread swearing of the Test, he said, meant little or nothing, except to show that many would swear oaths rather than lose positions or incur danger, and he frankly admitted that not all Presbyterians were of the heroic mould of the Covenanters who were ready to suffer rather than take the Oath.

2. See Bibliography.
Once free, however, they showed a strong preference for Presbyterianism.

Rule in his First Vindication, analyses Sage's statement quoted above with regard to the swearing of the Test. He admitted that "all the gang of the clergy, except a few, the Universities and the College of Justice, as stated", did sign. With regard to the Physicians he said, "There are not a few worthy men of that Faculty who are far from inclination to Prelacy." He granted "the generality of the burgesses." But in dealing with the "Nobility and the Gentry" he made the points already mentioned.

(1) "They who took the Oaths did not, by that, shew their inclinations so much as what they thought fit to comply with rather than to suffer."

(2) "How many of them now, when there is no force on them, shew that it was not choice but necessity that led them that way."1

Dealing with Sage's point that few went to Presbyterian Meeting-Houses even when they were sanctioned under James VII's Indulgence, Rule makes the rather weak argument that "most clave to the other way because the law stood for it, and the meeting house seemed to be of uncertain continuance."2

In another of his pamphlets - A Farther Vindication of the present Government of the Church of Scotland3, Rule makes two points:

3. See Bibliography.
(1) "Though the Bishops were introduced in 1662 and did continue till the year 1689 during which time for the greatest part all the ministry in Scotland was brought in by themselves, and though they had obtained a National Synod formed for their own interest, yet they durst never adventure call it together; so diffident were they even of those ministers... Can there be a greater demonstration of the general inclination of this nation against Prelacy?"

(2) "This natural aversion is yet further demonstrated from this, that albeit Prelacy had all the statutes that the Bishops could desire on their behalf, and had then put into execution with the utmost severity, yet there was ever found a necessity to keep up a standing army to uphold them and to suppress the aversion of the people; and notwithstanding thereof there were frequent insurrections and rebellions."¹

Even with regard to the northern region generally admitted to be for Episcopacy, Rule would make a claim for Presbytery.

"We affirm and can make it appear, not only that there are many in the North who appeared zealously for Presbytery, as was evident by the members of Parliament who came from these parts. Very few of them were otherwise inclined, and they made a great figure in Parliament for settling both the State and Church."²

Again -

"There are very many ministers in the North (and people that own them) who, though they served under Episcopacy, are willing to join with the Presbyterians, and whom the Presbyterians are willing to receive when occasion shall be given and those of the best qualified among them."³

Rule denied Sage's statement that "there were not above three or four Presbyterian meeting houses on the north side of the Tay", and

2. Ibid., p.323.
3. Ibid., p.324.
said, "they far exceeded that number." But Sage countered by saying, "he did not commit himself to numbers for that area." With regard to the south side of the Tay, John Sage had said "the third man was never engaged in the schism." Rule answered, "We know no schism but what was made by his party; but that the plurality did not suffer under the horrid persecution raised by the Bishops, doth not prove they were not inclined to Presbytery, but either that many Presbyterians had freedom to hear Episcopal ministers, or that all were not resolute enough to suffer for their principles; so that is no rational way of judging of the people's inclinations."

Rule, in his _Vindications_, comments on another factor in the situation, "the indifference of many on the question of religion", as making it difficult to claim such either for Presbytery or Episcopacy. Sage, before giving his reply, gives a summary of Rule's arguments on this head as follows -

1) "There are many ten thousands who are unconcerned about religion, both in the greater and lesser truths of it, and it is most irrational to consider them in this question."

2) "There are not a few who are of opinion that Church Government as to the species of it, is indifferent; these ought not to be brought into the reckoning.

3) "There are not a few whose light and conscience do not incline them to Episcopacy, who are yet zealous for it and against Presbytery, because under the one they are not censured for their imoralities, as under the other. Those ought to be excluded also. So ought -

1. Quoted by Sage, _Fundamental Charter_, p.325; Cf. Wodrow, _History_, IV, p.457, "Large spacious meeting houses were soon built in many of the towns through the west, south and east of Scotland."
4) "All who had a dependence on the Courts."

5) "All who had a dependence on the Prelates.

6) "All Popishly affected, and who are but Protestants in masquerade."

7) "All enemies to King William and the present Government."

With these exclusions, Rule arrives at the conclusion that "they who are conscientiously for Prelacy are so few in Scotland, that not one of many hundreds and thousands is to be found" (First Vindication) and, "They who are for Episcopacy are not one of a thousand in Scotland" (Second Vindication). ¹

Summing up, the Presbyterian argument generally was to point to overwhelming strength in the South and South-West and to assert that there was general support all over the country, even above the Tay. Various reasons kept that Presbyterian allegiance from being too openly shown before the Revolution, in particular where there was fierce persecution. Rule says frankly, "all were not resolute to suffer for their faith." Many were forced into sullen compliance with Episcopacy and were afraid even to take advantage of the Indulgence. But once free, they gladly welcomed the restoration of Presbytery. Of the 34 counties, they claimed that there were 17 so entirely Presbyterian that not one Episcopalian in fifty was to be found: and in the other 17 there were two Presbyterians for one who inclined to Episcopacy.²

Enough has been adduced to set out the claims of the rival parties. It can be seen that there is truth in both positions and a case can be

made for either. This made it a fruitful source of controversy on the Pamphlets and the debate has continued ever since.

Bearing in mind these respective claims, we may attempt from contemporary evidence to form a general picture of the relative strength of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians and their geographical distribution throughout the country.

There is general agreement that the West and South-West were strongly Presbyterian. In his claims for Episcopalian strength even John Sage excepts the five counties - Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. Wigtownshire was likewise a Presbyterian stronghold. Andrew Symson, the curate of Kirkinner, saw his congregation dwindle to one, the laird of Baldoon, before he left. In the Presbytery of Kirkcudbright there was a clean sweep at the Revolution, no Episcopal ministers being left. Indeed, one of them, Peter Pierson, curate of Carsphairn, had been "rabbled" even before the Revolution. It was 1700 before the vacancies were fully settled and the Presbytery minutes began again. In Kilmarnock, with a population of 2500, the incumbent had a congregation of 12. The whole West and South-West may be claimed for Presbytery.

The East and South-East, if less solid, had regions strongly Presbyterian. In the Merse and Tweeddale there was a strong Presbyterian tradition. In the Presbytery of Haddington and Dunbar, containing 30 parishes, only 5 of the curates conformed.
The same number conformed in the Presbytery of Duns. There was considerable support in the Lothians, although by the Revolution, there does not seem to have been the same enthusiasm that had made that area a great centre of Covenanting zeal in 1638. In Fife and Stirling, there were strong Presbyterian areas. In the Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane, all the parishes were deprived of clergy at the Revolution, except Aberfoyle, where Robert Kirk (of fairy fame) conformed. In the Presbytery of Auchterarder only one conforming minister was left. The Presbytery of Dunblane, as can be seen from its records, swept the curates out. There is record of appeals made for ministers to occupy the charges. Callander was vacant for 20 years.

These may be said to be the Presbyterian strongholds.

Perthshire was more divided, however, than other counties further south. In the Presbytery of Perth, it took some considerable time to evict the Episcopal incumbents in some parishes. In 1696, the Presbytery was laboriously instituting proceedings against the minister of Moneydie, while ousted Episcopal ministers were ministering in the district performing pastoral duties openly.

Between the Forth and Tay, there was a division. A modern Episcopalian writer suggests that, "Between the Tay and the Forth, Presbyterians and Episcopalians were probably about equal in numbers."  

North of the Tay was the Episcopal stronghold, Aberdeen, Moray and the North-East were fairly solidly Episcopal in sympathy. In Orkney and Caithness, there were many enthusiastic Episcopalians. (In the Bibliography, there are to be found men like Sir Archibald Sinclair in Caithness and John Wilson in Orkney, advocating the Episcopal cause.)

Cunningham says, "Whenever we penetrate among the Celts of the North-West or the Pictish population of the North-East, we find utter indifference or virulent dislike of the Covenanting cause."

It may be said of the Highlands that the clans followed their chiefs in religious observance as in other things. The Campbells were supporters of the Presbyterian cause, but most of the others had Jacobite and Episcopal, and in some cases, Roman Catholic, sympathies.

This is a rough division of the country into its ecclesiastical allegiance. It will be seen that much is debatable land. The two areas which can be decisively assigned are the South-West to Presbytery and the North-East to Episcopacy. If we ask why these traditions should have grown up, it is possible to suggest an answer.

The West and South-West were traditionally Covenanting. This was the area where the Protesters and Remonstrants had flourished. Here are to be found the names of the battle-fields, Drumolog, Bothwell Bridge, Ayresmoss. Over these moors had swept Claverhouse, Grierson of Lag, Turner, Dalziell, Winram and the dragoons. Here were the graves of the martyrs. It is easy to see how covenanting fervour ran

1. Church History, II, 146.
The opposite is true of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire. Aberdeen had been slow to accept the Reformation. The Covenanting spirit had never spread and Whig influence was little known. A powerful continuing Episcopal tradition had been built up by Bishop Patrick Forbes, John Forbes his son, and "the Aberdeen Doctors." The Aberdeen Doctors had opposed the National Covenant and then the Solemn League and Covenant. This tradition continued in the Scogalls and the Gardens.¹

It would be an interesting study to attempt to carry this still further back and ask why these two areas should have developed these distinctive tendencies. Was it by reason of race or geographical environment or temperament of the inhabitants of these regions? It might be suggested that early manifestations appeared in the West in the Lollards of Kyle and other fore-runners of the Reformation, but it is also true that the heretical books came in from the Continent via the east coast ports and were welcomed in towns like Montrose and Arbroath.² One attempt to give some answer to this question, at least so far as it applies to the North-East, is made by Dr. G. Pratt Insh in his book, *The Scottish Jacobite Movement* (Edin., 1952).

"When we begin to seek for the causes of the Jacobite


sympathies and enthusiasms of the North-East ... we shall find our studies carrying us back very far ...."1 "The Jacobite sympathies of the North-East take their place naturally against this background of strongly conservative instincts and activities which extends from the Bronze Age down to the early days of the Railway Age ...." "To what are we to ascribe the prevalence of these conservative instincts of the North-East? ... The problem is much too big and much too complicated for any simple solution .... The solution would seem to lie in a combination of the influences exerted by the stage and by the actors."2

He goes on to develop a theory of geographical remoteness and other features of the North-East as opposed to the quicker developing civilization of the South and West. This may help to explain the conservatism of the North-East in ecclesiastical tradition, but it does not greatly help to explain the Covenanters in the moors of Ayrshire and Galloway who were also pretty remote from any industrial development. But this question cannot be pursued further here.

Beyond these areas where one tradition or the other was strongly manifested, it is more difficult to assess the relative strength of the parties. Two considerations further confuse dependability of such an assessment.

The first was pointed out by Gilbert Rule in the quotations given above and is repeated in somewhat similar terms by Macaulay.3

"It is indeed asserted by writers of that generation, and has been repeated by writers of our generation that the Presbyterians were not, before the Revolution, the majority of the people of Scotland. But in

2. P.120.
this assertion there is an obvious fallacy. The effective strength of sects is not to be ascertained merely by counting heads. An Established Church, a dominant Church, a Church which has the exclusive possession of civil houses and emoluments, will always rank among its nominal members, multitudes who have no religion at all, multitudes who, though not destitute of religion, attend little to theological disputes, and have no scruples about conforming to the mode of worship which happens to be established; and multitudes who have scruples about conforming, but whose scruples have yielded to worldly motives. On the other hand every member of an oppressed Church is a man who has a very decided preference for that Church."

Macaulay goes on to draw his own conclusion.

"If under the Kings of the House of Stuart ... the population of Scotland was not very unequally divided between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the rational inference is that more than nineteen twentieths of those Scotchmen whose conscience was interested in the matter were Presbyterians and that not one Scotchman in twenty was decidedly and on conviction, an Episcopalian."

Whether his conclusion be accepted or not, Macaulay has made a strong point here. Many accept the dominant body in Church and in State.

And this was perhaps specially true in the ecclesiastical situation in Scotland at that particular time. It is a fact generally accepted by all, that before and at the Revolution, there was very little difference in government and worship between the parties. This can be demonstrated from contemporary writings. Sir George Mackenzie in his Vindication of the Government etc., p.9, has a well-known passage telling how "the way of worship in our church differed nothing from what the Presbyterians themselves practised" except in small details. This can also be found in pamphlets by Morer.

Nooie¹, Tarbat², Garden³, Anderson⁴, Rule⁵, etc.

The same is also true of the government of the Church. Throughout the Second Episcopate, while the Bishops sat as permanent Moderators of Synods, the lower courts, Presbytery and Kirk Session, continued to function very much as before. The Presbytery gave up the right of ordination which was exercised by the Bishop, but, apart from that, continued in its old way. There was no General Assembly, which made a big difference at the highest level. But the ordinary parochial and presbyterial government of the Church continued, so that the ordinary man who was little concerned about the finer points of Church polity would know very little change at the Revolution.

All this tends to make for caution in pronouncing on the relative strength of the parties. Apart from the two great areas mentioned, where the preponderance was clear, the issue was debatable. Apart from the academic question as to what was the actual strength on either side, what is significant is that there was a division in Scotland with strong support for both sides. The situation was fluid and could be swayed either way. The convinced protagonists were determined that it would be influences according to their principles, and set themselves to accomplish the end they desired. Hence the flow of pamphlets from both sides.

1. Present State of Scotland (1682).
2. Memorial, pp.8ff.
B. The Protagonists in the Period under Survey

At the Revolution Episcopacy ceased to be the established government of the Church of Scotland. The Parliament of 1690 deposed the Episcopal regime and substituted Presbyterian government. This was done by resolution of Parliament but thereafter it had to be put into effect throughout the country. The duty of effecting the change was entrusted to those ministers still surviving who had been "outed" in 1660 at the establishment of Episcopacy. These amounted to about sixty men, and to them Parliament gave authority "to try to purge out all inefficient and scandalous and erroneous ministers by due course of ecclesiastical process and censure." With them were associated 76 ministers who had been indulged to preach in 1687 and 43 elders. These set about their task by appointing two Commissions, one to deal with the area between the Forth and Tay, and the other the area above the Tay. Both these areas contained strongholds of Episcopacy, and the work of the Commissions was difficult and protracted.

Reflections on these Commissions can be found in many of the Pamphlets (see G. Garden, J. Gordon, J. Wilson, G. Ridpath, etc.).

In the South and West, the work of eviction of the Episcopal incumbents had already been completed in many places in the first days of the Revolution. By Christmas of 1688 the "Rabbling of the Curates"

2. Ibid., IX, 111.
was taking place in these areas. Over 200 were thus deprived of their livings. In addition others had been deposed in the interim period between the Convention of Estates in 1689 when Episcopacy was abolished and the final establishment of Presbytery in 1690. In April 1689 the Convention appointed a Proclamation to be read from all pulpits enjoining ministers to pray for William and Mary. Those who disobeyed were to be deprived of their benefices. This Erastian measure was not greatly to the liking of many of the Presbyterians who were concerned for the "intrinsic rights of the Church", but it served their purpose in ejecting a large number of the clergy who refused to pray for William and Mary.

In the Bibliography a very large number of the Episcopal writers seem to have left their charges in this way.

This work was carried through largely by the Privy Council; and the Minute of that Council are full of instances of evictions. As these processes had to be instituted on complaints of parishioners, however, it is obvious that fewer instances could occur in districts where there were strong Episcopal sympathies and where the parishioners were loyal to the clergy, although a minority even in these parishes could initiate proceedings.

By this time also the Bishops had withdrawn. After appearing at the opening of the Convention of Estates in 1689, they retired from active participation in affairs so completely as to draw from Dundee his bitter remark on the "Church Invisible".
But though many of the Episcopal incumbents were evicted, many remained. It was by no means a clean sweep. The Commissions had still to tackle the Episcopal strongholds north and south of the Tay, where little or no impression had been made. In other parts of the country also, Episcopal clergy were still in possession. Of 900 clergy, some 600 were ejected from their parishes. As the years went on, some of the remaining 300 were dispossessed, but the process was slow. Interesting details can be found in Presbytery and Synod records and from local histories dealing with these processes. Often it was years before the Presbyterians could move against a minister who was popular with his parishioners, or, as often happened, protected by the local laird. Sometimes it was only when a vacancy occurred that they could secure a successor more to their principles.

In the Pamphlets are to be found many accounts of such happenings, and some of the writers like John Wilson in Orkney, Wm. Dunbar at Cruden and J. Willison at Brechin, to mention only a few, were involved in incidents of this nature.

Regions like Aberdeenshire and Moray remained comparatively untouched for years. On the other hand, districts like Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Galloway were almost denuded of their Episcopal incumbents. In the Presbytery of Dunblane, all but one of the clergy were deprived. A careful account of the prolonged and difficult process to remove the Episcopal minister at Moneymill in Perthshire in 1694 is to be found in an article based on local records,
in the *Scottish Hist. Review*.  

Twenty years after the Revolution, 165 Episcopal ministers were still in possession of their churches. In the collegiate churches at Haddington and Dunfermline, there was the curious situation where an Episcopal minister conducted a service at one part of the day and a Presbyterian at another, each with his own congregation. In 1690, there was only one Presbyterian minister in the Synod of Aberdeen and Banff containing 100 parishes. In 1694, there were 8, in 1697 there were 15. A striking example of a continuing Episcopal tradition is Gideon Guthrie's account of the Easter Communion at Brechin in 1711 and 1712. All of which shows the confused situation that obtained for long after the Revolution; and the alternating strength and weakness of the Establishment.

The Episcopalians

The Episcopal Clergy of this period may be grouped under two main heads. (1) Those who took the oath of loyalty to William and remained in their parishes; or were received into the Establishment. (2) Those who refused to conform.

(1) In 1692, after the visit of Canaries and Leask, two representatives of the Scots Episcopal Clergy, to him while he was in

5. *Gideon Guthrie (ed. C. E. C. Wright) p. 72.* Tells of an Easter Communion of "upwards of twelve hundred communicants who all communicants after the manner of the church" (i.e. kneeling).
Flanders, William wrote his letter to the General Assembly. He asked that severe measures against the Episcopalians should cease, and that such of them as qualified to the government and submitted to Presbytery should be allowed to remain in their parishes. In the Assembly of 1692 this royal recommendation was evaded and virtually ignored. (This is fully discussed under Topics - Grievances of the Episcopalians; and in Robert Irving's pamphlet, A Vindication of the Address etc.)

In 1693, the Oath of Assurance was devised to make Episcopalians acknowledge William as King de iure as well as de facto. This weighed heavily on the Episcopalians, but it was also disliked by the Presbyterians.

In 1693, Parliament passed the Act for Settling the Peace and Quiet of the Church. In this Act, their Majesties were requested to call a meeting of the General Assembly for ordering the affairs of the Church, and, more especially, for admitting to a share of the government of the Church all the Episcopal ministers who would take the Oaths of Allegiance and Assurance, subscribe the Confession of Faith and acknowledge the Presbyterian Government as the only government of the Church in Scotland. Those who did not qualify themselves might be deposed. Those who did qualify themselves would be protected in their churches and livings till they were regularly received into the ecclesiastical judicatories. The Presbyterians thought the terms too easy. Most of the Episcopalians thought them too hard to accept. (In the pamphlets on the Toleration issue, there is much discussion on this question.)
In the meantime the crisis between William and the Presbyterians over the taking of the Assurance Oath was resolved at the last moment by the King yielding (reputedly at the intervention of Carstares). In gratitude for this gesture by the King, the Assembly appointed a Commission to receive the Episcopal ministers who were prepared to qualify themselves according to the terms stipulated.

A considerable number were received by this "qualification" into the Church. In a Paper entitled Synod of Moray, held at Elgin, October 6, 1686, Colin, Lord Bishop of Moray; for example, there is given a list of the Clergy of that Diocese at that date with an account of their later activities till their death. Specially marked were those who "qualified to the Civil Government at the Revolution." Of these, it is noted that "only one was actually received into the Presbyterian Communion." In other regions the number was greater. In 1695 another Act was passed admitting all who would qualify themselves. They were to enjoy royal protection if they confined themselves to their benefices and took no part in church government unless duly assumed by a competent ecclesiastical judicatory.

Thus there were some Episcopalians who conformed to the new regime; some who qualified through William's proposal, and some who took the oath of allegiance and were protected in their benefices though taking no part in the government of the Church.

(2) On the other hand, there were many who refused to conform.

These are more important for this study, for they were the chief writers of the pamphlets from the Episcopalian side. They preferred to give up their livings rather than swear allegiance to William and acknowledge the Presbyterian form of Church government. They had great hopes that the new Establishment would not last, and they set themselves to work for its overthrow by enlisting the aid of their own countrymen and their co-religionists in England.

They fall into various groups which may be noted.

The Bishops. Much could be written on these men, the leaders of the dispossessed Church. There is full discussion of them and their policy in the histories. Many Episcopal historians believe that they threw away the Establishment.

J.H. Shepherd says -

"The Bishops of the Second Episcopate were not distinguished either for their Churchmanship or their learning. Much has been said of their action just before the Establishment and it is perfectly clear that, had they chosen to act differently, the probability is that the Established Church of Scotland would have been Episcopal today."

And J. Stephen, in his History, sums up -

"The Scottish bishops of the Revolution may be deservedly honoured for their conscientious loyalty to James, but their sacrifice of the Episcopal Church as an Establishment was a blunder on their part of the gravest magnitude. It may be said of them as of the rulers of the Gallican Church in the next century, that they linked the Church's eternal youth to the fortunes of a dying dynasty."

The reference, of course, is to the approach by the Episcopalians to William before the Settlement. There was the famous interview between Rose and William described in Keith's Bishops; and other communications with William through Compton, Bishop of London. They broke down because of the refusal of the Scots bishops to give up their allegiance to James. This continued to be the dominating feature of their conduct. After the Convention of Estates had decided that James had "forfaulted" the throne, they withdrew into private life. No doubt they had their own principles of passive resistance and loyalty to the Stewarts. James was the head of the Church. His flight in 1688 did not release them from their oath of allegiance. James was still their King. They seem to have been confident that he would return and William's temporary regime would be overthrown. Then they would resume their former position. A modern Episcopal writer says of them rather scathingly

"They simply allowed the Church to drift and practically to bleed to death for want of effectual organisation. As a bit of romance, it was very beautiful and touching, but it cost the Church dear."

They never abandoned their duty of conferring ordination, but they made no attempt to keep a regular system of diocesan government. Again they were so jealous of the King's prerogative in appointing bishops to dioceses, that when it became evident that new bishops would have to be consecrated to continue the order, it was decided to consecrate them as

2. The distinctive word used in the Scottish Act.
"Bishops at large." When the King came into his own again, they would be appointed to dioceses.

Reference is made under the Topics of the pamphlets to the work they did in collecting and distributing funds contributed by friends in England for the relief of the ejected clergy. Even here, as appears in the pamphlets, Rose was influenced by the recipient's loyalty to the Stewarts.

Bishops Rose and Paterson of pre-Revolution consecration, and Bishops Dunbar, Freebairn, Sage, Gillan and Campbell of later consecration, wrote pamphlets and appear in the Bibliography.

The Deprived Clergy. These comprise all mentioned above as ejected from their livings by the Privy Council proceedings; or by action of the Church Courts; or by the Commission appointed to purge the Universities and Schools. In the Bibliography there is record of case after case of men deprived for not praying for William. Others were evicted by the Church Courts. In the Bibliography are cases like that of J. Heriot at Dalkeith, J. Gibson at Auldenstocks (Cark), William Dunbar at Cruden, etc. Also cases like the Schoolmaster, James Kirkwood, ejected at Linlithgow; and W. Duguid, presentee at Burntisland. Alexander Monro and John Strachan are examples of Professors removed from their Chairs at Edinburgh University.

The Rabbled Curates. This group has been mentioned above. They provided in their experiences the subject matter for pamphlets on the sufferings of the clergy, by Sage, Monro, Morer etc. They also took up
the pen themselves. Andrew Symson of Kirkinner is one who appears in the Bibliography.

Of those who were thus deprived, we have already looked at the subsequent activities of the Bishops. What of the others? Their later careers and activities followed different patterns.

(a) Some of the clergy found employment as private chaplains to great houses or small landowners. In these circumstances many were able to employ their pens in writing against the Establishment and in aid of their suffering brethren. Examples in the Bibliography include Sage (chaplain to Sir W. Bruce of Kinross; the Countess of Callander; and Sir John Stewart of Grantully). Robert Calder (associated with the Earl of Winton). John Cockburn and William Meston (under the shelter of the Keiths, the Earls Marischal). William Dunbar (protected by the Earl of Errol). John Wilson (chaplain to Lord Duffus). There is reason to believe that these wealthy patrons of strong Episcopal convictions were the instigators of many of the pamphleteers.

(b) There was a considerable number who, being dispossessed, went south to London and became associated with that group of exiled Scots Episcopalians which feature largely in this study. From this group emanated many of the Episcopal writings, including efforts like the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. Some who appear in the Bibliography are Calder, Canaries, Campbell, Wilson, Monroe, Crocket. Sir George Mackenzie and other laymen associated also with this group.

(c) There was a little group who stayed in Scotland and supported
themselves and helped at the same time to carry on the campaign, by entering the printing business. Some of these were known by the nickname of the "Killiecrankie Printers". The whole story of the printing in Scotland at this time is interesting.¹ Many of the Episcopal pamphlets were printed in London. The Presbyterians said this was to catch the English reader²; while the Episcopalians said it was because they could not get printers in Scotland.³ Whatever may have been the truth in the earlier stages of the controversy, in the later stages there was quite a group of Episcopal Printers in Edinburgh. Some of these who appear in the Bibliography as writers themselves, as well as printers, are David Freebairn, Wm Adams of Humbie, Andrew Symson and David Symson. Amongst others, not themselves writers, were men like Henry Knox, minister at Bowden, ejected in 1689. Aldis gives a full list. Dr W.J. Couper has dealt with these printers in a series of papers in the Scottish Historical Review and in the Scottish Church History Records.⁴

(d) Several of the "outed" clergy found charges in the Church of England or went abroad. J. Canaries, deprived minister of Selkirk, became rector of Abingdon. J. Cockburn, after serving abroad in

¹ See list of Printers in Aldis, Printed Books, p.115 ff.; also Watson, History of the Art of Printing; R.H. Flamer, Dictionary of Printers & Publishers, etc.
² Rule, Preface to Vindication etc.; Meldrum, Postscript to Second Vindication;
³ Sage, Preface to Fundamental Charter etc.
Rotterdam and Amsterdam became rector of Northolt in Middlesex.

T. Morer, who took part in the controversy while chaplain to an English regiment stationed in Scotland, later was rector of St Anne's, Aldersgate in London. Matthias Symson never held a charge in Scotland. He entered the Church of England and became Canon of Lincoln. The Hon. A. Campbell, for a time Bishop of Aberdeen never held a charge in Scotland and lived in London, even after his appointment to the bishopric.

(e) There were some who, being deprived, continued to minister, sometimes openly, sometimes secretly, in Episcopal Meeting Houses. Examples of these in the Bibliography are Robert Calder who officiated in a Meeting House in Elgin, and later in the well known Meeting House in Toddrick's Wynd, Edinburgh; John Wilson, who also was at Toddrick's Wynd and later at the Poldrate, Haddington; Alex. Sutherland, deposed at the Revolution from the West Kirk, Edinburgh, was in charge of a Meeting House in Gray's Close; John Sage was said to have ministered to a small body of his co-religionists somewhere in Edinburgh for a short time, but this cannot be verified; Bishop Rose of Edinburgh is said to have ministered at the Episcopalian Meeting House in Carrubbers Close, which later became Old St Paul's Church. (See Bibliography.)

(f) A few seem to have been of good family or independent means. John Hay, minister at Falkland, deprived at the Revolution, acquired the estate of Wester Conland and retired there; James Small, deprived minister at Dundee may have been owner of the estate Quarrell-Hill; George White, minister at Ayr, was unusual among Episcopal ministers in
that he purchased patronage of the parish of Maryculter and presented himself there about 1679. (See Bibliography.)

(g) In contrast to these few affluent clergy, the majority seem to have been reduced to severe straits when they were deprived. Alex. Monro, to quote but one example, has many revealing passages in his letters to his friend John Mackenzie of Delvins in which he speaks of his poverty. In a letter written in March, 1695, he writes of his anxiety for the future of his children and their education. The dispossessed clergy paid a price for their loyalty to their principles.

An interesting feature of the situation, however, are the many evidences of help given by the Presbyterians. Instances are on record in Kirk Session Minutes of grants made to ejected Episcopal ministers.

Again Monro, in the correspondence already mentioned, acknowledges that through the good offices of Mackenzie he is to receive an allowance charged on the stipend of the parish of Meigle. This refers to a practice that appears to have been followed in different cases. When there was a vacancy in a parish, something was diverted for the relief of ejected Episcopal ministers. This shows, both the need of the clergy and it reflects also, where it obtained, on the treatment of the dispossessed clergy by the Presbyterians. After Monro's death, his friend Mackenzie continued to help his widow, who, in 1715, obtained a small pension on petitioning the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland "for

2. R.M. Fergusson, Scottish Social Sketches of the 17th Century, pp.6, 8, give examples from the Kirk Session Records of the Parish of Logie.
assistance in her extreme poverty." There are also instances of help given privately to Episcopalians by Presbyterians. The well-known instance of Carstares help to the two curates is an example. 1

(h) The only remaining group to be noticed comprises those who, in the strongly Episcopal districts, or under protection of powerful families, or because of personal popularity, were able to remain in their parishes without "registering" or abating their Episcopal and Jacobite principles, sometimes for many years, sometimes till their death.

Examples of these are:— James Gordon, sometimes known as "the parson of Benchory-Devenick." He was the author of The Reformed Bishop. This writing got him into trouble with his own Episcopal superiors, but having craved pardon he was restored and remained unmolested in his charge till his death in 1714, although he was an active opponent of the Presbyterians.

William Dunbar, Minister at Cruden, later Bishop. Attempts were made in 1708 to eject him, but he was still there in 1715, when his open support of the Pretender forced the Presbytery to take final action against him.

George Garden, minister of the East Church, Aberdeen, though deposed by the General Assembly, was able more or less to ignore this and continued to minister to his people for some years.

(These and others are included in the Bibliography.)

All these different groups are represented in the Bibliography. Along with them were laymen of Episcopal conviction who were prepared to take up pen to advocate their cause. Of these last were men like Sir George Mackenzie, and Lord Advocate; Viscount Tarbat and others of high position before the Revolution; lawyers like Alexander Bruce; other laymen like Jas. Kirkwood, the schoolmaster, Charles Leslie, the journalist, Archibald Pitcairne, the doctor; William Meston, the professor of Philosophy; English bishops like Gilbert Burnet and William Nicolson; and an English Chaplain—Thos. Morer.

The Presbyterians

The Bibliography contains the names of about an equal number of writers from the Presbyterian side. The Presbyterians were a much more homogenous group. Along with some distinguished politicians and enthusiastic laymen, they comprised the ministers in charges and the professors in the Universities. They were the triumphant party, however precarious their rivals claimed their status to be. Their task was to hold what they had so hardly gained. It is indeed a remarkable story how from a position of desperate weakness before the Indulgence of James VII, they climbed to power at the Revolution.

1. Information regarding these deprived clergy may be found in such records as *Edinburgh Poll Tax Returns for 1694*, ed. Dr. M. Wood, and similar publications of the Scottish Record Society.
They were helped by a remarkable series of happenings of which they took full advantage. "Had James VII been of the Protestant faith", says Cunningham, "and protected the English hierarchy, as his brother had done, he would have been left to do his worst against the Scotch Presbyterians, and in a few more years they must have been exterminated." They were saved by the Indulgence, and proceeded to make such good use of it that by the Revolution they had an organisation built up ready to take over, at least in the Southern counties. The leaders who had been thus working in Scotland linked up with the group of Presbyterian exiles returning with William from Holland.

It is interesting to note the series of factors which were used by the Presbyterians in their bid for the Establishment. These cannot be considered in detail here, but among them may be noted - The flight of James and his continuing communications with the Scots Episcopalians - The abiding fear of Romanism (see Topics) - The abandonment of the struggle by the Scottish Bishops and their continued allegiance to James - The powerful influence of William Carstares with William - The fact that William, whatever his private inclinations may have been, could not be sure of the Scots Episcopalians' support and had to depend on the Presbyterians whose whole interest was to see the Revolution successful - The manoeuvres of the nobles and the great families and the victory of the Whig group - The unpopularity of Advisers of King James, like Perth and Melfort, with their known Romanist principles -

1. History, II, 150.
The progress of events in the Convention of Estates and the manner in which the balance swung to the Presbyterian interest, helped by factors like the withdrawal of Scottish troops at a critical time, the presence of the Western whigs in some force in Edinburgh at the time of the Convention, the retirement of Dundee on whom rested so much of the hope of James's cause, to the north; and the barren victory of Killiecrankie - The fact that the clause renouncing Episcopacy was inserted in the Claim of Right to be accepted by William before even he received the Crown.

This last point was important. It was done so that William might be saved the embarrassment of deciding between the forms of religion later when it might have been awkward in view of his relations with the Church of England. Dalrymple, writing to Melville said, "It will be neither secur nor kind to the King to expect it (by) Act of Parliament after the settlement which will lay it to his door." So that while there was yet no king there was inserted in the Claim of Right the declaration that "Prelacy etc. was insupportable .... and to be abolished." William accepted this somewhat reluctantly with the proviso that he would not be party to any persecution. But a great step forward had been taken by the Presbyterian interest.

There followed the sterile negotiations between the Scots Bishops and William. Then came the events of the Parliament of 1690, with

2. Leven and Melville Papers (Letter of 5th April, 1689).
Carstairs at the King's side in London and Melville as Commissioner bent on securing the Presbyterian interest.

Out of this, the Presbyterian Establishment emerged. The Presbyterians had secured their object. Henceforth they had to hold it at all costs. This is their concern in the Pamphlets. They had to vindicate their cause in its actions and underlying principles. This they set out resolutely to do. They had used every opportunity that had arisen to advance their cause. They had compromised at times in a way that had enraged the Cameronians and remaining representatives of the more extreme Presbyterianism. But they were passionately concerned to maintain the Settlement which they had won with such a struggle. They had to face many anxieties before the issue was finally settled. (These are dealt with under the Topics). They had differences among themselves on questions like The Union, the Abjuration Oath, the "assertion of the Intrinsic rights" of the Church etc. (see Topics), but they maintained their essential unity and in the end of the day preserved what had been established in 1690. Something of the story of their struggle, hopes and fears, can be found in the pamphlet literature under survey here.

C. Some other Features of the Rival Clergy

Before concluding this section on the Protagonists, several other features of the contestants may be briefly noted.

It may be asked why in the Scotland of that day should a man have
been a Presbyterian instead of an Episcopalian and vice versa? Was it because of differences of birth, education, social standing, environment or geographical position? Remembering the fact already mentioned, that there was at the Revolution that similarity of worship and government, what were the essential differences between the two parties which, as we have seen, made such confident claims to represent the majority of the people? In attempting an answer to these questions, one is impressed with the essential similarity of the rivals, and the absence of any distinguishing features which would lead one automatically to assume their allegiance to one side or the other.

It has already been noted that there were two regions in Scotland where there was a clear predominance of sentiment - Episcopal in the North-East and Presbyterian in the South-West. Yet even here there are remarkable instances. The Hebrones of Galloway are representative of the extreme Presbyterians after the Revolution. 1

John Hepburn was an extreme Covenanter. But on examination we find that he belonged to an Episcopalian family, being the son of Major James Hepburn of Balnageith in Aberdeenshire. He thus came from the Episcopal stronghold. He was educated at King's College and "heard the curates" there. He studied divinity but shortly after leaving College he joined the Presbyterians. So from the Episcopal birth and education of the North-East emerged the Cameronian of the South-West.

James Canaries (see Bibliography), one of the fiercest opponents

of the Presbyterians after the Revolution who described them as "a herd of dull and untractable and whining and debauchit animals", was the son of a sturdy Presbyterian, the minister of Kinnaird in Angus.

Thomas Halyburton (see Bibliography) was a well known figure in the Post-Revolution Church. His father, George Halyburton, of the family of Pitcur in Angus, was minister of the parish of Aberdalgie from which he was ejected in 1662 for non-conformity. And the ejection was carried out by another George Halyburton, of the same family stock, once himself a zealous Covenanter but now turned to the other party and consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld.

In the earlier days there were cases like that of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, particularly detested by the Presbyterians because he had been one of their trusted leaders. And on the other side there was James Guthrie, one of the great Covenanting names, who in his early days had Episcopal leanings and, in the words of his biographer "looked forward to a mitre."  

In addition there were men like those two in the Bibliography. Thomas Forrester, the curate of Alva, who became Principal of the New College, St Andrews, and a leader of the Presbyterians; and Thomas Rhind, reared a Presbyterian, who broke away to become a convinced Episcopalian and chaplain to the laird of Balgowan in Perthshire.

3. See Bibliography.
These both tell the story of their conversion to their new position in their pamphlets.

So much for birth and early training.

Their Standard of Education. This similarity is found again in educational standards. Each side derided the other as ignorant and boorish. The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence is a pamphlet typical of many in portraying the Presbyterians as illiterate and unlearned to a degree. So with Pitcaimne, Meston, Mylne, Symson and many others. A characteristic remark of Alexander Monro may represent this line of attack. In his Letter to a Friend, he deprecates the fact that "the greatest part of the Episcopal clergy" have been "barbarously driven from their respective churches", and says -

"Their Churches are invaded by men who can lay no claim to that sacred function of the holy ministry ... and their pretense of learning and other qualifications necessary for that office are so very little that the greatest part of them have never had occasion to apply themselves to those studies, but have all along been trained up in Mechanick Employments and have now leaped directly from the shop into the pulpit where they exercise their gifts at such a rate and entertain their auditors with such nauseous stuff."

In similar terms is Sage's reference to John Spalding in his Account of the Late Establishment etc.

"Good Mr Spalding, Clerk to the late General Assembly, who had sat many a day in a little shop in the town of Irvine and measured out in retail many a noggin of brandy, was a man of far finer metal, in his sermon of 11th May."

The Presbyterians retaliated with a similar attack on the
ignorance and low mentality of the Episcopalians. Many were the attacks made on the "Curates". Some of these are well known. Gilbert Burnet was moved to say of them -

"They were the worst preachers that I ever heard. Many of them were ignorant to a reproach. They were a disgrace to their order and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts ...."1

The Aberdeenshire Laird's comment is also familiar -

"If the Bishops go on at this rate we will not have a lad to herd our cows."2

These strictures were passed on the curates who were in charges before the Revolution. The writers of the Pamphlets from the Presbyterian side after 1690 continued this attack. They were defended by Sage, Monro and others. Monro says of the clergy at the Revolution that there were -

"No more unblameable company of men on earth. In education there were not five of them in the whole nation who could not undergo the severest examination." (Presbyterian Inquisition.)

Elizabeth West in her Memoirs has an account of her encounter with the two curates on the Queensberry passage which reveals them in a poor light.3 Generally the "Curates" have emerged with a bad reputation.

In this connection it is worth noting a recent defence of the curates by Canon J.A. McCulloch in a paper, published in successive

1. History of Own Times, I, 158.
3. Memoirs and Spiritual Exercises of Elizabeth West.
issues of the Scottish Guardian (Feb. - April, 1949). He deals with the Episcopal clergy in the period from the Restoration up to and including the Revolution and makes a strong protest against the charges by "the irresponsible of their Presbyterian opponents" among whom he cites as bad offenders two included in this Bibliography, James Kirkton and Robert Wodrow. He presents and analyses statistics to show that these were educated men, in most instances graduates of the different Scottish Universities. Whether all would accept his case fully, it is at the very least a useful corrective to much accepted opinion.

The fact is once again there is a striking similarity between the two sets of clergy. Kirkton might attack the curates and Monro dub the Presbyterians "mechanicks" and the rivals in the pamphlet warfare might abuse each other, but as far as one can gather, the educational records of both are wonderfully similar. Unworthy curates there undoubtedly were; and after the Revolution, in order to fill pulpits, some of the Presbyterian ministers may have fallen below standard. But on the whole, the Scottish ideal of the educated ministry continued through these years on both sides. McCulloch gives his statistics on the educational attainments of the curates. And on the other side, a recent writer can claim that "30% of the ministers, taking the Covenanting period as a whole, were graduates of Universities."

Certainly from records in the Fasti and from more detailed

examination, the careers of the two sets of clergy appear remarkably alike. In the Bibliography appear the writings of men of scholarship and learning in Universities and places of distinction like Monro, Sage, Rose, Pitcairne on one side, and Rule, Forrester, Jameson, Hadow, Blackwell, Carstares, on the other; and also of men in quiet country parishes like Gordon, Hay, Brown on the one side and Leuder, Park, Bematyne on the other.

Character and Conduct. Once more, each attacked the other on grounds of character. The Episcopalians accused the Presbyterians, not only of vulgarities and blasphemies and indecencies in their preaching, but of unworthy practices in conventicles and meeting-places and generally of aninomianism. (See Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, Pitcairne's Babell etc., for specific instances of these.) Rutherford and others who rhapsodised in a similar fulsome style were held up to reproach.

But the Presbyterians replied with similar attacks. Ridpath's Answer outdid the other side in charges of this sort. If David Williamson was the butt for the one side, Archbishop Paterson and Ninian Paterson, curate of Bolton, are held up to reproach by their opponents. Many of the charges cannot be substantiated. J.A. McCulloch in the paper already mentioned, defends the curates from charges of drunkenness and gross living.

The truth seems to be that there were unworthy people on both sides, and the language and style of preaching was different from
modern times. But again the differences of conduct and character are not so impressive as the similarities.

Even the offence charged so often against the curates prior to the Revolution that they were agents of the Government and "paid informers", while it was undoubtedly true in some cases, must always be accepted with caution. John Lyon, curate of the parish of Urr, was accused of being an informer and assisting the dragoons. But after the Revolution he insisted on having his conduct investigated by the Presbytery whereupon the case against him broke down. The Commission of Assembly, on the recommendation of the Presbytery, qualified him to serve in the Church of Scotland and he was settled in the parish of Kinnettles in Angus. Which is, at once, another example of how the clergy could change over from one side to the other, and a caution against the easy acceptance of the "informer" charge.

Social Standing. One last point which may be considered in regard to the rival parties is their social standing. Did they represent different classes of society? Was that perhaps where the essential difference between them consisted? There have been suggestions that the Presbyterians belonged to the lower classes of society. Charles II's saying is recalled that "Presbyterianism is not the religion for a gentleman." Not so well known is the statement of William of Orange in the period under survey. Compton, Bishop of London reported to Bishop Rose that "The king now sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy and it is the trading

and inferior sort that are for Presbytery."¹

Of writers in the Bibliography, Sir James Stuart declared that the
Covenanting cause fared better "without the concurrence of the nobles." Alexander Shields said that if the nobility had supported the cause it
would have been "a great mercy and encouragement" but that clear duty
they had abandoned.² Dr H. Macpherson in his Covenanters under
Persecution³, discusses this question with relation to the days of
persecution preceding the Revolution and gives evidence to prove that a
large number of the Covenanters belonged to the humbler classes.³
But he admits that this estimate has been challenged by Thos. Johnston
in his History of the Working Classes in Scotland.⁴

A corrective to this view which suggests that the Presbyterian
strength in the humbler ranks of society, is to be found in Dr H.M.B.
Reid's analysis of the Post-Revolution Presbyterian clergy in the
Presbytery of Kirkcudbright. He challenges H.G. Graham's estimate of
the Presbyterian minister.⁵ Reid says —

"Mr Graham's language is apt to suggest that the social standing
of the Scots Presbyter was of a humbler order, but this would be a
false inference from the facts just given ... The minister in most
Galloway parishes was possessed of an income which, small as it now
appears, made him the equal of the average country gentleman ... As
an index of social position, the marriage of the clergy may be held to
prove that they stood high. One Galloway Presbyter married the
daughter of Viscount Kenmure; another married the "Heiress of
Capenoch"; another the heiress of Shinters; and a fourth married a
daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Earlston ... It is well known to
students of pedigree that a large proportion of the Scottish gentry in

2. Hind 1st Loose, 211.
Galloway descend from these old presbyters ... Taking all details into account, it seems probable that, two hundred years ago, the clergy in Galloway were a picked body of men, often scions of landed houses, or even themselves lairds. They lived in as comfortable a style as most of the gentry and better than some."

This is a startlingly different picture from that given of the Covenanters before the Revolution and from Alex. Monro's "Mechanicks", and William's "trading and inferior sort." It helps to correct the balance in estimating the social strata from which the Presbyterians drew their strength.

In addition, from the days of the Covenant there had been representatives of the nobility and the gentry in the Presbyterian cause, from Argyle downward. In the post-Revolution days this was still evident. Men like Lord Melville, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Carmichael, Hume of Polwarth, Stuart of Goodtrees, Viscount Stair and others may be quoted.

In short it is not possible to limit the Presbyterians to any one class of society. They were of all ranks.

What of the Episcopalians?

William's reported estimate was that "the great body of the nobility and the gentry was for Episcopacy." Tarbat in his Memorial declared that "the major part of the nobility and barons (i.e. the lairds) are not for Presbytery." Sage's statements (quoted above)

support this contention. It seems an undoubted fact that many of the great families were Episcopal in sympathy. The majority of the great Highland clans were Jacobite in allegiance. All over the country were great houses with Episcopal sympathies. The Bibliography mentions many of these in connection with theouted Episcopal clergy whose protectors and patrons they were.

The divisions into which the Episcopal clergy fell after the Revolution have already been set out. It was seen that some were of some means and some were of aristocratic families. Others again were of humble origin and straitened circumstances. The defence of the curates by McCulloch has been noted, but it is probably true that there were also those whose circumstances called forth the derogatory remarks of Burnet and the others. Some of the ousted clergy were reduced to the severest poverty and were the recipients of financial help from friend and foe alike.

Therefore, like their rivals, they cannot be limited to any one section of society. Once again we are led to recognise the essential similarity of the two parties. It was not necessarily from reasons of birth, environment, education or social status that men became Episcopalians or Presbyterians. Any attempt at easy classification along these lines must be at once suspect. As time went on, the Presbyterians grew in strength and the Episcopalians dwindled till they became a small minority over against the Establishment. But in the period under survey they appear as two not unequally matched parties striving for mastery.
A very large part of the debate centred on questions of Church Government, the majority of the Pamphlets dealing with this issue as between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian forms. It is not easy to set out the respective positions in any simple way, and to indicate what was the Presbyterian or the Episcopalian accepted policy. Different positions were held and many lines of argument advanced on either side. These may be indicated very briefly.

**Divine Right**

There was the unequivocal claim on each side that its form was of Divine Institution.

(a) On the Episcopal side there were pamphlets like Calder's *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, etc., and Cunningham's *Divine Right of Episcopacy*; John Hay's *Imparity among Pastors, the Government of the Church by Divine Institution*; Simon Cooper's *An Impartial Inquiry into the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*.

J. Skene in his *Plain-Dealings with the Presbyterians* (pp. 4-5) spoke of The *Imparity of Office-Bearers in the Church*.

"The true government that Christ did institute and leave in His Church, and which has continued from the Apostles in the succeeding ages thereof consists in a subordination of Churchmen to their
Superiors the Bishops who have power and authority to ordain them according to the laws of the Lord Jesus Christ."

(b) Similar bold claims by Presbyterians, though perhaps less frequent, can be found in G. Rule's *The Good Old Way Defended* ... wherein the Divine Right of the Government of the Church by Presbyters acting in Parity is asserted and the pretended Divine Right of the Hierarchy is disproved ...; Robert White's *The Funeral of Prelacy* ... that the Presbyterian (and not Prelatic) Government is that unalloyed Form of Church Government instituted by Christ; John Willison's *Apology for the Church of Scotland* ... and the Divine Institution of Presbyterial Government and Ordination clearly evinced from Scripture ....

Besides these positive claims of Divine Institution each side attacked the pretensions of the other on this point.

Simon Couper in his *Three Essays* devoted one to an *Enquiry into the Divine Right of Presbytery*. Thomas Rhind in his *Apology* says

"If the Government of the Church in the days of Christ was constituted in the way of subordination, Presbyterians must renounce their pretensions to the Divine institution of Parity" (p. 61).

On the other side Thomas Forrester wrote his *Causa Episcopatus* ... a *Conputation* ... in point of Episcopacy ... under the notion of a Divine Institution .... Also his *The Hierarchical Bishop's Claim to a Divine Right tried at the Scripture Bar*. Alex Lauder wrote *The Divine Institution of Bishops having Churches consisting of many Congregations* ... examined by Scripture ....
Apostolic Authority

Besides Dominical institution, Apostolic authority was claimed by both sides. Couper's *Impartial Enquiry* has been already quoted above. George Brown in *Toleration Defended* (p.8) said,

"Episcopacy as an Apostolick Institution is not only necessary to the well-being but to the very being of the Church."

Gilbert Burnet in, *A Modest Survey ... of the Naked Truth*, had claimed that

"the spiritual authority of the existing Episcopate is derived from the Apostles."

An anonymous Episcopal pamphlet had claimed, *The exact conformity of the Principles and Practices of the Scots Non-Conformists to the Apostolick Government of the Christian Church*, in reply to James Webster. And George Garden in *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy* (p.7) maintained,

"Immediately from the Apostles' times there was such an Order and Imparity settled, of Bishops, Presbyters or Pastors, and Deacons, with a due subordination to one another."

Alex Monro in his *Enquiry* says,

"As all receive the canon of holy scripture as fixed by Divine guidance in the Church why will any be so impious as to imagine that the apostles did not plainly and without disguise convey to us the outward and visible polity of the Church."

On the other hand, Forrester denied this claim in his *Counter-Essay* in which he says,
"some chief sinews of the Episcopal Pleadings from the nature of the Apostolick ... Office ... are dissolved."

Willison in his *Apology for the Church of Scotland* claimed,

"the usual Pretexts for the Apostolical Foundations of Prelacy are fully overthrown."

W. Jameson in, *The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy*, gave

"an historical account of the Apostolick Government."

**Other Scriptural Arguments**

Other arguments from Scripture are advanced. Robert Calder issues in his two pamphlets - *The Priesthood of the Old and New Testaments by Succession ... a challenge to all who want Episcopal Ordination to prove the validity of their Ministerial Acts*. Wm. Jameson in, *The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy*, claims that "the Scripture Arguments for Presbytery are vindicated; and those for Prelacy confuted."

T. Forrester wrote his *Hierarchical Bishop's Claim to a Divine Right tried at the Scripture-Bar*. James Brown in *The Second Edition of the Debate in the Shop*, reveals that in the argument over Imparity of Pastors, Timothy and Titus were brought in to buttress the argument over the Parity or Imparity of Pastors.

G. Rule in the *Good Old Way Defended* states that "the antiquity of Parity and Novelty of Episcopacy as now pleaded for, is made manifest from Scriptural arguments."
The Early Fathers

There was much reference to the writings and practices of the Early Fathers of the Church. In particular, reference was made to Ignatius and Cyprian.

Robert Calder entitled one of his Miscellany Numbers - The Episcopacy of the First Three Centuries proved to be, in substance, the same with the present Episcopacy which is impugned by the Presbyterians.

Calder, again, published, The Genuine Epistles of St Ignatius translated into English ... as also a Vindication of them ... and answers "Mr William Jameson's Nesianzeni Querela, where he impugnes the Authority of the Aforesaid Epistles."

This was a reference to Jameson's writing in which he examines the Episcopal arguments based on Ignatius's writings and rejects them. Incidentally he rejects some of the letters attributed to Ignatius as spurious.

Willison in his Letter from a Parochial Bishop ... concerning the controversy anent Bishops ... declares that "the Sentiments of the Ancients in these Matters are fully represented and canvassed; and a Historical account given of the Ancient Government of the Church."

A lengthy debate issued from John Sage's appeal to the writings of St Cyprian as set out in his Principles of the Cyprianic Age with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction, Asserted and Recommended
from the Genuine Writings of St Cyprian himself and his contemporaries; and A Vindication of .... The Principles of the Cyprianic Age ....
He sought to "demonstrate that Episcopal Government was universally delivered to be of Divine Right in the days of St Cyprian."

His chief opponent, Gilbert Rule, took up the challenge in The Cyprienick-Bishop Examined and found not to be a Diocesan nor to have superior powers to a Parish Minister, or Presbyterian Moderator.

William Jameson also answered Sage in Cyprianus Isotimus; or J.S.'s Vindication of the Principles of the Cyprianic Age confuted ...

Thomas Forrester likewise in Causa episcopatus hierarchici lucifuga; or, A Confutation of J.S. 's Vindication of the (pretended) Principles of the Cyprianic Age.

Others quote many of the Fathers for one side or another. For example, Ramsay in his Tolerations' Fence Removed attacks the Episcopal arguments for the continuity of Episcopacy. He quotes Eusebius and says,

"If in the days of Eusebius the lineal succession was so uncertain, it is more so now."

He quotes Jerome's Epistle ad Euseb.,

"that for 235 years the Church of Alexandria had no such Prelatical Ordination ...; the Presbyters of that Church choised one of their own number, and made him President or Moderator, and when he died, they choised another in his room. Others also besides Jerome give us this account of that famous church, and yet our Author would make the salvation of men depend on that uncertainty."
The Reformers

Both sides appealed to the Reformers. It is interesting how many of the Episcopal pamphlets call on the Reformers for support.

Alexander Cunningham led the way with two pamphlets written just after the Revolution. *An Essay concerning Church Government out of the excellent Writings of Calvin and Beza*, and *The Divine Right of Episcopacy demonstrated from Calvin and Beza* etc.

Robert Calder in his *Miscellany Numbers* makes repeated reference in support of his arguments to Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, Luther, and other Reformers and claims that his arguments are supported "by the Sentiments of the Learn'd Reformers, particularly Mr John Calvin" (see *Miscellany Numbers*).

J. Skene in his *Plain Dealing with the Presbyterians* (pp. 4-5) attacks them by saying,

"The Episcopalians must hold regarding the Presbyterian plea that their Kirk Government consisting of a Parity of Ministers and Seculars, to be the Government instituted by Christ in His Church. This is a gross imposing upon our consciences who very well know that this form was devised by Calvin at Geneva. This is the original of Presbyterian. How can they require us to own it as the true and only Government of the Church of Christ .... The great Calvin never entertained such high thoughts of the Model .... as for its sake to disparage Episcopacy and exclude it out of the Church of God. That he never quarrelled the Order and Dignity and Function of Bishops but only their opposition to the intended Reformation at that time ... is manifest from many passages of his writings."

Matthias Symson in his *Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit* can say "That Episcopacy is of Divine Right I could cite from several passages from Calvin himself."
This appeal to the Reformers roused Presbyterian apologists like T. Forrester and Wm. Jameson. Forrester replied to Cunningham in *A Counter-Essay or a Vindication of and Assertion of Calvin and Beza's Presbyterian Judgment and Principles drawn from their Writings in answer to ... An Essay concerning Church Government out of the excellent writings of Calvin and Beza, attempting to fasten upon them An Episcopal Perswasion.*

And in his *Causa episcopatus hierarchici lucifuga, etc.*, confuting John Sage's *Cypriánico Age*, Forrester accused Sage of "impeaching the doctrine of the Reformed Churches in setting out his Hierarchical Bishop's Claim."

This appeal to the Reformers by the Episcopalians drew a reply also from Gilbert Rule in the *Vindications* which he was commissioned to write. The First *Vindication* specifically answered one of Cunningham's pamphlets upholding Episcopal government.

Besides these Reformers there was considerable reference to the Scottish Reformers; the events leading up to and succeeding the Reformation in Scotland; and the subsequent history of Church Government with the alternating triumphs of Presbytery and Episcopacy. Rule, Ridpath, Jameson, Forrester, etc., all insist on the essentially Presbyterian nature of the Church at the Reformation and subsequently, with, of course, periods of temporary eclipse. John Anderson in his *Defence of the Presbyterians*, and James Clark in his *Presbyterial Government* methodically described set out the Presbyterian argument.
On the other hand, Episcopal writers stress the Episcopal periods -
the times of the establishment of Bishops, "the Superintendents" in
the early days of the Reformation, the Tulchan Bishops, etc.

The great work along this line from the Episcopal side was John
Sage's *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*. Beginning with the Article
in the Claim of Right accepted at the Revolution,

"That Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church
above Presbyters, is, and has been, a great and insupportable grievance
and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the
generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, they having
reformed from Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be
abolished,"

he proceeds to deal with "Scottish Presbyterianism as it is defined in
that singular document - the peculiar form of schism established north
of the Tweed." In a very long pamphlet he argues the case for
Episcopacy and against Presbytery from the earliest times in Scottish
History and more particularly at the Reformation and in the period
succeeding that event and leading on to the time of writing.

The *Fundamental Charter* called forth many replies from the
Presbyterians. William Jameson answered Sage in his *Nasianensi
Querela* and Forrester in his *Review and Consideration*; Gilbert Rule
in his *Vindications* and *Cyrianiack-Bishop Examined*, in the Appendix
to which he deals with the *Fundamental Charter*. Another to answer it
was John Anderson in his *Countryman's Letter to the Curate*. Sage's
biographer, John Gillan, issued a *Vindication of the Fundamental
Charter*. In his work, Sage dealt with many aspects of Scottish
eclesiastical life such as "the Superintendents, the Tulchan Bishops, Beza's Letter to the Earl of Clanhia," etc.

A Reasoned Case

So far we have noted extreme principles and the claims to Divine Right. There were also more reasoned appeals for Presbytery and Episcopacy which did not take such absolute ground, but spoke more of usefulness and helpfulness in the work of the Church. Such was John Anderson's Defence of the Presbyterians and James Clark's Presbyteral Government Described. Strangely enough from the Episcopal side the more moderate statements came from the Episcopal stronghold - the North-East.

Dr G.D. Henderson has described how the influence of Bishop Patrick Forbes and his successors created a tradition of a moderate Episcopacy.

"It was Episcopacy that was not of the esse though very definitely of the bene esse." 1

This is different from the standpoint of George Brown in Toleration Defended or Robert Calder in his Divine Right. It is exemplified in such a pamphlet as George Garden's Primitive Church Government in the Practice of the Reformed in Bohemia ... With Some Notes of John-Adam-Comeius. This described the form of Church Government in Bohemia. An extract shows the line of argument.

P.9. "Of Bishops: If any say that with the Apostles, a Bishop is the same with a Pastor of a Church, I answer, Be it so. And every Pastor is a Bishop of his Church; that is a Watchman or Superintendent of his Flock. Shall he not, therefore, need a Watchman also? The Apostolick Church saw this altogether needful, and, appointed, therefore, that the Watchman of many Churches should like-wise have their Watchman called a Bishop. Why should this pious wisdom of Antiquity be condemned? A Flock of Pastors. Is it not a Flock also? Now what is a Flock without a Pastor? The Watchman of a Church that sees to others cannot see to himself. There is need then of another Watchman who may perform that to him which he does to another. If it is expedient, then it is fitting that he be lawfully settled. That all may know who is to watch over everyone and who must be called to account, if matters are not rightly gone about. Call them Bishops or Superintendents, or by any other name that is proper in the Common Language of every nation, provided the Church be not a House without a Porter, a Ship without a Pilot, a Flock without a Pastor. Is it better that Presidents or Superintendents be settled or Ambulatory? God orders Judges, Kings, Levites, Priests, etc. that once being appointed, they should still abide in this office .... It appears then that there are far more and stronger arguments for the stated office of Bishop than against it."

This interesting line of argument is quite different from the high absolution of some other pleas for the office of the Bishop that have already been noted. It is another approach to the subject and a counter to the Presbyterians' foundation principle of Parity amongst ministers.

Compromise

This last leads on to a consideration of a group of pamphlets that seek to find a compromise between the two extremes.

At the Revolution, George Mackenzie, Viscount Tarbat, had sent his Memorial in relation to the Church to the Prince of Orange. In this he discussed the relative strength of Presbytery and Episcopacy and suggested a scheme of comprehension which would reconcile moderate
Presbyterians and Episcopalians by the adoption of Leighton's device of perpetual moderators. This had also been advocated by Gilbert Burnet in his day as a Scots parish minister, when he had been reprimanded by James Sharp for his suggestions.

Tarbat suggested:—

"That his Majesty, by proclamation, take all the clergy generally into his gracious protection in their office and benefices; and allow the ministers in every Presbytery who are for the Presbyterian Government, according to the Modell 1592 or 1644, to meet Presbyterially every fortnight, and Synodically once in the year, as owners of the Westminster Confession; and to allow those ministers who are not for that Modell, and own the Articles of Confession of the English Church, to meet also Presbyterially and Synodically ... and that it be allowed to the one to elect a Moderator at every meeting, and to the other to be allowed to elect a constant Moderator."

There was little support for this suggestion, though King William did suggest to the Presbyterians that they take the loyal Episcopalians into the Church. The resultant approach by the Episcopalians to the General Assembly of 1692 and that Assembly's evasion of the King's request is the subject of a bitter pamphlet by Robt. Irving, *A Vindication of the Address made by the Episcopal Clergy to the General Assembly of the Presbyterians anno MDXXII.*

Fourteen years later at the time of the Toleration issue, Tarbat returned to his plea in, *A Few Brief and Modest Reflections Persuading a Just Indulgence to be granted to the Episcopal Clergy and People in Scotland.*

"Presbyterian Government should continue to be the only ecclesiastical Government within the Kingdom. The Indulged Clergy not to be members of General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, etc.,
unless they be assumed into Commonion or Jurisdiction by these respective Judicatories" (pp. 1-2).

Tarbat was suspect to the Presbyterians. Robert Wyllie of Hamilton answered him in his Short Answer to a Short Paper, in which he said curtly (p. 7):

"None shall dare adventure to present to a Scots Protestant Revolution Parliament any such motion (which would undermine the foundation of Religion and liberty and render both insecure) without being rejected with the highest disdain."

Two others, one a Presbyterian and the other an Episcopalian, sought to suggest a compromise of principles and both received equally rough treatment as did Tarbat by both sides.

Sir Archibald Sinclair, an Episcopalian layman in Some Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs etc., regrets

"that Protestant ministers who differ nothing in Essentials should, by their heats and animosities, so much weaken the common cause and thereby endanger us to become an easy Prey to our implacable Enemies, to whom, no doubt, this Paper War, affords good Pasture."

And he ends

"I see no reason why an Episcopal and Presbyterian minister, may not, by good order of civil government be brought to agree as well as Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, Sweden and other places."

This seems a fair plea for peace and compromise. In the remainder of his Pamphlet, however, Sinclair had come down pretty decisively in favour of Episcopacy and consequently was somewhat suspect. He was rather robustly dealt with by James Ramsey in
Toleration's Fence Removed. Ramsay said that Sinclair was led by "affection rather than judgment". He dismissed his arguments so brusquely that Sinclair was constrained to reply in The Thoughts Enforced, etc.

On the Presbyterian side, Sir Francis Grant, later Lord Cullen, a Presbyterian lawyer well-known in the Church, also sought a way of peace between the two parties. His pamphlet which provoked much controversy was, An Essay for Peace by Union in Judgment about Church Government in Scotland.

His argument runs -

"Presbyterian Government or Parity is of Divine Institution but this is a Rule which admits of an exception viz. Imparity, Prelacy ... may take place in the Church in special circumstances. So for Peace in the Church, grant it."

This was disliked by both sides. On his own side, Robert White, another Presbyterian layman in his Funeral of Prelacy deals with the Essay for Peace and says, "I desire the peace of the Church as earnestly as any man but in conjunction with truth. Christ's kingly office must not be invaded."

Equally condemnatory was James Webster in his Discourse demonstrating that the Government of the Church is fixed and not Ambulatory. In answer to an Essay for Peace.

"Our author endeavoured to unite in judgment the Presbyterian and Prelatical Parties about Church Government, but methinks he hath undertaken a hard task ... he hath made to tie together two ends of a
contradiction. The great position that our author advances is that Parity is the rule and Imparity is the exception in special circumstances, particularly a necessity found to be so by the Church ... He asserts that Imparity may take place and be allowed through necessity. But ... if Prelatish Imparity be authorized by necessity, why not Independence, why not Baxter's Model, why not the Morellian Scheme, why not an Erastian Constitution and why not the Romish Hierarchy itself?"

There was equal objection to Grant's arguments from the Episcopal side. Both sides were taking too high ground to welcome any compromise or via media. This is seen in Webster's contention that Church Government is "fixed and not ambulatory." Garden had also used the word "ambulatory" in his Primitive Church Government. But neither side would allow that this important matter of Church Government was ambulatory (mutable).

This, however, is a revealing section of the controversy. Feeling ran too high. The principles involved were too serious for compromise. As Wylie of Hamilton said in his Letter from a Gentleman in the City, "The Government of the Church is not a light matter. It is an Ordinance of God, a part of the Word and concerns the Royal Diadem of Christ." (P.33.)

Schism

Arising out of these high church principles on both sides the charge of Schism was levied by both sides. Mostly this was used by the Episcopalians against the Presbyterians, but occasionally the Presbyterians retaliated.

The word has already appeared in quotations made from titles and
contents of Pamphlets. John Sarge in his *Fundamental Charter* spoke of "Scottish Presbyterianism — the peculiar form of the schism established north of the Tweed."

Thomas Rhind in his *Apology*, says, "Presbyterian Government is schismatical." So he "embraced the Communion of the Church where I could only be safe."

Alexander Rose in a *Sermon* spoke of "the Necessity of Episcopacy" and "the malignancy of the national sin of schism."

John Willison of Dundee, in his interchange of pamphlets with his Episcopal opponent James Small of Forfar, rebuts the charge of schism.

Small published, *An Answer to a ... Letter from a Parochial Bishop ...* wherein the Presbyterians of Scotland are proved to be a *Schismatrick Party ...*

Also, *An Apology for the True Church of Scotland ...* whereby the heinous and unchurching crime of Schism is further fixed upon the Presbyterian Party in Scotland ... 

Also, *Some Reflections ...* the Presbyterians in Scotland plainly proved to be a *Schismatrick Party* and consequently their Communion is unlawful.

John Willison replied in, *An Apology for the Church of Scotland ...* Wherein the said Church is fairly vindicated from the unjust charge of Schism and the same justly fastened upon her accusers ...
In this Willison throws back the charge of Schism. On the whole, the Presbyterians do not use this charge much. Robert Wyllie, however, in his Letter from a Gentleman in the City, speaking of the 1690 Assembly, says, "Jacobitism and the Episcopal Schism might have been plucked up by its Roots ... and a Gospel ministry secured in this nation." (P.3.)

**Ordination and Apostolic Succession**

This question of "Schism" and "Unlawful Conmunion", along with the high claims of "Divine right" and "Apostolical institution", led to consideration of the validity of Ordination and Apostolic Succession.

Presbyterians had never denied the necessity of valid ordination, and in the Covenanters and Cameronians, etc. had maintained a high concept of true and valid ordination and the laying on of hands by Presbyters. But now the Episcopalians began in the pamphlets to accuse them of being imperfectly ordained, or not being of the true Church. Calder called Anderson "the Holder-Forth at Dumbarton." William Gordon in Aberdeen called Francis Melvil not a Minister but "a Presbyterian teacher". Rhind spoke of "the Church" as opposed to the "Presbyterian Party."

John Anderson and Robert Calder had a dispute over ordination. In The Nail Struck to the Head, Calder asserts that Anderson had refused to acknowledge him as a minister. He replies:-
"Whither then shall Mr Anderson go for the Foundation of his Ministry. Not to the body of the people, for that is Independency: not to the Magistrate, for that is Erastianism; not to the call of the Spirit, for that is Quakerism: not to Apostolick Succession, for that is Episcopacy. And it is not in their power so to derive their Succession. Consequently all their ministerial acts are null and void; so that an honest Country-Man's Baptism or a Midwife's is as good, yea better than theirs if they be not schismatics, for they pretend necessity, but the Presbyterians pretend authority."

Colder goes on to prove his "Ordination up to Archbishop Cranmer the first Protestant Archbishop in Britain."

"Mr Colder was ordained by the Bishop of Edinburgh who was consecrated by Bishop Sharp, who was, at the King's Restoration ordained, first Deacon then Presbyter; because the Bishops of England did not look upon his Presbyterian ordination as valid; and then was consecrated Bishop. Now in the 1663 year of God was Gilbert Sheldon, Arch Bishop of Canterbury; before him was William Juxton in 1660; In 1633 was William Laud. In 1640 was George Abbot. In 1604 was Richard Bancroft, In 1583 John Whitgift. In 1575 Edmund Grindal, In 1559 Matthew Parker. In 1555 Reginald Poole. In 1533 Thomas Cranmer. Hereinafter I shall give a list of all their successors to the Apostles. ---"

Here was a full doctrine of Apostolic Succession through Episcopal ordination; and a denial to the Presbyterians of valid orders. Others who held this position were men like George Brown who, in Toleration Defended (p.2) says, "It is impossible to have the comfortable use of the Sacraments without Lawfull Ordination, which can never be obtained without a Bishop." And again, "the validity of their (the Presbyterians) own Orders is so very questionable, that they cannot trace it to any Original, no not so far back as the Reformation . . . ."

Archibald Campbell's pamphlet contains in the title a similar idea, A Querie turn'd into An Argument in favour of Episcopacy . . .
Whereby is proved, that the First Apostles were necessarily to be succeeded in the fullest extent of their Commission, to the end of the World.

Similar instances can be found in the writings of Matthias Symson—The Necessity of a Lawful Ministry, etc., and others. Not all the Episcopal writers, however, took as high a line as this as to the validity of Episcopal orders, especially in the early stages of the controversy. As time went on, and after 1703 the Episcopal position was developed more fully as against the Presbyterian. (See Adam Glas's Pamphlet, A Letter to A Gentleman, etc.

The Presbyterians, as already said, had their own high conception of ordination as shown by the Covenanters and Cameronians and smaller branches of the Church, which was always careful about ordination. They did, however, dispute the Episcopal theory of an unbroken succession from the Apostles. James Ramsay's argument in Toleration's Fence Removed (pp. 4-5) may be taken as typical. Dealing with G. Brown's argument he says—

"He tells us that the validity of Presbyterian Ordination is doubted. Pray, who questions Presbyterian Ordination but the Church of Rome, and some in England? And how often has Presbyterian Ordination been powerfully and irrefragably proven against the Romish writers, and even by eminent Prelates of the English Church; yea Spotswood, in his History gives us an account that in a Convocation of English Bishops, where he and his fellows were to be consecrate in London, the Bishop of Ely moved whether or not they should first be ordained Presbyters, but all held that Presbyterian Ordination was valid where Prelates could not be had."

"In his description of the Church he would have the world believe that no society of Christians can be reckoned a part of the Catholick
Church and Body of Christ, if their ministers be not ordained by Prelates. And thus he condemns all the Reformed Churches at home or abroad, some very few excepted, as companies of Pagans amongst whom there is no Baptism, no Sacraments, no Salvation to be expected; and now he will send all to Hell by the lump that have not Prelates actually established among them. Yet so extravagant is this gentleman that he will have the ordination of Pastors by Prelates, by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, necessary to the being of the Church, for besides what he says in the definition of a Church in that same page, he adds, That Episcopacy is an Apostolick Institution (by which he means Prelacy, no doubt) and not only necessary to the well-being, but even to the very being of the Church. Our author is high enough here in his assertions, but blessed be God, he was never born who could give the least shadow of proof for what is here said; and if this were true, I am confident that there is not any Society of men under Heaven that could be reckoned a Christian Church, for it is simply impossible to prove a lineal and uninterrupted Succession of Prelates and Pastors canonically ordained (as he terms it) in any one Church."

Ramsay goes on to quote Eusebius, Jerome and others to show that "a lineal and uninterrupted Succession cannot be proved." Many other Presbyterian writings could be quoted on the same argument, e.g., Park's Rights, Liberties of the Church, but this quotation from Ramsay shows the line of the Presbyterian argument on Ordination and Apostolic Succession.

The Office of Bishop

Before leaving the question of Church Government it may be noted how many of the pamphlets dealt with the subject of what was termed "The Church-Officers." Reference has already been made to the Presbyterian position of the Parity of Ministers and the Episcopal position of a "superiority of offices." Numerous instances can be found of these writings. Such was the debate between John Hay and James Brown, known as "the Debate in the Shop", over "Imparity among
Pastors. Forrester in his *Counter-Essay* spoke of "the equal Power and Authority of Pastors in Government, as the highest ordinary Church Officers evinced." Other instances can be found in Hart's *Survey of the Case*. "Presbyterians judge there is ground from the records of Divine Write to maintain a Parity among Office-Bearers of the same Order." (P.4.)

This leads on to the question of the office of "The Bishop". To the Episcopalians it was an all important office and great numbers of their pamphlets are concerned to portray the dignity and necessity of the Episcopal office. Their arguments from Scripture and the fathers have already been noted.

The Presbyterians tackled the office of the Bishop in different ways. They did not deny the Scriptural office of the Bishop, but they threw all their strength into contending that the Bishop of the New Testament was a different office from what it had become in the later Church. The debate on the Cyprianic Bishop between Sage, Forrester, Jameson, Lauder and others has already been noted. Other pamphlets take different lines of discussion. *The Hierarchical Bishop's Claim to a Divine Right tried at the Scripture Bar* (Forrester), *Cyprianus Isotimus ... in which signal differences between the Cyprianick and Hierarchic Bishop are assigned* (Jameson). It will be seen that the Presbyterian contention is against Diocesan Bishop and the Hierarchical Bishop. Their position is stated by G., Rule in his, *Cyprianick Bishop Examined and Found not to be a Diocesan nor to have superior Powers to a Parish Minister.*
This was adumbrated by writers like Alex. Lauder and John Willison who equated the office of Bishop with that of a Parish Minister.

Lauder wrote, *The Ancient Bishops Considered Both with respect to the extent of their Jurisdiction and nature of their Power*...

Wherein the Conformity of the Government and Discipline of the Church of Scotland with that of the Ancient Church is fully manifested and it is made evident that the Ministers of the Gospel, or Pastors of the Parishes, are not Presbyters but Bishops: and that the Government of the Church by Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies and Commissions of General Assemblies, is not Presbyterian but Episcopal Government.

And John Willison writes - *A Letter from a Parochial Bishop to a Prelatical Gentleman in Scotland.*

His opponent James Small is quick to reply in, *An Apology for the True Church of Scotland* in which he dubs the "Parochial Bishop" the "Presbyterian Preacher at Brechin." These writings of Rule, Lauder, Willison and others show the Presbyterian claim that the Parish Minister was a Bishop.

**Scots Presbyterians and the English Bishops**

One interesting point is the relation of this Presbyterian view of the office of the Bishop to the English Churchmen. All the anti-Episcopal sentiments of the Presbyterians were published abroad in
England with a view to alarming the Church of England. Alex Monro
and others indicated the dangers of these sentiments. Pamphlets
like, The Danger to the Church of England from a General Assembly of
Covenanters in Scotland, Sages Account of the Late Establishment of
Presbyterian Government, etc., and The Prelatical Church-Men against
the Fanatical Kirk-Men emphasize this. It is specially underlined
in Charles Leslie's writings, where he set out the sentiments of the
Scots Presbyterians in pamphlets like The New Association ... to
undermine and blow up the present Church and Government, and The
Wolf stript of his Shepherds Cloathing, and A Warning to the Church
of England.

The Presbyterians, while stoutly asserting their anti-prelatic
principles, were conciliatory in their references to English Bishops.
In their eagerness to maintain their cherished Establishment, they
had no wish to alienate the English Bishops or to rouse them against
the Scottish ecclesiastical Settlement. A distinction is drawn
between the Bishops of England and the Bishops of Scotland and their
different loyalties. The suggestion is plainly made that the
English Episcopalians may be content to recognize the Scottish
Presbyterians in a common loyalty to the Crown. This can be
illustrated from an anonymous Pamphlet of 1690, An Account of the
Affairs of Scotland, where it is stated -
"For in Scotland though we had Bishops who were Tools for the Civil Government and led horses for the State ... and whereas the Church and Bishops of England before the Revolution were standing in the gap and suffering and the King in his speech to Parliament avouched them to be a Bulwark to the Protestant religion, yet at that time our Bishops in Scotland in their address to King James not only prayed for his success and prosperity but prayed God would give him the necks of his enemies. This may conciliate a greater confidence and regard from the King to the Presbyterians of Scotland, without giving any displeasure to the Church of England. For a Prince that hath different countries and nations may maintain distinct Religions and much more, Distinct Forms of Government professing the same Religion."

This is a very different position from that of the Presbyterians in the days of the Solemn League and Covenant, with the ideal of a Covenanted Britain. It shows the efforts by the Scots Presbyterians of these Post-Revolution days to assert Presbyterian principles for Scotland and at the same time to avoid giving offence to English churchmen. This is repeated in the quotation found on many Presbyterian pamphlets of the time, attributed to Robert Blair.

"Bishops in England and Scotland are like the Kings of Judah and Israel. Some of the Kings of Judah were good, so are some of the Bishops of England. But the Kings of Israel were all bad, so are the Bishops of Scotland." (See John Gordon's Plain Dealing.)

The Presbyterian Ruling Elder

One other point may be briefly mentioned in connection with Church Government. Reference is found in the Pamphlets to the Presbyterian office of the Ruling Elder. The Episcopalians attack this idea sometimes facetiously, as in William Meston's Knight of the Kirk.

"He had a strange amphibious wight. A lay or Ruling Elder hight, But neither Clergyman or Layman, a sort of Kirk Hermaphrodite."
James Garrick in his Sermon preach'd at Selkirk, 1685 (p.6) speaks of the Church

"being subjected to the basest Anarchical Model of insolent and confounding Presbytery, wherein a medley of imperious Clergymen and whining Laicks metamorphos'd all things belonging to its Discipline and Worship into as much a Chaos as was the mungrel composure of their own selves."

Presbyterian Apologists like Gilbert Rule in his Vindications found themselves obliged to defend the Elder and his office. Despite these attacks, however, it is a striking fact that many Episcopalian congregations retained elders - some till as late as 1800.

WORSHIP

A large part of the controversy concerned worship. It has already been established from contemporary evidence that at the time of the Revolution there was very little difference in the form of worship between the two and a stranger would have found it difficult to detect the ecclesiastical allegiance of the minister or congregation from the form of worship. This very fact is used by some of the writers of the pamphlets. Sir George Mackenzie in his Vindication points out the little difference and asks why the Presbyterians were so embittered. More in his Short Account of Scotland says -

"It hath used no Liturgy at all no more than the Presbyterians who now govern. Such is the Church's way in Scotland and therefore we the more admire (wonder) that the two parties should so much disagree among themselves when they appear to the world as like brethren. Their difference is hardly discernable; for their singing of psalms, praying, preaching, and collections, are the same, as is
the whole of their worship in both the congregations. They both do it after the same manner, saving that after the psalm the Episcopal minister uses the Doxology, which the other omits, and concludes his own prayer with that of the Lord, which the Presbyterian refuses to do." (Pp.59-62.)

It is now agreed by historians that at the Revolution there was this minimum of difference, save that the Episcopalians used the Lord's Prayer, the Doxology, the Creed, and reading of Scriptures. But what differences there were were magnified by the Episcopalians at once; and from the time of the Revolution onwards a gulf opened between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The Presbyterians continued their form of worship known to both before the Revolution, but the Episcopalians introduced the liturgy and developed more "Catholic" forms of worship, being more interested as time passed in links with the sister-Church and liturgical worship. These changes and developments are reflected in the pamphlets and should be indicated briefly.

**Set Forms**

As Morer said, "The Church at the Revolution, in both its parties, was using no Liturgy at all." The first discussion to be noted in the pamphlets is that of the rightness or wrongness of using "set forms" of worship.

Typical of the Episcopal point of view is Robert Calder's pamphlet, *The Lawfulness and Expediency of Set Forms of Prayer, Maintained, with seven Reasons given from the Bible, the practices of the Universal*
Church, the advantages against the disadvantages of extemporizing ... and "from the sentiments of the learn'd Presbyterians, Foreign and British." Another is his Miscellany Number, XXVI. Of the Antiquity, Universality, Reasonableness and singular Advantages of Set Forms of Prayer, proven from the Old & New Testaments, and the Practice of the Christian Church.

The Presbyterians took up the challenge. James Hog of Carnock may be cited as an example in his pamphlet, A Letter to a Gentleman, In which the Unlawfulness of Imposing Forms of Prayer, and of other Acts of Worship is plainly Demonstrated. Calder replied in his Answer to Mr James Hog, etc. The quotations on the Title Page of Calder's pamphlet are instructive and show the line he takes.

(1) A quotation from Hippolitus, Bishop of Porta and Martyr, 222,

"When set forms of Prayer and Reading of Scriptures are turned out of the Churches, it is a sign that Anti-Christ is triumphing":

(2) A quotation from Calvin's Epistle to the Protector of England.

"As for Set Forms of Prayer and other Church Ceremonies, from which ministers should not have liberty to vary, I highly approve; for these reasons (I) That provision should be made for some men's weakness and ignorance; (II) That agreement of churches among themselves may appear; (III) That Order may be taken to prevent the Lightness and Giddiness of some Rambling Spirits that affect Novelties."

See also the latter part of John Sage's Fundamental Charter in which he attacks the Presbyterians for their forms of worship.

The English Liturgy

From this general discussion of "Set Forms" we move on to a great topic
of debate viz., the use of a Liturgy - in this case usually the Book of Common Prayer. The Episcopalians after the Revolution increasingly used the English Liturgy. Thousands of copies of the Prayer Book were sent up from England from their co-religionists, and more and more it began to be used, not only in Episcopal meeting-houses, but in parish-churches where the incumbent had Episcopal leanings and could not be ousted. A case in point is described in Gideon Guthrie's Memoir, where he tells that as late as 1712 he was introducing the Prayer Book into the Church at Brechin.¹

Since the rejection of "Laud's Liturgy" there had been little use of the Prayer Book in Scotland. It was one of the charges against Alexander Monro, the Principal of Edinburgh University, that he had used that Book. One or two others may have used it, but very few. Now, however, it was being used. The Presbyterians did not like it. Their alarm is registered in the letter of Wodrow, whose comments are often quoted, e.g.,

"The English Service is setting up busily in the North, at Inverness, Elgin, Aberdeen, Montrose, and many other places, to the great grief of our brethren there, and the weakening, or rather ruining of our discipline."²

A leading figure in the introduction of the Prayer Book was Robert Calder. He induced the Earl of Winton to reprint and publish

1. Gideon Guthrie (ed. C.E.G. Wright), pp. 71-72. In a footnote Bishop Dowden says, "It is said that within the space of two years no less than 19000 Prayer Books ... were remitted from London."

2. Correspondence (ed. McCrie), I, 34-36.
in 1712, The Book of Common Prayer for Use in the Church of Scotland.

"The design was that it should have been used in all the congregation, but Greenshields and others deprecated the design and it was mostly abandoned though the reprinted volume was used in Lord Winton's own chapel at Seton."  

The use of the Prayer Book is commended in the Episcopal pamphlets and denounced in the Presbyterian.

Calder in his Lawfulness and Expediency of Set Forms of Prayer, speaks of "the weakness of the Objections against Set Forms in General and the English Service in particular."

William Gordon of Aberdeen wrote, An Apology for the Use of the English Liturgy and Worship against the Cavils and Exceptions of the Presbyterians of North Britain; and, A Letter to Mr Francis Melvil, one of the Presbyterian Teachers in Aberdeen, in vindication of the English Liturgy; Melvil, a Presbyterian Minister had preached against the use of the Liturgy.

John Anderson of Dumbarton took issue with Calder over this topic in a furious exchange of pamphlets beginning with, The Dialogue between a Curat and a Country-Man concerning the English Service. This was continued in several writings and rejoinders (see under Anderson). In one of Anderson's pamphlets - The Country-Man's Letter to the Curate wherein Besides a Historical View of the English Liturgie, the

1. J.B. Craven, Epis. Church in Moray, p.189.
Assertions of the Author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, concerning its universal usage in Scotland at the time of the Reformation etc. are examined .... the interesting point is discussed as to whether the English Liturgy had been used in Scotland after the Reformation. John Sage in his Fundamental Charter had maintained that

"the English Liturgy was for at least seven years (1557-1564) in constant practice in Scotland."

Anderson denied this and sought to prove that what was used was the

"Service Book of the English congregation at Geneva as adapted by John Knox."

It is now agreed that Sage was right and Anderson wrong. Knox's Liturgy was used in Scotland but so also was the English Book of Common Prayer.¹

The Use of the English Service Book is commended in other pamphlets by Episcopalians such as William Smart's A Short Discourse recommending the Service and Prayers of the Church. The Presbyterians were uneasy at the introduction of the Book. It was denounced in the General Assembly and the Government was called on to intervene.² They saw in this an attempt to overthrow the ecclesiastical establishment and at the same time win favour with the Church of England. George Ridpath

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² Lawson, History of the Episcopal Church, 193.
in his Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence (p. 43),

"he reflects upon his own Party, who did as really justly out the liturgy as they, and never used it publicly, nay it is very well known, that most of the Episcopal preachers themselves, did declare their aversion to the English liturgy on all occasions, till the late Revolution that they made use of it in private Conventicles, to ingratiate themselves with the Church of England; and because of a Rupture which the using and not using of it, created among themselves, were about to lay it down again but that the Agents of the Party here advised the contrary, as most conducible to their interest."

A pamphlet published at this time by the Presbyterians was The Scots Representation to Her Majesty, against setting up the Common Prayer Book in Scotland. This is generally believed to have been a joint composition by Ridpath, Carstares and Daniel Defoe. It is a print of the Humble Representation of

"the Ministers now met in the Commission of the General Assembly, which was presented to her Majesty by the Reverend WM Carstareas, Principal of the Colledge of Edinburgh, who made a short speech at the delivering of the same, and received a very gracious answer from her Majesty with further assurances of her Royal Protection to the Church of Scotland."

That this special representation should have been made by the Commission of Assembly shows how concerned the Presbyterians were.

Considerable stir was caused by the Greenshields Case, when James Greenshields used the Book in a Meeting House in Edinburgh (see under Greenshields). This was the case which was carried to the House of Lords and which reversed the Court of Session's decision in favour of Greenshields to the consternation of the Scots Presbyterians.

John Willison's Queries to the Scots Innovators in Divine Service should also be noted with his 46 questions; e.g.,
"Did not Archbishop Spotswoode and others oppose the introduction of the English Service before 1637? Why do you cry up the ... Service Book as such a perfect piece ... Is it not sad to see the ignorant fondness of some amongst us who may prefer it to the Bible, for they have a Service Book but no Bible in their house ....?"

The Lord's Prayer

The use of the Lord's Prayer was another distinguishing feature of the worship of the Episcopalians. Pamphlets like the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence make much of the fact that the Presbyterians omitted it. "A Lords-Prayer-less Kirk" is the phrase used in that writing. It is true that many of the Presbyterians were against the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship, but this situation here is complicated by the fact that others of the Presbyterians, including doughty exponents like John Anderson, were in favour of using it. This made for a division in the Presbyterian ranks which the Episcopalians were quick to exploit to the embarrassment of their rivals.

Robert Calder in many of his writings strongly advocated the use of the Lord's Prayer. One of his pamphlets was, The Use of the Lord's Prayer Vindicated and Asserted ... Translated from the French original by Monsieur D'Espayne, a Learned Presbyterian. This was a plea for the use of the Lord's Prayer, with the subtle addition of being commended by a foreign Presbyterian.

This drew a reply from James Hog of Carnock, one of the Presbyterians who was much against "set forms, in A Casuistical Essay upon the Lord's Prayer. In this he rebutted Calder's pamphlet and
also answered Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder.

This Sir Hugh Campbell was one of the Presbyterians who was very keen on the use of the Lord's Prayer in Public Worship. He had had a long correspondence with William Carstares on the subject and had published two Pamphlets, *An Essay on the Lord's Prayer*, and *A Collection of Letters relative to an Essay on the Lord's Prayer*. Other Presbyterian leaders like John Anderson and Patrick Simson also advocated its use. The Assembly of 1705 recommended as Sir Hugh Campbell desired but the whole question was complicated by its being an issue between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. One finds Sir Hugh's pamphlets quoted with approval in many Episcopal pamphlets. This was to embarrass the Presbyterians by quoting one of their own number. Hog and others, however, were strongly against it.

The Presbyterian opposition to its use is typically stated by George Eidpath in his *Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence* (p.42). Replying to the charge "that the Presbyterians have justly out, and vilified the Lord's Prayer", he says,

"their Confession of Faith doth positively say, that it is not only a rule of Direction for Prayer, but may be used as a Form: and it is printed and taught together with the Commandments in all their Catechisms to the Children ... The only ground for this Reflection is because we do not usually repeat it after our Prayer, for which it will appear we have reason enough, if it were but to claim our Christian liberty from a Human imposition; there being no shadow of argument obliging us to use the very form of Words, seeing the Evangelists themselves vary them, and much less to use it like a Charm at beginning and ending of Services, Baptisms, Burials, Marriages, Churching of Women, which is really a Profanition of it."
References are to be found in pasquils like Meston's *Knight of the Kirk*.

Nor will our stubborn Hero pray
What He commanded him to say
Although the Laird of Calder pressed him
And with good arguments addressed him
Who was his friend - to use that Form
To use that Form, he says, is foppery
Will worship black and downright Papery.

And again in the unpublished MSS. of Robert Mylne.

The Whig hates and abhors indeed
The Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

In the *Preface* to his *Babell*, Arch. Pitcairne gives an account, whether true or imaginary is difficult to say, of James Fraser of Breach's arguments against using the Lord's Prayer.

James Hog in his *Casuistical Essay on the Lord's Prayer* (p.318), says, "The frequent use of the Lord's Prayer is turning it into a lifeless, sapless and loathsome worship."

**The Doxology**

Again this was a distinguishing mark in worship. The Episcopalians used a Doxology while the Presbyterians did not. Again we find allusion in Meston's *Knight of the Kirk*.

Another point of his theology. Is never to say the Doxology.
Nor any Gospel Hymn to read. Nor sing nor say the Apostle's Creed.
James Wilson of Kirkwall has an enthusiastic pamphlet on the use of this Doxology, written no doubt partly to censure the Presbyterians for not using it. – *An Essay on that Divine Hymn called the Doxology.*

Wherein its Scriptural Authority is proven; its Primitive Use asserted; Objections against it answered; and an Exhortation to its Use pressed.

Morer in his *Account* says

"after the Psalm the Episcopal minister uses the Doxology, which the other omits and concludes his own prayer with that of the Lord, which the Presbyterian refuses to do." (Pp. 59-62.)

The *Scotch Presbyterian Elocution* (p. 11) says

"And for the Gospel Hymn, called the Doxology, or Gloria Patri, they reject that as a superstitious Prelatical Addition to the Word of God."

**The Creed**

The above quotation from Meston's *Knigh* includes the charge that the Presbyterians neither "sing nor say the Apostle's Creed."

This was likewise a mark of difference in the worship of the opposing parties. In the *Scotch Presbyterian Elocution* (p. 11) it is stated,

"As for the Apostles Creed, it is not so much as once mentioned at the Baptizing of Infants, for all they require at Baptism is, That the Father promise to breed up the child in the belief of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and that he shall adhere to all the National Engagements laying on them to be Presbyterians."

The Presbyterian Answer to that was that the Creed is set out in the
Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechism and is acknowledged there, thereby confuting the Episcopalians. It must be said, however, that there is difference between acknowledging the Creed as contained in the Westminster Confession and in using it by itself in the administration of a Sacrament like Baptism.

Gilbert Rule also defends the Presbyterians on this point in his Vindications, and there is a discussion on the use of the Creed in Baptism in Alex Sutherland's Practice and Doctrine of the Presbyterian Preachers about the Sacrament of Baptism, and James Hadow's reply in, The Doctrine and Practice... vindicated from gross errors.

Sutherland said

"that they (the Presbyterians) add to the Creed in Baptism the requirement from the parents, as of the children, a belief in the Confession of Faith and Longer and Shorter Catechisms as if all the propositions in them were as fundamental as the Apostle's Creed."

George Ridpath in his Answer (p.44) says,

"Another of his contradictions is that the Presbyterians do not mention the Apostle's Creed in Baptism; and yet he owns that they require the Father to bring up the child in the belief of the Westminster Confession, wherein the Apostle's Creed is actually inserted, and always printed with it."

Reading of Scriptures

The Episcopalians blamed the Presbyterians for omitting the reading of the Scriptures in public worship. This point has been fully discussed by Dr. G.D. Henderson in his, Religious Life in 17th Century
Scotland, pp.10-12, with references to Sage, Melan, George Brown, Ramsey and Garden's writings and need not be dealt with here. Sage in Brief Examination, had claimed the Presbyterians "had sent a packing the public reading of Scriptures." Professor Henderson comments, "The straightforward reading of the Scriptures was dropped from the Service." The Presbyterians' defence was, as stated by these writers mentioned above, and set out by George Ridpath in his Answer (p.43),

"His reflection of our having abolished the Reading of the Scriptures in the Churches is no less false, for everybody knows that the Presbyterian Ministers do read a Portion of Scriptures each Lord's Day, and then make an Analysis or Lecture on it, besides their Sermon, which practice the Episcopalians abrogated. And whether this be not better than the bare Reading of some Chapter, let any body judge."

Keeping of Christian Festivals

Another developing feature of the worship of the Episcopalians after the Revolution was the observance of the Festivals of the Christian year. Many Episcopal pamphlets of the period upbraid the Presbyterians for the non-observance of such days. The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence says "All the Presbyterians profess, that the keeping of Anniversary Days, even for the greatest Blessing of the Gospel, is Superstition and Popery." "Frazer of Bray" is then quoted as preaching "in his ordinary turn upon that day on which Christmas fell", and all he said was

"Some will think that I will speak either for the Day or against it: To speak against it I see no Reason, and to speak for it I see as little, for why should be keep our Saviour's Birthday and not his Conception."
And then a little farther on there is this tilt at the other side.

"But for all the Abhorrence that Presbyterians have, and do profess against the Observation of Anniversary days, yet they never missed to preach an anniversary Sermon on Mr Herriot, who built and endowed the great Hospital in the City of Edinburgh: the reason is, that for every Sermon on Heriot's Commendation, they get five Pounds, a new Hat and a Bible. If they could have made but the same Purchase by preaching a Christmas, it's more than probable that they would have thought the Annual Observation of our Saviour's Birth a little superstition as that of Mr Heriot's Memory."

This is a mixture of serious accusation and malicious abuse characteristic of the particular Episcopal effusion. There are certainly Sermons on George Heriot's Birthday (see Rule and Meldrum) although the Presbyterians indignantly repudiated the sly accusation used above. Ridpath says (Answer, p.53)

"As for his scurrilous Reflection ... in Herriot's Hospital, because of gain, its easily answered, that what a Private Man may do, or order to be done by those he entails his Charity upon, can be no president for Kingdoms and Churches."

Ridpath's answer to the charge of not observing Festivals is rather strange.

"Their not observing the Anniversary Day, proceeds from the principle that no Humane Power can oblige us to violate the Fourth Commandment, which says positively, Six days shalt thou work; whence it is evident, that though any of the Six Days may be set apart for Worship occasionally, yet none of them can be made Anniversary on what account soever; for if otherwise, there is none of the Six on which some Remarkable Providence hath not happened; and consequently by this Argument we should have no time at all left for Work ... and the advances towards this, which Papists have made by their multitudes of Holy Days, shew what strength the objection hath in it" (Answer, p.53).

A typical Episcopal Pamphlet on this issue is Alexander Cumming's
A Sermon preached upon Christmas Day. Wherein the obligation that
lies upon all Christians to solemnize the Anniversary Festival of our
Saviour's Birth is clearly proved. To which is added a Letter to a
Friend shewing after what manner, Days, Times, Places and Persons
are Holy.Coming argues from the Scriptures and the Fathers of the
Church the necessity of all who call themselves Christians to celebrate
Christmas Day. He ends by "praying Almighty God to forgive those who
have endeavoured to raise so beneficial days out of the Church of Christ."
He adds a short Postscript arising out of a Sermon said to have been
preached at Inverness by a Presbyterian who said that "the Church or
Temple of God is no more holy than a Stable."

Another is William Gordon's A Letter to Mr Thomas Blackwell ...
with other Papers Concerning the observation of Christmas and other
Festivals of the Church.

Also R. Calder's Miscellany Number XXIV. Queries upon the
Antiquity and Lawfulness of keeping Christmas and other Holy Days.

In connection with the observance of Christmas and other
Festivals there is a remark in a letter by Robert Wodrow to a friend
which gives the Presbyterian point of view.¹

"Ile give you ane accoempt of a story that goes current among us.
The Queen should have lately asked Secretary Johnston why the
Presbyterians in Scotland did not keep the day of her grandfather's
death. "Why treuly", says he, "they doe not keep the day of our
Saviour's death or birth, yes, we set days that are not in Scripture."
"That is more than I knew" said the Queen. "I perceive its matter
of principle with them and not of pick."

This links up the observance of Christmas with the keeping of the Anniversary of the death of Charles I which is dealt with below.

James Ramsey in his *Toleration's Fence Removed* deals with many points discussed here as to the difference in the worship of Episcopalians and Presbyterians. He dismisses this concern on the part of the Episcopalians as a new-found enthusiasm and useful in castigating the Presbyterians and adds -

"I plainly say that the commemoration of the Nativity, Circumcision, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, as well as the administration of the Lord's Supper to a Dying Christian were as little known or observed in Scotland in the time of Episcopacy as in time of Presbytery."

**Innovations in Worship**

Each side accused the other of introducing innovations in government and worship. From the Episcopal side, Alex Monro wrote, *An Enquiry into the New Opinions (chiefly) Propagated by the Presbyterians of Scotland*. He accused the Presbyterians of being innovators in worship. In reply Gilbert Rule issued his, *The Good Old Way Defended against the Attempts of A.M. D.D., in his Book called An Enquiry, etc.* Another Presbyterian to follow this line was John Willison of Dundee in his *Queries to the Scots Innovators in Divine Service ... A Collection of the Choicest Arguments against the Present Innovators*. He addresses 46 Questions to "the Episcopalians of Scotland." (Some of these are quoted above in connection with the use of the Lord's Prayer.)
Summing up this section on worship, we may say that expediency and principle were mixed up as all through this controversy. There had been little difference at the Revolution between the two parties. After the Revolution the disestablished Episcopalians moved nearer the forms of their Episcopal brethren in England. This was done no doubt, partly for support and encouragement, and partly out of a genuine movement towards and interest in liturgical worship in the Church. Meanwhile the differences between them and the deficiencies and peculiarities of the Presbyterians were the subject of attack and counter-attack in the pamphlets.

**The Toleration Issue of 1703**

1703 was the year in which more of the pamphlets were written than any other. And a great proportion of them dealt with the burning topic of that year - the Toleration sought by the Episcopalians. During the reign of William a somewhat uneasy alliance between the King and the Presbyterians had been established. William was an Erastian, and despite his upbringing, had no special love for the Presbyterians. He tried several times to help the Scots Episcopalians but the allegiance of so many of them and their leaders to the Stewarts, made them untrustworthy to his throne. The Presbyterians, with their rights of Assemblies and other claims to "intrinsic right" he found troublesome. There was at least one open clash only averted by the intervention of Carstares. But they were loyal to the Revolution Settlement and the new regime in his own person as King. He needed them and they needed
him, and so the alliance stood. This relationship is so often wrongly portrayed by historians as being much more cordial and enthusiastic than it actually was. However it held firmly enough because of mutual need, till his death, and the Episcopalians could make little headway.

With the accession of Queen Anne, a convinced Episcopalian, in 1702, however, the hopes of the Episcopalians revived and they looked for favourable consideration to their case. Various moves were made. Two petitions were sent up from the Dissenting Clergy begging the Queen to give liberty to parishes in which the majority of the inhabitants were Episcopalians to admit them to the benefices; and the other asking her to relieve the poverty and distress of many of the clergy. The Queen returned a gracious answer. She gave orders to the Privy Council that the dissentient clergy, whether in parish church or meeting house, should be "protected in the peaceable exercise of their religion." She exhorted them to live in peace with the Presbyterian clergy and, in turn, she exhorted the Assembly of 1702 to

"carry so with others of the reformed Protestant religion, albeit differing from you in forms of Church polity, that by your meekness and charity they may be the more inclined to live peaceably and dutifully under us, and in brotherly love towards you and the Established Church."

To these sentiments the Assembly replied respectfully but firmly, pointing out the intrusions and encroachments of the Episcopal clergy. This indicated the feelings of the Established Church.

The next move by the Episcopalians was to seek a Toleration in the Parliament of 1703. A motion that such a Toleration be granted was prepared and moved by the Earl of Strathmore. A Representation from the Commission of Assembly, signed by George Meldrum as Moderator, pleaded that "no such notion of any legal toleration to those of Prelatical principles be entertained by Parliament." This "Representation" seems to have finished the matter in Parliament for the Toleration proposal was dropped. No doubt, however, there were political considerations also involved. Queensberry was anxious to conciliate the Presbyterians in order to counteract the body of Jacobites returned to the Parliament. Also the Union was in prospect and it was necessary to carry the Church of Scotland for it if possible at all.

This was the historical setting to the outburst of pamphlets on the Toleration question. While it was under consideration and after its rejection, the Episcopalians sought in their writings to set out the reasons for why such a Toleration should be granted. The Presbyterians, fearful of the result of such a Toleration, reasoned against its being granted, and after its rejection, vindicated the action of Parliament.

The controversy did not terminate in 1703, but continued

1. See copy in N.I.P. 521/12 - Humble Representation of the Commission of the late Assembly, etc.
intermittently through the years, till in 1712 it flared up again prior to the passing of the Toleration Act in that year. Then we find Wm Carstares and others writing against the danger that had been averted in 1705.

In the Bibliography are set down the writers and their pamphlets on this issue. They are so numerous that it must suffice here to mention some of the principal exponents on either side and indicate the lines of argument followed.

The Presbyterians feared a Toleration to the Episcopalians. They knew that though some of their opponents sought freedom to worship according to their desires, others sought much more - the overthrow of the Presbyterian Establishment. After all, they themselves, as the Episcopal writers like Sage and Monro never ceased to point out, had accepted a Toleration from James VII in their time of weakness and had used it to gain power. They were anxious that that should not happen this time. This was the less worthy ecclesiastical motive, but added to this there seems to have been a genuine surprise in many Presbyterian writers that the Episcopalians should want to break away from the Establishment.

The chief writers on the Episcopal side were G. Brown, G. Garden, J. Sage, Sir A. Sinclair, J. Skene, A. Sutherland; and on the Presbyterian side, J. Ramsay, Jas. Hart, Wm Carstares, R. Wyllie, R. Park, J. Bannatyne. A feature of this part of the controversy was the number of sermons preached by Presbyterians against the Toleration
and later printed. Three of these sermons by G. Meldrum, D. Williamson and J. Webster became storm-centres evoking reply and counter-reply (see Bibliography).

The pleas of the Episcopal pamphlets may be noted briefly as follows -

(1) *An Appeal for admission to Churches and Benefices.* A typical example is Sir Archibald Sinclair's *Some Thoughts on the present State of Affairs,* etc., where he says -

"If I have a true notion of the so much-talked of Toleration, it is only to give Episcopal ministers a liberty to preach in Meeting-Houses, and to be made capable of call to vacant Churches by the greater part of the Heritors and Elders. The first part, I suppose, will be yielded without great struggle, for Her Majesty hath given it already. So the dispute seems to be that men of that Persuasion should be admitted to Church and Benefice."

There follow the usual arguments -

"The Presbyterians accepted a Toleration from a Popish king. They cannot in conscience find fault with a Protestant Queen for granting it to Protestant ministers, but their great fear is that they will creep into their Churches, possess stipends and, in process of time, undermine their government." "It is certain that there are a great many of all ranks of the Episcopal persuasion. Is it not just that Toleration should be granted to them as well as to those who affect Presbytery? The peaceable behaviour of the Episcopalians, and their passive obedience, should strongly commend them to the Parliaments' care and protection ... I see no reason why an Episcopal and Presbyterian minister may not, by good order of civil government be brought to agree as well as Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, Sweden and other places. It is a shame for us to need to go so far off for lessons of good nature and peaceable behaviour."

This is the pamphlet which began by taking a seemingly mediating position between the parties, but was really strongly Episcopal. It
received a withering assault from James Ramsay in *Toleration's Fence Removed.*

(2) Another plea was that made by Viscount Tarbat in a pamphlet noticed already. *A Few Brief and Modest Reflexions persuading a Just Indulgence to be granted to the Episcopal Clergy and People in Scotland.* In this he propounded a scheme whereby

"Presbyterian Government should continue to be the only ecclesiastical Government within the Kingdom. The Indulged Clergy not to be members of General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries etc., unless they be assumed into Communion of Jurisdiction by these respective Judicatories." (Pp. 1-2)

Robert Wyllie of Hamilton replied to Tarbat's *Modest Reflexions* and the Continuation in his *Short Answer to a Large Paper,* etc.

To these and other like pleadings the Presbyterians made their answer. The general line of argument follows that set out in the *Humble Representation of the Commission of Assembly* which had played an important feature of the debate in Parliament. This states -

"There never was in any nation a Toleration allowed where there was no pretence of conscience against Joint Communion and here the people have no scruple in their conscience against Communion to worship with the legally established Church, and did generally wait upon public worship when they were not restrained by their masters ... and it being their constant and known principle that difference of opinion about Church Government is no sufficient reason for separation in worship."

This is a line taken in many Presbyterian pamphlets. There is no essential difference between the parties in doctrine and worship, and so a Toleration is unnecessary. So James Webster in his *Sermon of*
July 25, 1703, later expanded with his Essay upon Toleration, which drew so many replies.

Williamson in his Sermon before Parliament in 1690 had at that early stage resisted "the mutterings of a Toleration for the Episcopalians" (p.28) and countered the flood of Episcopal Pamphlets on the subject of the ousted Episcopal clergy by describing the hardships undergone by the Presbyterians before the Revolution, and dismissed the accounts of Episcopal sufferings with which "they were deceived" as "flea-bite sufferings." In his Sermon at the opening of the Assembly of 1703 he seeks again to deny a Toleration to the Episcopalians. "The Government of the Church", he says, "is not a light matter." There is a right and a wrong. If Presbytery is right then there should be no Toleration for Episcopacy. Sage replied fiercely in Some Remarks ... on Mr David Williamson's Sermon. Others also took up the challenge.

There is also stated in G. Meldrum's well-known Sermon which again was the subject of much debate. He begins on a similar vein to Williamson -

("...") "...How dear the Government of this Church is to the generality of this nation and how dearly bought; and as the sufferings were on that account under Prelacy, they will abhor and oppose any such motion if made which would tend to react the former violence and sufferings. But others are more covert in their design against the Church.... These will "be for altering the Government, but as it is said, by degrees, (1) Restore Patronage and then (2) Establish a Toleration, and this will make way for the main design."

("...") "The very names of Forbearance, Charity, Tenderness and Ease to tender consciences, are lovely.... But we are obliged to love truth and
peace together:... I will not trouble you with the diverse schemes of Toleration talked of, but take the most modest of granting meeting-houses for those of the Prolatical way."

He goes on to reason against that proposal.

(P.13.) "Nor do I know either heritor or minister would judge it unlawful to hear and join in worship with the Presbyterian ministers, and it is well known that both heritors and people generally waited upon Public Worship, till some practised upon them, within these few months, to divide and set up Meeting Houses in divers places. It would seem a thing unaccountable... that the Supreme Authority should pass an Act of Toleration, of divided Communion, when people are free to hear and have no scruple of conscience about joining in Communion. Such Toleration so far from the quiet and peace of the nation, would be to raise divisions where it is not, in congregations and families. Any ill affected heritor, or who is displeased with his Pastor, may, in pick, call in a Preacher and command his tenants to withdraw."

(P.14.) "As I said, I know no minister of that way who judges communion with us to be unlawful, unless there be any of them who asserts the necessity of Episcopal Ordination, or nullifies the ministry and all the Ordinances dispensed by those that want it. And that, I think is a position that would not be tolerat by any Protestant Church being destructive to the truth and being of most Protestant Churches... This would nullify the ministry of most of these who conformed to Prelacy in 1662. Nor is it yet [the opinion] of the moderate men of the Church of England. It would be easy to cite for this Testimonies of Bishop Jewel, Dounham, Bilson, Davenant, Prideaux, Usher... and Bishop Spottiswoode..."

This lengthy quotation gives the general Presbyterian line of argument. This shows an immense pride in the Presbyterian Establishment and a resentment of anything that would infringe it or undermine it. Then follows a lively suspicion of the proposed Toleration to the Episcopalians who had caused suffering to the Presbyterians in the days of their supremacy. Then he makes the statement echoed by other Presbyterians, which seems to be an honest
conviction that the Episcopalians "do not judge it unlawful to join
in worship with Presbyterians" and "have no scruple of conscience anent
in jointing in communion." The only exception could be "those who
assert the necessity of Episcopal Ordination or nullifies the ministry
of those who want it." This would be an intolerable position and he
seems to think it is rare. He quotes "moderate men of the Church of
England" and Bishop Spottiswoode of Scotland as acknowledging the
validity of Presbyterian orders.

Now whether Meldrum and other Presbyterians were honestly unaware
or whether they simply pretended ignorance, it is a fact that many
Episcopal writers were following precisely that very line - of denying
the validity of Presbyterian ordination. And they were making that
the chief argument against continuing in communion with the
Established Church; and pleading it as the necessity for a Toleration.
This is found in the writings of Hay, Brown, Skene, etc. J. Skene in
Plain Dealings with the Presbyterians, and A Full and Final Answer
takes this line -

Some Episcopal ministers had been invited into the Established
Church if they would declare their "grief and sorrow at having served
under Prelacy."

"Now how can any man in conscience submit to this who is
convinc is that an Imparity of Office-Bearers is clearly pointed out in
the sacred Scriptures etc. ...." Plain Dealings, pp. 4-5.

James Brown, describing the beginning of the "Debate in the Shop"
in. A Second Edition of the Debate in the Shop about Imparity of
Pastors, tells how he encountered the two Episcopal ministers and said to them

"... There seems to be no need of making so much ado for a Toleration seeing that any of you that are deserving may be received in Communion with the Presbyterians upon easy terms." One of them replied, "We cannot comply with their Terms for they require us to confess a fault ... and that we cannot do. We cannot comply with the Terms offered because we hold Episcopal Government in the Church to be of Divine Institution."

George Brown in *Toleration Defended* makes a similar plea. Presbytery is a sinful communion. The Presbyterians are schismatics. The Episcopalians require a Toleration to be able to worship in the true Church. This refutes arguments like Meldrum's quoted above; and Hart in his *Survey of the Case*, in answer to Dr G. Garden's pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Clergy*, where Hart concludes that Garden

"teacheth people openly to divide and separate from the present Established Worship upon grounds that do not touch the Essentials of Religion nor prove their Communion in Worship to be sinful."

These arguments on the validity of orders and on schism do touch the question of "sinful" communion and worship.

An even greater claim to doctrinal and practical divergence was suggested by Alexander Sutherland when he attacked the *Practice and Doctrine of the Presbyterian Preachers about the Sacrament of Baptism*.

This Pamphlet, which was answered at length by a Pamphlet by Principal Hadow in *The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Scotland anent Baptism vindicated* etc. should be looked at briefly here as
showing this development of the Toleration controversy. (See discussion of this under Baptism below.)

J. Ramsey's Letter from a Gentleman ... concerning Toleration; Toleration's Fence Removed; and Remarks upon the Case, are perhaps the most vigorous of all the Presbyterian writings on this topic. He knows all the arguments of the Episcopalians and replies to them in kind.

Those who are convinced how dangerous it (the Toleration) may prove to this Nation and Church should endeavour to put this matter in its true light. Schism and Division are in Scripture a Sin and a Judgment. This would establish a Schism in the Kingdom by law. Toleration is not needed. There is no oppression and no suffering. This is an incitement to Separation and Disorder. It was arraigning the Claim of Right. It would lead to division and embitterment and would break good order and Discipline in the Church. (See the Letter from a Gentleman, pp. 1-11.)

The Toleration Issue in 1712

The Presbyterians were successful in having the proposal for a Toleration in 1703 turned down. The controversy continued in the pamphlets in the succeeding years, flaring up in incidents like the Greenshields Case. In 1712, however, the situation became really critical when it became obvious that the Government in London were preparing to pass a Toleration Act. This roused the Scots Presbyterians to protest. A Deputation was despatched to London to register that protest but it was unavailing. It was at this time that William Carstares entered the lists in his Some Queries humbly proposed upon the Bill now depending before the Honourable House of Commons for a Toleration to the Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland.
and The Case of the Church of Scotland with relation to a Bill for a Toleration etc.; and The Scottish Toleration argued, etc.

In the last of these - The Scottish Toleration argued, there is an interesting glimpse into the reasoning of the great Presbyterian leader. Previously, in the days of William, when he was the power behind the throne, he had besought his fellow-Presbyterians to be lenient and to give a place in the Establishment to the Episcopalians. Now he seems to have realized the danger to his beloved Establishment. He pleads against a Toleration and builds his whole argument on the Act of Security which had secured the rights and privileges of the Church of Scotland.

"Sir, I am much surprised at the account you give of the Toleration proposed for Episcopal preachers and the setting up of the English Liturgy here ... I shall give you a faithful account of the Acts relating to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland which we made unalterable by the Union Act ... The project of Toleration allowing Meeting-Houses to those Episcopally ordained, seems to be inconsistent with the Union which ratifies the Article of our Claim of Right, viz., that Prelacy and the Superiority of any office above Presbyter, etc. ... These people will be Freebooters both in religion and morals."

Carstares' plea, based on the Union, did not prevent the Toleration Act being passed, but the underlying fear of this Pamphlet and others that such an Act might lead to the overthrow of the Establishment was not realized.

**PATRONAGE**

Again and again in the history of the Scottish Church, Patronage has been a burning question. It became an issue in the period under survey
It is not necessary to trace the earlier history of the Patronage. An excellent summary can be found in Cunningham of Patronage from the early times and especially from the Reformation to the Revolution. In 1649, at the time of Presbyterian ascendancy, Parliament abolished Patronage, but at the Restoration, by the Act Rescissory with the setting up of Episcopacy, it was restored again. So matters stood till the Parliament of 1690 when the matter came up once more. The whole discussion of the question merits careful examination for it was an important issue affecting not only the developing situation, but some of the chief personalities involved. Lord Melville was the King's Commissioner to that Parliament. In the Leven and Melville Papers can be found letters from Carstares to Melville showing that much consideration had been given to the question by Carstares and by the King. William seems to have hesitated on this question. At one time he wrote that if Parliament wanted it, patronage should be abolished.² Again in his Remarques transmitted by Wm Carstares to Melville touching points to be settled by the Parliament, he appears to be unwilling to take away the rights of patrons.³ Sir William Lockhart wrote "The King, as to the settlement of Presbytery, seems only to stick at the patronages."⁴ In this event, Melville took the step of agreeing to the abolition of Patronage, either because it

2. *Leven & Melville Papers*, p. 44.
seemed the best policy, or because as a strong Presbyterian, he fell in with the desires of his brethren. This bold step does not seem to have had Carstares' approval. At this time he advocated a cautious, moderate Establishment, and would have preserved the rights of patrons. It is interesting how his view had changed by 1712.

Cunningham says William consented with a grudge to the abolition of patronage. Burnet says more bluntly that he was highly offended with Melville. It would seem, on a study of the events, that Burnet is much nearer the truth. William was very aggrieved and removed Melville at once from his office. However, the deed was done and Patronage set aside. It was not complete abolition however, as a scheme was adumbrated which conferred the right of patronage not by popular election but on the presentation by the Protestant heritors and the elders of the parishes. Although even this was distasteful to William, it reserved considerable power in the hands of local landowners who were heritors, and who were often Episcopal in sympathy. Nevertheless it was a considerable victory for the Presbyterians.

In the Pamphlets appear the views of the opposing sides, one upholding Patronage and the other denouncing it. The Episcopal side continued to press for its restoration and eventually in 1712, in the spate of anti-Presbyterian legislation, an Act restoring Patronage was

carried to the dismay of the Presbyterians. Against this historical background we may look at the pamphlets. Both sides felt the necessity of stating a case.

A pamphlet that obtained considerable recognition was Park against Patronages. This was a Pamphlet written by John Park, Minister at Stranraer, and published by his son Robert, Town Clerk of Glasgow, in 1689. The title is, The Rights and Liberties of the Church Asserted and Vindicated against the Pretended Right and Usurpation of Patronage. The pamphlet is an examination of Patronage from its earliest manifestations in the Church and the arguments against it. Only in passing does he refer to the contemporary situation in Scotland. But he writes as a Presbyterian and as one who wished all Patronage abolished, whether it be "Laick Patronage" or "Ecclesiastick Patronage" in the hands of a Bishop.

(P.162.) "There is another pretence made use of to extenuate the guilt of the pretended power of Patronage, that is much boasted of by those who grant that there are cogent arguments against Laick Patronages as they term them, and that these may be and have been, very injurious to the interest of the Church, but yet that Ecclesiastick Patronage may be very useful."

But he goes on -

(P.164.) "Bishops have no more warrant from Scripture for such an interest or privilege, than others had. And the power of Patronage hath been as grossly abused when in the hands of Bishops as when in the hands of other persons. And there is no ground in Scripture, either by precept, promise or example, that any one Church Officer, should ordinarily be interested with such an interest and privilege in the Looking-out, Nomination and Election ... of the Ministers of the Gospel."
He goes on to deny the Office of the Bishop in the Church and any idea of Apostolic Succession, and concludes -

(Section VI.) "And though Prelacy were a lawful Office, as it is not, and though the Prelates were successors to the Apostles, as they most ridiculously pretend ... yet sure I am that in this Privilege of Patronage, they never did, nor do follow the example of the Apostles. For even the Apostles themselves in the Election of Matthias to be one of their number, made use of the concurrence of the People. And in the ordination of the Pastors of the Church, they made of the concurrence both of the Presbytery and the People."

This sets out the Presbyterian position on Patronage and indicates too how the question of ecclesiastical Patronage is bound up with the polity of the Church and the office of the Bishop. James Hog published his Right of Church Members to choose their own Overseers. This and other writings was answered by John Hay in his Sound and Solid Reasons against the Presbyterian Points anent Patronages wherein the Pretended Divine Right of the Popular Election of Pastors is perpetually barr'd, etc.

Here is the Episcopal view specially directed, as the title indicates, against popular election of ministers. Hay writes, according to himself -

"... to exclude out of doors for ever the pretended Divine Right of Popular Election. Wherewith they shame the world, catch and delude the populace, flatter themselves and deceive their votaries."

Besides this discussion on the rights or wrongs of Patronage, the issue became tangled in the ecclesiastical situation. Hay's pamphlet was a reply to John Bannatyne's Letter from a Presbyterian Minister...
concerning Toleration and Patronages. This last was written in the
time of the Toleration issue of 1703 and the issues of Patronages and
Toleration are intermingled. The question of Patronage was now
beginning to loom dangerously for the Presbyterians. Bennatyne
disputes the rights of the Bishops (like Park above).

"I and every single Presbyter who has but the oversight of two
and three hundred souls and are lawfully called to the ministry, have
as full a Commissioned Authority to exercise all the parts of the
Ministry as the greatest Bishop under Heaven ..."

Another who saw the plea to restore Patronage as a move to subvert
the Establishment was George Meldrum. In his Sermon of May 16, 1703,
he speaks of these who are

"covert in their designs against the Church. These will, by degrees,
altering the Government, but as is said, by degrees. (1) Restore
Patronage and then (2) Establish a Toleration and that will make way
for the main design. I shall say nothing of Patronage; though I think
it easy to prove that it not only wants warrant from the Scriptures,
but is contrary to the Scripture way of choosing Pastors, a grievous
servitude on the Church, a corruption that has crept in in the
declining times of the Church."

Sir Francis Grant, though he advocated a compromise between
Presbytery and Episcopacy on some points of government, came out
strongly against the restoration of Patronages, in his Reasons in
defence of the Standing Laws about the Right of Presentation in
Patronages. To be offered against an Act (in case it be) Presented
for the Alteration thereof.

The danger the Presbyterians feared was averted in 1703, but like
the Toleration it revived in 1712 when the Act restoring Patronages was
passed. Strong representations were made by the Presbyterian leaders, Carstares, Blackwell, Baillie went to London to plead with the Government to drop the measure, but they were unsuccessful.¹

A copy of the Representation given in to the Government by Carstares, Blackwell and Baillie was printed and issued. It shows the Presbyterian argument. It was probably written by Carstares as it is based on his familiar argument that this was safeguarded in the Article of Union. It is interesting to see how Carstares now saw the menace to the Presbyterian cause of the restoration of Patronage, though his own attitude in 1690 had been different (see above). It shows how the Presbyterians grew ever more fearful and suspicious of anything that would tend to overthrow their cherished Establishment.

Even after the Patronage Act was passed their opposition continued. The case of William Duguid, as set forth by himself in his pamphlet, Scots Presbyterian Justice exemplified in the Case of Mr Will. Duguid who lately was forc'd to fly to England from their persecution in Scotland for having accepted a Presentation from her Majesty to the Parish Church of Burntisland, etc., shows the continuation of the struggle. To put the power of patronage back into Royal hands or into the hands of lairds and land-owners, many of them Episcopalians, meant the Presentation of men unacceptable to the Presbyterians. A clear case was that of William Duguid, the first presentee after the

¹See Story, Carstares, pp.337-341 and Blackwell's Letters, Miscellany of the Spalding Club.
restoring of Patronage. Duguid says the courts of the Church trumped up charges against his character in order to defeat this Royal Presentation.

"To cover themselves in their attack upon the Queen's right of presentation, they leave no stone unturned to have me loaded with scandals ... for by ruining me they would have a precedent which might frighten all other candidates for Benefices for the future from accepting any presentation from the Crown, and by consequence these livings must be disposed of by themselves ... for after six months this Right of Presenting devolves to themselves."

An answer and Vindication of the Church of Scotland from the ... Aspersions of Mr William Duguid etc. was published by Andrew Lowe.

"This person makes use of her Majesty's Letters of Presentation, not only as an Argument to stifle all their enquiries into his character and conversation, but also to bully them into a compliance with his demands."

"The question is not whether the restoring of the Act of Patronages be justifiable or not, or whether it be an infringement of the Jurisdiction of the Church of Scotland, or a violation of that security that was granted them at the Union, or against the general opinion of the Church of Scotland; but whether by that Act they are obliged to accept a Person without examining his ability for the ministerial office and whether his character be suitable or not to those rules of Christianity obliged the Governors of the Church to observe on their admission of any to it ... would be to betray the trust Our Lord has reposed in them and to give up the constitution they are obliged to preserve."

Whether there was any truth in the accusations made by Duguid as to the means taken to remove him from Burntisland or not, it is evident that the Presbyterians bitterly resented the restoring of Patronage as an encroachment upon their liberties and the constitution of the Church, and were determined to uphold these even if it meant getting rid of a Royal nominee.
Pamphlets from both sides appeared on the Abjuration Oath. This was a difficult question for both Presbyterians and Episcopalians. According to the provisions of the Toleration Act of 1712, the Abjuration Oath was imposed alike upon the Presbyterian and Episcopal Clergy. The oath entailed abjuring the Pretender and promising to support the succession to the Crown, as settled by certain specified Acts of Parliament. These, on examination, were found to require that the sovereign should be of the communion of the Church of England. It can be seen at once that this would be obnoxious to the Episcopalians who were loyal to the Stuarts; and equally distasteful to the Presbyterians as involving their acknowledgment of Episcopacy in connection with the Royal Family. This became a matter of serious concern to the Presbyterians, and a division of opinion arose as to whether they could or could not in conscience take the Abjuration Oath.

Carstares, Ramsay, Lauder and others held that the Presbyterians could take the Oath with a clear conscience. Carstares argued that, as originally framed by the English Parliament of 1701, it was simply designed for the security of the Protestant religion in general and not as a safeguard of the Church of England or of Episcopacy in particular. Thus it did not bind a Presbyterian to swear anything inconsistent with his Presbyterianism. He could take it and explain it in a way

1. Cunningham, History, II, 234, 238 and note giving "the obnoxious clause in the oath."
agreeable to his own principles. This had been the original intention of the Oath and nothing of later significance must be allowed to be read into it. Sir James Stuart agreed with this point of view. When Carstares and other Presbyterian ministers took the Oath, they repeated a declaration drawn up by Sir James Stuart which said

"they would have carefully avoided taking the said oath, if they were not persuaded that the scruples moved by some about it, as if it were inconsistent with the known principles of the Church, are groundless, and that it cannot be extended to the hierarchy or ceremonies of the Church of England or anything inconsistent with the doctrine, worship, discipline or government of the Church established by law."

Lockhart of Carnwath and other Episcopalians objected to this Declaration but Carstares and his Presbyterian brethren felt that it cleared their consciences.

Not all the Presbyterians, however, could accept that way out. Men like Hog of Carnock, Robert Wodrow and James Webster, said it was unlawful to take such an Oath. Wodrow's pamphlet (published without his consent - see under Wodrow) was, The Oath of Abjuration considered, both as to the Lawfulness and Expediency of its being taken by the Minister of the Church of Scotland.

Against this, Ridpath wrote his Oath of Abjuration Considered and Sir James Stuart wrote, The Oath of Abjuration set in its true Light. The fullest exposition, perhaps, was given by Alex. Lauder in his Vindication of the Ministers and Ruling Elders of the Church of

Scotland who have taken the Abjuration. Wherein it is made evident that they are not thereby engaged in their stations to oblige the Successor, when he comes to the crown, to join in communion with the Church of England as some ignorant people are made to believe.

The division of opinion, however, among the Presbyterians ran deep enough to divide them into "Jurants" and "Non-Jurants." The division lasted on after this period, and in 1713, we find James Hog of Carnock, who had always been against the Oath, publishing his pamphlet, A Letter concerning the true state of the question between the non-jurant and jurant-ministers of the Church of Scotland.

But if this had been merely a domestic issue to the Presbyterians it would not have come under notice here except as part of the struggle between the parties. The Episcopalians, however, embarrassed as they were themselves over the taking of the Oath, could not resist making party capital out of the Presbyterians' worries and divisions. To see the scruples of some Presbyterians threatening to involve them in trouble with the civil authorities gave satisfaction to their opponents.

In Wodrow's Correspondence, there is a letter which speaks of James Webster who was strong in his denunciation of the Oath.

"Mr. Webster preached against the Abjuration Oath there the last Sabbath and exhorted not only ministers but those of the College of Justice to consider well before they took the Oath. Jacobites are so well-pleased that they never drink King James's health but they drink Mr. Webster's health after it." [1]

Some of the writers of Episcopal pamphlets likewise ridiculed the
Presbyterians on this point. An example is Alex. Pitcairn's Good News from Scotland; or the Abjuration and the Kirk of Scotland Reconciled.

EPISCOPALIAN GRIEVANCES AGAINST THE PRESBYTERIANS

Many of the pamphlets emanating from the Episcopal side arose out of complaints and grievances against the Establishment and the treatment they received from the Presbyterians. These in turn were refuted by the Presbyterians.

Persecution of Episcopalians

Almost the first outburst of pamphlets after the Revolution was that on the subject of the persecution and ill-treatment of the Scots Episcopal Clergy especially those "outed" by "the rabble." The London group headed by Alexander Monro, the deposed Principal of Edinburgh University was particularly active here. The object was to arouse sympathy with the sufferers and indignation at their treatment not only in Scotland but also among their co-religionists in England who, stirred up in their defence, might be stirred up against the Scottish Establishment.

The names of Sage, Monro, Morer and others found in the Bibliography are prominent in this connection. A joint compilation by these three called An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in Scotland in Several Letters is typical. Morer, an English Chaplain stationed in Scotland, in the first Letter writes,

"The Church of Scotland is at this time under the claw of an
angerd lion. Episcopacy abolished and its revenues alienated; the
Clergy ousted, some by form of sentence, others by violence and popular
fury; their persons and families abused, their houses ransacked, with
many other injuries and indignities done them which I forbear naming

This is the burden of many others like John Sage's Case of the
Present Afflicted Clergy of Scotland and his Late Letter concerning the
Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland and The Prelatical
Church-Man ... a Vindication of the Author of the Sufferings of the
Church of Scotland. Also Alex. Monro's Apology for the Clergy of
Scotland and his Letter to a Friend giving ... all the Treatises ...
with relation to the Present Persecution against the Church of Scotland.

The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence and other effusions of a similar
nature like Matthias Symson's Short Character of the Presbyterian
Spirit also give instances of ill-treatment of dispossessed Episcopal
Clergy.

It was part of the duty assigned by the 1690 Assembly to Gilbert
Rule that he should answer these charges on behalf of the Presbyterians.
This he did in his Vindications devoting a considerable space to
rebutting the accusations and exonerating his brethren. It is
interesting to see how the same instance can be differently portrayed
in opposing pamphlets. In this defence, Rule was assisted by other
Presbyterian writers like Ridpath in his Answer and Continuation of the
Answer and Scots Episcopal Innocence. Ridpath speaks of "the lenity
of their Majesties Government against the Scots Prelatists and Clergy."
The Presbyterians' argument was that the "rabbling" had all been done

1. See H.C. Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the 18th
Century, 268, n.
by the Cameronian faction and not by the adherents of the now Established Church. And they also pointed out that these sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy were small compared to those endured by the Presbyterians in the late Stewart reigns. It is significant that Gilbert Rule in his Second Vindication, David Williamson in his Sermon before the Parliament of 1690 and James Fraser of Brea in Prelacy an Idol refer to the Episcopal experiences as "flea-bite sufferings."

Rule, Second Vindication (p.23) says "The Sufferings of the Prelatists are but flea-bites in comparison of the bloody lashes that others suffered."

Williamson, Sermon (p.28) replies to the flood of Episcopal Pamphlets on the subject of the ousted Episcopal Clergy by describing the hardships undergone by the Presbyterians before the Revolution, and dismisses the account of the Episcopal sufferings with which "they were deceived" as "flea-bite sufferings."

It must be said that the ousted Episcopal clergy did suffer indignities, abuse, poverty and deprivation; and it must also be said that there was little actual physical violence suffered and no life was taken. It is a different picture from the "Killing Times."

The above quotation from Williamson shows another line of Presbyterian reply to these charges of persecution. That is to compare the present sufferings with those under the Episcopal regime. Ridpath in his Answer gave a Catalogue of the cruel and bloody laws made by the
Scots Prelatists against the Presbyterians. Alexander Shields gave A True and Faithful Relation of his own Sufferings and A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances ... of the Presbyterians in Scotland. David Williamson, at Wodrow’s request, drew up An Account of the Sufferings from 1660 to 1688. Wodrow himself produced his History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restauration to the Revolution; James Kirkton wrote his Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678; Sir James Stuart’s Naughtali and Jus Populi; Defoe’s Memoirs of the Church of Scotland.

These Presbyterian challenges drew counter-replies from the Episcopalians. Sir George Mackenzie wrote his Vindication of the Government in Scotland During the reign of King Charles II. This was his defence of the happenings of that reign and the part he himself had played in events. Robert Bruce answered Wodrow in The Scottish Behemoth.

Deposed Schoolmaster

There were also claims by Episcopalian laymen of persecution. A notable case set out in the Bibliography was that of James Kirkwood, Schoolmaster at Linlithgow, who accused the Presbyterians of persecution in his Mr Kirkwood’s Plea and The Twenty-Seven Gods of Linlithgow. He was deposed from Linlithgow, but supported by his Episcopal friends in Edinburgh. He built up a most flourishing private school, and later also by their influence he was made Parish
Schoolmaster at Kelso. There also he was involved in trouble with the Presbytery. These two pamphlets throw much interesting light on the situation of the time.

**Presentee's Protest**

Another protest was made by an individual, William Duguid, the first presentee after the restoration of Patronage. This is discussed under *Patronage*. (See *Scots Presbyterian Justice*.)

**The Greenshields Case**

Another grievance much ventilated in the Pamphlets was the Case of Mr William Greenshields. This is fully described elsewhere and the Bibliography contains some of the Pamphlets written on both sides over the issue. It was another case that the Episcopalians felt obliged to give publicity to, accusing the Presbyterians of ill-treating Greenshields.

**Deposition of Episcopal Ministers**

In the pamphlets are to be found accounts from both sides of the deposition of Episcopal incumbents after the Revolution. This was another cause for complaint by the Episcopalians. James Clark printed as a pamphlet the *Sermon* he preached at the Kirk of Auldearnstocks on the occasion of the Intimation of a Sentence of Deposition passed upon Mr John Gibson, late Incumbent there. According to the Order of the Brethren of the Presbytery of Dunbar and Haddington.
This was written from the Presbyterian side. It was attacked by Sage in his *Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian General Assembly*. In turn a pamphlet appeared upholding Clark - *Master Clark Defended*.

Another well-known pamphlet concerned the deposition of the Episcopal incumbent of Dalkeith. This was *An Account of the Purging and Planting of the Congregation of Dalkeith; including a copy of a late Paper intituled Information for Mr Alex Heriot etc*. This was a Presbyterian pamphlet describing the whole case which seems to have been lengthy and protracted - Mr Alex. Heriot having been able to resist and delay the process for some considerable time. There is included a Paper which he had probably published giving his side of the Case.

The Title of the Pamphlet reveals the disputes that had been occasioned by the Case when it says -

"Published for Information and Satisfaction of those who are willing and deserve to know the truth of the foresaid Affair; which has been very grossly misrepresented by some."

**The Colleges**

The Purging of the Universities and Schools by the Presbyterians at the Revolution and the replacement of many Episcopal convictions by Presbyterian, was a source of great grievance to the Episcopalians. The proceedings at Edinburgh University, where he himself as Principal and Dr Strachan, as Professor, were deposed from office, is described by Dr Alexander Monro in his pamphlet, *Presbyterian Inquisition as it
was lately practised against the Professors of the College of Edinburgh. This is a contemporary Episcopal account. Modern discussion of this part of the Revolution Establishment can be found in R.K. Hannay, *Visitation of the College of Edinburgh - Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, Vol.VIII, 79-100.

**The King’s proposed Comprehension**

After the visit of Dr Jas. Canaries and Wm Leask to William in Holland on behalf of their fellow-Episcopals, the King invited such of them as would take the Oath of Allegiance to apply for admission to the Establishment. At the same time he wrote to the Presbyterian leaders urging them to take into the Church such of the Episcopal brethren as would come on these terms. The General Assembly of 1692 faced with a considerable number of applications for admission in response to the King’s invitation, contrived to stultify the whole move by the Episcopalians. A bitter account of the whole proceedings including the Assembly’s manoeuvre and the anger of the Earl of Lothian, the King’s Commissioner, is given in the pamphlet, *Vindication of an Address made by the Episcopal Clergy to the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, Anno MDCCXII*. This was written by Robert Irving of Towie and John Forbes of Kincardine.

**The Settlement in the North-East**

In their attempts to provide a Presbyterian ministry for the whole

country, the Presbyterians appointed Commissions to visit different parts of the country, remove the Episcopal ministers and settle Presbyterians in their place. In some parts of the country where there were strong Episcopal loyalties this took a long number of years to accomplish and was bitterly contested by clergy and people. Echoes of this can be found in pamphlets emanating from the North-East which was the Episcopal stronghold. Such a publication was the Queries and Protestation of the Episcopal Clergy against the authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies and Committees given in to the Committee of the General Assembly at Aberdeen June 29. 1694. The names of James Gordon of Banchory, and George Garden of Aberdeen are associated with this production repudiating the authority of the General Assembly. George Ridpath also published a copy of this with his own answers to the criticism expressed therein.

This same note of defiance along with a complaint of ill-treatment of the Episcopal Clergy is to be found in A Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain and of the Sufferings of the Orthodox and Regular Clergy. This was a document drawn up by a group of Episcopal ministers met at the Lews of Fyvie in 1716 to consider the fortune of the Episcopal Church and how public sympathy could be aroused for them. This document, largely written by William Dunbar, was issued. Another of the same was the pamphlet of George White of Maryculter, The Appeal of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland to the Lords of Parliament. Wherein the Proceedings of the Presbyterian Judicatories against Episcopal Ministers is prov'd to be contrary to the Laws of the Land, to express Acts of Parliament etc.
Also at this late stage we find an Episcopal complaint of ill-treatment contained in, *A Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within the City of Edinburgh since March last 1708 etc.*, replied to by Daniel Defoe in his *The Scots Narrative Examined ... with a Brief Examination into the Reasonableness of the Grievous Complaint of Persecution in Scotland etc.*

Thus it will be seen that the Episcopal writers set down all their complaints of ill-treatment and their grievances in these and many other pamphlets. The Presbyterians were forced to vindicate and defend themselves. Hence a lively section of the controversy.

**Ridicule and Abuse**

A large part of the contents of the less worthy pamphlets from both sides consists of satire, and ridicule. Personal abuse and defamation of character abound. No epithets are too insulting and no suggestion as to the physical appearance, mental deficiencies or moral depravity of an opponent, are too indelicate to use. To those accustomed to polemical writing restrained by the laws of libel, indecency etc., these may seem at times outrageous. But they were largely written in that period when there was no control. In the year 1695, the Press was emancipated by the exclusion of the Licensing Act from the renewal of temporary statutes. Pamphlets flowed from the presses in which attacks and counter-attacks were delivered with extremes of violent abuse. After a few years, the lack of restraint and the excesses of many of these effusions led to a demand for some
measure of control. Legislation was introduced establishing "copyright" and laws of libel which gave some measure of protection. Before this, however, the pamphleteers had had a good innings. "Scurrilous" is the word frequently used by the pamphleteers of their opponents' writings, and it is a fitting word to describe many of the lucubrations from both sides.

It was begun by the Episcopal writers, partly out of pique, to revenge themselves on the triumphant Presbyterians, but partly with a more serious purpose. They sought to ridicule the Presbyterians in their new-found Establishment, to make them out rough, uncouth, ignorant and irreverent. The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence is the typical product of this kind. It had a great circulation and there have been many reprints in later years. The Presbyterians were stung to reply in like vein. It must be admitted that the Episcopalians had a lighter and yet more venomous touch which stung their opponents again and again to furious retaliation. The Presbyterian replies were heavier and often more savage, but less effective. An example of this can be seen in Riddpath's Answer and Continuation of the Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. These were meant to be replies in the same vein. They are more extreme and bitter but somehow less pungent than the original.

A more serious purpose, however, underlay these Episcopal effusions. They were written once more with an eye to the English

reader, to ridicule and discredit the Scottish Presbyterian Establishment, to make the Presbyterians appear as dangerous fools or knaves, unworthy of the responsibility entrusted to them and to be overthrown as soon as possible. McCrie's dictum, already quoted, about the Scottish Episcopalians writing,

"their calumnious invectives and scurrilous lampoons which they industriously circulated in England ... with a view to instigating the English Church to take part with them, first in preventing and afterwards in overturning the Establishment of Presbyterianity",

if couched in extravagant language has much truth in it.

This was very frankly admitted by various of the Episcopal writers. William Meston in the Preface to his Sir John Knight says

"I have frequently observed young people jested and laughed out of their fooleries who were deaf to reason ... . It is ridiculous to attack the fopperies of bigots with syllogisms ... it may be the same cause gave both to the Presbyterian Eloquence. Mr Butler excels in this way in his immortal Hudibras."

Here is an admission of the use of satire as a weapon to attack the opponent.

The other element of the attack is even more frankly stated by Dr Arch. Pitcairne in the Preface to The Assembly -

"Our design in this Essay is fully to represent the villainy and folly of the fanatics, so that when they are in sober mood, they may reflect on them seriously and repent for what is past, and make amends for the future, if that is possible; or else that the Civil Government may be awakened and roused to rid us of the impertinence and tyranny of the gang, who injuriously treat all good and learned men, and are enemies to human society itself."

As far as England was concerned it would appear that there was
a ready market for writings lampooning Scotsmen, even if done by
brother Scots. G.W.T. Omond in his Early History of the Union Question
discusses the ignorance of Scotland and dislike of Scotsmen prevalent in
England.

"The majority of Englishmen still hated and despised the very name
of Scotland. This hatred and contempt of the neighbouring country, an
inheritance from the long years of international warfare, found vent in
abusive descriptions of Scotland and the Scottish people which were
circulated all over the land causing laughter in England and raising
bitter indignation in Scotland."¹

Cunningham says of the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, "It is a book
which non-juring squires not over-burdened with religion have greatly
enjoyed."²

Omond quotes some earlier pamphlets and suggests that they were
the natural fore-runners of many of the pamphlets written by the Scots
Episcopaliens ridiculing the Presbyterians. This may indeed explain
why this type of writing is found so often in the pamphlets of
Episcopaliens like Sage, Monro, Calder, Cockburn, Symson, Canaries,
Campbell, Mackenzie, Fitzaim, Meston and many others. To go through
the Bibliography is to come on example after example of this. Into
this category must come the copious outpourings of Pasquils and Lempoons
of this period. Many were collected by men like Robert Mylne. There
have been printed selections by James Maidment but there are great

1. P.141.
2. Church History, II, 156.
numbers more in the unpublished MSS. of Mylne and others. (See under Mylne for discussion of topics etc.) Satirical, coarse, derisive, often indecent, these Episcopal effusions must have had a reading public - and a purpose. The Presbyterians attempted to reply in the same, or worse, language, but their efforts could only be defensive and retaliations without this other more subtle design of overthrowing by discrediting.

One other fact should be noted. Both sides affected to be shocked at the scurrilities of their opponents and rebuked each other. Of such were Gilbert Rule's *A Just and Modest Reproof* etc. On the other side, there were Monro's *Spirit of Slander Examined, Chartis'd, etc.*; Calder's *The Spirit of Slander exemplified*; Honeyman's *Survey of the Infamous and Insolent Libel* etc.; Strachan's *Some Remarks on a late Pamphlet ... against the Ides and Calumnies of the Presbyterian Pamphleteers.*

**THE UNION OF 1707**

The Union was anticipated by the ecclesiastical rivals with different feelings. On the extreme flanks, the Jacobite Episcopalians and the Covenanters were strongly opposed to it for widely different reasons. The Jacobites saw their chance of success lessened by a close Union with England (see *Sir George Mackenzie*). The Cameronians could not contemplate closer relations with an uncovenanted nation. Between these two extremes, the moderate Episcopalians saw greater chances of toleration and encouragement from the Union with England and England's Episcopal Church (as indeed happened in 1712 with the passing of the
Toleration Act, the Patronage Act and other legislation alarming to the Presbyterians).

In the establishment itself there was a sharp cleavage in the Presbyterian ranks. Some were definitely opposed to the Union - men like Wyllie of Hamilton, Hart of Greyfriars, James Webster of the Tolbooth, James Ramsey of Eyemouth, James Clark of Glasgow. D. Williamson described it as a "foul mixture." This also came out strongly in the writings of one of the rank and file in the Journal of Elizabeth West. On the other hand, leaders of the Church like William Carstares were enthusiastic in their support of the Union project, believing that the Establishment would receive permanent recognition in the Article of Union. These two divergent points of view were dramatically portrayed on the Sunday when the two colleagues in Greyfriars Church, Carstares and Hart, preached sermons, one in the morning against the Union, and the other in the afternoon in support.

It turned out in the end of the day that Carstares was right. The Act of Security which was adopted as part of the Union negotiations has held firm till the present time. A historian like A.V. Dicey can write of the cleverness of the Presbyterian leaders.

"The Assembly acted with consummate foresight and prudence. It secured the passing of an Act passed by the Scottish Parliament for securing all the rights and privileges of the national and Presbyterian Church of Scotland."

But it must be admitted that at the time preceding the Union, and

for some years thereafter, it did not look like that. Were Carstares and his friends right, or were those who doubted justified in their apprehensions? The issue appears in the pamphlets, some written in the days preceding the Union and some after. One who took a large part in the issue was Daniel Defoe. Some have been puzzled to find that in the exchange of pamphlets he is sometimes in opposition to the Presbyterians, although he was an admirer and defender of them in writings like his *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*. The answer is found in the fact that he was sent north to Scotland by Godolphin to advance the cause of the Union. This he sought to do in a series of pamphlets. He issued six pamphlets under the title of *An Essay for removing National Prejudices against a Union with England* and engaged in controversy with James Clark and James Webster. (See under Clark, Webster and Defoe.) He wrote other pamphlets like a *Voice from the South* etc., in which he expresses frankly "the surprise of all who wish well to the Protestant religion at the strange and unexpected opposition made in Scotland to the Union." And again, "The Union has secured a Sanction and Recognition even from that same Episcopal Power which alone could be suspected of a willingness to pull her down."

The opposite point of view is seen in James Clark and James Webster. Clark was so strongly against the Union that he is said to have preached a Sermon in Glasgow on the Fast Day appointed by the Commission in 1706 which so roused his hearers that a riot was caused. Defoe thus referred to the incident in his *History of the Union* and Clark makes a
denial in his Just Reruminnd to Daniel Defoe. Defoe replied in pamphlets (set down under his name) such as A Short Letter to the Glasgow Men in which he says again "Ask your consciences if the constitution of Parliament is not the safety of your Church." Defoe is therefore trying to persuade the Presbyterians their cause will gain. He is as keen as they are to see it succeed but must seem to argue against them. (See also Sir Francis Grant for this same argument.)

Opposition was also expressed by James Webster in his Lawful Prejudices against an Incorporating Union with England ... and the Danger flowing from it to the Church of Scotland. This was along the more extreme line of the old Covenants objecting to a proposal to make a treaty with the unconverted. This is somewhat out of line with the most of the Presbyterians of the Settlement who rarely quote the Covenants. Defoe replied to him; and it is here that Episcopalians stepped in to embarrass the Presbyterians in their divided counsels over this issue. James Adams of Hume was involved in the four-cornered exchange of pamphlets between Webster, Clark, Defoe and himself. He ostentatiously offered to help Defoe against Webster. He underlined the point about the Covenants being a stumbling-block to Union and emphasized how much they were still a part of the Presbyterian standards. All somewhat mischievously done. (See under Adams, Defoe, Clark and Webster.)

After the Union

It was after the Union that there came a series of shocks to the
Presbyterians which seemed to confirm the fears of those Presbyterians who had opposed the Union, and to undermine the safeguards upon which Carstares and those who thought like him had built so much. These find expression in the Pamphlets.

The Greenshields Case

The first of these was the Greenshields Case which is too well-known to need repetition here. The salient points are (1) the fear which made the Presbyterians, through the magistrates, eject and convict Greenshields for reading the English Service in his meeting-house. This shows their continuing sense of insecurity. (2) The shock of the decision by the House of Lords to which Greenshields carried his case. This was the first ecclesiastical case taken from the Court of Session to the Lords. Greenshields got the verdict, and there is no doubt that the verdict, and the fact that such a Case could now be argued before the House of Lords in London, was a blow to the Presbyterians. The Case itself is set out in the pamphlets recorded under James Greenshields.

The Legislation of 1712

The other great shock for the Presbyterians came in 1712 in the enactment of the Toleration Act, the Patronage Act and other legislation deemed by the Presbyterians detrimental to the Establishment and hailed by the Episcopalians as great triumphs. This legislation was carried by the Parliament in London despite the appeals and protests of Scottish
Church leaders sent up specially to plead with the Government. It is at this stage that we have the work of Carstares, Blackwell, and Baillie, as set out in the Paper, Representation against the Bill for Restoring Patronages in 1712 (see Thos. Blackwell). Also this dire crisis brought Carstares himself into the field as a pamphleteer, though this is rarely recorded of him. These were changed days from the time when he was "Cardinal" Carstares dictating policy. Now he was only a Presbyterian minister fighting to save his beloved Establishment. His three pamphlets are worthy of study. In the Scottish Toleration argued, An Account of all the Laws about the Church of Scotland ratify'd by the Union Act, he argues his whole case on this fundamental plea that the Act of Security embodied in the Act of Union secured the Church of Scotland and could not be overthrown, nor could legislation be passed that would be detrimental to it. He writes -

"The project of Toleration allowing Meeting-Houses to those Episcopally ordained seems to be inconsistent with the Union which ratifies the Article of our Claim of Right, viz, 'that Prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyter etc.' How, without breach of the Union, can such a Toleration be passed into law? Or who are the Bishops who must ordain then Episcopal Preachers? Our ousted Bishops cant do it for it is declared by the 22nd Act of the 15th Session of King William's Parliament, that, once being deposed, the Clergy cannot exercise any act of their function without a high contempt for the Authority of the Church and Laws of the Kingdom. Besides their Office is actually abolished in this country ...."

"It is likewise affirmed from the same Act that the Jurisdiction of the Church of Scotland extends over the whole Kingdom, and this being confirmed by the Union Act, how can any subject of the country be exempted from the censures of the Church as is proposed by the Scheme of Toleration those of the Episcopal Communion should. Under what Discipline must they be?"
"The scheme of Toleration seems to be defective, for by exempting those of the Episcopal communion from the censures of our Church and proposing no other in its stead, as indeed they can't do within the Treaty of Union, these people will be under no Church Government and become Freebooters both in Religion and Morals. Therefore, Sir, I hope that this Toleration will never pass."

It has seemed worth while setting out in his own words Carstares' argument showing how he built all on the Act of Union. The Toleration did pass but the underlying fear of this Pamphlet and others like it, that it would make such a breach in the Act of Security as might sweep away the Establishment, was not realized in the outcome though nobody could know at the time how the issue would go. The Presbyterians in 1712 were apprehensive and discouraged, the Episcopalians delighted and hopeful of more success.

**BAPTISM**

Under the Toleration of 1703, there developed an issue over the question of Baptism. This is one of the few occasions when there is a doctrinal divergence between the two parties. It began in Alexander Sutherland's pamphlet, *The Practice and Doctrine of the Presbyterian Preachers about the Sacrament of Baptism Examined*, etc. The argument advanced is that the Presbyterians have opposed a Toleration to the Episcopalians on the grounds, amongst others, that there is no essential difference between the parties with regard to doctrine and worship; and so a Toleration is unnecessary. They assert that very few of the Episcopalians refuse communion with them. This is the argument advanced again and again by the Presbyterians and set forth in the *Humble Representation of the*
Commission of the General Assembly (N.L.P. 521/12), which was the official representation by the Church of Scotland to the Parliament of 1703. (See pamphlets by J. Ramsay, Robert White, James Brown, G. Meldrum, J. Webster etc. for this argument.)

This pamphlet is a rejection of that point of view by asserting that there is more between the parties than a difference in Church Government. He asserts that thousands of Protestants in Scotland refuse to join in Communion with the Established Church. He denies the validity of the ordination of these ministers and their power either to administer the Sacraments, or exercise ministerial functions, or to propagate a Church by conveying a succession of a lawful priesthood to after Ages. After touching on these points he goes on to the main topic of his pamphlet - the questioning of the Presbyterian doctrine and practice about Baptism. He makes his points under three heads.

(1) That Presbyterians require teaching before Baptism. (2) That Presbyterians assert that Baptism is not necessary to salvation. (3) That they add to the Creed in Baptism the requirement from the parents as securities for the children a belief in the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechism, "as if all the propositions in them were as fundamental as the Apostle's Creed."

This attack on the Presbyterian doctrine of the sacrament drew out a weighty reply from James Hadow in his pamphlet, The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Scotland anent the Sacrament of Baptism Vindicated, etc., 1704. Hadow was one of the orthodox theologians of
the Church of Scotland. He was prominent in the trial of Professor Simson for heretical opinions later. Here he sets out massively the orthodox Presbyterian position on baptism.

First he points out that this is a new point of dispute -

"The External Forms of Church Government was generally supposed to have been the great and chief point wherein the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland did differ from the Presbyterians. But now they give the world to understand that the Breach is wider than was apprehended, and that they differ from the Presbyterians in points of faith and matters that more nearly concern Salvation. They quarrell the received Confession of Faith ...."

"The necessity of Baptism is one particular point condescended upon us in a Pamphlet entitled The Practice and Doctrines, etc."

Besides Sutherland and Hadow, this controversy is mentioned once or twice in other pamphlets. J. Ramsay refers to it in answering J. Skene's charge that Presbyterians would not baptize out of Church.

He replies,

"Of course Presbyterians are careful to have the face of the congregation present when they baptize in private houses, but they do baptize in the house of parents"

(Tolerations's Fence Removed). The Episcopal writers accused the Presbyterians of not using the Creed in Baptism (as in the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence). The Presbyterian reply was that they asked acknowledgment of the Westminster Confession of Faith - and it included the Creed. The chief point of this discussion was the necessity or otherwise of Baptism for salvation. Hadow denied the necessity, Sutherland seems to make a plea for it. But this part of the
controversy did not develop very greatly.

SCOTTISH HISTORY

A considerable amount of discussion took place on the history of Scotland and of the Scottish Church - its origins, historical development, etc.

Early History

One group of pamphlets is concerned with the early history of Scotland and its Church. John Sage and John Gillan, his biographer, crossed swords with Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick. Sage in his Fundamentals Charter and Gyrriani Bishop had dealt at some length with the early history of Scotland from "the History, Records and publick Transactions of our Nation." From the Presbyterian side came an interesting work - Collections concerning the Scottish History preceding the death of King David the First in 1153. Wherein the Sovereignty of the Crown and the Independency of the Church are cleared, and an Account given of the Antiquity of the Scottish-British Church, etc., by Sir James Dalrymple.

This brought reactions from the Episcopalians. An English barrister, William Atwood, published, Remarks on the Collections, etc. Also John Gillan in his Life of John Sage, challenged some of Dalrymple's statements adding, "some things towards the clearing of the Ancient Government of the Church of Scotland from the Mistakes of a late Author." (The "late Author" being Dalrymple.)

Dalrymple in reply to Gillan and Sage, issued, A Vindication of
the Ecclesiastical Part of Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, etc., dealing with controverted points in the early history. The Preface says -

"Sir James Dalrymple in his Collections .... hath been at pains to make clear that our Princes and People did early receive the Christian faith from the disciples of St John, St Polycarp, St Anatolius, and other Fathers of the Eastern Church without a Bishop ...."

Gillan answered Dalrymple in his Some Remarks upon Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, etc. In this pamphlet he took up discussion of such points as,

"the ancient settlement of the Scots in Britain; their early conversion to Christianity; the government of their Church by bishops; and some of their ecclesiastical rites and customs."

In all these writers there had been discussion on the Cúldees of Scotland.

Meanwhile Sage's Fundamental Charter had also been criticised by John Anderson in his, Countray-Man's Letter to the Curate. Gillan once more took up the defence of Sage in A Vindication of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery from the exceptions of the Countrymen .... Here he dealt with such topics as the use of the English Prayer Book in Scotland after the Reformation; and "the Scots Reformers joining in communion with the Church of England when they had occasion." These were ecclesiastical questions from a later period than the previous discussion - the post-Reformation period.

So also we find John Anderson in his, Defence of the Presbyterians
and Viscount Tarbat in his *Vindication* disputing historical points.

But also in this early period of the beginnings of the Scots nation and Church which had interested Dalrymple, we find that interesting controversy in which Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle, Sir Robert Sibbald, the antiquarian, and Thomas Rymer, the historiographer-royal were involved. This whole debate with Robert Wodrow's commentary upon it is set out in full under Nicolson and Sibbald in the *Bibliography*. It centred round the question of whether the Scots Church owed ecclesiastical allegiance to the See of York. This was asserted by Nicolson, an Englishman and Bishop of Carlisle, in his *Scottish Historical Library*. It was refuted strenuously by Sir Robert Sibbald, a Scots Episcopalian, who was concerned to assert the independence of the Church of Scotland, in, *The Liberty and Independency of the Church of Scotland asserted from Ancient Records*, etc. He also took issue with Wm Atwood, the English barrister, mentioned already as opponent of Sir James Dalrymple. Thus we have here the English Episcopalian against the Scots Episcopalian, debating the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland, with Wodrow, in his *Correspondence*, applauding and condemning alternately as the sentiments pleased or upset his Presbyterian principles.

**Later History of Scotland**

Many aspects of this were discussed. Sage's *Fundamental Charter*, Anderson's *Letter from a Countryman* and Gillan's *Vindications*; Tarbat's
Vindication have already been noted. There was the full discussion of post-Reformation events and the reigns of the Stewarts in a score of pamphlets. Sir George Mackenzie and others defended the Stewart regime. It was attacked by Ridpath, Rule, Williamson, and many others.

Wodrow, Kirkton, Defoe, and Williamson all produced accounts of the sufferings of the Presbyterians in the preceding reigns. These are dealt with reference to the writers below, also other historical points discussed.

**The Execution of Charles I**

This is the topic of many Episcopal pamphlets. A Sermon preached on 30th January (the anniversary of his death) is the familiar sub-title of numerous effusions on this theme. Partly, these were preached and published out of genuine veneration for that monarch; but partly, one fears, as a weapon against the Presbyterians. The Royal Martyr (Calder); The Anniversary of the Martyrdom (J. Canaries); The Anniversary Fast for the Martyrdom of the Blessed King Charles I (William Cockburn), are phrases taken from Anniversary Sermons preached by these men. But almost invariably, along with pious commemoration, there is incrimination of the Presbyterians as being partly responsible for his death. Many instances will be found of this in the Episcopal pamphlets. Matthias Symson in his Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit, quotes Alex. Shields as approving of the execution and calling it "An act of Justice." Robert Calder in several Sermons and Pamphlets adumbrates this accusation. His Sermon Preach'd on the Barbarous
and Bloodie Murder of the Royal Martyr, fixes blame on the Presbyterians.

He goes even further in another writing, one of his Miscellany Numbers -

The Murder of the Royal Martyr K. Charles I proven to have been directly and principally occasioned by the Scottish Covenanters.

William Duguid issued his, Plain Dealing with the Presbyterians.

A Sermon preached ..., upon Friday, Jan. 30, 1719 being appointed with authority on a Day of Humiliation for the horrid and barbarous Murder of King Charles I of ever blessed Memory.

These accusations about the Presbyterian part in the death of Charles relate to his being handed over by the Scots to the English in 1649; and are advanced with the purpose of branding the Presbyterians as "regicides" and as "anti-monarchical." Once again this is largely done with an eye to English opinion. If the Scots can be represented as disloyal and subversive to monarchy, the English may be alarmed.

The Presbyterians were alive to this danger. But apart from these underlying implications mentioned here, there was no charge brought against them about which they seem to have been so sensitive as this oft repeated one. So much was this true that they, besides denying it on every possible occasion, issued a special pamphlet refuting the charge. A Vindication of the Presbyterians of the Kingdom of Scotland. From the false Aspersions laid upon them by the Episcopal Party of the said Kingdom anent the taking away of the Life of King Charles the First, etc. (See under R. Calder.) This denied the charge and quoted various historical documents to support this including "a Letter and Protesta-
tion given in by the Commissions of Scotland to the Speaker of the House of Commons .... 22nd January 1649 etc. ¹

There is also a significant passage in one of Robert Wodrow's Letters which gives the Presbyterians' view on this matter. He speaks of many being

"surprised at the odd steps of theirs [the episcopal ministers] that now they should keep the day of King Charles death which they never kept (except in one Church at Edim,) when Episcopacy was established by law and they had all at their disposal; the occasion of which, I suppose, was that Scotsmen were slandered with the death of that prince quherufo, as you no doubt know, its declared Act I. Par. first Charles 2. that noe Scotsman quhatsoever had a hand in the execrable murder of the late King Charles the I of happy memory. Soe that keeping of that day universally was thought then to be a taking with the slander that Scots men had sold and killed the King on this occasion."

(Letter of Feb. 1703.) ²

The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe

Besides the execution of King Charles I, another prominent episode that is referred to repeatedly in Episcopal pamphlets was the Presbyterian involvement in the murder of James Sharpe, Archbishop of St Andrews, on Magus Moor.

Dr James Sharp, describes "the execrable murder." Robert Wodrow had

1. This is the Presbyterian denial of the charge and an expression of awareness of the less worthy polemical aspects of this commemoration of Charles I.
argued that "the actors were Separatists from them, followers of Cargill, Cameron, etc." Symson quotes this defence of Wodrow only to sweep it aside and blame Presbyterians generally for the murder.

A further development occurred in that one of those concerned in the death of Sharpe was James Hackston of Rathillett. A group of pamphlets are associated with his name.

It was begun by Archbishop Paterson in his Hackston's Ghost. This gave an imaginary communication supposed to have been received, after his death, from Hackston. The message was that the Presbyterians should give up their moderate position and go over to the extreme position of the Covenanters of the earlier day. This was replied to by Patrick Simson, one of the trusted leaders of the Revolution Church in his Brief Remarks and A Vindication of the true Presbyterians from the Aspersion cast upon them in a malicious Paper called Hackston's Ghost. Sir James Turner, the Commander of the dragoons in the South West, is believed to have written a pamphlet on this subject.

Simson revealed the plot. He called the author of Hackston's Ghost "a Prelate in a Cameronian Mask." He vindicated "the true Presbyterians" from the charge of extremism as implied in Paterson's writings.

This is all part of the effort to tie up the Revolution Establish-

ment with the Cameronians or more extreme Presbyterians. Others like Monro were assiduous in this - cf. his History of Scotch Presbytery; see also Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, pp. 13, 25, 58 ff.; Gilbert Rule devoted part of his Vindications differentiating between the "sober Presbyterians" of the Establishment, and the more extreme Cameronians.

Defensive Arms and Passive Obedience

A theme which runs through many of the pamphlets of the opening period of the controversy and recurs also in later writings is the contrasting principles of the Parties with regard to the Crown. On the Presbyterian side there was a strong tradition from Covenanting Days of the right of the subject to defend himself by arms. Against this was set the doctrine of the Episcopaliains of Passive Obedience.

In pamphlets like John Brown of Wamphray's Apologetic Declaration, one section deals with "the lawfulness of defensive war cleared." Sir James Stuart's two well-known pamphlets, Naphtali and Jus Populi Vindicatum deal with this topic. The Title of the latter pamphlet runs, Jus Populi Vindicatum: or the People's right to defend themselves and their Covenanted Religion Vindicated ... the lawfulness of private persons defending their lives liberties and religion against manifest tyranny, violence and oppression exercised by Magistrates, supreme and inferior ....

Alexander Shields was another who was concerned to uphold this principle. In his Mind let Loose, part deals with "Defensive Resistance of tyrannical violence."
It will be seen that this is a legacy from the Covenanting period, and while some were keen to advance it, others among the Presbyterian writers, in the new mood of the Revolution Church, did not emphasize it.

The Episcopalians condemned this doctrine. Stuart was answered by Andrew Honeyman in his, Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel etc., when a discussion was made of the "powers ordained of God", "the King's Supremacy in and about Ecclesiastick Affairs", "the Rights of the People" and "the obligations of the Covenants", all subjects dealt with in the previously mentioned pamphlets.

From the other side came expositions of the Episcopal doctrine of Passive Obedience. The right of "the Christian Prince" and "the King's Prerogative" were principles to be observed. Many held to their obedience to the Stuarts in whose jurisdiction lay the government of the Church. An exposition of this principle is given in A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland in Four Conferences etc. by Gilbert Burnet. In this he is replying to the Jus Populi of Stuart and the True Conformist of Maward. In both these works the right of subjects to resist the King when he interfered with civil or religious liberty was maintained.

Thomas Morer in his Letter in the Account of the Present Persecution speaks of

"the prevailing strength of the Cameronian party. They are a sort of rigid Presbyterians or rather Fifth Monarchy men valuing neither King William nor King James any further than these princes happen to please them."
In his Essay upon Toleration (p.18) James Webster said "that the Episcopal Party have always set up for the Arbitrary and Despotic Power of the Prince." Viscount Tarbat replied to him in, *A Continuation of a Few Brief and Modest Reflections* etc. by expounding the doctrine of Passive Obedience as advocated by the Episcopal bodies, quoting in support of his contentions a Sermon by Archbishop Paterson.

Fletcher of Saltoun in his Pamphlet noted in the Bibliography warns the Presbyterians that the politicians may use their support to obtain what they want and then

"endeavour to persuade his Majesty and the Parliament to alter the present Government of the Church, by telling them, that Presbyterian Government is in its nature opposed to Monarchy, that they maintain a rebellious principle of defensive Arms, and that a Church Government more suitable and subservient to monarchy might be established."¹

**Jacobitism**

In the later stages of the controversy, the Presbyterians accused the Episcopalians of Jacobite sympathies and plottings. As loyalists, they had a considerable weapon in associating the Episcopal cause with the House of Stewart. It was partly true. For many of the Episcopalians were thirled to the Stewarts and their great hope was the return of the "King over the Water." Stephen in his *History*, says, "The Scottish Bishops of the Revolution may be deservedly praised for their conscientious loyalty to James ...."²

1. Second Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland. pp. 52-54.
2. *History*, II, 417-8, quoted more fully above under The Episcopalians.
Besides the Bishops, there were many enthusiastic Jacobites. Examples may be found among the writers of the pamphlets. William Dunbar, while still Minister at Cruden in 1715, openly avowed himself a Jacobite and announced his desire to give "the Pretender" when he landed at Peterhead, all the help and countenance in his power. He prayed for him from the pulpit; he ordained a fast on his behalf; he publicly inveighed against the Hanoverian succession; he even incited the youth of his parish to "join the rebell army." (See Wm. Dunbar.)

William Meston, author of The Knight of the Kirk, was closely associated with the Jacobite family of the Earl Marischal. In 1715 at the Rebellion he was made Governor of Dunnottar Castle. After the defeat of the Jacobite cause, he took to the hills till the Act of Indemnity was passed. Thereafter he was associated with another Jacobite family, Oliphant of Gask.

Dr Arch. Pitcairne was strongly suspect of Jacobite sympathies. George White was deposed from Maryculter for being concerned in the 1715 Rebellion. Dr George Garden, along with his brother James, presented a welcoming Address to the Pretender when he was at Petterness in the house of the Earl Marischal in 1715 on behalf of the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen. Many other instances could be given. In 1715 in many places the public devotions of the Jacobite troops were conducted by Episcopal Clergy according to the Book of Common Prayer. The leading Jacobites were Episcopalians or Romanists.
Bishop Rose was accused of withholding financial relief from those Episcopal ministers who had prayed for the reigning Royal House. See George Barclay's pamphlet, *A Full Answer* etc. in reply to *A Full Vindication of the ... Bishop of Edinburgh*, etc.

Traces of all this can be found in the pamphlets. For once the Presbyterians were the attackers and their opponents were forced to defend themselves. A typical pamphlet is William Wright's *The Jacobite Curse* ... *By a Lover of the Protestant Religion, his country and the Protestant Succession*. This brought a furious reply from Robert Calder in, *The Spirit of Slander* etc.

On the other side there were pamphlets like that of the London Jacobite Charles Leslie in his *Cæsarius Redivivus* which attacked William, blamed the Glencoe Massacre on him and his advisers and attacked the Presbyterians for supporting William and denying his complicity in that affair.

This, linked with the Romanist allegiance of many of the Jacobites, was a strong weapon for the Presbyterians against the Episcopalians. "Papery, Prelacy and Absolute Power" - was a rallying cry.

It did not apply to all Episcopalians. Many were quite prepared to be loyal to the new regime if they could maintain their Episcopal principles. But like the moderate Presbyterians and the Cameronians, it was difficult for them to disavow their Jacobite brethren. The Presbyterians did not stop to discriminate.
London Journalists

Of interest are the contributions to the controversy by three London journalists - the Englishman, Daniel Defoe, the Irishman, Charles Leslie, and the Scotsman, George Ridpath. The significance of these men lay in the fact that they were living and working in London influencing public opinion through their writings. Charles Leslie was a High-Church Episcopalian with Jacobite leanings. His great concern was to awaken the Church of England to its danger from Dissenters. In the ranks of these Dissenters, he included the Scots Presbyterians - "the faction in Scotland" as he called them. The titles of his pamphlets indicate the nature of his polemics. Of these are, A Warning to the Church of England; and The New Association of these called Moderate-Church-Men, with the Modern-Whigs and Fanatics, to undermine and blow-up the present Church and Government ... With a Supplement on ... the new Scotch Presbyterian Covenant. Also, The Wolf Striped of his Shepherd's Clothing ... wherein the Design of the Dissenters against the Church and their behaviour towards her Majesty both in England and Scotland .... The well-known Pamphlet attacking King William for his part in the Massacre of Glencoe and the Scots Presbyterians for defending him, Gallienus Redivivus, although published anonymously was written by Charles Leslie; and he collaborated with Archibald Campbell in his attack of the Presbyterians. (See Bibliography for a full account of his Pamphlets.)

Daniel Defoe, the famous novelist and journalist, was the object of many of Leslie's attacks. He was a great defender of the Dissenters
in England. His pamphlet, The Shortest Way with Dissenters, written in a vein of irony was widely known. He was sent to Scotland by the English Government to promote the cause of Union. This he did in several pamphlets (see under Union of 1707) entering into controversy with some of the Scots Presbyterians who were against the Union. But he was a sincere admirer of the Church of Scotland and wrote much in admiration of it including his Memoirs of the Church of Scotland.

George Ridpath, the third of the trio, had been originally intended for the Church, but getting into trouble at the Revolution, had gone to London and turned to journalism. He never lost his Presbyterian principles and wrote much in defence of his Church. He was a fierce critic of the London group of exiled Scots Episcopalians, headed by Dr Alex. Monro. He wrote the Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; and the Continuation of the Answer etc.; also the Scots Episcopal Innocence, etc. In the Answer, he made the plea that "it was not to the Church of England's interest to countenance the Scots outed Clergy." This is the exact opposite to Leslie's warning that the Church of England should beware of the Scots Presbyterians. It has been suggested throughout, that the pamphlets were again and again written with English public opinion in mind. An important centre of the controversy was in London and thus these three men play a not unimportant part in the attempt to influence that English opinion.

The Scots Bishops and the English Collections

Just as the Presbyterians had divisions of opinion among themselves on
such issues as The Abjuration Oath; the assertion of the "intrinsic right" of the Church; the use of the Lord's Prayer, etc.; which were fully exploited in the pamphlets by the Episcopal writers, so the Episcopalians had their internal differences. These, in turn, were seized on by the Presbyterians. One such issue was in connection with the administration of the "English Collections."

After the Revolution, appeals were made in England for financial aid for the dispossessed Scots Episcopal Clergy, and considerable sums were raised. Archbishop Paterson, Sir George MacKenzies, Bishop Rose and others were prominent in this work. Paterson fell under some suspicion in his administration of the funds. The poverty of the "outed" clergy was often extreme (see Alex. Monro, Letters to John MacKenzies)¹ and many suffered real financial stringency. In these circumstances, English Churchmen rallied to the help of their co-religionists in Scotland. The chief agent in the distribution of these funds was Bishop Rose, a leading figure in the Post-Revolution Episcopal Church. He is remembered often through his famous interview with William², when he gave so cautious an answer to William's request for an assurance of loyalty, that "William turned away." He remained loyal to James and the Stewarts - to some commendably loyal, to others foolishly so. He carried his allegiance to the exiled House so far that he would not give the funds at his disposal to those who took oaths

of loyalty to the new regime. Controversy on this issue broke out in the Episcopal ranks.

A notable instance was the exchange of pamphlets, involving the case of George Barclay. Presumably Rose had debarred Barclay from receiving any grant from the "English Collections" because he had taken the oath of loyalty to Queen Anne. Barclay made the charge that

"Such as did not pray for the Queen are, upon that very score, shot at and debarred from any share of the charitable fund set up for the relief of the indigent families of the Episcopal Clergy."\(^1\)

The Pamphlets dealing with this case are fully set out under Bishop Rose in the Bibliography. This shows a division in the Episcopal ranks between those who remained loyal to the exiled Royal family and built all their hopes on the return of the Stewarts; and others who were willing to accept the new regime loyalty if they were allowed their form of Church Government.

The Presbyterians gave publicity to this issue. It is noteworthy that this protest of Barclay's had been published in The Flying Post, the Presbyterian and Whig Journal edited by George Ridpath, who was not slow to give prominence to this complaint "by a minister of their own way", as, "shewing the disloyal and persecuting temper of the chief of the Episcopal Party in Scotland in a true light."

---

THE FEAR OF ROMANISM

A powerful factor in the whole development from the Restoration to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 was the fear of Roman Catholicism which obtained in the minds of so many of the Scottish people. The struggle between Presbytery and Episcopacy throughout this period took place under the ever-present shadow of Rome. This fear of Rome reacted heavily against the Episcopalians although most of them were as apprehensive on that score as the Presbyterians. The Presbyterians exploited this weapon to the full to the intense resentment of the Episcopalians. As in the charge of Jacobitism, the Presbyterians were on the attack and their opponents on the defensive - a reversal of the usual roles. The line of attack was that Presbyterianism was a greater bulwark against Romanism than Episcopacy, which indeed might itself be suspect of Romish leanings.

That this was an impressive argument to many must be recognised.

Hume Brown writes -

"It was deep-rooted suspicion of the Presbyterians that a Stuart must necessarily be a Papist at heart ... In James VII they had seen their suspicions justified; in openly avowing himself a Roman Catholic he had only logically carried out the uniform policy of his immediate predecessors. His daughter Anne had refused to adopt the religion of her father, and might be sincerely attached to the Church of England, but from the beginning, in the eyes of the Presbyterians, the Church of

England was only a half-way house to Rome.  "

Wodrow had called the Bishops and Clergy before the Revolution,

"Time-servers, court-flatterers and ready, for anything I can discover, to fall in with Popery itself, to please the King and keep their place."

There was a suspicion of Episcopacy because of its Jacobite associations and the haunting fear in the minds of so many that an attempt would be made to bring Romanism through the Stuarts. "Popery, Prelacy and Absolute Power" were linked together as things to be resisted.

It must be said, however, that the Episcopalians of the time rejected this association with Romanism with considerable resentment. Though the Bishops had adhered to James, and though avowed Romanists like Perth and Melfort were high in the King's favour, it can be shown that before the Revolution there were many in the Episcopal ranks who were thoroughly alarmed at the Romanising efforts of James and opposed it as vehemently (indeed, they asserted, more vehemently) as the Presbyterians. The Earl of Balcarres, writing at a later date to his Royal master, speaks in a tone of respectful remonstrance of the King's policy at that time. Telling how the day went against the King, he says -

"Your Majesty's desiring of the penal laws against Roman Catholics

1. Legislative Union of Scotland and England, pp. 3-10.
2. History, IV, 468.
to be rescinded, gave a jealousy beyond expression. Your Majesty dissolved Parliament and issued out a proclamation for a toleration and indulgence to all persuasions. This put the Episcopal clergy into such a rage that they could not conceal it either in conversation or in their pulpits."

Again he says of the birth of the Prince and the prospect of a Roman Catholic succession to the throne -

"Many of the Episcopalps desisted to pray for him." 2

Other examples of opposition could be quoted such as that of James Canaries, one of the pamphleteers mentioned in the Bibliography and a fierce opponent of the Presbyterians, who preached the sermon in St Giles before the Duke of Perth against Romanism, which gave such offence to the Chancellor and led to reprisals against the clergy. And a striking demonstration of this feeling was given in the protest by the clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen, so staunchly Episcopalian in sympathy, against the Indulgence of 1687. 3

It is indeed one of the ironies of history, in view of what has been said that at this time the Presbyterians were possibly saved from virtual extinction by accepting the Indulgence which they knew, and James knew, and the Episcopalians knew, was designed to favour the Roman Catholics. The Presbyterians, despite their abhorrence of Rome, accepted the Indulgence to build up their strength. The Episcopalians,

2. Ibid., p.5.
despite being suspect by their opponents of Romish leanings, opposed it. This introduces a complexity into the situation. It is all faithfully set out in the pamphlets. The Episcopalians, accused by their rivals of these Romish leanings, seize upon this acceptance of the Indulgence by the Presbyterians, to round upon their accusers who, in turn, are in some embarrassment to explain this action so out of accord with their general principles, and so strongly condemned by their stricter brethren - the Cameronians.

J. Sage, in his *Fundamental Charter* says -

"The Presbyterians accepted and gave thanks for an Indulgence notwithstanding that they knew that all the designs of the Court were for advancing Popery."2

Gilbert Rule replied in his *Vindication* -

"It had been strange if they had been backward to preach and hear the Gospel when a door opened for it, because some men had a design against the Gospel in their opening of it."3

In his *Second Vindication* he says

"Wise men thought the best way to keep out Popery was to make use of the liberty for setting people in the right way."4

To which argument Sage replies caustically,

"As if there had been no possibility of keeping them from turning Papists but by making them Presbyterians."5

1. See Cameronian pamphlets of the period.
3. Sect. 3. para. 2.
4. F. 91.
5. Preface to *Fundamental Charter*. 
If the Presbyterians' defence of their action though defiant, seems somewhat lame in its argument, both sides knew well enough just why they had accepted and skilfully used the Indulgence. The indignation of the Episcopalians is understandable.

Sage returns to the theme in his *Principles of the Cyprianic Age*.

"That Prelacy proves the way to Papacy. This is a pretty old bug-bear. Besa was the first man that set it afoot in Scotland. Much about that time (perhaps by Besa's influence) Cartwright advanced it in England. Almost no Presbyterian has omitted it since. Well could Mr Andrew Melville set off such an argument. Well could he tell that the Pope's head could not but stand upon Episcopal shoulders and those who build the beast up to the neck do well to be called the parents of the monster, and twenty such witticisms .... How often have you, Mr Jameson, in one no very large book, put them in mind of it ....? And you, G.R., have given the defiance to all the world to answer it .... Nor are you T.F., inferior to any of your sect in prosecuting such a useful argument after your way, that is, with very much spite and very little sense. Now for answer ...." 

Sage here gives three well-known Presbyterian writers - Jameson, Rule and Forrester. Many others could be quoted. Indeed, as Sage says, "almost no Presbyterian omitted it."

Sage in another of his pamphlets - *An Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government etc.* records some of the sermons preached in the course of that Parliament of 1690 which

2. Reference to Epistle to Knox.
3. See Archbishop Whitgift's Defence of the Answer to the Atonishment, p.300.
4. Andrew Melville. A form of the name sometimes used.
5. Quot. from Melville, Contra Eirenem, Chap. IX, Sect. 11.
6. William Jameson, Preface to Nazianzeni Querela etc. See Bibliog.
7. Gilbert Rule. See Bibliog. He wrote on this theme in many of his works.
8. Thomas Forrester. See Bibliography.
established Presbyterianism. He gives quotations from these sermons with his own comments. For example he quotes from John Spalding's§
Sermon before the House on 11th May. (Sage's own comments in brackets and italics.)

"God is making way for the utter ruine and fall of Anti-Christ and Popery in all the forms of it (two of which, to be sure, are Episcopal and the Liturgy of England) that not so much as a rag of the Whore may remain, and the Church may sing in triumph, Babylon the Great is fallen."

And later -

"Let Reformation be perfect, and throw to the door all that belongs to the Whore, even the rags which she left behind her for an errand to return again (All Prelacy and ceremonies and Set Forms). And let none of Babel's timber and stone be taken to build the Lord's house with. (Let not so much as one Prelatist continue in the exercise of his minority, thrust them all out, that the whole Kirk may be planted with true Presbyterians.)

He quotes also from G. Rule's sermon of 25th May -

"What a glorious nation they would make Scotland by exalting Presbytery in it. Make poor Scotland a well Reformed Church. (Set up Presbyterian government in it and you shall please God. This is a good beginning but what is the next step? Why, a necessary fling at Prelacy.)

We plead not for a Papacy to be Cardinals or Prelates etc. (As if it was unquestionable that Prelacy hath an essential connection with Papalism and Cardinalism.)

These extracts and the bitter comments show how the Episcopalians resented the Presbyterians' "rags of Popery" attack. These quotations

1. See Bibliography.
from Sage could be supplemented by many others from Episcopalian pamphlets, but these may suffice to indicate their angry rejection of the Presbyterians' arguments.

Something has been indicated of the main topics discussed by the writers of the pamphlets and the lines of the arguments advanced by the rival protagonists. Further details as to pamphlets and writers is contained in the Bibliography.
The Form of the Bibliography

The Bibliography is set out under the Authors of the Pamphlets arranged in alphabetical order (Adams, Anderson, Bematyne, etc.). A short biographical note is given of each author, giving any points of special interest to this subject, and a list of sources towards a fuller biography. Thereafter the Pamphlets written by the author in connection with this controversy are given. Other writings by the author not connected with the subject under review are omitted or indicated in a passing reference.

There follows a Short Title Index of the Pamphlets in alphabetical order with reference to the author under whom the Pamphlet is fully set out and discussed.

The Pamphlets

Under their authors each Pamphlet is set out as follows. The full Title Page is given without abbreviation of the title. The Publishers and date of printing is given. Scripture Texts and other Quotations are indicated. It was not felt necessary to indicate the line divisions in the titles. The size is shown in terms of folding of the sheet (i.e. Folio, 4o., 8o. etc.). The number of pages is given in every case with indication of incomplete and defective pagination. The exact location of a copy of each pamphlet discussed
is indicated where it may be seen. These are almost entirely in the pamphlet collections in the National Library of Scotland or in New College Library, Edinburgh. A number of the Pamphlets listed here as having been examined in the pamphlet collections of these libraries are not listed in their official Catalogues. Of the 385 Pamphlets discussed here, only about 12 have not been actually examined; and indication is given of where these might be found.

The spelling has not been modernised, and the use of capitals is mostly given as printed originally.

Where there were several editions of a Pamphlet, these are indicated. The particular edition scrutinised is set down in detail, whether it is first or later edition.

Other Reference Works

(1) Before 1700

Up to 1700 there are two works to which reference may be made for help in listing and identifying these pamphlets. These are the List of Printed Books till 1700 by H.G. Aldis; and the Short Title Catalogue by Donald Wing. When the pamphlet under consideration is listed in Aldis or Wing the reference to these works is given. Neither deals with more than a few listed here and both have inaccuracies, Wing especially so. Halkett and Leing's Dictionary of Anonymous Literature is occasionally quoted where it has information not
otherwise obtainable. An indication is given where the Library Catalogues are inaccurate and incomplete with regard to the pamphlets in their collections. Reference is sometimes made to the Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology in the Union Seminary, New York. The number of pamphlets in the Collection is not large but the Catalogue, compiled by C.R. Gillet, has been most accurately done, and as far as it goes is helpful.

(2) After 1700

After 1700 there are few guides beyond the Library Catalogues and references in contemporary writings. A source which has proved useful in identification of the pamphlets 1700-1714 has been the Collections made by the Hon. Archibald Campbell, a contemporary and himself a pamphleteer, now in the National Library. In the collections he made, Campbell wrote in his distinctive handwriting, notes on the authors of these anonymous writings out of his contemporary knowledge. These notes have proved a most useful source of identification and information.

Identification

Although the great majority of the pamphlets were published anonymously, the authorship of the pamphlets has been established in nearly every case from the sources above mentioned, contemporary
reference and internal evidence. Where this has not been possible, it is indicated.

Cross-References

An indication is given in each case of pamphlets written in reply to the one under consideration, or those to which it in turn is a reply. Also distinctive features of the pamphlet with regard to the controversy in general are noted.

List of the Abbreviations Used.


(These are followed exactly from Catalogue references;
the number of the volume of pamphlets; and
the number of the pamphlet in that particular volume (e.g. N.L.P. 323/5.)


Fasti - Dr New Scott's Fasti of the Church of Scotland.

D.N.B. - Dictionary of National Biography.

Arch. Campbell - The written annotations, mentioned above, by the Hon. Archibald Campbell on copies of the pamphlets once in his possession, now in the National Library.

S.H.S. etc. - Scottish History Society Publications.


F. or Fol. - Folio.

qo. - Quarto.

8o. - Octavo.

S. sh. - Single sheet.

n.p. - No publisher given.

n.d. - No date of printing given.

Thanks are due to the Librarians and Assistants in the National Library and New College Library for their courtesy and helpfulness in the work of exploring their pamphlet collections. Special thanks are due to Mr. William Beattie, Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, for his advice and guidance on the form of this Bibliography.
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<th></th>
<th>Writer</th>
<th>Occupation and Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>William Adams</td>
<td>Minister at Humble and Printer in Edinburgh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>John Anderson</td>
<td>Minister at Dumbarton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>John Bannatyne</td>
<td>Minister at Lenark. Clerk to the General Assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Thomas Blackwell</td>
<td>Professor of Divinity in Marischal College and Minister of Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>George Brown</td>
<td>Minister at Kilmarnock, Dryfesdale and Stranraer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>James Brown</td>
<td>Minister at Glasgow.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>John Brown</td>
<td>Minister at Wamphray and in Holland.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Alexander Bruce</td>
<td>Advocate. Edinburgh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gilbert Burnet</td>
<td>Minister of Saltoun and Bishop of Salisbury.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Robert Calder</td>
<td>Minister at Nenthorn.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>The Hon. Archibald Campbell</td>
<td>Non-Juror and Bishop of Aberdeen.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>James Canaries, D.D.</td>
<td>Minister at Selkirk and Rector of Abingdon, Cambridgeshire.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Andrew Cant</td>
<td>Minister at Leith.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>William Carstairs</td>
<td>Adviser to William III. Principal of Edinburgh University.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>James Clark</td>
<td>Minister at Innerwick and the Tron, Glasgow.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>John Cockburn, D.D.</td>
<td>Minister at Omiston and Rotterdam. Rector of Northolt, Middlesex.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>William Cockburn</td>
<td>Episcopal Minister at Glasgow.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Simon Cooper</td>
<td>Minister at Dunfermline.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gilbert Crocket and John Monro</td>
<td>Authors of The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence.</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Alexander Cuming</td>
<td>Minister at Liberton.</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Alexander Cunningham</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Sir James Dalrymple, 1st Viscount Stair</td>
<td>Lord President of the Court of Session. Adviser to William III.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick</td>
<td>Antiquarian and Historian.</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Daniel Defoe</td>
<td>Novelist and Journalist.</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>William Duguid</td>
<td>Presentee to Burntisland.</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>William Dunbar</td>
<td>Minister at Cruden and Bishop of Moray &amp; Ross; and Aberdeen.</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>William Forbes</td>
<td>Advocate. Professor of Law in Glasgow University.</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Thomas Forrester</td>
<td>Minister at Alva.</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>James Fraser of Brea</td>
<td>Minister at Culross.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>David Freebaim</td>
<td>Minister at Dunning. Episcopal Publisher and Bishop of Edinburgh.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>George Garden</td>
<td>Minister at Forgue and Aberdeen.</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>John Gillan</td>
<td>Bishop of Dunblane.</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Adam Glass</td>
<td>Minister at Aberlady.</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>James Gordon</td>
<td>Parson of Banchory-Devenick.</td>
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</table>
39. Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen.
40. James Gray. Minister at Kirkcaldy.
42. James Hadow. Principal of St. Andrews.
43. Thomas Holyburn. Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews and Minister of Ceres.
44. James Hart. Minister of Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh.
46. Alexander Heriot. Minister at Dalk stead.
47. James Hog. Minister at Carnock.
49. Robert Irving. Minister at Towle.
50. William Jameson. Lecturer in History at Glasgow University.
51. James Kirkton. Minister at Lanark.
58. Robert Moward. Minister at Glasgow and Rotterdam.
59. George M'Kellar. Minister of the Tron, Edinburgh and Professor of Divinity, Edinburgh University.
60. William Meston. Professor of Philosophy in Aberdeen.
64. William Nicolson. Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) of Carlisle.
67. Dr. Archibald Pitcaire. Jacobite Writer in Edinburgh and Professor of Medicine in Leyden.
70. George Ridpath. Whig Journalist.
74. James Sands. Minister at Harray, Orkney.
75. Alexander Shields. Cameronian Leader and Minister at St. Andrews.
77. Patrick Simson. Minister at Renfrew.
78. Sir Archibald Sinclair. Member of Parliament for Wick.
81. William Smart. Minister at Ecclesmachan.
82. John Spalding. Minister at Kirkcudbright and Dundee.
84. Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees. King's Advocate and Presbyterian Leader.
85. Alexander Sutherland. Minister at Edinburgh.
89. Sir James Turner. Episcopal Soldier.
90. James Webster. Minister of the Tolbooth, Edinburgh.
91. George White. Minister at Ayr.
94. John Williamson. Minister at Brechin and of the South Church, Dundee.
97. William Wright. Minister at Kilmarnock.
Graduating M.A. at Edinburgh in 1695 he became schoolmaster at Prestonpans in 1700 and in 1701 was ordained minister at Humbie. 1

His Presbyterian brethren in Presbytery and Synod soon became suspicious of him and his obvious Episcopalian connections. It is significant that he could be admitted to the Established Church in these Post-Revolution days. Finally, however, he demitted his charge in 1714 and went into the printing business in Edinburgh as did many of his co-religionists. He was associated with Walter Ruddiman, son of the Librarian, who shared similar convictions. He comes into the controversy over the question of the Union in a somewhat oblique fashion. James Webster, a well-known Presbyterian had written a Pamphlet against the proposed Union. This had called out a reply from Daniel Defoe, who was not anti-Presbyterian, but who was anxious to have the Presbyterians accept the Union. 3 Adams came in to support Defoe against Webster although his Episcopal Standpoint is very different from that of Defoe. Defoe’s reply, he says, is ingenious but "it cannot be expected that a Stranger who has not applied himself to the particular considerations of our History can discover these mistakes." 4

1. Fasti, I, 376.
2. See under James Webster.
3. See under Daniel Defoe.

Against Webster who had argued that the Covenants and National Engagements precluded Scots Church from going into a Union.

Webster replied to this Pamphlet in his *A Second Defence of the Lawful Prejudices, Containing a Vindication of the Obligation of the National Covenant and Solemn League.* In answer to a Letter from the Country, etc. written by the Minister of Humby, etc.

This brought from Adams

2. *A Second Letter from the Country, in vindication of the former concerning the National Covenant and Solemn League.* In answer to a Pamphlet, entitled, *Lawful Prejudices against an Incorporating Union with England.* Printed in the year 1707. 4o. 23 pp. (n.p.) Copy in N.L.P. 301/31; also N.L.P. 63/19 and N.L.P. 520/73.

In this Adams protests at being dragged on to "stage of the world".  

(P.2.) He develops his arguments against Webster.
JOHN ANDERSON. 1668-1721. Minister at Dumbarton and Glasgow.

A well-known figure in this controversy and in the affairs of the Church of his time. With many of his activities we are not here concerned. In this debate his name is usually linked with that of Robert Calder with whom he engaged in a battle of pamphlets. His best writing was his *Defence of the Presbyterians*, an able exposition of Presbyterian principles. There are various biographical studies of him from which details of his life and ministry in Dumbarton and in the Ramshorn, Glasgow, may be obtained. A recent study of him in the *Scottish Church History Society Records* is useful except that, like the others, it deals inadequately with his Pamphlets in this controversy. Considerable extra information can be obtained from his own writings and Calder's replies. He was one of the sharpest controversialists on the Presbyterian side, his friend Wodrow appealing to him on one occasion to be less severe on Calder.

**Pamphlets**


2. **The Second Dialogue between a Curate and a Country-Man, concerning the English Service.**

- (Quot. from Horace)
- Printed in the Year 1711.

*ho. 43 pp.*

Copies in **N.I.P. 83b/3** and **N.I.P. 440/2** and **New Coll. P. J.d./4-3**.

Both Pamphlets are on the use of the English Prayer Book in Scotland. The "Country-Man" is made to attack the "popish and superstitious character of the Book".

Calder was active in the introduction of the Prayer Book into Scotland. (See under Calder.)

3. **The Country-Man's Letter to the Curate.** Wherein, besides a Historical view of the English Liturgy, the Assertions of the Author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, concerning the universal usage in Scotland at the time of the Reformation etc. are Exposed and Proved to be false.

- (Quot. from Juv.)
- Printed in the Year 1711.

*ho. 96 pp.*

Copies in **N.I.P. 83b/3** and **440/5**; and in **New Coll. P. J.d./h-4**.

Reference not only to Calder but to John Sage, who in his **Fundamental Charter (pp. 95-101)** had sought to prove that the English Liturgy was for at least seven years (1557-1564) in constant practice in Scotland. (For discussion of this question see Introduction to this Bibliography.)
   - (Quot. from Virgil) -
   Printed in the Year 1712.
   40. 65 pp.
   Copies in N.L.P. 834/9 and 440/6; and in New Coll. P. J.d./4-6.

Calder had made a reply to the Dialogue in, An Answer to a Pamphlet called A Dialogue etc. (see under Calder) and now Anderson "examines" that Answer.

5. A Letter to a Friend concerning Mr Calder's Late Paper Entitled a Return etc. and the Continuation thereof.
   40. 15 pp.
   Copies in N.L.P. 834/10 and 440/7; and in New Coll. P. J.d./4-7.

Calder had not been idle in attacks on Anderson. (For a full list see under Calder.) Two of these published in Miscellany Numbers - Numb. IV - A Return to Mr John Anderson .... his familiar Letter to the Author of the Answer to the Dialogue, etc. and Numb. V - A Continuation of an Answer etc. called forth this Letter to a Friend by Anderson.

   Edinburgh. Printed by John Moncur in the Year 1712.
   40. 24 pp.
   Copy in New Coll. P. J.d./4-8.
   There is a variant of this in N.L.P. 834/7, which has simply the title - Curat Calder Whipt: 40. n.p. n.d.

The Return to Mr Anderson mentioned above and other pamphlets by Calder (see list of his writings) brought from Anderson this Pamphlet,
beginning with the words, "Now, Calder, thou shalt from oblivion pass".


Anderson's best-known writing. It was written in reply to Thomas Rhind's Apology and is an exposition of Presbyterian principles.

In N.L.P., 2/21/74, there is a Pamphlet by a John Adamson entitled Some Inquiries into Mr Anderson's Letters concerning his Ingenuity in pleading for Presbytery. This is a pamphlet from a later controversy over a domestic issue in the Church of Scotland concerning "Overtures transmitted to Presbyteries by the Commission". It is often confused with Anderson's Defence of Presbytery against the Episcopalians.
Not a great deal is known about Bannatyne although he must have been a figure of some importance as Clerk to the General Assembly in the critical days after the Revolution. This office he held from 1695 to 1699, and he was a member of the important Commissions of Assembly of 1703 and 1706. Details of his early life are scanty. Wodrow mentions his imprisonment in 1683 "for rebellion, reset of rebels and other treasonable crimes". Later his name appears on a list of fugitives where he is described as a "brother of the Laird of Corehouse." He seems to have had some connection with Sir John Bannatyne of Corehouse who sold his estate in 1694. This connection with Corehouse is interesting, as that estate is near Lenark, and he was preaching at a meeting house in Lenark when the Revolution came. He then "took possession of the church without any title on the demission of Robert Birnie", being legally settled as minister in 1690. It is less common to find the local laird's influence being on the Presbyterian side at this period, but it may well have happened here. He strongly opposed the Union and died before it was consummated in 1707.¹

¹ For details see Fasti, III, 307-8; Wodrow, History, III, 406; IV, 64, 213. See also Lenark Burgh Records.
There is only one writing known to have come from the pen of Bannatyne -

A Letter from a Presbyterian Minister in the Country to a Member of Parliament. And also of the Commission of the Church concerning Toleration and Patronages. Printed in the year 1703.

Two copies of this Pamphlet from the collection of Arch. Campbell are in the National Library. On the Title Page of the copy in N.L.P. 521/13 Campbell has written "This sd. to be done by Mr Ballantyne of Cory, Minister of the Gospel at Lanark". On the copy in N.L.P. 323/18 he has written "Mr Ballandyne", and in his written Index "Ballendine, famous for his cheek - agt. Toleration and Patronages. In great wrath in 1703". Campbell thus gives two variant spellings of the name, but it is obviously Bannatyne that is meant.

The pamphlet sets out the Presbyterian case against Toleration and Patronage. It is addressed to one who is a member of the Commission of the Church and also a Member of Parliament. In that latter capacity he may be called upon to vote on the proposed Toleration. Bannatyne asks him and others who have always been looked upon as firm Presbyterians "not to be gulled with fair words nor fair promises".
THOMAS BLACKWELL. 1660-1728. Professor of Divinity
in Marischal College, and Minister of Greyfriars Church, Aberdeen.

A leader of the Revolution Church, he was high in the councils of the Presbyterian. Along with William Carstares and R. Baillie of Inverness he was sent to London by his brethren in 1712 to represent to the Government the opposition of the Church of Scotland to the proposed legislation to restore Patronage and to pass a toleration Act. The mission was unsuccessful. Born and educated in Glasgow, after a ministry in Paisley he went to Aberdeen in 1700, and ministered there till his death. He was also Principal of Marischal College. Living and working as he did in Aberdeen, a stronghold of the Episcopalian cause, he had many encounters with those of that persuasion.

PAMPHLETS

1. Representation against the Bill for restoring Patronage in 1712.


2. Pasti, VII, 358; D.N.B.; Wodrow Correspondence, I, 137, (note by T. McCrie).
James Gray issued his Remarks made upon the Representation made by the Kirk of Scotland, concerning Patronages, in reply. (See James Gray.)

   Copy in N.L.P. 7/46.

This W.C. Citizen of Aberdeen was William Gordon, an Episcopalian who addressed pamphlets to Blackwell and to Francis Melvil, (see under Wm. Gordon and Francis Melvil) chiefly on matters of ritual and worship. This is a reply to a letter of Gordon's accusing Blackwell of various faults including the ignoring of Christmas Day. It is anonymous and may be by Blackwell himself.

Some other writings of Blackwell's are well-known. But mention is made here only of pamphlets in this controversy.
Details of the life of this man are obscure. It is known that he ministered at various times at Kilmaurs, Stranraer and Dryfesdale near Lochmaben; but on giving notes on him under these different parishes Scott's Fasti seems to contradict itself repeatedly.\(^1\) It is as if two separate persons were being described under the name "George Brown". He is said to have graduated M.A. at St. Andrews in 1652, but again that he graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1664. It is said he was licensed by the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1666 and admitted to Dryfesdale in the Presbytery of Lochmaben before 1678. The other account makes him schoolmaster at Fordyce, admitted as minister at Stranraer before 1664, and presented to the parish of Kilmaurs in 1685. Both accounts agree that he was outed at the Revolution. The different accounts give different persons as his wife, one making him marry Katherine Livingstone, and the other Mary Brown. There are two different accounts of his publications but both agree that he wrote the Pamphlet here noted, _Toleration Defended_. There is thus obvious confusion as to this person but he was a known figure being mentioned by writers on both sides\(^2\), and his Pamphlet was widely known.

1. See accounts in Fasti, II, 204; II, 356; III, 113.
2. See Gilbert Rule, _Second Vindication_, and A. Monroe, _Apology for the Clergy_.

**GEORGE BROWN. c.1652-1703.** Minister at Kilmaurs, Dryfesdale and Stranraer.
Toleration Defended; or the Letter from a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament concerning Toleration considered with some Observes on Mr Meldrum's Sermons. - Psal. LIX. v.12 Old Trans. 'For why? Their Preaching is of Cursing and Lies.' - Psalms, CXXXIV, ver. 1,2. - Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos? -

Printed in the year 1703.
40. 24 pp.
Copies in N.L.P. 323/33 and N.L.P. 521/18.

A reply to James Ramsay's Letter from a Gentleman etc., and George Meldrum's Sermon of 1703. (See under J. Ramsay and G. Meldrum.) A plea for a Toleration because Presbyterians are schismatics. Episcopacy is an Apostolical Constitution and necessary not only to the well-being but to the very being of the church. (p.2.)
He suffered many hardships in the time of persecution and fled to America. On the granting of the Indulgence of 1687 he returned and ministered in England and in various Meeting Houses in Scotland. After the Revolution he became minister at St Mungo's, Glasgow. He merits attention in the controversy because he carried on a debate with Dr John Hay, the deprived minister of Falkland. Their particular little controversy is often called "The Debate in the Shop" because it began through a personal encounter between the two men in a Bookseller’s Shop in Edinburgh. The debate began on the question of the proposed Toleration of 1703, but it ranged through many aspects of the Presbyterian–Episcopal controversy. Arch. Campbell, identifying Brown's first Pamphlet, wrote on the Title Page "By one Brown, a Presbyterian Preacher in Glasgow and a great Dunce". Whether this was a comment on Brown's intellectual powers or merely partisan abuse, is not easy to say. His Pamphlet is ably enough written.

PAMPHLETS


H. & L. (V. 200) and Fasti III, 458, ascribe this Pamphlet to James Brown. The National Library Catalogue does not list Brown, apparently not identifying his writings, but there is a copy of this Pamphlet in the National Library in N.L.P. 509 (Arch. Campbell's Collection). Campbell identifies the Pamphlet as written by "one Brown, a Presbyterian Preacher in Glasgow and a Great Dunce", and in his Index "One Brown, a Preaching Dunce of Glasgow".

Dr John Hay had begun the debate with Imparity among Pastors etc. This was Brown's reply.

Hay countered with Self-Condemnation etc.

Brown's reply to Self-Condemnation was

2. Self-murder; or An Episcopal Doctor murdering his own Reputation in a Pamphlet, called Self-Condemnation, in pursuance of the Debate in the Shop.
   Fol. 2 pp.
   N.L.P. 509/14.

H. & L. (V. 219) and Fasti III, 458, give James Brown as author.

Also Arch. Campbell in N.L.P. 509 (Index in writing).

There is not much argument in this short pamphlet. Brown gives a more reasoned answer in

3. A Stone returning upon him that Roll'd it, Or, An Answer unto Self-Condemnation, Holding forth both the Weakness and Wickedness of that Episcopal Author; and confirming the second Edition of the Debate in the Shop - By the Presbyterian concerned.
   - (Texts) Prov. 26. 27; Acts 8. 9; Psal. 10. 3; Zeph. 3. 5; Prov. 21. 26;
   - Printed Anno 1703.
   Copies in N.L.P. 521/31 and N.L.P. 509/15.
The Fasti makes the curious mistake of assigning this Pamphlet to Dr Hay, Brown's opponent. Halkett and Laing point out that this Pamphlet is often wrongly ascribed to James Clark, Minister at Glasgow, but themselves correctly give Brown as Author. (H. & L. V, 200, 219, 365.)

This is Brown's last assault on Hay. He argues his case soberly up to the last section which he heads "An Epistle to my Right Raving Adversary" when he lets himself go in abuse of Hay, and "the terrible bombs of your mouldy manuscripts".

It is interesting that though there are copies of these three Pamphlets above mentioned in the National Library its Catalogue does not list either Brown or Hay.
JOHN BROWN. 1610-1679. Minister at Wamphray and in Holland.

Of an earlier period than that under survey, he is worthy of mention because of his Pamphlet *An Apologetical Relation* etc. This was well-known in the Post-Revolution period. It was the means of converting Thomas Forrester to the Presbyterian side; and it is mentioned by Andrew Honeyman among others in the controversy. Ejected from Wamphray in Annandale in 1662, Brown went to Holland whence he exercised a considerable influence over Scots Presbyterians through his writings. He never returned to Scotland - died in 1679.

PAMPHLET

*An Apologetical Relation of the Particular Sufferings of the faithful Ministers and Professours of the Church of Scotland, since August 1660. Wherein several questions, usefull for the time are discussed. The King's Prerogative over Parliament and people soberly enquired into; the lawfulness of defensive war cleared. The supreme Magistrat's power in Church matters examined, Mr Stillingfleet's notion concerning the divine right of forms of Church Government, considered. The author of the Reasonable Case answered; other particulars, such as hearing the Curats, offering before the High Commission Courts, etc., canvassed. Together with the rise, reign and ruine of the former prelats in Scotland. Being a brief account from the History of the Government of the Church of Scotland from the beginning, and of the many troubles which Prelats here created to first and last. For satisfaction of strangers and encouragement of present sufferers. - By a Well-wisher to the good old cause -*

1. See under Thomas Forrester. See also Alex. Shield's *Hind Let Loose.*
2. Survey of Naphateli etc. See under A. Honeyman.
4. For writings see *Fasti;* also Johnston's *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant,* pp.339-342.
- (texts quot. - Jer. 50, 34; Mic. 7, 9, 10; Isa. 51, 22, 23.) Printed in the year 1665. 8° 2. 80. 431 pp. Copy in New Coll. F. F. 10/a. 5.
An advocate and an ardent Episcopalian he comes into this study through his antagonism to Robert Wodrow. It was the publication of Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* that brought him into the controversy. Little is known of his life and the only estimate that can be found of his character is that gained from his writings.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. *The Scottish Behemoth dissected, in a Letter to Mr Robert Wodrow; Concerning the Publishing of a History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland: From the Revolution 1637, to the happy Restoration of King Charles II. 1660, and From the Revolution 1688, to the year 1694.* - Written by a Friend of the Author.

(Texts:— Judges IX. Ver. 15. Ezek. XXI. Ver. 25, 26, 27.)

Edinburgh. Printed by J. Ross and A. Davidson, and to be sold at A. Davidson's Shop in the Parliament house, and at most Booksellers' Shops in Town. - MDCXXXII.

Folio. 30 pp.

Above details from Copy in possession of writer.

Pamphlet is signed *Philanax*, and dated Edinburgh, May 10th 1722.


The pamphlet is a reply to Wodrow's *History*, and embodies a project to publish a history contradicting Wodrow. The projected book was to
be printed off in parcels which were to cost one shilling each (p. 30). A prospectus was issued but there is no evidence that the book ever appeared.

2. Bruce is also believed to have written the Preface to a Pamphlet published the following year, 1723, and attributed to David Symson, son of Andrew Symson, Episcopalian Printer in Edinburgh. *A True and impartial Account of the Life of the most Reverend Father in God, Dr James Sharp... etc.* (See under [David Symson](#) for full title and description)

The Preface, or "The Publisher to the Reader", the portion attributed to Bruce, extends to 20 pages. In it Wodrow is accused of misuse of historical documents. The style is similar to that of *The Scottish Behemoth*. 
GILBERT BURNET. 1643-1715. Minister of Saltoun and Bishop of Salisbury.

One of the great figures of the Revolution period both in England and in Scotland. Though chiefly known as the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, he was, at an earlier stage, Parish Minister of Saltoun. There are several accounts of his life. The best and fullest is that by Clarke and Foxcroft, which is a complete biographical study with a full bibliography.

His ancestry is interesting. His father, Lord Crimond, was a moderate Episcopalian, his mother, a sister of Johnston of Wariston, was "a high Church Presbyterian lady of the 17th century", and "a fanatical believer in the Divine Right of Presbytery". He married Lady Margaret Kennedy, a strong Presbyterian. He was friendly with Robert Douglas and life-long friend of Robert Leighton and was associated with his attempt at "accommodation". This fact is interesting in view of his efforts while in Scotland before the Revolution to mitigate the sufferings of the Presbyterians; and when in England after the Revolution to help the Scots Episcopalians. In the former attempt he fell foul of James Sharp and his ecclesiastical superiors in Scotland. In the latter attempt he never was able to overcome the influence of William Carstares with William. As he had striven for the comprehension of the moderate Presbyterians in the

1. Fasti, I, 392-3; D.N.B., etc.
2. Life of Bishop Burnet, Clarke and Foxcroft, Cambridge, 1907.
3. Ibid., p.6.
4. Ibid., p.8.
5. Ibid., pp.35-38.
6. See discussion of this in Preface to Leven and Melville Papers.
Episcopal Establishment, so now he tried to secure a place for the moderate Episcopalians within the new Presbyterian Establishment. In neither attempt was he very successful but his attitude and policy are noteworthy.

PAMPHLETS

Out of his numerous writings (see Clarke and Foxcroft for a complete list) the following may be noted as of interest, although written before 1688, as they are linked with other Pamphlets in the Controversy.

1. A Modest and Free Conference betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist about the present Distempers of Scotland. - In six Dialogues. - By a Lover of Peace. - (Text, Gal. V. 15.) - Published by Order. - Printed Anno Dom. 1669.

Written before the Indulgence of 1669. The Conformist argues the position of the moderate Episcopalian, the Non-Conformist, the Presbyterian position. Presbyterians are censured for their conduct before and after the Restoration.

Called forth reply by Robert Moward in, The True Non-Conformist etc. (See Moward.)

2. A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution and Laws of the Church and State in Scotland. In Four Conferences, Wherein the Answer to the Dialogues betwixt the Conformist and the Non-Conformist is examined.
   By Gilbert Burnet, Professor of Theology in Glasgow. - (Glasgow Coat of Arms.) -
   Glasgow. By Robert Sanders, Printer to the City and University, 1675.
This Pamphlet claims to be in defence of the Government against some seditious books then being published. These were the *Jus Populi* of Sir James Stewart and *The True Conformist* of Robert Moward. In both these works the right of subjects to resist the King when he interfered with civil and religious liberty is clearly maintained. It conflicted with the other side's doctrine of passive obedience.

3. **Letter to the unknown Author of Jus Populi.**
   8o. 45 pp. n.p.

This is listed by Clarke and Foxcroft as one of Burnet's pamphlets. They admit they have not seen it. It is mentioned by Lauder in his *Journal*, p.285. It would link up with the preceding Pamphlet (2).

4. **A Modest Survey of the most considerable things in a Discourse Lately Published, Entitled Naked Truth. - Written in a Letter to a Friend.**
   4o. 29 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 229/6 and also New Coll. P. B.c/6.16/10.

A strong assertion of the Episcopal position and of Burnet's views on Church Government.

(Sometimes Caddel; often "Curate Calder.")

The most voluminous writer on the Episcopalian side. Wodrow called him the "hack writer" of the party. His is one of the best-known names in the controversy, though the pamphlet which is commonly associated with his name was not written by him (Scotch Presb. Eloquence).° His encounter with John Anderson of Dumbarton is well-known. J.B. Craven gives a fairly full account of his life; and a list of his writings which is referred to below. A native of Elgin, he was educated at Aberdeen and became minister at Nenthorn, near Kelso. He was deprived of that living in 1689 for refusing to read the Proclamation of Estates and to pray for William and Mary. There is mention of him later in London and in contact with the group of exiled Episcopalians associated with Dr Alex. Monro. 3 In 1693 he was imprisoned for "exercising his ministerial function." He found his way to Aberdeen where he held a meeting in his own house. Expelled from there he officiated in meeting houses in Newton Don, Elgin and in Toddrick's Wynd, Edinburgh. His

1. See under Crockat and Monro.
2. Graven, Episcopal Church in Moray, 187-190; see also Fasti, II, 64; D.N.B., VIII, 242-2; Graven, Scots Worthies; Acta Reg. Sec. Council MS.; Wodrow, Correspondence, I, 475; Scottish Guardian, 1875, p. 105; Story, Carstares; Warrick, Moderators, etc.; H. Grey Graham, Social Life in 18th Century Scotland; J.C. Johnston, Treasury or the Scottish Covenant; General Histories - Cunningham, Lawson, Grub, Skinner, Hill Burton, etc.
position in Elgin was so strong that it took three prosecutions by the Privy Council before he could be removed. In all these Meeting Houses he used the English Service Book. Indeed he was prominently engaged in introducing the Book of Common Prayer into Scotland. In this he was associated with the Earl of Winton who in 1712 reprinted The Book of Common Prayer, for use in the Church of Scotland. At the end of his life he seems to have been in poverty. There is the strange story of Carstares' generosity to him¹ and Wodrow's plea to Anderson not to deal so roughly with him.² Yet Craven says, "Calder deserves our notice, and as members of the Scottish Church, our gratitude."³

PAMPHLETS

J.B. Craven, in his Episcopal Church in Moray, pp. 187-190, gives what he calls "a pretty full list of Mr Calder's various works" under the title of "Literary Work done by the Rev. Robert Calder for the Scottish Church." This is somewhat inaccurate and there are notable omissions and doubtful inclusions. Beginning with it as a basis there has been set out below as full and inclusive a list of his writings as can be compiled.

1. Wodrow, Correspondence (ed. McCrie), I, 475;
2. Ibid., I, 36;
3. Epis. Church in Moray, 190.
1. A Sermon preached on the XXX of January, 1703. By Mr Robert Caddel.
   Edinburgh. Printed in the Year 1703.
   4to, 12 pp. n.p.
   (Text - Genesis, 49, 5-7.)
   Copies in N.L.P. 332/17 and N.L.P. 517/14.

   On the familiar theme of the death of Charles I, accusing the
   Presbyterians of responsibility for it.

   This was really a Presbyterian pamphlet issued by one who had heard
   Calder preach the Sermon, and gave an account of it, not at all to
   Calder's liking. He published -

2. Mr Robert Calder's Vindication of his Sermon preach'd January
   30, 1703, from the Malice and Ignorance of an Anonymous,
   Obscure and avowed Enemy who published some few Notes thereof.
   - (Nuncquae reponam; Juv.) -
   Edinburgh. Printed in the Year M.DCC.III.
   8o, 56 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 323/18 and also in N.L.P. 2/323-8.

   Makes reference to (1) and refutes the Presbyterian comments on his
   Sermon, giving the Sermon he really preached.

   This brought a protest from the Presbyterians against continually
   being accused by the Episcopalians of the murder of Charles I by Calder
   and others. This was set out in a Pamphlet entitled - A Vindication of
   the Presbyterians of the Kingdom of Scotland. From the false Aspersions
   laid upon them, by the Episcopal Party of the said Kingdom anent the taking
   away of the Life of King Charles the First. Contained in a Letter and
   Protestation given in by the Commissioners of Scotland to the Speaker of
the House of Commons, Covent Garden, the 22nd January, 1649, etc.


This Presbyterian Pamphlet is of interest not only in connection with Calder but also with reference to many other Episcopal writers on the same theme. (See Introduction.)

3. Reasons for a Toleration to the Episcopal Clergie and Objections against it Answer'd.
   - (Text quot. - Psalm CXX, verse 7.) -
   Edinburgh. Printed in the Year M.DCC.III.
   8o. 27 pp. n.p.

A plea for a Toleration in 1703.

4. The Divine Right of Episcopacy. Wherein is shown, that there can be no Lawful Ministry, but what comes by Apostolick Succession.
   - (Texts quot. - Romans X, 15; Hebrews, V. 4.) -
   Printed in the Year 1705.
   8o. 56 pp. n.p.

5. A Letter to a Non-conformist member of the Kirk, shewing the Nullity of the Presbyterian Mission or Authority to preach the Gospel.
   8o. 32 pp.
   Wing. C.277.

(4) and (5) are sometimes found bound up together, being on the same theme.
Craven, in his list, gives (5) inaccurately as -

Letter to a Non-conformist Minister of the Church, 1677-1705.

6. The Lawfulness and Expediency of Set Forms, of Prayer, Maintain'd. I. From the Old Testament. II. From the New Testament. III. From the Practice of the Universal Church. IV. From the Advantages of this way of Worship. V. From the Disadvantages of Extemporizing. VI. From the Sentiments of the Learn'd Presbyterians, Foreign and British. VII. From the Weakness of the Objections against Set Forms in General and the English Service in Particular.

(Texts - Gen. 2: Rom. XV, 6; I Cor., I, 10; 2 Tim. I. 13) -
Printed in the Year 1706.

Calder sets out his plea for the use of the English Service.

7. The Genuine Epistles of St Ignatius, translated into English by W. Wake, D.D. Printed at Lond. in 1693; As also, a Vindication of them by Lewis Ellies du Pin, Dr of the Sorbon; Both put together and Reprinted at Edinburgh in 1708. To which is added, A Short Answer to Mr William Jameson's Nazianzeni Querela where he Impugns the Authority of the foresaid Epistles.

- By R.C. -
Edinburgh. Printed Anno 1708.
So.
Copy in N.L.P. - Alex. I. 7.

A rare pamphlet by Calder. The National Library acquired a copy from the Lauriston Castle Library accession.

An edition of the Epistles of St Ignatius frequently referred to as an authority in this controversy. Set out by Calder here with an answer to William Jameson who had questioned the genuineness of some of the Epistles.
The Dedication is addressed to George, Earl of Winton, who gave support to Calder in his efforts to introduce the English Prayer Book.

8. A Sermon Preach'd on the Barbarous and Bloodie Murder of the Royal Martyr King Charles the First.
   - (Text - XIX Judges 30.) - Ligarunt Presbyteriant.
   Indeependentes, immolarunt sacrificium. - Salmasius.
   Printed in the Year 1708.

On the familiar theme of the execution of Charles I. See also (1) and (2) above.

9. An Answer to Mr James Hog at Carnock, His letter to a Gentleman, in which the Unlawfulness of imposing Forms of Prayer and of other Acts of Worship is plainly demonstrated, particularly as to what concerns M.R.G. P.68 etc.
   8o. 96 pp. n.p.
   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.7/5. Also in N.L.P. 2/278-6.

(J.B. Craven in his List gives A Letter to Mr James Hog at Carnock, 1710., which may be a loose way of describing this pamphlet.)

It is an answer to Hog's Letter to a Gentleman etc., which attacked the imposing of set forms of worship.

10. The True Difference between the Principles and Practices of the Kirk and Church of Scotland exemplified in several instances.
   London. Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall.
   MDCXXXII. Price 3d.
   8o. 17 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. Blk. 292/12.
11. The Country-Man's Idea of a Gospel Minister; Held forth in the following Preface and Funeral Oration on the death of that faithful Minister of Christ, Mr. Roderick Mackenzie of Avoch, in the County of Ross in Scotland, who died the Seventeenth day of March, M.DCC.X.

"Who is sufficient for these things?"

Edinburgh. Printed by James Watson, and sold at his Shop, next door to the Red Lyon, opposite to the Luckenbooths. 1711.

4o. 64 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 400/14.

Dedicated "To the Distressed Remnant of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland."

Written in praise of this Roderick Mackenzie, a supporter of the Episcopal cause in Ross. A study of Mackenzie and this pamphlet can be found in the Records of The Scottish Church History Society, Vol.VI, Part III, pp.252-264 - A Northern Nonconformist, by Dr J. McLeod.

Dr McLeod does not think that Calder was the Author of this pamphlet but admits that he was generally credited with writing it.

12. The Priesthood of the Old and New Testaments by succession. In Seven Letters, Shewing that there is no other way to prove the Lawfulness of Ministerial Mission. With an Answer to the Principal Objections.

By R.C. M.A.

(Texts - Ezra II, 62; Hebrews V, 4.)

Edinburgh. Printed for the Author. 1716.

8o. 96 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f/4.

In this Calder traces an Apostolical continuity from James Sharp back to St Peter.

- By M.R.C. a Presbyter of the Suffering Church of Scotland.
- (Texts - Jeremiah XXIII. 32; St John X. I. - Quot. from Calvin des necex. Refor. Part I. p.96.)

80. 134 pp.

14. The Spirit of Slander Exemplified, in a Scandalous pamphlet called, The Jacobite Curse. Sold by William Dickis in the Parliament Close, and printed by Hugh Brown, Printer to the University of Glasgowl, and written by a scandalous Scribler, an undoubted Child of him that is stiled the Accuser of the Brethren, a Liar and a Murderer from the Beginning. To which the principal person Mr R...... C-ld-r that is traduced on Page 8, gives this Reply, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament.

- (Text - 59 Ps. 12 v. Old Translation; Quot. from Virgil, Ecl. 3.)
- (Lines) - "If some mischief thou didst not patch or plot, Thou'd hang thyself, as did Iscariot."

Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Freebairn, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. A.D. 1714.
80. 16 pp.

An answer to William Wright's pamphlet - The Jacobite Curse.

He attacks Jameson's Nazianseni Querela; quotes with approval from Gilbert Burnet's Conference; and repeats verbatim many of the stories in The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. (See under these authors.)

There is some discussion on the use of the English Prayer Book.

15. A True Copy of Letters past betwixt Mr Robert Calder, Minister of the Gospel and Mr James Cunningham of Barns concerning the Trial of the Mission of those People that pass
under the name of Prophets in Scotland and England. With a
relation of the failing of their Prophecies, and the true
character of an Enthusiast.
- (Text - Jer. XIV. 4.) -
8o. 72 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f/4a.

A letter to a friend. Not specifically anti-Presbyterian except
as they would come under his definition of "Enthusiasts".

(CALDER-ANDERSON Controversy.)

Calder was also involved in a running controversy with John
Anderson of Dumbarton. Anderson's pamphlets are set out under his name,
and some indication of Calder's counters is given here. The majority
are to be found in The Miscellany Numbers but some would seem to have
been published separately.

16. An Answer to a Pamphlet called, A Dialogue betwixt a Curat
and a Country-Man, concerning the English-Service, or Common-
Prayer-Book of England. Printed in the Year MDCCXI.
4o. 48 pp.
Copy in New Coll. P. J.d/4-5.

An answer to Anderson's Dialogue etc., (see Anderson).

17. Miscellany Numbers; relating to the Controversies about the
Book of Common Prayer, Episcopal Government, The Power of the
Church in ordaining Rites and ceremonies, etc. Defended by
Scripture, Reason, Antiquity, and the Sentiments of the
Learn'dest Reformers, particularly Mr John Calvin.
By Mr Robert Calder, Minister of the Gospel.
- (Quot. from John Calvin) -
Edinburgh. Printed in the Year MDCCXIII.
There are XXX of these Numbers. It is unnecessary to detail them all. Certain ones which possibly were published again separately and are quoted as independent pamphlets may be noted.

Number I. The Anti-Counter-Querist Counter-Queried.
Fol. 4 pp.
Also in N.L.P. 9/86.

An example of the bewildering crossing of pamphlets. On the Establishment of Presbyterianism.

Number II. Queries to the Presbyterians, by the Author of the Anti-Counter-Querist Counter-Queried.
Fol. 4 pp.
Also in N.L.P. 9/96.

Sometimes confused with Arch. Campbell's and Jas. Gray's pamphlets of the same short title - Queries to the Presbyterians.

Number III. Observations on the treatment of some Episcopal Ministers in the North by the Kirk Presbyteries.
Fol. 4 pp.
Also in N.L.P. 9/129.

Number IV. A Return to Mr John Anderson, the Presbyterian Holder-Forth at Dumbarton, his familiar Letter to the Author of the Answer to the Dialogue between the Curate and the Country-Man concerning the English Service, or Book of Common Prayer.
Fol. 6 pp.

A reply to Anderson, full of personalities.
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<td>XIV.</td>
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<td>XXIV.</td>
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Number XXVII. The Episcopacy of the First Three Centuries proved to be, in substance, the same with the present Episcopacy which is impugned by the Presbyterians; and that their insisting against Diocesan Bishops is false, ridiculous and impertinent.

Number XXVIII. Animadversions upon Mr William Jameson's Writings in general, and upon the Sum of the Episcopal Controversy in particular.

(See Wm. Jameson.)

Number XXIX. A Reply to Mr William Jameson's Preface to Mr John Davidson's Catechism, in so far as it concerns Mr Robert Calder's citation of a Passage out of Mr Davidson's Burthen of a Loaded Conscience.

(See Wm. Jameson.)

Number XXX. The Nail struck to the Head, or, an Indictment drawn up against Mr John Anderson, the Presbyterian Incumbent at Dumbarton, before all the Colleges in Britain and Ireland, or any inferior Library Courts in City or Country, and that before Persons of Knowledge, Conscience and Candour, of whatsoever Principle or Party they are, by Mr Robert Calder, Minister of the Gospel, who is acting and suffering for the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. Also published separately - Fol. 4 pp. Copy in N.L.P. 9/183.

It will be seen that there is here a large collection of papers on the subjects under debate in this controversy. Calder appeals to reformers like Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, Luther, Baxter and others to support his arguments.
18. The Use of the Lord's Prayer. Vindicated and Asserted against the Objections of Innovators and Enthusiasts. Translated from the French Original written by Monsieur D'Espagne, a Learned Presbyterian.

- (Quot. from K. Charles I. Eikon Basilicon. Chap. 15.) -

Edinburgh. Printed for John Ramsay, and are to be Sold at his House within the foot of Con's Closs. 1704.

8o. 48 pp.
Copy in New Coll. P. E.0/3.23.

This is a translation from D'Espagne, believed to have been done by Calder. For "the use of the Lord's Prayer" in this controversy see the Introduction.

It must be noted that it has been established that one pamphlet he did not write is that most commonly attributed to him viz., The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence (see Crockat and Monroe) although undoubtedly he was familiar with its contents, and may indeed have issued a later edition.
The Hon. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL -1714. Non-Juror.

Bishop of Aberdeen.

The second son of Lord Neil Campbell and grandson of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll (1598-1661). Although of the Argyll family, and in his youth an ardent Presbyterian, he broke away and became an equally fervent Episcopalian. Dr. Johnson is said to have remarked that "he kept better company and became a Tory." Alex. Monro said that his later principles showed that "he was no slave to the prejudices of his infancy." At the Revolution he not only adhered to the ejected Church - he went further and refused to communicate in the Church of England, or to be present in any place of worship where King William's name was mentioned. In 1711 he was consecrated Bishop at Dundee by Bishops Rose, Douglas and Falconer, and in 1721 he was chosen to be Bishop of Aberdeen. Before that he had lived in London in touch with the exiled Scots Episcopalians there and helping to raise funds for the assistance of his dispossessed brethren. He does not appear to have been too happy in his bishopric which he resigned in 1724. Later he formed a separate non-juring communion, taking upon himself unusual powers of consecration. This sect obtained a slight foothold in

1. For life see D.N.B. account; References in Skinner, Eccles. History; Lawson, Hist. of Epis. Church; Keith, Scottish Bishops, 530; Lockhart Papers, II, 37.
2. Quoted in D.N.B. account.
the West of England but eventually died out. He was associated with Charles Leslie and other Non-Jurors and Jacobites in England; and in Scotland he was closely in touch with Andrew Symson, the Episcopal Printer.

Apart from his life and his own contributions to the debate, he has an interest and value for this particular study. During his life he made a collection of many of the pamphlets of the time, both Presbyterian and Episcopalian. These he identified and annotated in his characteristic hand-writing. These collections of Pamphlets have come into the possession of the National Library of Scotland and have been most useful in identifying writers of pamphlets.

PAMPHLETS

1. Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland. - By a Gentleman of that Country. -
   - (Text - Matth. XV, 2.) -
   London. Printed for G. Strahan at the Golden Ball, against the Royal Exchange. 1702.
   8vo. 40 pp. (Preface of 28 pp. - unpaged.)
   Copy in N.L.P. 332/3.

A well-known pamphlet sometimes attributed to Charles Leslie.

Leslie wrote the Preface. Wodrow gives the correct position in a discussion of the pamphlet. "I hear the Preface is done by Leslie and

2. A. Stewart, History Vindicated, p. 72.
the Queries by the good Lord Neil Campbell's son". (Early Letters (ed. Sharp), S.H.S. Misc., XIV, 211-218.)

The Preface states, "The Author acquaints me that his reading of Mr Forrester, in St Andrews, Plea for Presbytery occasioned them" (the Queries).

Thus the Pamphlet is an answer to Forrester.

2. A Querie turn'd into an Argument in favours of Episcopacy. From one single Text of Scripture, Whereby is Proved, That the First Apostles were necessarily to be succeeded in the full extent of their Commission, to the End of the World. -(Quots. from Heb. 3, 5; and Tert. Lib. 4. Adv. Marcionem. Cap. 5.) -
Printed in the Year 1703.
3o. 52 pp. n.p.
Copy in N.I.P. 332/4.

A continuation of the argument of (1).

Forrester replied in, A Review and Consideration of two late Pamphlets .... Queries ...... a Querie turn'd into an Argument, etc.
(See under Thos. Forrester.)

Sometimes Campbell is mistakenly said to have written the Life of John Sage - John Gillan's work.
A Presbyterian whose two pamphlets are often mentioned in the writings of this period in a manner confusing to many. One of the features distinguishing the worship of the Episcopalian from the Presbyterian at this period was the use by the former of the Lord's Prayer in Public Worship. In their pamphlets they repeatedly attack their rivals for this omission. But there were some Presbyterian leaders like John Anderson and Patrick Simson who advocated the use of the Lord's Prayer in Worship, while others like James Hog of Carnock disapproved of its use. One of the chief exponents of its use on the Presbyterian side was Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder who for some years agitated in Church courts and by private correspondence for its more frequent use. The Assembly of 1705 recommended as he desired\(^1\) although the whole question was made difficult by the fact of its being one of the issues in the Presbyterian–Episcopalian controversy\(^2\). Some of the Episcopal writers seized gleefully on Campbell's writings to embarrass their opponents by quoting one of their own number. Apart from this point Campbell was a convinced Presbyterian, although some recent writers, confused in the situation, have assumed him to be an Episcopalian. Hence it may prevent mistakes to set out his writings in the matter.

2. For discussion of this see McCrie, Public Worship in Presb. Scotland, pp. 275–6.
PAMPHLETS

   (Text quoted - Luke XI, 1, 2.)
   Edinburgh, Printed by Mr Andrew Symson, 1704, and also
   reprinted by him 1709.
   50.  70 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.g/6.
   (A. Symson as Printer may also mislead as to which side it
   comes from.)

2. A Collection of Letters, relative to An Essay on the Lord's
   Prayer, which was printed Anno 1704, and now reprinted Anno
   1709, Both By Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder.
   - Hancum est error, labi, dicendi. Hancum nihil est, quae
   errantem revocare
   - The Essay itself is printed at the end of the Collection -
   Edinburgh, Printed by Andrew Symson, by the Author's express
   Order, Anno 1709.
   50.  169 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.g/6.

The Dedication is "To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, Anne etc." who is called the "nursing mother to the Churches". Also "To the Right Honorable Ann Campbell, Countess of Murray". Also "To the Christian readers especially Presbyterian Ministers".

There are letters written to and received from Wm. Garstares, George Meldrum, Wm. Wishart, etc.

These Pamphlets were answered by one of his Presbyterian brethren
James Hog of Carnock in a Pamphlet, A Casuistical Essay on the Lord's
Prayer - to which is subjoined A Letter to a Friend in answer to Sir
Hugh Campbell of Calder, etc. Edinburgh 1705. (See under James Hog.)
This Pamphlet of Hog's was in turn severely criticised by Robert Calder in his pamphlets, in *An Answer to James Hog, etc.* and *The Spirit of Slander Exemplified.* (See under Robert Calder.)

The Hog - Calder controversy was on the commonly accepted viewpoint of Presbyterians and Episcopalians at the time on the subject of the Lord's Prayer. Sir Hugh's was rather different as being that of a Presbyterian who was interested on this point.
JAMES CANARIES, D.D. 1640?-1695? Minister at Selkirk

and Rector of Abingdon, Cambridgeshire.

A great opponent of the Presbyterians at the time of the Revolution both by his activities and by his writings. Some account of his life can be found in the *Fasti* and from other sources, but the fullest biographical sketch of him can be found as a chapter in a little known book, *The Evangel in Gowrie*. The *Fasti* gives a far-fetched derivation of his name from "Macanrias". Dr Philip gives the true fact that his father's name was Kinneres which, in the son, became Canaries. The father was minister of the parish of Kinnaird in Angus and was known as a sturdy Presbyterian. James, after a distinguished career at St Andrews, became a Roman Catholic. Eventually, however, he became "nauseat" of that Church, was received back into the Church of Scotland and in 1685 he was presented by James VII to Selkirk. In 1688 he preached in St Giles the sermon against Popery before the Chancellor, Lord Perth, himself a Roman Catholic, which caused considerable reaction. He was deposed in 1689 like so many others for not reading the Proclamation of Estates and praying for William. He went to London and became associated with the London group of exiled Episcopalians. He was associated with Wm. Leask in the expedition to Holland to interview William, to assure him of the loyalty of the Episcopal

2. A. Philip, *The Evangel in Gowrie*, Edin., 1911. (Chapter on James Canaries.)
clergy and to obtain relief for their co-religionists. As a result, William wrote his letters to the General Assembly recommending the "comprehension" of the loyal Episcopalians in the Church. This was followed by the request to the General Assembly of 1692 from Canaries and other Episcopalians seeking admission. The whole episode is interesting in the post-Revolution history. Soon after, Canaries was received into the Church of England and became Rector of Abingdon in Cambridgeshire. Although vehement in his reaction from Rome, he was fiercely anti-Presbyterian in his writings.

PAMPHLETS

1. A Discourse Representing the Sufficient Manifestation of the Will of God to his Church in all its several Periods and Dispensations.
   — By James Canaries. — — (Text — Rom. Chap. 12, ver. 1 .......
   your reasonable service.) —
   Edinburgh. Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to
   the King's most Sacred Majesty. Anno Dom. 1684.
   8o. 296 pp.
   Wing, C.420. Aldis, 247.

An early writing on general lines but includes some characteristic strictures on the Presbyterians then in their period of suffering. He speaks of them "being worked up to Rebellion, murder and giving their neck to the Hangman, when, for once, but to say 'God save the King', would save them."

1. Story, Wm. Carstares, p.211. (Carstares letter to Wm. Dunlop, Feb. 1691, "Dr Canaries and Mr Leask are here doing what they can for their friends).  
2. For description see A. Irving's Pamphlet.
2. A Sermon Preacht at Selkirk upon the 29th of May, 1685. Being the Anniversary of the Restoration of the Royal Family to the Throne of these Kingdoms.
   - By James Canaries, Minister of the Gospel there.
   4o. 23 pp. Text: Psalm XX, 5.
   Copy in New Coll. P. B.a./13.16.

Lauding the Stewart and Episcopal regime.

3. Rome's Additions to Christianity shewn to be Inconsistent with the True Design of so spiritual a Religion. In a Sermon Preached at Edinburgh, In the East-Church of St. Giles, Feb. 14, 1686. To which is prefixed A Letter, Vindicating it from the Misrepresentations of some of the Romish Church.
   4o. 20 pp.

Against Romish practices. Describes something of his own experience within the Roman Catholic Church. Presbyterians sought to link Prelacy with Romanism. This sermon set out to correct that outlook.

4. A Sermon preached at Edinburgh, In the East-Church of St Giles, upon the 30th of January, 1689. Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First.
   - By James Canaries, D.D. and Minister of the Gospel at Selkirk.
   - Edinburgh. Printed in the Year 1689.
   Copies in N.L.P. 517/3 and N.L.P. 230/34.
   Wing: C.420. (Wing quotes Aldis reference wrongly as Aldis 2447.)
   Aldis, 2669.

A panegyric on Charles I - "the best King in the world butchered by the bloody hands of impious men".
5. A Scourge for the Presbyter's Back.

A pamphlet by this Title is attributed by Dr. Philip to Canaries, but I have been unable to locate a copy.
Andrew Cant. 1649-1730. Minister at Leith and Trinity Church, Edinburgh.

The Fasti Index mixes references to this Andrew Cant with those to the other Andrew Cant, the Principal of Edinburgh University. Both were ministers for a time in Trinity Church, Edinburgh, which perhaps explains this confusion. This Andrew Cant was the younger son of Alexander Cant, minister of Banchory-Ternan. Licensed by the Bishop of Edinburgh he was ordained to the Second Charge at Leith in 1671 and to Trinity Church in 1679. He was deprived in 1689 for not reading the Proclamation disowning James VII and acknowledging William and Mary. He was consecrated Bishop of the Nonjurant Church in Glasgow in 1722. He seems to have made a point of emphasizing the martyrdom of King Charles I with the usual implication of Presbyterian responsibility. His four writings are Sermons preached on 30th January.

Pamphlets

Copy in N.L.P. 517/13.

1. Fasti, I, 127; Acts. Parl. IX; Wodrow, Analecta, III.
2. A Sermon Preached on the XXX Day of January at Edinburgh, -
   By Mr Andrew Cant -
   - (Text quot., Prov. XXIV, 21) - - (Quot. from Tertull.
   Apologet. C. XXX.) -
   Edinburgh, Printed in the Year MDCCIII.
   4o. 24 pp. Text - 1 Peter, II, 13, 14.
   Copy in N.L.P. 294/33.
   Another Copy in N.L.P. 517/13 dated 1703.

3. A Sermon Preach'd at Edinburgh on Thursday the Thirtieth of
   January, M.DCC.VII. Being the Anniversary of the
   Martyrdom of K. Charles I. - By A.C. One of the Suffering
   Clergy there -
   Printed in the year MDCCVII.
   4o. 30 pp. Text - Lamentations V, 16.
   Copy in N.L.P. 300/12.

4. A Sermon Preach'd at Edinburgh on Tuesday the XXX of January
   M.DCC.XI. Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of K.
   Charles I - By one of the Suffering Clergy there -
   Printed in the year MDCCXI.
   Dedicated to John, Earl of Wigton. Signed A.C.
   4o. 20 pp. Text - Romans XIII, 2.
   Copy in N.L.P. 300/13.

The Fasti does not mention the 1711 Sermon but mentions another
dated 1715 which the present writer has not seen.
WILLIAM CARSTARES. 1649-1715. Adviser to William III; Principal of Edinburgh University; Minister of Greyfriars, Edinburgh.

One of the great figures of the period, wielding a decisive influence on the history of events during the Revolution period and in the reign of King William. Dr. R.H. Story's biography is generally satisfying as to his life and work.¹ There is need, perhaps, for a new examination of his relationship with his Presbyterian brethren in Scotland at the Revolution. They and he were at one in their fight for the Establishment of Presbyterianism, but their methods and outlook at times were somewhat different. Carstares was content with an Erastian Establishment provided Presbytery was secured; while some of his brethren only accepted that Establishment reluctantly and were eager to assert "the intrinsic power" of the Church.² It is interesting to find Carstares entering this pamphlet controversy. In the great days of his power when he was "Cardinal" Carstares guiding royal policy, he had no need to write pamphlets. He helped to make policy, not to defend or attack it. Even when, on the death of William, he lost his place at Court, and returned to Scotland to be a Parish Minister and University Principal, he kept aloof from the controversy till late in the reign of Anne. Then it seems as if fear of a landslide of anti-Presbyterian legislation round about 1712

1. R.H. Story, William Carstares (1874); See also Fasti, I, 46, 66, 255; J. Warrick, Moderators, etc., 158-169; Carstares, State Papers; Leven & Melville Papers - Letters of Carstares; Remarques to Lord Melville, etc.
2. See under Wylie, Hart, Wodrow.
made him take up his pen lest danger should threaten the Establishment which he had so largely helped to create. Hitherto he had placed his belief in the civil powers to maintain the Establishment. He saw no compromise of principle in Presbyterians taking the Abjuration Oath. He believed in the Union of 1707 and held that the Presbyterian Settlement was safe by reason of the Act of Security. But then, at a late stage, he seems to have become afraid that the English politicians were capable, after all, of destroying the Establishment. Thus in the end of the day we find him in line with his brethren sharing their apprehensions and opposing any further concessions to the Episcopalians. These sentiments are expressed in the three anonymous Pamphlets believed to have been written by Carstares; though some who write on him seem unaware of their authorship.

**PAMPHLETS.**

1. *Some Queries humbly proposed, upon the Bill now Depending before the Honourable House of Commons, for a Toleration to the Episcopalian Dissenters in Scotland.*
   Fol. 3 pp. No Title Page.
   Copy in N.L.P. 9/72. (In ink - "by Mr. William Carstares mentioned in the history of the Rye House Plot").

Comprises XIII *Queries* as to the undesired effects of such a Bill on the Church of Scotland.

Answered by James Gray in *Some Counter Queries*. (See Gray.)
2. The Case of the Church of Scotland with relation to the Bill for a Toleration to the Episcopal Dissenters to set up Meeting-Houses, and use the English Service in Scotland.
Fol. 4 pp.

On the same lines as (1). Examines the proposed Toleration and protests that it undermines the security of the Church of Scotland guaranteed at the Union.

3. The Scottish Toleration Argued; or, An Account of all the Laws about the Church of Scotland ratified by the Union-Act.
- In a Letter from a Scots Gentleman to a Member of Parliament.
So. 23 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 600/15.
(A contemporary hand has written in ink, "By Mr William Carstares ....... commonly called Cardinall Carstares.")

A protest against the proposed Toleration again on its danger to the security of the Church of Scotland.

4. The Scots Representation to Her Majesty, against setting up the Common Prayer Book in Scotland.
Fol. 4 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 9/76.
In ink, "London, 1711-12, by George Ridpath and his associates Mr William Carstares, mentioned in the History of the Rye House Plot, and Daniel De Foe."

This contains The Humble Representation of "the Ministers, now met in the Commission of General Assembly, which was presented to her Majesty by the Reverend W. Carstares, Principal of the College of
Edinburgh, who made a short speech at the delivering of the same, and received a very gracious answer from her Majesty with further assurances of Her Royal Protection to the Church of Scotland."

This is one of the documents of this period when the Presbyterians were striving to avert the passing of the Toleration Act. Circulated, no doubt, to give publicity to the Presbyterians' apprehensions with regard to the introduction of the Prayer Book in Scotland.
A voluminous writer on many topics only some of which are within the bounds of this study. He took part in the controversy both in the early days after the Revolution and in the time of Queen Anne. Born in Edinburgh he was ordained to Dunbar in 1683 and thereafter was translated successively to Innerwick in 1691, to Dirleton in 1697 and to the Tron, Glasgow, in 1702. He is at various times referred to as Clark of Innerwick, Clark of Dirleton and Clark of the Tron, Glasgow. Tait and Laing rather misleadingly list him thrice under these different headings without indicating that they refer to the one man. He was a great protagonist of Presbyterianism. He was one of the Presbyterians, like James Hart, and unlike William Carstairs, who was strongly opposed to the Union of 1707. So strong were his feelings that he is said to have preached a stirring sermon in Glasgow on the Fast Day appointed in 1708 by the Commission of Assembly. This sermon so roused his hearers as to cause a civil disturbance. (See below.)

PAMPHLETS

1. A Sermon preached at the Kirk of Auldmastonocks, September the 28, 1690, On the occasion of the intimation of a Sentence of Deposition; passed upon Mr John Gibson, late Incumbent there, According to the Order of the Brethren of the Presby-

1. Fasti, III, 474; Wodrow, Analecta, III, 163; MoUre, Glasgow; Cleland, Annals of Glasgow, I.
A Sermon intimating the deposition of the previous Episcopal incumbent. It was published and received considerable notice. John Cockburn attacked it in his *Historical Relation* etc. (See Cockburn.)

In reply to Cockburn a Pamphlet of 4 pages was published with the Title

2. **Master Clark Defended; Or, a Vindication of the particular Passage in the Historical Relation of the late Presbyterian General Assembly.**
   40. 4 pp. No title page. On last page is written "At Innerwick, Dec. 11, 1691", so it is almost certainly by Clark himself.
   Wing C.4462 and another edition Wing C.4463 - Edinburgh Printed by J. Wardlaw, 1691.
   Aldis 3137.
   Copy in N.L.P. 298/13.

3. **Plain Grounds of Presbyterian Government. Briefly Propos'd for the Instruction of Common People.** The Desires of some, from their observing the Ignorance of several well-meaning People in this Point, have produced this short and hasty Essay, which is likewise sent abroad to excite some abler Person to do it better.
   Copy in N.L.P. 332/25. (Attributed by Arch. Campbell to Clark.)
4. Presbyterial Government as now Established and Practised in the Church of Scotland methodically described. Specially of the Church's Intrinsick Power. As also, of the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in and about Sacred Things. Gathered out of the Confessions of Faith and other published Records of that Church.
- By a Presbyter of the Church of Scotland
- (Text quot. Ezra 7. 23: Quot. from Seneca, Cedip. 110.)
Edinburgh. Printed in the year MDCCLII.
40. 13 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 269/3 and in N.L.P. 332/23. (Arch. Campbell writes, "by James Clark, a Mass John in Glasgow."

Copy in N.L.P. 332/23 has mistakes in printing "Intrinsick Power."
The Fasti gives 1701 as the date of the first edition. (I have not seen a copy of that date.)

There is a Third Edition dated 1717 in N.L.P. 2/278 - this time 16 pp. with title a little altered.

4a. Presbyterial Government as now Established and Practised in the Church of Scotland methodically described. Gathered out of the Authentick Records and approved Institutions of that church.
The Third Edition. Revised by the Author, a Presbyter of the Church of Scotland.
- (Text. Ezra. 7. 23. Quot. from Seneca, Cedip. 110.)
Printed in the year 1717.
40. 16 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 2/278.

This Pamphlet is an exposition of Presbyterian principles without undue polemics.

5. A Letter to a Minister in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, explaining the passages of a Sermon misconstrued by some.
Copy in N.L.P.
On the "intrinsic power of the church". A discussion between the Presbyterians rather than against Episcopalians though often classified as in the latter category.

   4o. 8 pp. No Title Page. (At end of Pamphlet, p.8) Printed by John Reid, Junior, and are to be sold at Alexander Henderson, his Shop in the Luckenbooths, and James Wardlaw, his Shop on the South side of the Street, below the Cross of Edinburgh, and also, at James Stewart, his Shop in the Salt Mercat in Glasgow. (Signed J.C. at end of Pamphlet.)
   Copy in N.L.P. 98/11.

This deals with the episode mentioned above in connection with Clark's opposition to the Union and the Sermon which he preached in Glasgow in November, 1708, on his favourite text Exx 8, 21. This had been connected with some civil disturbance. Defoe in his History of the Union, p.60, had given an account of this incident and averred that Clark had said "Addresses will not do and Prayer will not do; there must be other methods, etc." In this reply A Just Reprimand etc., Clark denies having used these words.

Defoe who was concerned over the incident replied in - Advertisement from Daniel Defoe to Mr Clark, etc. (See Defoe.)

An anonymous Pamphlet also appeared taking up the defence of Defoe with the Title - A Reproof to Mr Clark and a Brief Vindication of Mr De Foe. No Title Page, but on last page - Edinburgh. Printed and sold by John Moncur at the foot of the Bull Close for against the Trone.
   Anno. 1710. 4o. 8 pp. Copies in N.L.P. 63/7 and N.L.P. 98/12.
(P.2. If Mr Defoe had been here Mr Clark would not have taken the liberty with him.)

(See under Defoe for further reference to this Glasgow incident and the opposition of some Presbyterians to the Union of 1707, which Defoe could not understand.)

Wing and others list other Pamphlets written by Clark which have no relevance to the controversy. Such a one which is often mistakenly quoted is


Copy in N.L.P. 517/8.

This has nothing polemical in it at all.
Generally acknowledged to be the writer of two of the best-known pamphlets in the controversy - those on the General Assembly of 1690. Most Catalogues list them as having been written by John Cockburn of Ormiston. On further investigation, however, there seems to be some confusion about this man. The Fasti¹ and the account in the D.N.B.² differ in some details and Grub in his Ecol. History is also uncertain about him. Born in 1652, the D.N.B. says he was the son of John Cockburn, a gentleman of some estate in the north of Scotland. The Fasti, on the other hand, says that his father was a teacher in the Canongate of Edinburgh. Both accounts agree that he was the nephew of Patrick Scougall, Bishop of Aberdeen. He was tutor to Lord Keith, son of the Earl Marischal, and Minister at Udny and Old Deer; and, in 1683, of Ormiston, Haddingtonshire. In 1689 he was summoned before the Privy Council for not reading the Proclamation which 'forfaul' James, and instead of praying for William and Mary, praying for King James and "confusion" to all his enemies. After being imprisoned for six months he left Scotland and went to London. There he seems to have been associated with the London group headed by A. Monro. He went to Holland

1. Fasti, I, 340-1.
and officiated at Rotterdam and Amsterdam as English Episcopal Chaplain.
In 1714 he was presented by the Bishop of London, at the instance of Queen
Anne to the Parish of Northolt in Middlesex. This account seems fairly
coherent, except for the question of birth and parentage. But Grub in
his Ecclesi. History compiles the issue by giving an account of John
Cockburn, nephew of Bishop Scougall, but without mentioning his ministry
at Omiston, merely saying that after the Revolution of 1688 he went
abroad. "I am not certain" he says in a foot-note, "whether the John
Cockburn who was minister at Omiston in East Lothian (Nodrow, History, IV,
1789) was a nephew of Bishop Scougall. It may well be that two are being
mixed up here." It may have been that there were two John Cockburns, one
in the north-east, nephew of Scougall and brother-in-law of George Garden,
and the other the minister of Omiston. There is need of further
elucidation here. 2

PARTHENS

1. An Historical Relation of the Late Presbyterian General
Assembly held at Edinburgh from October 16 to November 13,
in the year 1690. In a letter from a person in Edinburgh
to his Friend in London.
- (Text quoted - Acts 13:22) - Licensed April the 20th 1690 -
London. Printed for J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball in
Cornhill near the Royal Exchange. MDCCXI.
No. 78 pp.
Copies in N.I.P. 239/3 and N.I.P. 333/7.
Wing C.4392. McA. Coll. Cat. (In the title given in McA.
Coll. Cat. "Presbyterian" is omitted.)

1. Ecclesiastical History III, 270-274. n.
2. Other references to Cockburn may be found in Fountainhall,
Decisions I, 502; Steven, Church in Rotterdam, 232, 386;
Usher, Bishop Burnet; Burnet, History of Own Time, I,
263, 356, 375-5.
2. **A Continuation of the Historical Relation of the late General Assembly in Scotland.** With an Account of the Commissions of that Assembly and other particulars concerning the present state of the Church in that Kingdom.

- *(Text quoted, Psal. 82, 52) - Licensed Nov. 14th, 1691. - London. Printed by B. Griffin, for Samuel Keble, at the Great Turk's Head in Fleet Street, over against Fetter-Lane-end. 1691.*

No. 76 pp.
Copies in N.L.P. 2894; 3339; 8319; and 3821. In N.L.P.
324 there are 72 pp. The Pamphlet varies a little in different editions according to the material in the appendix.

Neither the Fasti or the D.N.B. mention these two Pamphlets as written by John Cockburn. Yet they are always attributed to him. These are well-known in the controversy being clever satirical descriptions of the General Assembly of 1690. Gilbert Rule devoted a large part of his Second Vindication to answering the Historical Relation point by point. The Pamphlets closely resemble Pitcairn's Babell and Assembly on the same theme and there are echoes of the Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence. Which were the original writings is difficult to say, but they all seem to link up with the writings of the London group associated with Alex Monro.

3. **A Short History of the Revolution in Scotland.** In a Letter from a Scots Gentleman in Amsterdam to his Friend in London. London. Printed and are to be sold by the Book-sellers of London and Westminster.

Fr. 1712. 2d.
So. 16 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 59317. Dated "Amsterdam, 1712". In ink on Title Page "Cockburn".

Both Fasti and D.N.B. ascribe the Pamphlet to Cockburn. Describes
the events leading up to and subsequent to the Revolution up to the Union from an Episcopalian point of view, with criticism of William and attacks on the Presbyterians.

4. A Sermon Preach'd at Westminster Abby, March the 8th. 1710/11, The Anniversary of the Queen's Inauguration. - By John Cockburn, D.D. -
London: Printed for George Strahan, at the Golden Ball, near the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill. MDCXII.
8vo. 32 pp. N.L.P. 600/14. Text - "2 Sam. VI. 12."

5. Eight Sermons.
Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid and to be sold at John Vallange's Shop, 1691.
8vo.
Wing C.4307. Aldis 3138.
Comparatively little is known of this man. He does not appear to have held a charge before the Revolution, as he is not mentioned in the Fasti. He ministered to an Episcopal congregation in Glasgow after the Revolution. A Sermon which he published was dedicated to members of his congregation, and in this Dedication one finds a most valuable list of names indicating who the persons were who composed that particular Episcopal congregation. Many influential people seem to have been members.

**PAMPHLET**

A Sermon upon the XXXth of January, 1713, being the Anniversary Fast for the Martyrdom of the Blessed King Charles the First.
- Preached at Glasgow, by William Cockburn, A.M., Minister of the Episcopal congregation there
- (Quot. from Quintilian)
- Edinburgh. Printed by Mr Robert Freebairn, in the Year M.DCC.XIII.
40. 15 pp.

Another Sermon on the martyrdom of Charles I with the underlying theme that the Presbyterians had been implicated in the death of Charles and consequently were anti-monarchical.

The Dedication contains a list of members of the Glasgow congregation as mentioned above.
Known generally as "Curate of Dunfermline", he was minister at Kirkcudbright in 1673 and later was translated to Dunfermline. He was accused before the Privy Council in 1639 for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates, not praying for William and Mary, and for saying on learning of the news of Killiecrankie, "To the defeated no less could come for rebelling against their lawful sovereign". These charges were not proven, but in 1693 he was deposed by the Presbytery of Dunfermline and Kirkcaldy for contumacy and contempt of its authority. In 1694 he was ordered by the Privy Council to leave the Church. He went to Edinburgh and died there in 1710. Further light is shed on his later career in Edinburgh in a Pamphlet mentioned in the Study which reveals him as joint minister of a congregation of Episcopalians in Edinburgh.

**Pamphlets**

1. *An Impartial Inquiry into the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church.*
   
   Edinburgh. Printed by Mr. Andrew Symson. 1704. And are to be sold by Mr. Henry Knox in the Lucken-Booths, and by Mr. Robert Friesbairn in the Parliament Close.

   35 pp. (Halkett and Laing wrongly give 39 pp.)

   Copy in N.L.P. 599/40. (Arch Campbell writes on Title Page, "By Mr. Simon Couper att Dunfermline").

1. Fasti, V, 29; Chalmers, History of Dunfermline; Cockburn, Hist. Account of General Assembly, 1690.

2. John Wilson, God’s Warning to Scotland, etc., Dedication. (See Wilson.)
Seeks to prove the Episcopal case from the Scriptures and Early Fathers.

2. Three Essays concerning Church Government, viz. I. An Impartial Inquiry into the Order and Government, settled by Christ and the Apostles in the Church. II. An Inquiry into the Divine Right of Presbytery. III. The Phoenix; or, Presbytery revived from the Ashes of its Funeral, and established upon the same principles and arguments which are made use of against it by the Author of the Funeral of Presbytery.

Edinburgh. Printed by Mr Andrew Symson, 1704, and are to be sold by Mr Henry Knox in the Lucken-Booths and Mr Robert Freebairn in the Parliament Close.

40. 65 pp. in all. Paged thus - Impartial Inquiry, 1-35; An Inquiry into Divine Right etc., 1-14; The Phoenix etc., 1-16.

Consists of three Pamphlets. 1. A Reprint of (1) above. 2. An Attack on Presbytery. 3. A Reply to Robert White's Pamphlet, The Funeral of Prelacy, etc. (See White.)

There was further exchange of Pamphlets between Couper and White.

White replied to The Phoenix etc. by The Fable of the Sacred Phoenix etc. (See White.)

Couper's reply to White was in -

3. The Moral of the Phoenix justified; or the Reflections on the Funeral of Prelacy Vindicated, by the author of The Phoenix, or Prelacy Revived, etc.

- (Texts, 1 Cor. 16, 14; Matt. 5, 11-12.)

Edinburgh. Printed by Mr Andrew Symson and sold by him and by Mr Henry Knox in the Lucken-Booths and Mr Robert Freebairn in the Parliament Close, where are also the Phoenix and two other Treatises anent Church Government, written by the same Author, to be sold. 1705.

40. 27 pp.

Copy in H.L.F. 494/11.
Published separately as here (3). But also in a composite edition.

4. Four Essays concerning Church Government, viz... I. An Impartial Inquiry into the Order and Government, settled by Christ and His Apostles in the Church. II. An Inquiry into the Divine Right of Presbytery. III. The Phoenix; or, Prelacy revived from the Ashes of its Funeral, and established upon the same Principles and Arguments which are made use of against it by the Author of the Funeral of Prelacy. IV. The Moral of the Phoenix justified, or the Reflections on the Funeral of Prelacy Vindicated. — All four written by the same Author. Edinburgh. Printed by Mr Andrew Symson and are to be sold by Mr Henry Knox in the Lucken-Booths, and Mr Robert Freebairn in the Parliament Closs, and other Booksellers, 1725.

40. 86 pp. I. 1-35; II. 1-14; III. 1-10; IV. 1-27.
Copy in N.L.E. 494/11.
GILBERT CROCKAT and JOHN MONRO. c.1689. Authors of the "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence."

These two are included in this study because they were the authors of perhaps the best-known pamphlet in the controversy, viz. the notorious The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. Many writers and historians still attribute this writing to Robert Calder, though this being slowly corrected. Dr. Jas. Kennedy, Librarian in New College Library, gave the correct authorship some years ago. Halkett and Laing have it correctly, as have the National Library Catalogue and the Catalogue of the McAlpine Collection in Union Seminary, New York. Of these two men very little is known except that they were associated with the London group of exiled Scots Episcopalians. The McA. Coll. Cat. describes them as "Confessors for the Scots Bishops." Reference to Crocat is to be found in Alexander Monro's Letters to John Mackenzie of Delvine.¹ There is a reference to a John Munro in the Fasti.²

This Pamphlet emanated from the London group of Scots Episcopalians. It probably was a composite production edited by these two - Crocat and Monro. It achieved wide publicity and went into many editions. Long after the controversy was over, editions were appearing.

2. Fasti, IV, 320, "John Munro, Minister of the East Church, Stirling (1679-1693); Said to be one of the authors of The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence."
(A full study of this Pamphlet, its authorship, contents, setting, editions, and the replies it evoked has been made by the present compiler of this Bibliography. It has been printed in the Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol. VIII, Part III, pp. 225-253. This is an exhaustive study in all its aspects of this Pamphlet, and was the basis for this extended survey of Pamphlets and their Writers, undertaken in this Bibliography.)

PAMPHLET

The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence: Or, The Foolishness of their Teaching Discovered from their Books, Sermons, and Prayers; And some Remarks on Mr Rule's late Vindication of the Kirk.
- (Quota. from Baxter's Cure of Church Divisions, Direct. X; and Sam. Rutherford, Epist. 2. To his Parishioners.) -
- The Second Edition, with Additions. -
London. Printed for Randal Taylor near Stationers-Hall. 1693.
40. 104 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 98/5. (Also private Copy.)

Wing, C.6961 lists it under Crocket; but also lists it under Calder - C.277.

The first edition was published in 1692. Other editions, with additions by other pens, appeared in 1697, 1732, 1766, etc.

For further details, reference should be made to the study above-mentioned.
ALEXANDER CUMING. 1652-1713. Minister at Liberton.

Referred to often as the Minister of Gilmerton, but more correctly of Liberton. He was admitted to the parish in 1689, but was deposed not long after for not reading the Proclamation and praying for William and Mary. He continued to live in Edinburgh till his death in 1715. He published his Christmas sermon here noted over the initials A.C. This has led to some confusion between him and Alexander Cunningham who also used the initials A.C.

PAMPHLET

A Sermon preached upon Christmas Day. Wherein the obligation that lies upon all Christians to solemnise the Anniversary Festival of our Saviour's Birth is clearly proved. To which is added a Letter to a Friend shewing after what manner, Days, Times, Places and Persons are Holy.

By A.C.

Edinburgh. Printed by Andrew Symson. 1705.
4o. 52 pp. N.L.E. 567. (On fly-leaf is written by Arch Campbell A. Cuming.)

An example of the Episcopalian plea for the observance of Festivals of the Christian Church, and their attack on the Presbyterians for ignoring these.

2. See Alexander Cunningham.
A scholarly Episcopalian whose pamphlets appeared in the period immediately after the Revolution. Though his writings are well-known and provoked many replies, the identity of the author is obscure. He is recorded in Catalogues like that of the National Library, New College Library, the McAlpin Collection, New York, etc. as Alexander Cunningham, but no dates are given or information as to whether he was minister or layman, or to his place of abode. D. Wing in his Catalogue writes his name as "Cunninghame". Arch. Campbell in the volume of Pamphlets in the National Library (N.L.P. 509) has written on one of his pamphlets "By Mr Cummin", (which may be Campbell's version of Cunningham). He wrote usually under the initials "A.C." This adds to the confusion for there is a later Episcopal writer, Alexander Cumming of Liberton, who wrote also under the initials "A.C." Halkett and Laing further complicate the issue by ascribing two of his pamphlets to the "Rev. Alexander Cunningham", and the third to "Alexander Cunningham M.A., Regent in St Andrew's University". They further add that the Pamphlet has been wrongly ascribed to Gabriel Cunningham. This would be obviously wrong as Gabriel Cunningham of Dunlop was an ardent Presbyterian.

It is possible that he was the Alexander Cunningham who became minister of Colmonell in Ayrshire in 1666, and was translated to Monkton

Prestwick, from which parish he was ousted at the Revolution and died in 1692 aged about 49.  

1. **Pamphlets**

1. *An Essay concerning Church Government out of the excellent Writings of Calvin and Beza.* By A.C., M.A.  
   1689. 8 pp. 40.  


The Pamphlet attempts to prove the Episcopal position from the writings of "Calvin and Beza who are reckoned among the greatest patrons and chiefest pillars of Presbytery". (Closing words of Pamphlet.)  

The challenge was taken up by Thomas Forrester in his *A Counter-Essay, or a Vindication of Calvin's and Beza's Presbyterian Judgement and Principles etc.* (See under Forrester.)  

   Licensed March the 10th, 1690.  
   London. Printed for Randall Taylor, near Stationer's Hall, 1690.  
   *Wing* G.7589. McAlpin Coll. Cat. H. & L. II, 188.  
   Not in Nat. Library or New College. Pamphlet rare. Copy in  

1. See Fasti III, 56; Book of the Old Edinburgh Club VIII, 100.

Obviously on the same lines as the Essay and asserting the Divine Right of Episcopacy.


This Pamphlet is often wrongly ascribed sometimes to Gabriel Cunningham and sometimes to Dr. Alexander Monro. An important Pamphlet because it was in answer to it that Gilbert Rule wrote his first Vindication of the Church of Scotland. (See under Rule.)
This Ayrshire lawyer who became Lord President of the Court of Session and the first Viscount Stair is one of the greatest legal personalities Scotland has produced. His *Institutions of the Laws of Scotland* is still a classic. He was also a figure of importance at the Revolution and played no little part in the events of the time. As adviser to William, he helped to consolidate the Revolution in Scotland. Because of this, he was intensely disliked by the Episcopalians and Jacobites, who made repeated attacks upon him. It was to defend himself against one of these attacks that he wrote his *Apology* which must be listed in the Pamphlets of this period. There is a full-length biography by Mackay; also a study in the *D.N.B.* from which details of his life can be ascertained. Also he describes much of his outlook and activity in his Pamphlet. His enemies attacked him on being a time-server and changeling in religion. He admits he had served under Charles and the Stewarts, but he contends that he had always been lenient to his co-religionists – the Presbyterians, that he had refused the Test, and that he had finally to resign his office. He had gone to Holland in 1681 and joined William of Orange with whom he returned to Britain in 1688. At Torbay he made his dramatic declaration.

of loyalty to William described by himself in his *Apology*.

**PAMPHLET**

*An Apology for Sir James Dalrymple of Stair. President of the Court of Session. By Himself.*

*Edinburgh. Published in 1690.*

40. 20 pp.

Wing, S.5174. Aldis 3032.
Copy in N.L.P. H.31.a.

A copy has been published by the Bannatyne Club in 1825, but the original Pamphlet is rare.

It began by saying that he is "vindicating his fame and reputation from the false aspersions of a pamphlet entitled *The Late Proceedings etc.*" This Pamphlet which called out Stair's *Vindication* was *The Late Proceedings and Votes of the Parliament of Scotland contained in an address delivered to the King signed by the Plurality of the members thereof, Stated and Vindicated* - (quot. from Cato apud Salust.) -

*Printed by Andrew Hepburn, Anno Dom. 1689. Glasgow. 40. 46 pp.*

N.L.P. 196/6.

This Pamphlet sometimes attributed to Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, but more commonly to Robert Ferguson (The Plotter). It attacks Stair and his son, Sir John Dalrymple. It was largely a political attack on Stair but the strands of politics and religion here cross. It suited the Episcopalians to circulate this attack on a
"changeling in religion" and to discredit the whole regime.

There is sometimes found reference to Stair's Vindication. This is confusing as this is not the above Pamphlet dealing with the political-ecclesiastical situation, but a meditative philosophical study. Its full title may be given here - *A Vindication of the Divine Perfection illustrating the Glory of God in them, by Reason and Revelation. Methodically digested with several Meditations. - By a Person of Honour. - London. Printed by J.D. for Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons in Cornhill. MDCXCV. 8o. 356 pp. Copy in N.LaF. H.38.g./12.*

The second son of Viscount Stair, being also James Dalrymple, is often mistaken for his father in the accounts of the writings of the period. Many attribute his Pamphlet (especially when only a short title is given) A Vindication etc. to Lord Stair, while the D.N.B. account ascribes to Sir James of Borthwick the Pamphlet, Apology for Himself, which is manifestly Stair's well known defence of himself.¹

This Sir James² was admitted an advocate in 1675 and was appointed one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh. He later became a Principal Clerk of the Court of Session. He was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1693. A man of great learning he was one of the foremost antiquaries of his day. He was involved in this controversy over points in the early history and constitution of the Church in Scotland, particularly with Bishop Gillan, the biographer of John Sage. This debate differs from the usual topics of discussion and is an interesting branch of the general controversy.

PAMPHLETS

1. Collections concerning the Scottish History, Preceding the Death of King David the First, in the year 1153. Wherein the Soveraignity of the Crown and Independency of the Church are

1. See under Viscount Stair.
This brought reactions from both English and Scottish Episcopalians. An English Barrister, William Atwood, published Remarks on the Collections.

They were also adversely criticized by Bishop John Gillan in -

*The Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr John Sage* ....... and some things are added towards the clearing of the ancient Government of the Church of Scotland from the mistakes of a late Author. (See under Gillan.)

The "late author" is Dalrymple. Sage, in several of his writings (e.g. *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined*) had revealed a reading of early Scottish History which differed widely from that of Dalrymple.

Gillan draws attention to this and takes issue with Sir James.

Sir James replied in -

2. *A Vindication of the Ecclesiastical Part of Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections: In Answer to a late Pamphlet intituled, The Life of the Reverend Mr John Sage, etc.*

Wherein Some Things are added towards the Clearing of the Ancient Government of the Church of Scotland from the Mistakes of a late Author. Together with a defence of what Sir James hath advanced concerning the opinion of the Scottish Historians in relation to King Robert the Second's Marriage with Elizabeth Mure; in answer to Mr John Sage his criticism on that subject in his Introduction to Hawthornden's Works.
A Reply to John Gillan and also to John Sage in the writing mentioned. Again on the earlier history of Scotland.

An early sentence of the Pamphlet gives the position of the writer. "Sir James Dalrymple in his Collections hath been at pains to make it clear that our Princes and People did early receive the Christian faith from the disciples of St John, St Polycarp, St Anatolius, and other Fathers of the Eastern Church without a Bishop ......."
This great English writer had a close association with Scotland and the ecclesiastical happenings of the period. He has been both praised and attacked in Presbyterian writings of this time and this has confused his position in this controversy. There are numerous biographies of Defoe from which details of his life and writings can be obtained.\(^1\) A journalist and writer on political affairs, he came into prominence in ecclesiastical controversy with his famous Pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*. For this he stood in the pillory and was fined. Later his fortunes changed and he was entrusted by Godolphin with a mission to Scotland to advance the cause of Union there. He fell foul of some of the Scots ministers who viewed with trepidation the impending Union as imperilling their hard won Establishment. Two such were James Webster and James Clark who engaged in controversy with him. He in turn was supported by Episcopalians such as William Adams of Humble.\(^2\) There is an interchange of Pamphlets between these four over this question. It is this which confuses the estimate of Defoe - portraying him as an opponent of the Presbyterians and a sympathizer with the Episcopalians. On the other hand, after the Union strife was over, Defoe issued his *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, which was an admiring vindication of the Scots Presbyterian Church, written by an English Dissenter. "There are few English writers to whom the Church of

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1. See *D.N.B.*, V, 720-743; With list of books on Defoe.
2. See under J. Webster; J. Clark; W. Adams.
Scotland owes so many obligations as to Defoe, who watched her interests with fidelity and affection, at a time when she was threatened by powerful enemies, and defended her with a zeal that could only be expected from a friend and admirer."

PAMPHLETS

The D.N.B. and Catalogue of National Library give a list of his multifarious writings. Only those relative to this debate are given here.

1. The Shortest Way with Dissenters, or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church.

   His well-known Pamphlet written in a vein of irony when attacks were being made at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign on the Dissenters in England. This was written in character of a thorough-going English Churchman and, before the sarcasm was discovered, Churchmen quoted it with approval. There are references to the situation in Scotland, (see page 7).

   In Three Parts.
   Edinburgh 1706.

1. Wodrow Society Publication: Note by Editor.
This was written when he came to Scotland on his mission concerning the Union. It is a somewhat fulsome panegyric on Scotland and has no ecclesiastical significance.

... ... ...

(His controversy with James Webster.)

3. The Dissenters in England Vindicated from some Reflections in a late Pamphlet, entitled, Lawful Prejudices etc.

40. 8 pp. No Title Page. n.p. n.d.
Copy in N.L.P. 301/27.

James Webster had set out his sentiments against the Union in Lawful Prejudices against an Incorporating Union with England etc. (See Webster.) In this he had made some remarks about English Dissent not having the same standing and principle of the Presbyterians of Scotland. The above Pamphlet was an answer to Webster, defending the Dissenters.

Webster replied in, The Author of the Lawful Prejudices against the Union defended against the allegations of D. Foe.

At this point Adams of Humbie joined in to support Defoe (see Adams) and Webster addressed his next Pamphlet to him (Adams).

... ... ...

4. A Voice from the South: or An Address from some Protestant Dissenters in England to the Kirk of Scotland.

40. 8 pp. No Title Page. (In ink - 1707.)
Copy in N.L.P. 301/32.
The Union is now past (p.2). The Pamphlet expresses "the surprise of all who wish well to the Protestant religion at the strange and unexpected opposition made in Scotland to the Union."

"The Union has secured a Sanction or Recognition even from that same Episcopal Power which alone could be suspected of a willingness to pull her down." (P.4.)

Fol.
Copy in N.L.P. A.112.a.

(His controversy with James Clark.)

In his History of the Union, Defoe described an incident in Glasgow of a tumult in connection with the Union and blamed James Clark of the Tron Church for preaching a sermon which incited his hearers to violence. (See under James Clark.) Clark had written in reply, A Just Repriamand to Daniel Defoe etc.

An anonymous pamphlet appeared entitled -

A Reproof to Mr. Clark and brief Vindication of Mr. De. Foe. 4o. 8 pp. No Title Page. On the last page - Edinburgh. Printed and Sold by John Moncur at the foot of the Bull Closs, for against the Trone. Anno. 1710.
Copy in N.L.P. 38/12.

This was written in defence of Defoe. "If Mr. Defoe had been here Mr. Clark would not have taken this liberty with him." (P.2.)
Defoe replied himself in -

6. Advertisement from Daniel Defoe to Mr. Clark.  
   40. 4 pp. No Title Page.  
       Copy in N.L.P. 63.

Defoe himself against Clark.

Two anonymous Pamphlets attacked and defended Defoe -

6a. A Paper concerning Daniel De Foe.  
    40. 8 pp. No Title Page. At end of Pamphlet -  
    And Re-printed with some additions.  
    Copy in N.L.P. 382/4.

   The writer says "Mr. De Foe having in his printed History of the  
   Union of England and Scotland aspersed and reproached my good friend Mr.  
   Clark. I cannot contain myself from attacking him."

6b. An Answer to a Paper concerning Mr. De Foe, against his History  
    of the Union.  
    40. 8 pp. No Title Page. At end of Pamphlet -  
    Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew  
    Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. 1708.  
    Copy in N.L.P. 382/5.

   This is a Reply to (6a). Upholds Defoe against "that Paper in  
   defence of Mr. Clark thought to be injured in the History of the Union,  
   in the account given of the Tumult in Glasgow."

   "I am sorry to find a stranger (Defoe) so treated."
Two other Pamphlets on the Glasgow incident may be mentioned; both by Defoe himself.

7. **A Short Letter to the Glasgow Men.**
   40. 8 pp. No Title Page. n.p. n.d.
   Copies in N.L.P. 301/23 and N.L.P. 520/1.

"Ask your consciences if the constitution of Parliament is not the safety of your Church."

8. **The Rabblers Convicted; or A Friendly Advice to all Turbulent and Factions Persons. From one of their own number.**
   4o. 4 pp. No Title Page.
   Copy in N.L.P. 301/24. (In Ink, Dan. De. Foe.)

9. **A Short View of the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Britain, as it is now profest in the Episcopal Church in England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Dissenters in Both.**
   Edinburgh. Printed in the year M.DCC.VII.
   8o. 48 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 301/33.

10. **Presbyterian Persecution Examined. With an Essay on the Necessity of Toleration in Scotland.**
    Edinburgh. Printed in the Year M.DCC.VII.
    4o. 40 pp. (Written in ink "By De Foe").
    Copy in N.L.P. 224/19.

    Defence of the Church of Scotland treatment of the Episcopal Clergy.
    Commends a continuing moderation.

11. **Memoirs of the Church of Scotland - In Four Periods - I. The Church in her Infant State, from the Reformation to the Queen**
Mary's Abdication. II. The Church in its growing State, from the Abdication to the Restoration. III. The Church in its persecuted State, from the Restoration to the Revolution. IV. The Church in its present State, from the Revolution to the Union. With an Appendix, of some Transactions since the Union.


Copy in New Coll. P. A.5/a.5.

Mentioned in biographical note above.

12. An Essay, at Removing National Prejudices, against a Union with England. - Part III. - By the Author of the two first. - Printed in the Year MDCCLXVI.

4o. 35 pp.


This is one of a series of six Essays on the same topic written by Defoe to further the cause of the Union. Copies of others can be found in National Library Pamphlets and New College Library Pamphlets.

They are sometimes mistakenly attributed to Sir Francis Grant.

13. The Scots' Narrative Examin'd: or, the Case of the Episcopal Ministers in Scotland stated, and the later Treatment of them in the City of Edinburgh Enquir'd into: With a Brief Examination, into the Reasonableness of the Grievous Complaint of Persecution in Scotland, and a Defence of the Magistrates of Edinburgh in their Proceedings there: Being some Remarks on a late Pamphlet, entitled, a Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within the City of Edinburgh, etc.

London. Printed in the Year 1708.

4o. 41 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 119/27.

A reply by Defoe to an anonymous pamphlet.
A Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within
the City of Edinburgh since March last 1708. Until their
imprisonment in July thereafter, with their Circumstances and
Defences together with some Reflections upon the same.
- With a Postscript -
- (Texts - Psal. 120, 7; I Cor. 9, 16; II Cor. 4, 9; Lam. 3, 26.) -
London. Printed and Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall
1708.
4o. 34 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 119/26.
An interesting figure as he was the first presentee after the restoration of Patronage in 1712, so much resented by the Presbyterians. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy in 1710 and in 1712 he obtained from Queen Anne the presentation to the Parish of Burntisland. His character was suspect in the Church Courts and he was deprived of his license by the General Assembly of 1713. He maintained that it was because of his presentation to Burntisland that the Presbyterians attacked him. His accusers said it was because of his character. He was later ordained by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1714, and officiated at Arbroath and Burntisland as an Episcopal clergyman.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. Scots Presbyterian Justice exemplified, in the Case of Mr Will. Duguid, who lately was forc'd to fly to England from their persecution in Scotland, for having accepted of a Presentation from Her Majesty to the Parish Church of Burntisland. Being a full Vindication of him from the malicious Accusations of their Kirk Judicatories. In a Letter from himself to a Friend of his in Scotland.

   - (Text - Acts XXV, 7,8,11. "...I appeal unto Caesar.")
   - 54 pp.
   - Copies in N.L.P. H.38.C/7 and N.L.P. 600.

Duguid sets out his case. Appendices quote letters supporting him including one from Thomas Nairne of Abbotshall.

1. Fasti V. 82.
An Answer was published by Andrew Lowe in his A Vindication of the Church of Scotland from the Malicious and Groundless Aspersions of Mr William Dugell, etc. (See A. Lowe.)

2. Plain Dealing with the Presbyterians: A Sermon preached in the Meeting House of Burntisland in Fife. Upon Friday, Jan. 30, 1719, being appointed with authority on a Day of humiliation for the horrid and barbarous murder of King Charles I of ever blessed memory. Edinburgh 1719.

Copy in N.L.R. 2/31.

Attacking Presbyterians for complicity in the death of Charles I is a frequent line of attack.
WILLIAM DUNBAR. 1661-1746. Minister at Cruden
and Bishop of Moray and Ross; and Aberdeen.

A representative of the Bishops of the "cutted" Episcopal Church
consecrated after the Revolution. A full description of him is given
in little-known but valuable local history, Three Scots Bishops.¹
He is interesting as an Episcopal minister settled in Cruden after the
Revolution.² He did not qualify therefore, under the Acts of 1693 and
1712 which allowed ministers admitted to charges before the Revolution
to keep their livings provided they were willing to swear the Oath of
Allegiance. He was technically an "intruder", yet it was not till
1716 he was deposed by the Synod of Aberdeen. The parish of Cruden was
in the Presbytery of Ellon which did not come into full operation till
the year 1701, so strong was Episcopal sentiment in this region.
Besides this, Dunbar was under the powerful protection of the family of
Erroll of Slains Castle. In 1708 the Presbytery of Ellon was ordered
by the Synod of Aberdeen to summon him to the bar "for intrusion".
The process was departed from the Dunbar continued in Cruden till his
behaviour at the Rebellion of 1715 made action by the Presbytery
inevitable. He had openly avowed himself a Jacobite and announced his
desire to give "the Pretender" when he landed at Peterhead, all the help
and countenance in his power. He prayed for him from the pulpit; he
ordained a fast on his behalf; he publicly inveighed against the

1. Three Scots Bishops and their association with the Parish
   of Cruden. By Adam Mackay. Peterhead, 1918.
2. See also Fasti, VI, 188; Keith, Scottish Bishops, 522-3.
Hanoverian succession; he even incited the youth of his parish to join the rebel army. Even then it took a long process and the summoning of the military to have him ejected. It was 1720 before a Presbyterian minister was securely settled. Dunbar went to Peterhead. He was consecrated Bishop of Moray and Ross in 1727. He was involved in the "Usages" controversy and in other events in the subsequent history of the Episcopal Church which do not come within the scope of this study.

**PAMPHLET**

1. *A Representation of the State of the Church in North-Britain, as to Episcopacy and Liturgy, and of the Sufferings of the Orthodox and Regular Clergy, from the Enemies to both. But more especially of the Episcopal Churches within the Diocese and Shire of Aberdeen.* To which is prefixed a Disquisition concerning Ecclesiastical Censures in Causes Civil and Criminal, particularly in Matters of Treason and Rebellion. With Original Papers and Attestations.
   
   London. Printed for W.J. Innys at the Prince’s Arms in St Paul’s Church-Yard; and Sold by James Betterham at the Crown in Fater-Noster-Row. 1718. Price 1s. 6d.

   8o. 108 pp.

   Copy in New Coll. P. H.a./13-5.

This Pamphlet is really outside the period under survey, but it is sometimes quoted in writings dealing with this period. Grub confesses he does not know the author (*History*, III, 368). It was issued as a result of a meeting of a group of Episcopal ministers at the Lews of Fyvie on 30th October, 1716 to consider the fortunes of the Episcopal Church in Scotland and to take measures for defence. (Preface, p.8.) A Committee of four was appointed to publish their case in order to arouse sympathy in England. This Committee met at the Manse of Cruden, and it

1. *MS. Deed of Consecration in the Charter Chest of the Episcopal College in Edinburgh.*
is probable that the bulk of the writing was done by Dunbar. MacKay in his above-mentioned study of Dunbar, is aware of this but gives the title of the Pamphlet inaccurately and with the wrong date of publication.
This patriotic Scotsman was more concerned in the politics of the time than in ecclesiastical affairs, but his name has been often associated, usually wrongly, with some of the Pamphlets mentioned in this Bibliography. Biographies of him are listed in Preface to a modern and full study of Fletcher by Wm. G. Mackenzie. He was brought up an Episcopalian. He came under the influence of Gilbert Burnet when he was his tutor and Minister of Saltoun. His strongest loyalties were evoked, however, by political enthusiasms. There is an interesting passage in his Second Discourse, however, when he appeals to Presbyterians not to be disloyal to their country's interest or to seek favour with those in authority in the State in order to preserve the Presbyterian Establishment.

**PAMPHLET**

1. Two Discourses concerning the Affairs of Scotland: Written in the Year 1698.
   - (Crest) - Edinburgh, 1698.
   Second Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland. Written in the Year 1698.
   54 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 593/2. Aldis 3810.

On pp. 52-54 he ends his Pamphlet with the appeal to the

Presbyterians, mentioned above, not to compromise with a bad government or Royal favour in order to keep the Establishment secure - the suggestion being that the Presbyterians were afraid of what would happen if the Parliament which established Presbyterianism was dissolved. Shows the continuing fears of the Presbyterians for their Establishment.

Fletcher is often listed as the writer of the Pamphlet *A Speech without Doors concerning Toleration*. Edinburgh 1703. This Pamphlet is obviously not in Fletcher's style. Nor is it a topic to inspire his pen. The Pamphlet appears elsewhere in the Bibliography attributed to its proper author - Robert Wyllie of Hamilton. (See *Wyllie.*)
WILLIAM FORBES, c.1706, Advocate, Professor of Law in Glasgow University.

An advocate who also was Professor of Law at Glasgow University. Little information is available concerning this man. He has a place here because of his dispute with James Gordon, the parson of Banchory-Devenick. This began with a discussion on the history of the law concerning Church lands and Tithes.

PAMPHLETS

1. A Treatise of Church Lands and Tithes.


James Gordon replied in, Some Charitable Observations on Forbes' late Treatise etc.

This drew from Forbes -

2. A Few Remarks by William Forbes, Advocate, on a Scurrilous, Erroneous and Pedantical Pamphlet entitled Some Charitable Observations on his late Treatise of Church Lands and Tithes; By the Author of the Reformed Bishop under the vizard of a Moderate Son of the Church of England.

Edinburgh. Printed by Andrew Anderson. 1706. 40s. 30 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 2/71.
This was much more controversial and ranged over other topics familiar in this controversy.

Gordon made reply in a furious pamphlet with a provocative title, Some Just Reflections on a nonsensical and Sourril Pasquill against the Parson of Banchory, etc.

Forbes answered in -

3. A Letter from William Forbes, Advocaet, to a Gentleman in the Country concerning the Parson of Banchory and his late Pamphlet entitled, Some Just Reflections on a Pasquill against him etc.
   Edinburgh. Printed by Andrew Anderson. 1706.
   40. 44 pp.

This Pamphlet contains much personal attack on Forbes with reference to his career and disputes with his own Bishops.

"This malcontent assumes the title of a son of the Church of England, because he was not made a Father of the Church of Scotland. He .......... fell a-trying his criticizing vein upon other men's labours in History and Law."

(See James Gordon for other side.)

Forbes in replying to the attacks of James Gordon had included Andrew Symson as Joint Author of Some Just Reflections etc. (see Gordon). Symson denies authorship in a Pamphlet, A Letter from Mr. Andrew Symson to Mr. William Forbes, Advocaet. (See A. Symson.)
An important figure on the Presbyterian side. He contributed several weighty and seriously argued pamphlets which reward careful perusal by the student of the controversy. He is specially interesting because he began as an Episcopal minister and went over to the other side, becoming a convinced Presbyterian. An outline of his life is to be found in the Fasti.\(^1\) This tells how, after being licensed by the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1663 and ordained to the charge of Alva the following year, he renounced Episcopacy and joined the Presbyterians. He passed through many hardships, being outlawed in 1684, but at the Revolution he became minister at Killearn, then at St Andrews, and finally in 1698 was elected Principal of New College, St Andrews. A full account of his conversion from Episcopacy to Presbyterian is given in Wodrow's History.\(^2\)

This is largely autobiographical, as Wodrow includes Forrester's own letters and papers as well as official documents of church courts. Forrester says that he first questioned Episcopacy after reading John Brown's Apologetical Declaration\(^3\) and after deep consideration felt he


\(^{2}\) Wodrow, History of the Sufferings, etc., Vol.II, pp.252-260.

\(^{3}\) See under John Brown.
must reject the whole Episcopal position. He gives his "reasons of
disowning the present Church judicatories and separating himself from
them", in a paper written in 1673 and quoted in full by Wodrow.

PAMPHLETS

1. Rectius Instruendum, or a Review and Examination of the
Doctrine presented by one assuming the name of one Informer,
in three Dialogues with a certain Doubter, upon the contro-
verted points of Episcopacy, the Covenants against Episcopacy,
and Separation, wherein the unsoundness, and (in many things)
the inconsistency of the Informer's principles, arguments and
answers, upon these points, the violence which he hath
offered unto the holy Scripture and to diverse authors ancient
and modern, is demonstrat and made appear. And that truth
which is after godliness, owned by the true protestant
Presbyterian Church of Scotland, asserted and vindicated.
- (Text quoted - Prov. 19, 27.) -
Printed in the year 1684.
8o. n.p.
Confutation of Second Dialogue - 136 pp.; Confutation of Third
Dialogue - 200 pp.)
Wing, F.1597.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f./22.

This is an early work written before the Revolution but it is
perhaps the best known of Forrester's Pamphlets. The Pamphlet it
answers was written in 1679 by an Episcopalian, rather confusingly named
David Forrester. For classification his Pamphlet may be given here

The Differences of the Time in three Dialogues. The first, anent
Episcopacy. The second, anent the obligation of the Covenants
against Episcopacy. The third, anent Separation. Intended for
the quieting the minds of people and settling them in more Peace
and Unity.
- (Texts quoted - Psal. 123, 6-9; Psal. 133, 1; Mark 3, 24; Heb.
10. 25.) (Latin phrase.)
Edinburgh; Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to his
most Sacred Majesty. Anno Dom. 1679.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f./21.
2. **A Counter Essay, or, a Vindication and Assertion of Calvin and Beza's Presbyterian Judgment and Principles; Drawn from their Writings, in answer to the Imputations of a late Pamphlet, entituled An Essay, concerning Church Government, out of the excellent Writings of Calvin and Beza, Attempting to fasten upon them an Episcopal Perawasion.** Wherein is exhibit their Assertions of Presbyterian Government from Scripture, and this Author's Perversion of their Doctrine in his pretended Definitions, Postulatum and Axioms, imputed to them, is discovered, the falsehood of his Propositions and Corollaries and the Sophistrie of his Demonstrations exhibited from the Principles of these Divines.

By occasion whereof some chief Sinews of the Episcopal Pleadings, form the nature of the Apostolick and Evangelistick Office, the authority of the seven Asian Angels of the Churches, etc. are dissolved, and the equal Power and Authority of Pastors in Government, as the highest ordinary Church Officers evinced.

(Texts. Exod. 19. 16; Psal. 56. 5; 2 Cor. 13. 8.) (Quot. from August. tractat 27; Tertull. de Praescrip. haeret; Iostantius, de falsa sapientia, cap. 1. Idem. Diviner. Instit. Epitom. Cap. 6.)

By a Minister of the true Presbyterian Church of Scotland, established by law.

Edinburgh, Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson. Printers to their most Excellent Majesties. Anno Dom. 1692.

40. 74 pp.

(Preface 8 pp. unnumbered.)

Copy in N.L.P. 228/9.


A Reply to Alexander Cunningham's Pamphlet *An Essay concerning Church Government etc.* (written originally in 1689 and reprinted in 1692, with its attempt to find support for Episcopacy in Calvin and Beza.

3. **The Hierarchical Bishop's Claim to a Divine Right tried at the Scripture-Bar. Or, a Consideration of the Pleadings of Prelacy, from pretended Scripture Arguments, Presented and Offered by Dr Scott, in his Book entituled, *The Christian Life,* Part II, A.M., D.D. in his Enquiry into the New Opinions, etc. And by the Author of the Second Part of the Survey of Napthali Exposing their bold Pervertings of the Scripture pleaded by them; and Vindicating the sound Sense of the Scriptures**

Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f.

Attack upon the whole position of the "Hierarchical Bishop".

References in title to Alex. Monro's Enquiry into the New Opinions and A. Honeyman's Survey of Nepthali.

Also references to Dr Scott. This was John Scott (1639-1695) Rector of the Church of St Peter-le-Poor, Canon of St Paul's, late Rector of St Giles in the Field, London. He wrote The Christian Life, Part II, London. Printed by W. Kettelby, 1697. 632 pp.

4. A Review and Consideration of Two late Pamphlets, the First entitled, Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland by a Gentleman of that Country; The Second, A Query turn'd into an Argument in favours of Episcopacy. Exposing the unsound Principles, and Popish Tincture and Tendency of both, and vindicating the Government and Constitution of the Church from the Cavils and Aspersions contain'd therein. To which are annex'd Counter-Queries offered to the Prelatists of Scotland. As also, Considerations upon Church Government. Wherein the most material Points agitated in the Episcopal Controversie, and, in special, upon the Debate and Question of antiquity, are succinctly cleared; Together with a Defence thereof against Exceptions and Animadversions of a Manuscript suppos'd to be written by J.S. The whole intended for the further Confirmation of the Testimony of our Church, and Encouragement of her sincere Members in adherence to her true Gospel Constitution.

- (Texts quot. Prov. 14. 6; Isa. 8. 20; 2 Cor. 13. 8. Optatmilevit contra Parmen Lib. 5.) -

Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
The title explains the contents. It is a reply to Archibald Campbell who wrote Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland and A Query turned into an Argument. (See Arch. Campbell.) The J.S. mentioned is John Sage whose writings are also attacked.
Like Samuel Rutherford of an earlier generation, perhaps remembered chiefly for his devotional writings, but was also a defender of Presbyterian principles. There are many sources from which details of his life and works can be obtained. Recently Dr D. Fraser in his Ph.D. thesis gives a full study of him. A grandson of Lord Lovat, and son of the Laird of Brea, Fraser became a convinced Presbyterian and suffered imprisonment on the Bass and elsewhere before being settled at the Revolution as minister of Culross. There he is said to have been active against ministers suspected of Episcopal leanings. Dr Alex Whyte has given him prominence as a saintly character through editing his Memoirs. But it is as a Presbyterian controversialist we study him here. To him, "Prelacy was an Idol". His opponents credit him with a very unsaintly character. A particularly vicious attack was made upon him by Dr Arch. Pitcairne in the Preface to his Babell. This attack was couched in such terms of indelicacy and virulence that it must be accepted with caution. Nevertheless Fraser would appear to have been a more robust character than some who have written on him have made him appear to be.

1. D.N.B.; Boston, Memoirs, p.40; Anderson, Bass Rock; Edinburgh Christian Instructor, XXIII; Select Biographies (Wodrow Society); King, Covenanters of the North, 375-390; Covenanters of Moray and Ross, 104; Fasti, V, 16. List of authorities in D.N.B. and in Fasti, V, 16.
2. Copy in New College Library.
3. See Fasti, V, 84; V, 50; (Cases of Johnston of Burntisland and Johnston of Saline.)
4. Alex Whyte, James Fraser of Brea, Edin. 1911.
5. See under Arch. Pitcairne. - Preface to Babell - "Mr Turbulent".
PAMPHLETS

1. An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland, With the Letters of King William, and the late King James to the said Estates.
   London. Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St Paul's Churchyard. MDCLXXIX.
   Fol. 12 pp. Licensed 1689. James Fraser - (On Page opposite Title.)
   Copy in N.L.P. 9/18.

   An account mostly consisting of documents of the Convention of Estates of 1689. Vindicating the "forfauling" of James VII.

2. Prelacy an Idol and Prelats' Idolaters. All Prelats, Maintainers of and Complyers with Prelacy, charg'd with Idolatry, and proven guilty. - A Sermon - - By the Reverend and Learned James Fraser of Brae, Minister of the Gospel at Culross.
   - - The Second Edition - -
   - (Texts - Matt. XV, 13, 14; Hos. IV, 17; Luke, XXII, 25-26; 1 Pet. V, 5; III John 9; II John, 9, 10, 11) -
   8o. 48 pp. Text - Hosea XII, 2-5.
   n.p., is in New Coll. F. D.e/5/16.

3. The Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from Corrupt Ministers and Churches Explained and Vindicated. Written by the Reverend and Learned Mr James Fraser of Brae, Late Minister of the Gospel at Culross, Against the sinful compliances of his day., and now published against the sinful compliances of ours. Printed from his own original manuscript.
   - (Text quoted - Acts XIX, 9) -
   Edinburgh. Printed for and Sold by George Paton, Bookseller in Linlithgow, and by other Booksellers in Town and Country. MDCCXLIV.
   8o. 217 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.e/3.

Perhaps his best known Pamphlet. It was not published by him in
his lifetime. It was published in 1744 in the days of the Erskines when it was used in a quite different situation.

It was originally written against all, his own brethren as much as others, who had compromised with Episcopacy. The Preface in his original MS, in his own handwriting is headed, *An Enquiry into the so much debated Case, viz. Whether it be the duty of the Lord's people in Britain and Ireland to hear such as have submitted to a Prelatical Government or to join with them in the exercise of such acts as do belong to the Pastoral Office.*

DAVID FREEBAIRN. 1653-1739. Minister of Dunning.

Episcopal Publisher, Post-Revolution Bishop.

Son of the Minister of Gask, he became colleague to his father at Gask, in 1676, and thereafter was translated to Auchterarder and then to Dunning from which church he was deposed at the Revolution for not praying for William and Mary.¹ Like other deposed Episcopal Ministers² he became a publisher and bookseller in Edinburgh. Along with his son Robert he printed and published many Episcopal tracts. His name is to be found on many mentioned in the Bibliography. A friend of Robert Wodrow in his early days; both the Freebairns are mentioned in his Correspondence.³ After a time the elder Freebairn quitted the Printing business and returned to the ministry. He set up an Episcopal Meeting House in Bailie Fyfe’s Close, and was prosecuted for not praying for the King. In 1722 he was consecrated Bishop. Keith indicates that he was not in harmony with some of his brethren, wishing to revive Sees for the Bishops, having “Erastian notions on the subject of patronage”, and allowing his Jacobitical prejudices to interfere with the exercise of his Episcopal functions”.⁴

1. Fasti, IV, 269; D. Irving, Scottish Writers, II, 208.
2. See Symson, Cuming etc.
PAMPHLET

Besides printing and publishing many Episcopal Pamphlets Freebairn is credited with one of his own writing.

Queries to the Presbyterian Ministers of Scotland.
Fol. 2 pp. No Title Page.
Copy in N.L.P. 9/84.

A reply to Sir James Stuart's The Oath of Abjuration set in its true light; etc. Asks - "Can Scots Presbyterians take the oath without perjury?" Accuses them of going into Union to "ruin the Church of England by joyning issue with the Whigs in the House of Commons."
GEORGE GARDEN. 1649-1673. Minister at Forgue and Aberdeen.

(His name is spelt differently in the writings of the time. Sometimes it is Gardens, sometimes Gairns.)

(The Fasti gives the date of his death wrongly as in 1723.)

A redoubtable defender of Episcopacy in Aberdeen, stronghold of the Episcopal cause. A son of the manse of Forgue, he himself became minister there in 1677 and later was translated to St Machar and then to the East Church, Aberdeen, in 1673. Four years after the Revolution, he was deprived by the Privy Council for not praying for William and Mary. In 1701, he was deposed by the General Assembly for Bourignonism and for contumacy. He ignored the sentence and continued to minister to his congregation. In the Toleration issue of 1703, Garden took an active part and most of his pamphlets fall into this period. On the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Clergy of Aberdeen drew up an address of congratulation to Queen Anne. This was presented by Dr. George Garden and his brother Dr. James Garden. They were accompanied by Mr James Greenshields and introduced by the Earl of Mar. They took the opportunity to lay the "case for the Episcopal Clergy" before the Queen.

1. See copy of Case of Episcopal Clergy in H.L.P. 552.
2. For biographical details see Fasti; VI, 2, D.N.B.; Grub, Eccl. Hist., III, 270, 339-346; Acts of Assembly, 260-1, 306-8; Hill Burton, History I, 354-6; Stephen, History II, 640-3. Acts Parl. Scot., Vol.XI, 46-7; and Appendix, 15; Records of University and King's College, Aberdeen; For recent account see G.D. Henderson, Religious Life in 17th Century Scotland; where there are numerous references to Garden; Also his Mystics of the North East; Ms. Letters of Garden are in the Scottish Episcopal College Library, Edinburgh.
Grub expresses his belief that "had the Queen's life been prolonged there can be little doubt that the adherents of the hierarchy in Scotland would have received a still more ample measure of protection". With the accession of George I these hopes died, and the Episcopal Church became more closely identified with the Stewart cause. In the Rising of 1715 when the Pretender was at Fetteresso in the house of the Earl Marischal, an address from the Episcopal Clergy of Aberdeen was presented to him by the same two men, Dr. George and Dr. James Garden. The Address to Queen Anne had been a loyalist one - now they were offering allegiance to the Pretender. This shows the changing position of the Episcopal Church. Garden was imprisoned, escaped, and fled overseas, dying abroad in 1733.

PAMPHLETS

1. The Queries and Protestation of the Scots Episcopal Clergy against the authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies and Committees, given in to the Committee of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, June 29, 1694.

An early Pamphlet published in London in 1694, embodying a statement given in that same year to the commission of the General Assembly sent north to Aberdeen. It sets forth the position and grievances of the Episcopal clergy and denies the authority over them of the General Assembly. It is discussed also under James Gordon of Banchory - Devenick, who was prominently identified with the Protestant. Possibly

both were associated in this Protest and its issue as a Pamphlet. It also appears in the writings of George Ridpath, the Presbyterian. He printed the Queries and Protestation with its Commissions Answers and his own Reflection (see George Ridpath).


2. The Case of the Episcopal Clergy truly Represented. London 1689.

The Fasti lists this as a Pamphlet written by Garden as follows "London 1689; Edinburgh 1703, 1704, 1705. It is on the lines of the previous Pamphlet (1) setting out the sufferings and hardships of the Episcopal Clergy. It may have been reprinted later at the time of the Toleration issue, but probably the Fasti was confusing it with (3).

Garden wrote this and four other Pamphlets with the Title, The Case of the Episcopal Clergy ... considered etc. They are his chief contribution to the Debate and are occasioned by the Toleration Issue of 1703.

3. The Case of the Episcopal Clergy, And of those of the Episcopal Perswasion, Considered; As to granting them a Toleration and Indulgence.
   - (Text. Prov. 18, 17.) -
   Printed in the Year MDOC.III.
   4o. 27 pp. n.p.
   Copy in N.L.P. 300/19.

1. D.N.B. gives Garden as Author; See Miscellany of the Spalding Club II, 163-171 for discussion of this writing.
A notable Pamphlet. It was replied to by James Hart in his Pamphlet, *A Survey of the Case etc.* (see Hart) and by James Ramsay in his equally well-known and much attacked Pamphlet, *A Letter from a Gentleman etc.* (see Ramsay).

Ramsay's Pamphlet drew from Garden a Second Edition of *The Case etc.* under the title -

4. **The Case of the Episcopal Clergy; And of Those of the Episcopal Persuasion Considered; As to granting them a Toleration and Indulgence. Second Edition. Revised and Cleared from the Mistakes of the Gentleman's Letter, etc.**

- (Text quoted - Proverbs XVIII, 17.)

- Printed in the year MDCCIX.

40. n.p. 40 pp. (27 pp. plus Postscript "clearing the foregoing Paper from the mistakes of the Gentleman's Letter, etc.")

Copies in N.L.P. 300/20; N.L.P. 323/17.

This is the same Pamphlet as (3) except that it has additional pages replying to Ramsay's Letter etc.

The controversy between Garden and Ramsay continued strongly. In reply to (4) Ramsay published his *Remarks upon the Case of the Episcopal Clergy etc.* (see Ramsay).

To this Garden replied with -

5. **The Case of the Episcopal Clergy And of Those of the Episcopal Persuasion, Considered; As to granting them a Toleration and Indulgence.**

- The Second Part -

- In a Letter to Mr George Meldrum, Professor of Theology in the Colledge of Edinburgh. - Being a Vindication of the Former from the Misrepresentations of the Remarks, etc.
Besides Ramsay another Presbyterian writer and preacher against Toleration is mentioned, viz. George Meldrum. (See under Meldrum for Sermon attacking the Toleration, its Vindication, and Defence of the Sermon. It is cast in the form of a Letter to George Meldrum.

6. The Case of the Episcopal Clergy; And of those of the Episcopal Perswasion Considered as to granting them a Toleration and Indulgence.
   - The Third Part - In answer to the Survey of the Case etc.
   4o. 184 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 522.

This is the Third Part of the Case etc. Still more lengthy, running to 184 pp.

From Preface, "Another Pamphlet has come abroad called A Survey of the Case, said to be written by one of the Professors of Theology among the Presbyterians, and to be much esteemed by the whole Party; I shall take the freedom to survey it".

Reference to James Hart's Survey etc. It seems as if Garden was mistaken as to the authorship of The Survey. He mentions "one of the Professors of Theology" which would seem to indicate George Meldrum as author.
One other Pamphlet should be noted though it is rarely listed as by Garden.

7. **Primitive Church Government in the Practice of the Reformed in Bohemia, Or, an Account of the Eclesiastick Order and Discipline among the Reformed; or (as they call themselves) The Unity of the Brethren in Bohemia.** With some Notes of John-Amos Comenius, serving to illustrate the same; and a Preface pointing out the true way to a Solid Peace, Order and Unity. And giving an Abstract of the History of the said Brethren, in so far as it relates to this Account. - (Text quoted, I Thess. 5, 20; Quot. from Greg Naz. in Orat. san Basil M.) -

Printed in the Year 1703.
40. 50 pp. n.p.
Copy in M.L.P. 509/6. (In his Index Arch. Campbell states definitely that the Pamphlet was translated and issued by George Garden.)

A Translation of an interesting Pamphlet from abroad describing the Church in Bohemia. On perusal it can be seen why it was useful for the Episcopal side in this argument. It deals with "President Bishops", "The ordination of Bishops or Seniors" etc. It is not the *jure divino* of Episcopacy that is asserted here. It is interesting to see the standpoint of Garden arising out of his own tradition (see G.D. Henderson on "The Influence of Bishop Patrick Forbes" in his Religious Life in Seventeenth Century Scotland, p.59).

These are the writings of George Garden that pertain to the controversy. His edition of the Works of John Forbes, and other works are not recorded here.
One of the Post-Revolution Bishops, he is known also as the biographer of John Sage. He took some part in this controversy publishing several pamphlets. He was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane in Edinburgh in June 1727. Keith gives some account of him and says "A Presbyter in Edinburgh, he was entirely devoted to what was called the College Party or those who opposed in the actual circumstances of the time, the distribution of the Church into districts and the appointment of diocesans".

**PAMPHLETS**

1. The Life of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Sage, Wherein also some Account is given of his Writings, both Printed and in Manuscript; and Some Things are added, towards the clearing of the Ancient Government of the Church of Scotland from the mistakes of a late Author. (Texts - Prov. XXXII. I; 2 Tim. IV. 7.) - (Quot. from Vincen. Lirinensis contra Haer. c.3.) London. Printed for Henry Clements, at the Half Moon in St Paul's Church yard. 1714. 78 pp. 8o. Copy in N.L.P. 794/4.

A biographical study of John Sage showing some of his arguments against the Presbyterians. The "Author" referred to is Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick whose Historical Collections Gillan here criticizes. (See under Sir James Dalrymple.) Sir James replied in his Vindication.

Gillan replied to the Vindication in -

2. Some Remarks upon Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections. With an Answer to the Vindication of the Ecclesiastical Part of them. Where the Ancient Settlement of the Scots in Britain; Their early Conversion to Christianity; The Government of their Church by Bishops; and some of their Ecclesiastical Rites and Customs, are Considered, and Cleared from the mistakes of several Learned Authors.

- (Quot. from Phoedr. Lib. IV. Feb. 25) -

Edinburgh. Printed. Sold by George Stewart, at the Book and Angel. 1714.
8o. 162 pp.


A discussion of the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

3. A Vindication of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery from the Exceptions of the Country-man, in his Letter to the Curate. Wherein these Queries are considered: I Whether it was the constant and uniform practice of our Reformers, to join in the Communion of the Church of England when they had occasion? II Whether our Reformers on their public Deeds, openly and solemnly professed, that they were of one Communion with the Church of England? III Whether the English Liturgy was used in Scotland for several years by our Reformers?

- By a true son of the afflicted Church of Scotland -
- (Quot. from Mr Tombs, a Learned Non-Conformist. Theodubia p.102) -

Edinburgh. Printed by James Watson, one of her Majesty's Printers. MDCCXIII.

8o. 183 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. H.38.d./16 and also N.L.P. 633/1. In ink on Title Page - "By the R. Ri. Mr Jo. Gillan".

The Fundamental Charter etc. was one of Sage's chief writings. The Country-man was John Anderson and the Curate, Robert Calder. They conducted a controversy over this issue of the English Liturgy. (See under Sage, Anderson, Calder.) Here Gillan repeats the arguments of Sage. For Keith's approving comment on this pamphlet see his Scottish Bishops, p.547.
ADAM GLASS. \textendash; 1741. Minister at Aberlady.

Ordained to Aberlady in 1697 he refused to subscribe the usual formula at his ordination and became suspect by Presbytery and Synod. In 1705 he was involved with others in differences with the superior courts of the Church and finally deserted his charge which was declared vacant in 1711. Thereafter he joined the Church of England and was reordained as deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. He became rector of Lofthouse in Yorkshire.\textsuperscript{1}

PAMPHLET

A Letter to a Gentleman at London concerning Mr Adam Glass, late minister of the Established Church in Scotland, at the Parish of Aberlady, who hath now conformed to the Church of England; and received Orders from the Bishop of London.

London. Printed for A. Baldwin at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick Lane. 1712.

8o. 23 pp.

Copy in \textsc{N.L.P. 600/10}.

A Presbyterian Pamphlet commenting on Glass's having gone over to the Church of England. It quotes from his Sermon his saying that his motives in going over to the Church of England had been "full conviction of the Divine and Apostolical Order of Episcopacy, the Government of the Church in all Ages; not from Temporal Necessity or expectation of Secular Advantage".

\textsuperscript{1} Fasti, I, 352; Wodrow MSS.; Graves, History of Cleveland.
Perhaps a good deal had been made of Glass. This Pamphlet says, "The Church of England have got a poor bargain."

The Fasti account of Glass mentions the publication by him of A Sermon preached upon Christmas Day, but a copy of this cannot be traced.
"The Parson of Banchory", as he was frequently referred to, was a well-known Episcopalian minister in Aberdeenshire. Aberdeen born and bred, he is interesting because he was a stern critic of the Church in pre-Revolution days, and in his Reformed Bishop he scathingly denounced corruptions in the Church and its leaders. For this he was deposed in 1680. On expressing sorrow and craving pardon, the sentence was removed and he was restored to Banchory where he ministered till his death. On restoration to his charge he became a leading figure in upholding the Episcopal cause against the Presbyterians. He and other representatives of the Episcopal Clergy of Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness and Orkney appeared before the Commission of Assembly in 1694 at Aberdeen and lodged a Paper containing questions and a formal protest against the authority over them of the General Assembly which they refused to acknowledge as lawfully representing the National Church. This was embodied in the Queries and Protestation, etc. (see below).

PAMPHLETS


So. 300 pp.


Wing, G.1280 - refers to the Second Edition. Published in 1689.

Copy in N.L.P. 600/16.

The Pamphlet which made Gordon's name known. It was written criticism of his own Church, and was banned by the Privy Council of 1680 with other works like Buchanan's De Jure Apud Scootos; Calderwood's History and Stuart's Naphtala. Along with criticism of his own he denounced Parity among Clergy and other tenets of the Presbyterians.

2. Queries and Protestation of the Episcopal Clergy against the Authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies and Committees, given in to the Committee of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, June 29th, 1694.

For this Pamphlet see under George Ridpath who republished the Pamphlet with Answers. N.L.P.

See also under George Garden whose name is associated also with the Pamphlet. See Miscellany of the Spalding Club, II, 163-171, for discussion of it.

Wing, G.218.
Copy in New Coll. P. B.c./10.10.

This Pamphlet made public the Paper lodged by the representatives of the Episcopal Clergy of Aberdeen, Ross and Caithness and Orkney before the Commission of Assembly at Aberdeen in 1694. (See above.)

There was also his controversy with William Forbes (see Wm. Forbes for other side). Gordon's two Pamphlets were -

3. Some Charitable Observations on a late Treatise of Church Lands and Tithes; By Mr Forbes, Advocate; and tendered to the Publick by a modest Son of the Church of England.
This was an attack on Forbes' original Pamphlet, *A Treatise on Church Lands and Tithes*. Both the original and the reply are quite seriously argued writings based on historical study. Thereafter the debate grew more acrimonious. Forbes replied to (3) in, *A Few Remarks by William Forbes, Advocate, on a Scurrilous, Erroneous and Pedantical Pamphlet entitled, Some Charitable Observations, etc.* (See Forbes.)

This was much sharper in tone and drew a reply from Gordon with the title:

4. *Some Just Reflexions on a Nonsensical and Scurril Pasquil, against the Parson of Banchory, penned by a Brain-Sick Bigott named William Forbes, Advocate. Which Animadversions are briefly contained in the Answer, to a Missive Letter to a Friend at South.*
   - (Text quot. 1 Cor. 15, 32.) -
   Edinburgh, Printed in the Year MDCCVI. And are to be sold by Mr. Andrew Symson at the foot of the Horse-Wynd.
   40. 74 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 590/2.

Forbes had the final word in *A Letter from William Forbes, Advocate, to a Gentleman in the Country concerning the Parson of Banchory and his late Pamphlet entitled Some Just Reflexions on a Pasquil, etc.* (See Forbes.)

The debate has now widened from the original question of Tithes and Church Land to include other points in the general Presbyterian-Episcopalian controversy.
Forbes accused Andrew Symson of being Part-Author of Some Just
Reflections. Symson denied this in A Letter from Mr Andrew Symson to
Mr William Forbes, Advocate. (See A. Symson.)
JOHN GORDON, M.D. c.1689. London Presbyterian Doctor.

An early writer of whom little is known save that he would appear to have been a layman, a doctor, and resident in London. He was a Presbyterian and writes to vindicate the happenings of the Revolution and to plead for the establishment of Presbyterianism at the forthcoming Parliament of 1690.

Only one Pamphlet is attributed to him but it is well-known. Sometimes it is ascribed wrongly to George Ridpath.

40. 26 pp.
Wing, G.1285.

Dedicated to the Countess of Sutherland as one whose family has helped in the work of the Revolution and may further help in the Establishment of Presbytery. The Pamphlet was written in 1689.

Another Pamphlet written in 1689 with the same purpose may perhaps be noted here as it is not possible to identify with any certainty its authorship, although it seems to have circulated widely.

An Apologie for Presbyterie; for removing Prejudices. By a Well-Wisher to a True Gospel Ministry.
- (Texts quot. - Ezra VII, 23; Matt. x, 25) -
Printed in the Year 1689.
40. 18 pp. n.p.
Copies in N.L.P. 269/1 and N.L.P. 228/6.

A somewhat mysterious individual who wrote under the pseudonym of "W.G., Citizen of Aberdeen." He was a convinced Episcopalian and joined issue with the Presbyterians over a wide field. Among those whom he attacked were Francis Melvil, Minister of the East Church, Aberdeen;¹ and Thomas Blackwell, Professor Divinity in the Marischal College.² From the style of his pseudonym he would not seem to be a clergyman and this is confirmed by himself in one of his writings where he calls himself "a layman who lives in the northern part of the Island where Presbytery received an Establishment at the Revolution."³ His writings are really outside the period under survey, but since they involve other men concerned in this controversy and many of the same topics discussed, they are of interest here.

PAMPHLETS

1. A Letter to Mr Francis Melvil, one of the Presbyterian Teachers in Aberdeen, in Vindication of the English Liturgy, against his unjust charges. To which are added Some Considerations concerning Set Forms of Prayer, Episcopacy, Schism, etc.
   - (Texts quot. - Jer. VI. 16; Tit. I. 10-11) -
   London. Printed by H. Parker, at the Bible in Goswell Street. 1718.
   8vo. 120 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 954/7.

¹. Minister at Arbuthnott and East Church Aberdeen, Pasti, VI, 2.
². See under Thomas Blackwell.
³. Preface to A Letter to Mr Francis Melvil.
In the Preface is given the information that it was not a Pamphlet by Melvil that occasioned this writing. It was a Sermon preached by him "in the Church of Aberdeen the 13th of March last" (1718). Melvil had attacked the English Liturgy as being indistinguishable from the Roman Missal. Gordon is at pains to deny this. Thereafter he goes on to discuss other topics mentioned in the Title.

Another Pamphlet that names Melvil is -

2. **An Apology for the Use of the English Liturgy and Worship, against the Cavils and Exceptions of the Presbyterians of North Britain: In a Letter to Mr Francis Melvil. By a Citizen of Aberdeen. London. 1718. 8o. Halkett & Laing, I, 123. Mentioned by Halkett & Laing. No copy in N.L.P. or New Coll. P. Not seen by compiler of this Bibliography.**

3. **A Letter to Mr Thomas Blackwell, Professor of Divinity, with other Papers concerning the Observation of Christmas and other Festivals of the Church. By W.G., Citizen of Aberdeen. Edinburgh. 1722. 8o. 33 pp. Halkett & Laing, III, 291. See Robertson's Aberdeen Bibliography. Halkett & Laing mention this Pamphlet but the compiler of this Bibliography has not found a copy. The substance of the Pamphlet, however, is set out in the answer to it.**

The answer to (3) came from Blackwell or a sympathizer in -

Sir Francis Grant (Later Lord Cullen), 1660-1726.

At the early age of 29, in the Convention of Estates in 1689, he moved the "forfaulting" of James VII and the recognition of William and Mary with the necessary constitutional safeguards. He was made a baronet and later a Senator of the Court of Session with the title of Lord Cullen. He purchased the estate of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire. A nephew of George Meldrum and friend of Robert Wodrow, he was also, interestingly enough, a friend of Sir George Mackenzie. He advocated the Union of 1707, contending that the fears of the Presbyterians as to the security of the ecclesiastical settlement were groundless. He took a strong line against the restoration of Patronage. What makes him a specially interesting figure in this controversy is that, although a convinced Presbyterian, he attempted to set out a via media and to play down the "divine right" of both Presbytery and Episcopacy. This view of church government as "ambulatory" and not "fixed", had little appeal in such a period and was roughly handled by both sides. There are various sources of information on Grant, including a biography by Dr James Stark. These while adequate as to his life and career, are strangely incomplete with regard to his

1. Chambers, Eminent Scotsmen, II, 169-171; Anderson, Scottish Nation, II, 364; Cassells, Old and New Edinburgh, I, 3; Wodrow, Analecta, III, 281-2; Chambers, Biographia Britannica, IV, 2256; Miscellany of the Spalding Club, II, 96-97; Seafield Correspondence (1688-1708); Records of Elgin, I, 380.

writings. Even Dr Stark, who deals in detail with several of his pamphlets on various topics, seems unaware of those which he wrote in connection with this controversy, although they were well-known at the time under the pseudonym, "F.G. Gentleman" and drew replies from both sides.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. The Loyalists Reasons for his giving Obedience, and swearing Allegiance, to the present Government: As being obliged thereto; by (it being founded on) the Laws of God, Nature, Nations and Civil: And Seing hereby, Justice precedes Advantage and Right Possession and Rule Precedents. Wherein are answered (by Prevention) all the Objections of Dissenters, according to their own uncontroversible Principles.
   - (Text - Luke, 19, 22; Quot. from Cartes.)
   - By F.G. Gent.
   - 8o. 113 pp. (49-94 missing.)

   Sets out his attitude to the 1689 Convention of Estates.

2. The Patriot Resolved. In a Letter to an Addresser, from his Friend; of the same Sentiments with himself concerning the Union.
   - (Text - Job. 29, 116; Job. 33. 14, 16, 17.)
   - Printed in the Year 1707.
   - 4o. 32 pp. n.p.

   Sets out the advantages to Scotland from the prospective Union. The Presbyterian Establishment will be safe.

3. Reasons in defence of the Standing Laws about the Right of Presentation in Patronages; To be offered against an Act (in case it be) Presented for the Abolition thereof; By a Member of Parliament; - In a Letter to his Friend in the Country -
   - Edinburgh. Printed in the Year 1703.
Against the restoration of Patronage dreaded by the Presbyterians. The argument is given in Stark’s Lord Cullen, etc., pp. 53-62. See Dr John Hay, Sound and Solid Reasons against the Presbyterian Points anent Patronages.

This Pamphlet was reprinted in 1842 when the question of Patronage was again before the Church.

4. An Essay for Peace. By Union in Judgement: About Church-Government in Scotland. = In a Letter from ++ ++ ++ to his Neighbour in the Country. = (Text as quoted.) Phil. 2, 2; 3, 15; 3, 16; 4, 5; Rom. 12, 18.

Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson. Printer to the Queen’s most Excellent Majesty. Anno. Dom. 1703.

4o. 21 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 509/2k.

This is the Pamphlet apparently unknown to Stark and other biographers of Grant. Arch. Campbell definitely ascribes it to him (N.L.P. 509 = written Index).
This is Grant's attempt to promote peace between the opposing parties by suggesting that, while Presbytery is the better form of Church Government, Episcopacy is also lawful. The Presbyterian purists disliked this theory. Objections were raised by Robert White in the Appendix to his Funeral of Prelacy; and James Webster in his Discourse demonstrating that the Government of the Church which is of Divine Right is fixed and not ambulatory. In answer to An Essay for Peace, etc. Another answer came in an anonymous pamphlet difficult to identify as to authorship entitled, A Letter to a Friend containing some Modest Reflections on the Essay for Peace, etc.

The Episcopalian writers were equally unwilling to agree to this line of reasoning.

5. A Letter from a Country Gentleman to his Friend in the City shewing the Reasons which induce him to think that Mr. W----r is not the Author of the Answer to the Essay for Peace. Printed in the Year 1703. 40. 4 pp. Copy in N.L.P. 521.

Not usually listed as by Grant but copy in N.L.P. 521 is ascribed to him.

An anonymous pamphlet, the authorship of which it is difficult to identify is to be found in N.L.P. It deals with the Essay and the answers to it.

JAMES GRAY, c.1652-1710. Minister at Muirkirk.

Born in Aberdeen and educated at King's College, he graduated in 1676 and was admitted to Muirkirk about 1684. He did not reside in the parish and deserted his charge at the Revolution. Thereafter he is said to have become an agent of the Episcopal party in London and to have received a payment of £100 yearly from the Government for this. In 1705 he intruded at Logiebride, Perthshire.¹

PAMPHLETS

1. Remarks made upon the Representation made by the Kirk of Scotland, concerning Patronages.
   Fol. 4 pp. n.p. n.d.
   Copy in N.L.P. 9/177.

   See Thomas Blackwell for the Representation to which this is a reply.

   The setting of the Pamphlet is obviously the year 1712 when the Presbyterians were trying to avert the legislation of that year which restored Patronage and granted a Toleration to the Episcopalians.

2. Some Counter- Queries.
   Fol. 2 pp. n.p. n.d.
   Copy in N.L.P. 9/75.

   Believed to have been written by Gray. A series of questions to Presbyterians, in reply to the pleas of Carstares and others against the granting of a Toleration and restoring Patronage in 1712. (See Carstares.)

¹ Fasti, III, 59; Wodrow, Analecta, II, 278; Brit. and For. Evang. Review, XIII.
JAMES GREENSHIELDS. c.1709. Curate at Tynam, Armagh; and Episcopal Minister in Edinburgh.

A well-known figure of the Post-Revolution period. The Greenshields Case is commented on by every historian of the period. Not a great deal is known about him apart from the happenings that made him the centre of controversy. Son of a curate deposed at the Revolution, he himself had been ordained after the Revolution by the Bishop of Ross. Seeing little prospect for himself in Scotland, he had crossed to Ireland and had officiated there as a curate for 13 years at Tynam in the diocese of Armagh. In 1709 he revisited Scotland and while in Edinburgh received an invitation to open a Meeting House in the capital and use the English Service. This he did. The subsequent events are recorded in all histories of the period. After a decision by the Court of Session against Greenshields he took his case to the House of Lords and for the first time after the Union a decision of the Court of Session was overturned in an ecclesiastical case.¹

PAMPHLET

1. The Case of Mr Greenshields, as it was printed in London, with Remarks upon the same; and copies of the original Papers relating to that Affair; As also a List of the late Episcopal

¹ For discussion of the Case see Somerville, History, p.469; Carstares State Papers; Stephen, History, IV; Dunningham, History II, 222ff.; Story, Carstares, pp.316-321; and in some detail G.C. McCrie, Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland, pp.265-271. Other writings of the time make reference to the Case.
ministers who enjoy Churches or Legal Benefices in Scotland.
- Edinburgh. Reprinted by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew
Anderson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. Anno
Dom. 1710.
4s. 60 pp.
Copy in N.I.P. 269/6.

This is a Presbyterian Pamphlet but it contains the papers in the
case including Greenshields' own contentions with "Remarks" upon them.

There is added a useful list of Episcopal ministers occupying charges
in 1710 with a note of those who were non-jurors.

A group of four Episcopal pamphlets on the case may be mentioned -

2. A Letter concerning the Affair of Mr Greenshields.
- (Texts) - Acts, XXIV. 14; Acts, XXV, 10, 11.
- Printed in the year MDCCXI.
4s. 20 pp. n.p.
Pamphlet includes Act of Commission of General Assembly against
Innovations in the Worship of God.

Written while the case was before the House of Lords and the question
was being argued whether that body had the power to overthrow the decision
of the Court of Session.

3. The Case of Mr Greenshields, fully stated and discussed in a
Letter from a Commoner of North Britain, to an English Peer.
Printed in the year MDCCXI.
4s. 22 pp.
Copy in N.I.P. 268/22. (In ink on Title Page, Ja. Lyon.)

Appeal to English Peers on the Case set out here from the
Episcopalian point of view. Also repels the Presbyterian argument that
this was an ecclesiastical case which should have been dealt with in
ecclesiastical courts.
4. An Answer to the Letter from a Commoner of North Britain, by his Friend in Edinburgh with respect to Mr Greenshield's Case. (At end of Pamphlet) Edinburgh, Printed by James Watson, and sold at his Shop next door to the Red-Lyon, opposite to the Lucken-Booths. 1711.
4o. 8 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 268/23.

5. The True State of the Case of the Reverend Mr Greenshields, now prisoner in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, for Reading the Common Prayer, in an Episcopal Congregation there; tho' qualify'd by taking the Oaths, and praying for the Queen and the Princess Sophia. With Copies of several Original Papers relating to his Accusation, Defence, Imprisonment and Appeal, first to the Lords of Session in North Britain, and since to the House of Lords. London, Printed for Jonah Bowyer, at the Rose in Ludgate-Street. 1710.
Fol. 24 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 9/185.

This is a Pamphlet giving the Episcopalian views on the Case, and can be set against (1) above. The author may have been Greenshields himself.

In N.L.P. 9/186; N.L.P. 9/187; N.L.P. 9/196; N.L.P. 9/31 there are printed original documents on the Case which are of interest to any student of the Case.
JAMES HADOW. 1670-1747. Minister at Cupar; Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews.

A well-known figure in the Church controversies of his day. He is perhaps better known for the part he played in the case against John Simson, Divinity Professor at Glasgow, accused of Socinianism; for his controversy with James Hog of Carnock; and for his opposition to the "Marrow Doctrine." But in earlier days he was also involved in the Presbyterian - Episcopal debate, although his part is often exaggerated. At a later stage differences developed among the Presbyterians, but at the Post-Revolution stage they joined their forces against Episcopacy. Born at Douglas in Lanarkshire he was probably educated abroad. He became Minister at Cupar after the Revolution, in 1692, and later was Professor of Divinity and finally Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews in 1707.

PAMPHLET

Two Pamphlets are repeatedly ascribed to Hadow which were written by others.

(a) Remarks upon the Case of the Episcopal Clergy and those of the Episcopal Persuasion considered as to granting them a Toleration and Indulgence. Edinburgh 1703.

This is by James Ramsay of Kelso. (See J. Ramsay.)

(b) *A Survey of the Case of the Episcopal Clergy and of those of the Episcopal Persuasion*, Edin. 1703.

Commonly attributed to Hadow but by James Hart. (See J. Hart.)

His indisputable contribution to the controversy was

1. *The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Scotland anent the Sacrament of Baptism. Vindicated from the charge of gross error exhibited in the print called The Practice and Doctrine of the Presbyterian Preachers about the Sacrament of Baptism examined.*
   
   - Part I -
   
   Printed in the year MDCCIV.
   
   40. 36 pp. n.p.

   Copy in N.L.P. 509/3. (Sometimes published in two Parts. See Nat. Lib. Cat.)

N.L.P. 509/3 (Arch. Campbell writes - "J. Hadow, Professor at St Andrews").

A reply to Alexander Sutherland's *The Practice and Doctrines of the Presbyterian Preachers about the Sacrament of Baptism*. A by-path of the 1703 controversy was the Episcopalian attack on the Presbyterians for a defective doctrine of Baptism and the Presbyterian reply.
THOMAS HALYBURTON. 1674-1712. Minister at Ceres; Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews.

Well known, not so much for polemical as for devotional writings.\(^1\) His best known work is his Memoirs, the story of his spiritual pilgrimage, widely read in both Scotland and England, and influencing Wesley and Whitefield. He comes into this study because he took issue with Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, one of the bitterest critics of the Presbyterians. It is so often stated in writings of the time that Halyburton answered Pitcairne in a pamphlet, that it may be worth setting out the Pamphlet, although it is not along the usual lines of the controversy.

**PAMPHLET**

Natural Religion Insufficient, and Reveal’d Necessary to Man’s Happiness in his present State; or, a Rational Enquiry into the Principles of the modern Deists, Wherein is largely discovered their utter insufficiency to answer the great Ends of Religion, and the weakness of their Pleadings for the sufficiency of Nature’s Light to Eternal Happiness; and particularly, the writings of the learn’d Lord Herbert, the great Patron of Deism, to wit, his Books de Veritate, de Religione Gentilium, and his Religio Laici, in so far as they assert Nature’s light able to conduct us to future Blessedness, are Consider’d and fully answer’d. To which Treatise are annexed several Essays upon other Subjects.

- By the late Reverend Mr Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews.

- (Texts quot. Prov. 14, 16; John 7. 17; Quot. from Lucan. de Druid.)

Edinburgh, Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, MDCXIV.

4o. 32 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. H.38.b./23.

1. Fasti, VII, 427; D.N.B.; Works (With Essay on his Life and Writings) by R. Burns, B.D., Glasgow, 1883; See also recent study by E.P. Dickie, in Scottish Journal of Theology.
The Preface is signed J. Hog; and an Epistle of Recommendation which states that this is A Defence of Christianity against the Cavilling assaults of the bold Infidels of the Present Age is signed by such well-known Presbyterians as William Carstares, James Hadow, Wm Hamilton, Will. Wisheart, etc.

The Work was published posthumously and is an enlargement of his Inaugural Lecture at St Andrews in 1710. This Address was a reply to a small atheistical Pamphlet published by Archibald Pitcairne in 1688.

The full title of the Inaugural Lecture is given on the inside of the Title Page:

A prominent figure in the Post-Revolution Church, he was born in Jedburgh, educated at Edinburgh University and was minister successively at Ratho and Greyfriars (or the South-West Parish of Edinburgh) where he succeeded Gilbert Rule. He was a leading man in the councils of the Presbyterians and was closely engaged in the difficult work of settling the Post-Revolution Church, being a member of different commissions for "supplying vacant kirks." For a time his colleague at Greyfriars was William Carstares and it is interesting to note differences of outlook and policy of these two Presbyterian leaders. Hart was opposed to the Union of 1707 while Carstares upheld it, and this resulted in an open clash one Sunday. Hart was one of the Presbyterians who were opposed to the taking of the Abjuration Oath, and anxious to assert the intrinsic power of the church. Hart was involved in the last moves made by the Presbyterians in their long struggle to consolidate their position gained at the Revolution. He was one of five members appointed by the General Assembly of 1714 to "wait upon King George in the name of the Church of Scotland....and to represent the state of the Church of Scotland and the firm loyalty of all its members to his Majesty". This delegation, its composition, reception and declaration to King George is described in Hart's Journal.

1. Fasti, I, 40; his own Journal.
4. See James Wylie.
PAMPHLETS

1. A Sermon preached in the New Church before the Honourable Magistrates of the City of Edinburgh, on Tuesday, October 5th, 1703, the day of their Election. (Text quoted - Proverb. 29.2.)
   - Dr James Hart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh.
   - Edinburgh, Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1703. 40. 42 pp.
   - Copy in N.L.P. 509/50. Arch. Campbell in Index says "it is an invective against Prelacy and Common Prayer".

   Ostensibly an address to Magistrates but very much in the light of "the late happy Revolution."

2. A Survey of the Case of the Episcopal Clergy, and of those of the Episcopal Persuasion Edinburgh, Printed by George Mosman, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Close, MDCCIII. 40. 48 pp.
   - Copies in N.L.P. 323/19 and N.L.P. 269/3.

   This is the Pamphlet often attributed to James Hadow. Sometimes it is attributed to James Ramsay, being confused with his Remarks on the Case. The Fasti does not give Hart as the writer but Archibald Campbell in his Index to N.L.P. 323 says "it is done by Hart of the Greyfriars Church". This is fairly conclusive as Campbell is accurate.

   This Pamphlet replied to Dr George Garden's Case of the Episcopal Clergy - The First Part. Garden answers it in turn in his Case of the Episcopal Clergy etc. - The Third Part. As Ramsay also replied to Garden it is easy to see how confusion has arisen. (See G. Garden.)

   The argument is on the forms of Church Government. Parity or
Imparity of Ministers, "Ambulatory" or "Fixed" Presidency; Sanction in Scripture and Early Church for Church Government, the Toleration for the Episcopalians.

Hart also mentions Garden's Edition of Comenius' *Account of the Order and Discipline of the Church in Bohemia.* (See under G. Garden.)

3. The *Journal of Mr James Hart*, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and Commissioners deputed by the Church of Scotland to congratulate George I on his Accession to the throne of Great Britain in the year 1714.

*Edinburgh, 1714.*

An edition was published in Edinburgh in 1832 by Dr Lee. Copy in National Library. Interesting as giving account of the happenings at the time of the Accession of the Hanoverians and the steps taken by the Presbyterians.

May have had a certain political value also when published in 1714 to demonstrate George's pledge to uphold the Established Church.
JOHN HAY, 1674-1709, of Wester Condland, Minister of Falkland.

Minister of Falkland, he was deposed in 1689 for not reading the Proclamation of Estates. By order of the Privy Council he was prohibited from exercising any clerical functions under threat of severe penalties in 1692. He was unusual among deprived ministers of Episcopal sympathies in that he acquired the estate of Wester Condland and passed the remainder of his days in comfortable circumstances.¹

PAMPHLETS

His writings were all printed in the year 1703. Most of them were in particular opposition to James Brown of Glasgow, and are part of what is often known as the "Bookseller's Shop Debate" which began in an encounter in a Shop in Edinburgh and was continued later in Pamphlets on the subject of Toleration and the Divine Institution of Church Government.

1. **Sound and Solid Reasons against the Presbyterian Prints anent Patronage:** Whereby the Pretended Divine Right of the Popular Election of Pastors is perpetually barr'd etc.
   - (Text quoted - Tit. I. 11.12.)
   Printed in the year 1703.
   - R.P. 49. 20 pp.
   - Copies in N.L.P. 323/3 and 521/27. In N.L.P. 323/3 Arch.
   Campbell ascribes the pamphlet to Dr Hay.

The Pamphlet seems to have been written in reply to a Presbyterian pamphlet the authorship of which is difficult to identify - A Letter from

1. **Fasti, V, 153; Campbell's Balmerino; Fife Sasine,** XII, 444.
a Friend in the City to a Member of Parliament sent Patronages.
This unidentified pamphlet is sometimes confused with John Bannatyne's Pamphlet on Patronage. (See under Bannatyne.)

2. Impurity among Pastors, the Government of the Church by Divine Institution: As maintain'd in an Extempore Debate by an Episcopal Divine, against one of the Presbyterian Persuasion.
Printed in the year 1703.
4o. m.p. 34 pp. Copies in N.L.P. 521/26 and N.L.P. 509.
In copy in N.L.P. 509, annotated by Arch Campbell, he ascribes it to Dr Hay.
So also do Halkett and Laing.

A well-known Pamphlet drawing replies from James Brown, Robert White and James Ramsay (See under Brown, White, Ramsay). It was the beginning of the "Booksellers' Shop Debate" on Toleration in 1703. He refers to Ramsay's Remarks upon the Case of the Episcopal Clergy, which in its turn was an attack upon Dr G. Garden's Case of the Episcopal Clergy (See Garden).

James Brown replied in A Second Edition of the Debate in the Shop etc. (See Brown.)

Dr Hay countered this of Brown with -

   - (Texts quoted - Prov. XXVIII.1; Psalms CXX. 23; St Luke XXIII. 34; St Matt. VII.12.)
Edinburgh. Printed for John Vallange; a little above the Cross, 1703.
Brown replied in *Self-Murder etc.* (See Brown) and in *The Stone Returning etc.* This last Pamphlet, *The Stone Returning etc.* is recorded in the Scott's *Fasti* as one of Dr Hay's writings. This is obviously wrong as a perusal of the Pamphlet will show. It is, in fact, James Brown, his opponent's last fusillade against Hay. Halkett and Laing ascribe it correctly.

It is interesting that though all these above mentioned Pamphlets are to be found in the N.L.P., the Nat. Library Catalogue is not aware of the identity of this writer. Neither Dr Hay nor James Brown are listed in the Catalogue.
ALEXANDER HERIOT. c.1645-1690. Minister at Dalkeith.

In many of the Pamphlets of the Post-Revolution period there are references to a disputed case concerning the deposition of this man, Alexander Heriot, Minister at Dalkeith at the Revolution.\(^1\) He had been licensed by the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1669, and after ministering at Kirkcaldy he was presented to Dalkeith by the Duke of Buccleuch in 1683. He was deposed in 1690 "for contumacy" after a protracted case. He was accused of conduct unbecoming to a minister. He asserted in turn that these charges were only a pretext to enable him to be deposed.\(^2\) The case became thus a focus of controversy between the rival pamphleteers.

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**PAMPHLET**

The Fasti records Heriot as having written a Pamphlet - *A Pamphlet in Exculpation of Himself*. But there is no trace of that Pamphlet unless it be that portion of the Pamphlet below which gives his side of the case and is called *Information for Mr Alexander Heriot etc.*; and was published separately under this title.

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An Account of the Purging and Planting of the Congregation of Dalkeith. Containing I. The Copy of a late Paper intituled *Information for Mr Alexander Heriot, etc.* II. A Short Relation of the Presbytery of Dalkeith, their Procedure in reference to the sentencing of Mr Heriot and their Planting of the Congregation of

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1. Fasti.
2. See case of Wm. Duguid for a similar plea.
Dalkeith. III. An Answer to that Paper, called Information for Mr Alexander Heriot (designed) Minister at Dalkeith. Published for Information and Satisfaction of those who are willing and desirous to know the truth of the foresaid Affair, which has been very grossly misrepresented by some, and particularly for the Information of the members of the General Assembly.
- Edinburgh. Printed by GeorgeNosman, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Close. 1691. -
Io. 48 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 269/4.

This gives the Presbyterians' account of the whole Case with relevant Papers and is an explanation and vindication of the steps taken against Heriot and a reply to his version of the matter as set out in Information for Mr Alexander Heriot etc.
JAMES HOG. 1658-1734. Minister at Carnock.

A leading figure in the Church life of his time. More than a page of the Fasti is required to list his writings. Most of these are concerned with topics exercising the mind of the Church at a later period. A few, however, concern this controversy. Hog had an aversion to set forms of worship and liturgies and in this connection joined issue with Episcopal writers like R. Calder. He was also strongly against the taking of oaths which might compromise his spiritual freedom. In 1693 and 1695 he refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, the imposition of which created the tension between King William and the General Assembly culminating in the crisis of 1695 when Carstares intervened with William. He was Minister at Dalserf and at Carnock with which latter place his name is always associated.

PAMPHLETS

1. A Casuistical Essay upon the Lord's Prayer wherein divers Important Cases, relative to the several Petitions are succinctly Stated and Answered. To which is subjoined a Letter to a Friend in answer to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder, and Monsieur D'Espagne, concerning the use thereof. Edinburgh. Printed by John Reid, Junior. MDCCV. 80. 374 pp.

Robert Calder had translated D'Espagne's pamphlet on the use of the Lord's Prayer. Hog here sets out a case against its use. The pamphlet

1. Fasti, V, 8-9.
is directed not only against the Episcopalians but also against those Presbyterian like Sir Hugh Campbell and John Anderson who wished to use the Lord's Prayer in worship. (See Sir Hugh Campbell, John Anderson, Robert Calder, etc.)

2. **A Letter to a Gentleman, In which the Unlawfulness of Imposing Forms of Prayer, and of other Acts of Worship is plainly demonstrated.**
   80. 71 pp.

Directed against all liturgical worship with special reference to the forms of the Episcopal Church.

3. **The Right of Church Members to choose their own Overseers Stated from the Scriptures.** Being the Abstract of a Discourse on Acts 1, 21, 22, 23. - Published at the desire of some of the hearers.
   80. 19 pp.
   Copy in New Coll. P. D.c./15.2.

Deals with popular election of Church officials.
ANDREW HONEYMAN. 1619-1676. Minister at St. Andrews.

Bishop of Orkney.

His life falls outside the period under survey but he is included because of his two Pamphlets dealing with the well-known Pamphlet Naphtali written by Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees and James Stirling. Stuart was a figure of such importance in the Revolution period that his writings are noteworthy in any survey of the period. His debate with Honeyman is indicated here. 1 Honeyman was Minister at St. Andrews till his consecration as Bishop in 1664. In 1668 there occurred the incident when in company with James Sharp, he was shot at the top of Blackfriars Wynd in Edinburgh by a poisoned bullet which ultimately caused his death in Kirkwall in 1676. 2 He had been at one time zealous for Presbytery and then had changed his outlook becoming a defender of Episcopacy. 3

PAMPHLETS

1. A Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel entituled, Naphtali, etc. Wherein several things falling in debate in these times are consider'd; and some Doctrines in Lex Rex and the Apolog. Narration (called by this Author Martyrs) are brought to the touch-stone. Part I. Representing the dreadful aspect of Naphtali's Principles upon the powers ordained of God, and owned and received by people.

- (Texts quoted - Job. 13, 7, 9, 11; Psalm 144, 10; Prov. 24, 21, 22.) -

Printed Anno Dom. M,DC,LXVIII.

1. See under Sir James Stuart.
2. Fasti, VII, 354; Craven, Scots Worthies, 127; Burnet, History, I, 408; Keith, Scot. Bishops, 228.
References to Stuart's Naphtali. Also to Brown's Apologetical Narration. (See J. Brown) and Rutherford's Lex Rex.

2. Survey of Naphtali.
Part II. Discussing of the Heads proposed in the Preface of the former. Together with an Examination of the Doctrines of the Apolog Narration concerning the King's Supremacy in and about Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the Obligations of the Covenants.

-(Texts quot. - Psal. 120, 6,7; Quot. from Lactant. Instit. 5, 20.)-

-Published by Order.-
Edinburgh. Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty. 1669.

40. 271 pp.
Wing H. 2603. Aldis 1882.
Copy in N.L.P. H. 38.c/20. (Bound up with Part I.)
The author of a well-known Pamphlet in this controversy concerning the events of the year 1692 and the Presbyterians' response to William's plea for comprehension of the Episcopal Clergy. Born and bred in the North-East and Minister at Strathdon and then at Towie, Irving was a typical representative of the Episcopal Stronghold of Aberdeenshire. His brethren appointed him one of their Commissioners to the Assembly on the mission described in his Pamphlet.

**PAMPHLET**

1. A Vindication of the Address made by the Episcopal Clergy to the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, anno MDCXCII, from the sinistrous and false constructions put upon it by the enemies of that order. But more especially of that particular Address, given in by Mr Robert Irving, Minister of Towie, and Mr John Forbes, Minister of Kincardine, in name of, and by commission from their brethren, the Ministers of the Synod of Aberdeen; They being expressly reflected upon and named by the Author of the Remarks upon the Case of the Episcopal Clergy.

   - (Texts quoted - Prov. X. 18; Prov. XIX. 5; Quot. from Xenophon, Lib. 2 Memorab.; Aug. contra Lit. Petil., Lib. 3, cap. 7.)

   Printed in the Year M.DCC.IV.

   40. 40 pp.

   Copies in N.L.P. 521/24 and N.L.P. 509/38.

   The Fasti does not give Irving as the author of this pamphlet. Grub quotes extensively from it without naming Irving as author. Halkett and Leing attribute it to Irving.

2. Fasti, VI, 142.
3. As noted above (1).
The Pamphlet referred to in the title is James Ramsay's Remarks upon the Case of the Episcopal Clergy.

The Pamphlet deals with the events following William's Letter to the Episcopal Clergy and to the Presbyterian ministers in 1692 after the appeal from the Episcopalian clergy conveyed to him by Canaries and Leask. The King asked the Presbyterians to admit the loyal Episcopal ministers. The Episcopal Clergy made a request on these terms to the Assembly of 1692, but the Presbyterians were unwilling to obey the King and admit them. Despite the efforts of the Commissioner, the Earl of Lothian, the appeal was shelved.

A description of these events, with reflections on them, constitute the pamphlet.
A most interesting figure in this controversy but a rather obscure one. The sources of information available consist of a somewhat inadequate account in D.N.B.\(^1\); a note by McCrie in his edition of Wodrow's Correspondence\(^2\); some references to him in Glasgow University records concerning his learned work and his poverty\(^3\); some autobiographical revelations such as his blindness and his spells of sickness in his own writings\(^4\); and, in the recent publication of the Early Letters of Wodrow, more evidence of the high regard in which he was held by his onetime pupil - Wodrow.\(^5\) McCrie in his day was anxious to have more information on Jameson and tells how he tried to get information from J.S. Reid, then Professor of History in Glasgow University, on his learned predecessor. Reid sent him all he could find out about "as singular a literary prodigy and as extraordinary a scholar, considering his blindness and poverty, as Scotland has produced".\(^6\) He was Lecturer in History in Glasgow University but does not seem to have been in the ministry as he does not appear in the Fasti. He delivered some of his

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1. D.N.B.; see also Crawford's History of Renfrewshire (Parish of Houston); G.D. Henderson, Claims of the Church of Scotland, pp. 92-3.
2. Wodrow, Correspondence (ed. McCrie, I, p.470-2., Note by McCrie.
3. Monumenta Glasg. Univ. (Maitland Club. Notes of years 1692, 1712, 1720 etc.)
4. Nazianzeni Querela (Blindness); Cyprianus Isotimus (Illness).
6. Wodrow, Correspondence, I, 470. Notes by McCrie (including notes by J.S. Reid).
lectures in Latin and some of his pamphlets were written in that language.

Apart from the interest of his personality he was an active participant in this controversy on the Presbyterian side. He says in one of his pamphlets "I from the very womb have laboured under the want of that noble sense of Seeing and so am obliged to read with the Eyes and write with the hands of others"; but despite that he was a doughty defender of Presbytery and knew the writings from the other side of men like Sage and Monro, and published answers to them. McCrie quotes Wodrow as saying, on hearing that John Anderson and William Jameson were dying, that in them "we lose two who understand the controversy about Episcopacy as well as any they leave behind them".

**PAMPHLETS**

1. *Nazianzeni Querela et Votum Justum*: The Fundamentals of the Hierarchy examin'd and disrov'd. Wherein the choicest Arguments and Defences of the most applauded and latest Hierarchick or Prelatick Writers, A.M. D.D. the Author of An Enquiry into the new Opinions (chiefly) propagated by the Presbyterians in Scotland, the Author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examin'd and disprov'd and many other are sincerely expounded, the Plea they bring from Ignatius's Epistles more narrowly discuss'd, many things much enlightening this Controversy, either not at all, or not so fully hitherto unfolded, are, from ancient Church-Writers, and other unsuspected Authors, advance'd.
   - By William Jameson - (Quot. from Gregory Nazianzenus Orat. 28.)
   - Glasgow. Printed by Robert Sanders, for the Author. 1697.

1. Closing words of *Nazianzeni Querela.*
Answers Alex. Monro and John Sage and examines the arguments from Ignatius and other early Churchmen on Church-Government.

2. Cyprianus Isotimus; or J.S's Vindication of the Principle of the Cyprianic Age Confuted. In which, moreover, divers signal differences between the Cyprianic and Hierarchic Bishop are assigned, some new pleas and arguments of the Prelatists discussed, and several things of considerable consequence and use in the present Controversia advanced.

   By William Jameson

   (Sect. from Cyp. Econst. 67, p. 172.)

   Edinburgh, Printed for the Author by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1705.

   32. 560 pp.

   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f.

   Against John Sage's Principles of the Cyprianic Age etc. and Vindication etc. of same.

3. The Summ of the Episcopal Controversy, as it is pleaded from the Holy Scriptures. Wherein, the Scripture-Arguments for Presbytery are vindicated; these for Prelacy, confuted; and the false reasonings of Prelatists discovered; the perpetual war amongst themselves observed; the opposition between the spirit of Prelacy and that of the Gospel manifested; The Confessions of the Prelatists, coming all we plead for, produced; An historical account of the Apostolick Government endeavoured; their grand objection from antiquity, briefly dissolved.

   By William Jameson, Lecturer of History in the University of Glasgow

   (Texts: Isaiah VIII. 20; 2 Tim. III. 15; Deut. XXXII. 31 -

   Edinburgh. Printed in the year MDCXII.

   32. 184 pp.

   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f/42.

   (On Title Page "Sum" but on Heading to Page I, "Sum").
A Second Edition of this Pamphlet with additions and revision was published in Glasgow in 1705 as follows -

4. The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy, as it is pleaded from the Holy Scriptures. Wherein, the Scripture Arguments for Presbytery are vindicated etc.

(As above Pamphlet.)

- The Second Edition with large Additions, that give further Light to the Debate.
- Texts (as above)

Glasgow. Printed by Hugh Brown. M.D.CC.XIII.
8vo. 264 pp.
Contains "Postscript concerning Mr Calders Numbers the 28th and 29th".

In these Numbers the familiar charge is levelled that the Presbyterians were guilty accomplices in the death of Charles I. In refutation of this, Jameson quotes on last page, "See amongst others, A Sample of Jet Black Prelatical Calumny etc. Glasgow 1713, and Nas. Quer.
Part I. Sect. 2." Nasienzeni Querela etc. is the Pamphlet recorded above (2).

A Sample of Jet Black Prelatical Calumny etc. Glasgow, 1713, is often attributed to Jameson. For author see below.

5. Mr John Davidson's Catechism. To which is prefix'd a Discourse giving an account of the occasion of this impression, as also containing several things useful for determining of the Episcopal controversy.
- By William Jameson

Edinburgh. Printed for the Author of the Discourse, Anno.
Dom. 1708.
8vo. 30 pp. plus Catechism.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f/16.
Comprises an Introduction of 30 pages signed W.J. followed by a reprint of John Davidson of Prestonpan's Catechism of 1602, which is given without numbered pages.

These are the Pamphlets of Jameson relevant to this issue. Certain of his other writings are wrongly believed to be written for this particular controversy. These may be briefly indicated.

Verus Patroclus; or the Weapons of Quakerism: The Weakness of Quakerism: Being a Discourse wherein the choicest Arguments for their chief Tenets are enervat, and their best Defences annihilat; several Abominations not heretofore so directly Discovered, Unmasked: With a Digression explicative of the Deprivations of an Arminian.
- By William Jameson -
- (Text: Tit. 3, 10) -
Edinburgh, Printed in the year 1689.
8o. 272 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. H.58.c/13.

Against Quakers and Arminianism.

Roma Racoviana et Racovia Romana: id est Papistarium et Socinistrarum plena et exacta harmonia.
Edinburgh. Printed in 1702.
4o.

In Latin - against Papists and Socinians.

Glasgow. 1720.
12o.

Not concerned in the controversy.
Two other Pamphlets should be mentioned in connection with Jameson.

A. Some Manacles for a Mad Priest: or Animadversions on William
Jameson's Preface to a Book, lately Published by him, called,
Nazianzensi Querela.
- (Quot. from Dr. Burnet's History of the Rights of Princes,
Preface, p.44) -
Printed in the Year 1700.
8vo. 32 pp. n.p.

A most interesting pamphlet not recorded in any Catalogue that I
know, but discovered in the above volume of Pamphlets of the period in
the N.L.P. Collection.

An answer to Jameson's Nazianseni Querela. John Robertson not
identified.

B. As mentioned above the following Pamphlet is often wrongly
ascribed to Jameson. The D.N.B. and other accounts make this mistake.
The true author and full title of the Pamphlet may be given here to
correct this error.

A Sample of Jet Black Prec--tic Calumny, in answer to a Pamphlet
called a Sample of True Bleu Presbyterian Loyalty; or, the
Christian Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland
in all changes of Government since the Reformation, asserted.
- The Second Edition -
Edinburgh, 1726.
4to. 218 pp. n.p.

The Author was J. McBride, Minister in Belfast. He was replying to
an English pamphlet written by William Tisdall, D.D. called A Sample of
Treu Bleu Presbyterian Loyalty.
JAMES KIRKTON. 1628-1699. Minister at Lanark.

Presbyterian Annalist.

There are various accounts of his life all in substantial agreement. 1 Minister at Lanark and then at Mertoun, he was well-known in Covenanting circles. He married a daughter of George Baillie of Jerviswood. His name is appended to a copy of the Solemn League and Covenant printed at Edinburgh in 1648 by Ewan Taylor. 2 Ejected from Mertoun in 1662 he refused to accept an Indulgence. After capture and escape and intercommuning 3 he went to Holland but returned after the Indulgence of 1687 to officiate at a Meeting House on the Castlehill of Edinburgh; and in 1691 became Minister of the Tron Church. His position in the controversy will thus be obvious. He was always a butt for Episcopalian writers 4, and especially after the publication of his History, he has been much attacked.

PAMPHLET

The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678.
Edited from the MSS. by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.
Edinburgh. 1817.

1. Fasti, I, 119; D.N.B.; Biog. Note affixed to C.K. Sharpe's Edition of the History; Edin. Christian Instructor XXV; D. Hay Fleming, Note to Patrick Walker in Six Saints of the Covenant, Vol.II, p.120; McCrie's Life of Knox, II; Wodrow, History; Brodie's Diary and Fountainhall's Diary.
2. D.N.B. account.
3. Acts of Parl. IX.
4. See Pitcairne's Babell and Assembly; Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, etc.
This manuscript is said to have been presented to Sharpe by Robert Surtees, of Mansforth.

This History was written with a vindicatory and polemical purpose, and may not unfittingly be included in the Pamphlet literature of the period. It was edited from the MS. by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and published in Edinburgh in 1817 with an unflattering biographical notice and copious footnotes of a derisory nature.
Most of the information available on this Episcopal layman comes from his own writings, particularly the pamphlets he wrote to vindicate himself. He was deposed from his position as Schoolmaster in Linlithgow in 1688, after having held this post for some 15 years. He was a convinced Episcopalian and was known as such in Linlithgow. In April 1689 he was "threatened by them being all biggotly Presbyterian, either to forsake the public place of worship and go with them to the Meeting-House which was then kept in the Provost's Hall or Kitchen, otherwise he might expect to be turned out of doors". He would not comply and eventually was deposed. He instituted a case against the magistrates in the Court of Session which determined for him. Disturbances followed and finally the Lords of Council intervened and he was removed from office. After his lengthy and expensive plea he came to Edinburgh and, supported by his co-religionists he soon came to have "the greatest private school that ever was in Edinburgh". Later he was offered the schoolmastership of Kelso. In this he was opposed by the Presbytery of Kelso, but was supported by the landed proprietors of the district. After a protracted struggle he was successful. Then he made a bid for other offices and emoluments. It is an interesting case of an Episcopal layman suffering for his beliefs and yet assured of such strong support from his fellow-Episcopalians that these sufferings were much lightened.
PAMPHLETS

1. Mr Kirkwood's Plea before the Kirk and Civil Judicatures of Scotland. 
    Divided into Five Parts. 
    (Quot. from Horat. Sat. I. . . . Ridentem dicoe Verum. Quid vetat? . . . .) 
    London, Printed by D.L. for the Author. 1698. 
    40. 144 pp. 
    Dedication to the Countess of Roxburghe. Signed James Kirkwood.

The Pamphlet tells of his efforts at Kelso to be made Precentor and 
Session Clerk, because the custom had been "past memory of man" for these 
offices to be held by the Schoolmaster.

2. The History of the Twenty-Seven Gods of Linlithgow; Being an 
exact and true Account of a famous Plea betwixt the Town-Council 
of the said Burgh, and Mr Kirkwood, Schoolmaster there. 
    Seria mixta jocis - - (Quot. from Juven. Sat. 7, v. 207; 
    Quintil. Lib. 2, Cap. 9.) 
    Edinburgh. Printed in the year MDCOXI. 
    40. 79 pp. 
    Copy in N.L.P. 300/32. 
    Dedicated to "Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart. Her 
    Majesty's Advocate". Dedication signed Jas. Kirkwood.

This is a little known pamphlet but interesting as in it Kirkwood 
gives an account of the events when he was "chased from Linlithgow". 
The "27 Gods" were the Town Council of Linlithgow.

These two Pamphlets are of interest not only as examples of the 
polemical writing of the time, but also because of the information they 
contain as to the situations and events that obtained after the 
Revolution.
In (1) Kirkwood had strongly attacked Dr. Jaques the minister of Kelso. That gentleman replied to Kirkwood in "Dr Jaques's Vindication against Mr Kirkwood's Defamation in his Plea before the Kirk, and Civil Judicature of Scotland." 40. 8 pp. n.p. n.d. Copy in NLP 98/1.
ALEXANDER LAUDER. 1668-1719. Minister at Mordington.

Ordained in Post-Revolution days in 1695 to the charge of Mordington and Lamberton in the Presbytery of Chirnside he seems to have spent all his ministry in this quiet country parish. He was a friend of Thomas Boston² and Robert Wodrow³ and was a scholarly defender of Presbytery.

He crossed swords with John Sage over the 'Cypriano Bishop'. He was one of the Presbyterians who saw no harm in taking the Abjuration Oath in 1712. His large Pamphlet, The Ancient Bishops was a well-known writing of the time.

PAMPHLETS

1. The Ancient Bishops considered: Both with Respect to the extent of their Jurisdiction and nature of their Power. In answer to Mr Chillingworth and others. Wherein the Conformity of the Government and discipline of the Church of Scotland, with that of the ancient Church is fully manifested; and it is made evident, that the Ministers of the Gospel, or Pastors of the Parishes, are not Presbyters but Bishops; and that the Government of the Church by Presbyteries, Synods, General Assemblies, and Commissions of General Assemblies, is not Presbyterian but Episcopal Government.

   - By Alexander Lauder, Minister of the Gospel at Mordentown.


As will be seen from the title this is an answer to William Chilling-

1. Fasti II, 57; Walker's Scottish Theology.
3. Wodrow. Analecta; Correspondence.
worth's The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy Demonstrated.

Reference is made also to the Episcopal writings such as Archbishop Usher's Original of Bishops and Metropolitans and John Sage's Cyrianick Bishop. He examines the whole question of the jurisdiction and nature of the bishop in the Early Church and claims that the Presbyterian Parish minister is the true bishop. He refers to the answers by W. Jameson and G. Rule to Sage's Cyrianick Bishop already published (See Rule, Jameson).

2. The Divine Institution of Bishops, having Churches consisting of many Congregations, Examined by Scripture. - By Alexander Lauder, Minister of the Gospel at Mordingtoun. -
   - (Texts. Matt. 19.8; Isa. 1.12; Jer. 28.15; Matt. 15.13; Quot from Tertull.)
   London. Printed and is to be sold by Jonathan Robinson, Book-Seller at the Golden-Lion in St Paul's Church-Yard. 1711.
   80. 57 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 2/75:2. (Last Pages mixed up.)

The Presbyterian Parish Minister as Bishop.

3. A Vindication of the Ministers and Ruling Elders of the Church of Scotland who have taken the Abjuration. Wherein it is made evident that they are not thereby engaged in their Stations, to oblige the Successor, when he comes to the Crown, to join in communion with the Church of England as some ignorant people are made to believe.
   38 pp. 4o. (In ink on Title Page - By Mr Alex. Lauder att. Mordingtoun, 1712.)
   Copy in N.L.P. 402/11.
One of the few non-Scottish writers in the controversy. An Irishman, born and educated in Dublin he took Holy Orders in 1680. Because of his loyalty to James II he was deprived of his charge in Donagh, in Monaghan, at the Revolution. He left Ireland and seems to have spent the rest of his life in England mostly in London where he became known by his writings as an ecclesio-political controversialist. Jacobite, Non-juror, anti-William, anti-Dissenter, anti-Presbyterian - these are distinguishing marks of his writings. Many of these do not concern this study but several have a significant place in it. A well-known anonymous Pamphlet Gallienus Redivivus attacking King William over the Glencoe massacre and the Presbyterians for shielding him was written by Leslie. Many of his writings were against the Dissenters in England and with them he included the Scots Presbyterians - "the faction in Scotland" as he called the Church of Scotland. His own position as set out in his writings has been called "the culminating point of English sacerdotalism". "He represents the Episcopate and the Episcopally ordained clergy as a spiritual power, coordinate with the temporal power and associated with it in a federal union". He was associated with Archibald Campbell, Bishop of Aberdeen and founder of a non-juring sect

2. Gallienus Redivivus, etc. See below.
in the West of England. He wrote the Preface to Campbell's Queries etc.\(^1\) He is mentioned by Dean Swift\(^2\) and Dr Johnson.\(^3\)

His writings are of interest here as showing the attacks made on the Scottish Establishment by certain Episcopal writers in England and their efforts to represent to English people the Church of Scotland as a body of Dissenters and as a menace to the Church of England.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. *Gallienus Redivivus, or Murther will out, etc.* Being a true Account of the De-Witting of Glencoe, Gaffney, etc. - (Quot. from Plutarch - Life of Timoleon) - Edinburgh. Printed in the year 1695.
   40. 36 pp. (1-20, followed by 1-16.) 1-16 is A Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to his friend in London who desired a particular Account of the business of Glencoe. Dated April 10, 1692. Reprinted in 1695 as part of the Pamphlet.
   Copy in N.L.P. 89/7.
   Aldis 3452. Wing, L.113t. (Wing gives copy only in John Rylands Library, Manchester, apparently unaware of copy in N.L.P. Edinburgh.)

The Pamphlet was an attack on King William, giving the story of his complicity in the assassination of John De Witt and the execution of Gaffney in 1690, and blaming him for the massacre of Glencoe. Goes on to attack the Scots Presbyterians.

2. *Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland.* By a Gentleman of that Country - (Text. Matt. XV, 9) - London. Printed for G. Strahan at the Golden Ball, against

1. See under Arch. Campbell.
the Royal Exchange. 1702.
80. 40 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 332/3.

This Pamphlet is often attributed to Leslie. It was written by Arch. Campbell but the probability is that the Preface of some 28 pages was written by Leslie. (See under Arch. Campbell.)

(See discussion of Pamphlet by Robert Wodrow - Early Letters, (ed. Sharp) S.H.S., Vol.24, p.213, "I hear the Preface is done by Leslie and the Queries by the good Lord Neil Campbell's son".

3. The New Association of those called Moderate-Church-Men, with the Modern Whigs and Fanaticks, to under-mine and blow-up the present Church and Government. Occasion'd by a late Pamphlet, entituled, The Danger of Priest-Craft etc. With a Supplement on the occasion of the new Scotch Presbyterian Covenant.
   - By a True Church-Man - - (Text - Luk. XIII. 12) - - The Fourth Edition corrected
   - Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1705.
40. 30 pp. (1st Edition may have been printed in 1702.)
Copy in New Coll. P. B.C./5.12/5.

An attack on English Dissenters. The interest for this study is that he includes among Dissenters the Scots Presbyterians. The "New Scotch Presbyterian Covenant" referred to was a Resolution passed by the Synod of Lothian and Tweedale in 1702 resolving allegiance afresh to Presbyterian Government in the Church.

4. The New Association - Part II - With farther Improvements.
   As another and later Scots Presbyterian-Covenant besides that mention'd in the Former Part. And the Proceedings of that Party since. An answer to some Objections in the pretended D. Pee's Explication, in the Reflections upon the Shortest Way. With Remarks upon both. Also an Account of several other
Reference this time to Resolution by the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, of Oct. 1702, on same lines of that in Part I. References to Defoe's Shortest Way etc. and Reflections. The Secret History not yet published may be Kirkton's. (See under J. Kirkton.)

5. The Wolf Stript of his Shepherd's Cloathing. In answer to a celebrated Book intitul'd Moderation a Virtue. Wherein the Design of the Dissenters against the Church and their behaviour towards Her Majesty both in England and Scotland are laid open. With the Case of Occasional Conformity considered. Humbly offered to the consideration of Her Majesty and the Three Estates of Parliament.
   - The Fourth Edition - - By one call'd a High-Church-Man -
   With my service to Dr D'Arment -
   Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1704.
   40. 66 pp.

   Mostly against English Dissenters, but a Supplement of 16 pp. deals with the Presbyterians of Scotland.

6. Cassandra (But I hope not) Telling what will come of it. -
   Memo I - In answer to the Occasional Letter Num. I wherein the New Associations etc. are considered.
   - The Second Edition -
   London. Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1705.
40. 68 pp.

Attack on Dissenters with an appendix on the Presbyterians of Scotland.

Copy in New Coll. P. B.s/5.12-10.

As in (6), many references to the Scots Presbyterians. An Appendix on Scotland. "Specimens of the gravity and abilities of their ministers and Kirk Judicatories". In the style of the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence with some of its quotations. "How the House of Commons in England is treated by the Presbyterians in Scotland."

8. A Warning to the Church of England. (Text - Prov. 29.1.) -
Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1706. 40. 52 pp.

(From the Preface), "Danger from these Enemies among ourselves looks much more terrible when we consider they act in concert with, and entirely serve the purpose of our Profess'd Enemies abroad. I mean the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland. Which is the same corner whence Hand-breadth of a cloud once before came, which soon darkened the whole Heavens of these three Kingdoms and filled them with blood and desolation."
ANDREW LOWE, c.1714. Presbyterian Writer.

Little information is available about him. He is known because of his Pamphlet defending the Church of Scotland in the action taken against William Duguid, Presented to Burntisland in 1712, and replying to Duguid's aspersions on the Presbyterian authorities. This Pamphlet is signed Andrew Lowe, London, 'July 5th, 1714', but if he lived in London he shows a considerable knowledge of the Church of Scotland. His name does not appear in the Fasti so it is unlikely that he was a minister of that Church.

PAMPHLET

A Vindication of the Church of Scotland from the Malicious and Groundless Aspersions of Mr William Duguid. With an Introductory Epistle in defence of the Church of Scotland from the Charge of Persecution, and the behaviour of the Dissenters in England. - London. Printed for A. Bell at the Bible and Cross Keys in Cornhill, 1714. Price 1/-.

So. 72 pp.
Copies in N.L.P. H.38.g/17 and N.L.P.609.
Introductory Epistle dedicated to "Sir James Stewart, of Goodtrees, Kt. and Bart., Member of Parliament for the City of Edinburgh."

For the Case see William Duguid's Pamphlet Scots Presbyterian Justice, etc. This is Lowe's reply. From the Introduction - "This person makes use of Her Majesty's Letters of Presentation not only as an Argument to stifle all their enquiries unto his character and conversation but also to bully them into a compliance with his demands."
Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE of Rosehaugh. 1636-1691. Lord Advocate.

One of the best-known figures of the late covenanting period, sharing with Claverhouse the sobriquet, "Bloody", in covenanting writings. Many studies have been made of this strange double-sided personality, at once the great lawyer, the founder of the Advocate's Library, the man of culture and learning; and at the same time the ruthless prosecutor of the Covenanters and apologist for the reign of Charles II. ¹ Cunningham,² Story³ and others are scathing in their estimate of his character whilst others like Andrew Lang⁴ present a differing picture of the man. Despite his unpleasant reputation contemporaries like Alexander Shields⁵ and William Carstares⁶, men who suffered at his hands, write not unkindly of him. It is significant that when James VII began his Romanizing policy Mackenzie resigned and Sir John Dalrymple took his place. After the Revolution he left Scotland and went to Oxford where he employed himself writing his Vindication; in pleading the cause of the dispossessed Episcopalians to their brethren in England; and in representing the danger the danger to the Church of England from the Presbyterians.⁷ He went to

1. D.M.B., XII, 586-9; G.W.T. Omond, Lord Advocates of Scotland; and Early History of the Union Question, Chap.IV; Napier, Memorials of Dundee; Burnet, History of Own Times; Wodrow, History; Leven, Melville Papers; Balcarres, Memoirs; Dryden, Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire; his own Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland (printed 1822); Napier's Memorials III, 601; J.Warrick, Moderators etc.
5. H. Macpherson, Alex Shields, 39.
6. J. Warrick, Moderators, etc., p.161.
London in the Spring of 1691 and became associated with the group of exiled Scottish Episcopalians headed by Alexander Monro. It was Monro who published his *Vindication* after his death the same year. Two accounts of his death-bed—one emanating from that London group and the other from Covenanting sources emphasize again by their startling divergence, the different estimates of this man by his contemporaries.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. *Religio Stoici. With a friendly Address to the Phanaticks of all Sects and Sorts.*
   - (Text quoted - Acts I, 11.) -
   Edinburgh. Printed for M. Brown and to be Sold by Booksellers in London, 1669.
   30. 144 pp.
   Copy in New Coll. F. B.a./7.4.

   An early Pamphlet not specifically controversial yet with significant passages like "It fares with heretics as with tops, which, so long as they are scourged, keep foot and run pleasantly, etc."

2. *A Memorial for His Highness the Prince of Orange in relation to the Affairs of Scotland: Together with The Address of the Presbyterian Party in that Kingdom to His Highness: And some Observations on that Address.*
   - By Two Persons of Quality -
   - (Text quoted - Psalm XCV, 10.) - - Licensed -
   London. Printed for Randal Taylor near Stationers Hall, 1689.
   40. 30 pp.
   Wing, M.169.
   Copy in N.I.F. 333/2.

A well-known Pamphlet published by Mackenzie and Lord Tarbat. (See Tarbat.)

For description see G.W.T. Omond, Early History of the Union Question, Chap. 4.

To influence William of Orange against the Presbyterians.

3. A Vindication of the Government in Scotland. During the Reign of King Charles II. Against Misrepresentations made in several Scandalous Pamphlets. To which is added the Method of proceeding against Criminals as also some of the Phanatical Covenants, as they were printed and published by themselves in that Reign.

By Sir George Mackenzie, Late Lord Advocate there.

London. Printed for J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball at Cornhill. 1691.

4to. 66 pp.

Wing, M.213. McA. Coll. Cat.

Copy in N. L. P. 285/6.

Written to vindicate the Government and himself in regard to treatment of the Presbyterians during the reign of Charles II. Published posthumously by Alex. Monro.

Contains the oft-quoted sentence, "There was no religious persecution at all. Nobody suffered for his religious convictions, but only because he had broken a civil law." See Alex. Monro, Letter to a Friend giving an Account of all the Treatises, etc. for description of this Pamphlet.

Among the replies to this provocative Pamphlet may be mentioned an anonymous one entitled - A Vindication of the Presbyterians in Scotland. From the Malicious Aspersions cast upon them in a late Pamphlet, written by Sir George Mackenzie, late Lord Advocate there, Intituled, A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the reign of King Charles
II, etc. - By a Lover of Truth - London. Printed for Edward Golding.


Printed in 1822. Interesting now, but did not feature in the controversy of the time.

In N.L.P. 7/14 there is to be found a first portion of "The Works of Sir George Mackenzie" Vol.I, Edinburgh, 1716. This is prefaced by a biographical study of Mackenzie vindicating him in his dealings with the Presbyterians. The production is anonymous and may have been issued as a Pamphlet to defend Sir George.
An equivocal figure who played a considerable part in public affairs in the reigns of Charles II, James VII, William and Anne, now on one side and then on the other. In addition he took part in this pamphlet controversy. Receiving a commission from Charles II, then in exile, he raised a body of troops and carried on irregular warfare against the Parliamentary forces. At the Restoration he became the chief confidant of Middleton and was made a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Tarbat. He quarrelled with Lauderdale and was deprived of his seat on the Bench, but, being reconciled to the former, he was restored to Royal favour and became Lord Clerk Register in 1681. During the last years of Charles II and the whole of James VII's reign he had the chief management of Scottish affairs. So far he had been for the Stuarts and Episcopacy. But with the Revolution he changed his outlook. It is said that he disbanded the militia at the crucial moment when the cause of the new regime was being decided in Scotland, a move which helped on the victory of that cause. He made advances to William, but his record in Scotland made William wary of him and he lost his offices, except that he was again made Lord Clerk Register in 1692. On the accession of Anne he came back

1. D.N.B., XII, 589-592; Anderson, Scottish Nation, I, 731-3; Burnet, Hist. Own Time, 97; Sir G. Mackenzie, Memoirs, 27; Macky, Memoirs of Secret Services, 188; Story, Wm. Carstares, 185, etc.; Lockhart, Memoirs, 75.
2. Leven and Melville Papers, p. 14, p. 373.
to power being created one of the principal Secretaries of State and created Earl of Cromartie in 1703. He was made Lord Justice General in 1705 and was a zealous worker for the Union of 1707. Such in brief is his career, the keynote to which is personal ambition. He engaged in controversy with Presbyterians like Robert Wylie and James Webster, but the Episcopalians looked on him with considerable suspicion. Cleverhouse's verdict, "Tarbat is a great villain", is echoed by Sir George Mackenzie, Lockhart of Carnwath and Gilbert Burnet.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. *Memorial in Relation to the Church, June, 1689.*
   Copy in N.L.F. 89.

   A copy of this will be found in the *Leven and Melville Papers*, p.125. It was a letter to Lord Melville and it was later printed as a Pamphlet and addressed to William of Orange. See also *Leven and Melville Papers*, pp.108, 140, 145, 172, for discussion of this *Memorial* and the attitude of Presbyterians like the Earl of Crawford. See also Story, *Wm. Carstairs*, 184-5, for discussion of the *Memorial*.

   It is a document often quoted. Tarbat estimates the relative strength of Presbytery and Episcopacy in Scotland and goes on to propose

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a scheme of "comprehension" to keep in the Establishment all ministers well affected to the government and to reconcile moderate Episcopacy to Presbytery by the adoption of Leighton's perpetual moderators.

His next Pamphlet, in conjunction with Sir George Mackenzie, was more strongly anti-Presbyterian.

2. A Memorial for His Highness the Prince of Orange in relation to the Affairs of Scotland; Together with the Address of the Presbyterian Party in that Kingdom to His Highness; And some Observations on that Address. - By Two Persons of Quality - (Text quoted, Psalm XCV, 10) - Licensed - London. Printed for Randal Taylor near Stationer's Hall. 1689. 4to. 30 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 333/2.
The same as under Sir George Mackenzie. But Wing does not list it under Tarbat.

Copy in N.L.P. 89/6. See also New Coll. P. B.a./7.4.

An early Pamphlet often confused with Sir George Mackenzie's Vindication.

Copies in N.L.P. 323/26 and N.L.P. 521/14.
A Pamphlet asking for Toleration for the Episcopalians. "Half Scotland desire a Toleration." (P.14.)

A Reply came from Robert Wylie in A Short Answer to a Short Paper entitled A Few Brief and Modest Reflexions etc. (See Wylie.)

Tarbat continued his plea in -


Continues the argument. The Postscript introduces new matter. Reference is made to James Webster's Essay upon Toleration. In that Pamphlet (p.19) Webster asserts that the Episcopal Party had "always set up for the Arbitrary and Despotick power of the Prince." In reply Tarbat expounds the doctrine of Passive Obedience as advocated by the deposed Bishops. He quotes a Sermon by Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, to support his contention.

This brought a Reply from Robert Wylie in his, A Short Answer to a Large Paper intituled A Continuation etc. (See Wylie.)

".... It is our Royal pleasure.... that they be protected in the Peaceable Exercise of their Religion."

This is the Proclamation, without comment. But the Episcopalians may have thought it useful to circulate this as a Pamphlet. Copies often found.

7. The Scottish Toleration Truly Stated in a Letter to a Peer.
   London. Printed in the Year 1712.
   80. 10 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 600/13.

Attributed to Tarbat, though this is not certain.

8. Parainesis Pacifica, or Persuasive to the Union of Britain.
   Edinburgh. 1701.

He was a keen advocate of the Union.

9. A Vindication of the Historical Account of the Conspiracies by
   the Earl of Gowrie, against K. James the Sixth, of Glorious
   Memory. From the mistakes of Mr. John Anderson, Preacher at
   Dumbarton, in his Defence of Presbytery.
   - By George, Earl of Cromarty. -
   Edinburgh. Printed and Sold by James Watson, One of Her
   Majesty's Printers; and George Stewart, at the Book and Angel.
   1714. Price 6 Pence.
   80. 47 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 794/1.

Tarbat had written an earlier Pamphlet, A Historical Account of the
Conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and of Robert Logan of Restalrig against
King James VI; Edinburgh, 1713.
ROBERT McWARD. 1628-1682. Minister at Glasgow and Rotterdam.

McWard died before the Revolution and is strictly outwith the period under survey, but several of his Pamphlets are debated in the Post-Revolution period and are sometimes quoted as of that time. It may avert confusion by setting out these here. He was Minister at Rotterdam. He was a pupil and admirer of Samuel Rutherford and published his Letters at Rotterdam. He kept in touch with his brethren in Scotland and encouraged them in the times of persecution. He was a Covenanter and of more extreme views than most of the Churchmen of the Revolution Establishment.

PAMPHLETS

1. The True Nonconformist, in answer to the modest and free Conference. Betwixt a Conformist and Non-Conformist about the present Distempers of Scotland. By a Lover of Truth and Published by its Order.
   - (Text quoted - Hebr. XIII, Vers XIV, XV.) -
   - Printed in the Year 1671.
   - 80. 507 pp.

This Pamphlet was written by McWard in answer to Gilbert Burnet's Conference etc. Burnet replied in A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland etc. (See under G. Burnet.)

2. The Banders Disbanded, or An accurate discourse solidly and plainly demonstrating how inconvenient, scandalous and sinful it is, in the present circumstances of the Church of Scotland, for Ministers of Christ there, that they may obtain a pretended liberty to preach and administer the Sacraments in or for others, in their name and behalf, to bind to the said rules for their peaceable living, and to present them when called so to do, and in case of failie to undergo great penalty: and so discovering clearly the unfaithfulness of the affirmative vote, of the late meeting of Ministers at Edinburgh (Anno 1679) concerning the lawfulness of giving the bond then presented by the Council, as well occasionally holding forth many considerable truths very necessary to be known and pondered in these dark and difficult times.

Printed Anno MDCLXXXI. n.p.
Wing M. 230.

This Pamphlet was written condemning the acceptance by Presbyterians of the Indulgence of 1679, a topic much discussed in the controversy after the Revolution. The Pamphlet Naphtali etc. and the replies to it make reference to McWard's The Banders Disbanded etc. (See Sir James Stewart and Bp. Andrew Honeyman.)

3. The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland who are amidst the Scorching Flames of the Fiery Trial.

- (Texts I John, III, 13; I Pet. IV, 12,13; II Thes. i,6; Luke XVIII, 8; Psal. XI, 3,4,6; Psal. CVIII, 18.)

Printed in Anno 1678 and Reprinted in Edinburgh by John Reid Junr. in year 1709.
Wing. M. 233.

Sometimes quoted confusedly in Post-Revolution discussion but obviously written to an earlier situation.

In N.L.P. - H.38.e/17 there are copies of Pamphlets (2) and (3) above. Also a third by McWard - A Testimony against paying Cess, etc.
George Meldrum, 1634-1709. Minister of the Tron, Edinburgh; Professor of Divinity, Edinburgh University.

One of the leading ministers in the Post-Revolution Church of Scotland. Nearly all the contemporary writers take notice of him, especially in his later years, when he was involved in the Toleration controversy. It is therefore interesting that his Presbyterian loyalty should have been at one time so suspect that Gilbert Rule had to give him space at the end of one of his writings to vindicate himself before friends and enemies.

Further, his being accepted into the ranks of the Church of the Revolution was the reason given by some Cameronians for remaining outside the Establishment. The situation arose in the course of his early ministry in Aberdeen where, after being suspended in 1662, he was reinstated to his charge by the Privy Council. At a later date, in 1681, whatever was the truth with regard to his earlier actions, he refused the Test and was deposed. After the Revolution he was minister at Kilwinning and later at the Tron, Edinburgh. In 1701 he became Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University. He was a well-known preacher and various of his sermons on questions of the day were published. He became a leader of the

1. Fasti, I, 139-140; D.N.B.; J. Warrick, Moderators, etc.; Clerk of Penicuik, Memoirs.  
2. Second Vindication. (See Rule.)  
3. See J. Hepburn, Humble Pleadings etc. and A. Shields, Faithful Contendings etc.; See also H. Macpherson, Alex. Shields.  
4. Wodrow, History, I, 315-316. See also his own account.  
5. Elizabeth West, Memoirs.
Church and was Moderator of the Assembly of 1703 when the Toleration issue emerged. The Memorial from the Commission of Assembly, which was laid before the Parliament of 1703 and led to the departure from the Earl of Strathmore’s motion for a Toleration, was signed by Meldrum. His Sermon on the question created considerable controversy.

PAMPHLETS

(For the full title of Rule’s Pamphlet see under Gilbert Rule.)

This is Meldrum’s Post-script vindicating himself in his actions at Aberdeen. (See above.)

2. A Seasonable Admonition.

A Paper published by the Commission of Assembly of 1698 presided over by Meldrum as Moderator. It is the answer to the demands of many to assert the "intrinsic power of the Church", which was felt to have been played down at the Revolution. (See Robert Wylie etc.)

THE SERMONS

Meldrum’s chief contribution to the controversy was a series of Sermons which were printed. They were chiefly on the Toleration issue of 1703 and evoked many replies.

Wing M.1636. Aldis 3053.
Copy in N.L.P. 209/16.

A London Reprint of (3).
40. 14 pp.
Wing M.1638. Aldis 3094.
(Confusion between Meldrum and Hamilton as Preachers.)

5. A Sermon preached at the Annual Meeting of George Heriot's Hospital.
40.
Aldis 3514. N.L.P. 290.

6. A Sermon preached in the New Church of Edinburgh, on Sabbath, May 16, 1703. Before His Grace, James Duke of Queensberry, Her Maidsties High Commissioner; and many of the Nobility, Barons and Burrows; Members of the High Court of Parliament; and the Magistrates of the City of Edinburgh. - On Psalm 122. 6. Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem; They shall prosper that love thee.
- - By Mr. George Meldrum, a Minister of the Gospel there - Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson. Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1703.
40. 20 pp.

The famous Sermon against a Toleration.
7. A Sermon preached before the Lord Ross, Her Majestie's Commissioner, and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; in the New Church of Edinburgh, on 16 of March, 1704, which was the day of the convening of the General Assembly. By Mr. Meldrum, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh. Edinburgh. Printed by George Hogman and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Close. M.DCC.IV.
40. 15 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 517/17.

Against Toleration and the restoration of Patronages.

8. A Volume of Sermons in Manuscript, preached between June 1706 and August 1708.
Copied out possibly by Robert Wodrow, for there is an inscription at the end "ended at Eastwood, 1729".

Of these Sermons (6) is specially noteworthy because of the replies it called out. John Sage issued An Examination of Some Things in Mr. Meldrum's Sermon against Toleration to Those of the Episcopal Persuasion etc. (See Sage.)

Meldrum replied in

40. 30 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 323/6.

Reference to Sage and also to George Brown's Toleration Defended.
(See G. Brown.)
Sage next issued his large Pamphlet *The Reasonableness of a Toleration etc.* (See J. Sage.) In reply Meldrum published

10. *A Defence of the Vindication of Mr. Meldrum's Sermon against a Second Assault of the Examinator, in a Treatise intituled The Reasonableness of a Toleration, etc. set forth in the form of 4 letters.*

- By the Author of the Sermon - (Texts quoted - Psalm 55, 3; Psalm 120, 7. Quots. from Tertullian and Augustine.)

Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

*Amo Dom. 1708.*

4o. 88 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 323/2.
William Meston. 1688-1745. Professor of Philosophy in Aberdeen.

His life falls into this period under survey although his work—the well-known Knight of the Kirk did not appear till 1723. Born at Midmar and educated at Aberdeen, he is a representative of the Jacobite Episcopal convictions widely held in the North-East. A teacher in the High School of Aberdeen and tutor in the family of the Earl Marischal, he became Professor of Philosophy in Marischal College. In 1715 he supported James Stewart and was made Governor of Dumnotar Castle. After the defeat of the Rebellion he took to the hills till the Act of Indemnity was passed. He continued under the protection of strongly Episcopalian families, e.g. that of the Earl Marischal, and later that of Oliphant of Gask. He was schoolmaster in Elgin and later at Turriff, Montrose and Perth. Naturally he was an opponent of the Presbyterians and wrote his satires on them modelled on Butler and the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. An account of his life is prefixed to an edition of—

Copy in N.I.P. H.29.d.28.

This contains all his writings including The Knight of the Kirk.
The Knight of the Kirk: or the Ecclesiastical Adventures of Sir John Presbyter.
- (French Epigones and Burlesques the Age adorn And ordination sounds the Church's Horn -- Incerti. Auth.) -
- The Third Edition -
London. Printed for M. Smith in Cornhill. 1728. (Price 1s. 6p.)
80. 89 pp. Dedicated to Messrs. Courayer and Voltaire.
Copy in N.L.P. 593/25.

References to James Webster; Sir Hugh Campbell on Lord's Prayer;
Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; Knox; Buchanan; Calvin; etc.

A Burlesque of Presbyterianism with the attack conducted along the usual lines of the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence; Pitcairne's Babell,
Assembly; Works of Robert Mylne, etc. In the Preface, he states his intention of discrediting the Presbyterians by ridicule.
A central figure in this controversy - perhaps the chief figure on the Episcopalian side. He was a leader of the group of deprived clergy who gathered in London and sought to impugn and overthrow the Presbyterian Establishment. ¹

He was connected with the family of Monro of Foulis. A sketch of his early life and the charges he held till the Revolution can be found in the Fasti. ² In 1688 he was Minister of the Second Charge of the High Church (St Giles) and Principal of Edinburgh University. The same year, through the influence of his friend Claverhouse, he was nominated to the Bishopric of Argyll, but was never consecrated. On April 24, 1689, he resigned his charge in the High Church having refused to pray for William and Mary in obedience to the Act of Estates of April 13. ³ Then came the incident of his deposition from his office as Principal of Edinburgh University. ⁴

Many of the Histories make the mistake of saying that he spent the

1. See discussion of this group in the Introduction.
2. Fasti, I, 66. This includes a list of references to Monro.
4. This is discussed fully by R.K. Hannay in Visitation of the College of Edinburgh, in Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol.VIII, 79-100. Reference is made to it in H. Arnot, History of Edinburgh, p. 393. A. Grant, Story of Edinburgh University, Vol. I, 256; and Bower, History of Edinburgh University, Vol. I, 309 ff. Monro's own account of the happenings and charges laid against him is to be found in his Pamphlet, Presbyterian Inquisition, etc.
remaining years of his life in Edinburgh. Much valuable information on his last years in London, his friends and the activities of the ejected clergy in the Post-Revolution period can be obtained from his Correspondence with John Mackenzie of Delvine.

Further information concerning this man and his activities can be found in his voluminous writings, the replies of his opponents and the vindications of his friends. From these a much fuller portrait of an important Episcopalian writer can be drawn than is at present available.

PAMPHLETS

1. *An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in Scotland in Several Letters.*
   London. Printed for S. Cook. 1690.
   40. 68 pp.
   Not listed in *Wing*, or *Aldis*. *McA. Coll. Cat.* does not identify one of the letters as being by Monro.
   Copies in *New Coll. P. B.C./69/6* and *N.L.P. 293/1*.
   Not listed in *Nat. Lib. Cat.* under *Sage, Monro or Morer*.

There are four letters. Two are by *Sage*, one by *Morer* and the last by *Monro*. See under *Thomas Morer* and *John Sage*.

1. See *Grub, History; Bower, etc.* J.E. Craven, *Scots Worthies* actually says, "After his deprivation Dr Monro continued to reside in Edinburgh and to officiate in a congregation there." This is typical of the vagueness of the histories on the chief figures of the period.


3. For example on his suspected Romish leanings see *Wodrow,* *Analecta,* II, 49. He is defended on this charge by *John Sage* in his *Vindication of the Cyprianic Age*, p.494.
2. Presbyterian Inquisition as it was lately practised against the Professors of the Colledge of Edinburgh, August and September, 1690. In which the Spirit of Presbytery and their present method of Procedure is plainly discovered. Matter of Fact by undeniable Instances cleared, and Libels against particular persons discussed.

- (Text - Pa. 109, v. 23)
- Licensed Nov. 12 1691
London. Printed for J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball in Cornhill, 1691.
4o. 106 pp.
Wing, H.2443. McC. Coll. Cat.
Copies in N.L.P. 289/7 and N.L.P. 333/4.

The title explains the contents. Charges against Dr Monro and Dr Strachan.

London. Printed for J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball in Cornhill, 1692.
4o. 55 pp.
Wing, M.2438.
Copy in N.L.P. 83/11.

Monro's reprint of Shield's Hind let Loose endeavouring to identify the Cameronians with the Presbyterians of the new Establishment.

4. A Letter to a Friend giving an Account of all the Treatises that have been publish'd with Relation to the Present Persecution against the Church of Scotland.
- (Texts - Lam.)
London. Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1692.
4o. 32 pp.
McC. Coll. Cat. says it is also ascribed to George Meldrum - an obvious mistake.

(Details listed here from a copy in personal possession.)

An interesting feature of this writing is that it contains a list of
19 Pamphlets from both sides published about this time. Of these pamphlets, published anonymously, 14 are listed throughout this Bibliography and their authors identified. The remaining 5, whose authorship is difficult to establish, may be set out here for purposes of reference.

a. The Present State and Condition of the Clergy and Church of Scotland.
   (Episcopalian.)

b. A Brief and True Account of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland occasioned by the Episcopalians since the year 1660. With some Animadversions upon a Libel intituled The Present State and Condition of the Clergy and Church of Scotland. London. 1690. 32 pp. 4o. N.L.P. 333/3.
   (Presbyterian.)

   (Episcopalian.)

d. The late Proceedings and Votes of the Parliament of Scotland contained in an Address to the King. 1689.
   (Episcopalian.)

e. An Account of the Affairs of Scotland in Relation to their Religious and Civil Rights. 1690.
   (Political and Episcopalian.)

Monro may have had a hand in several of these himself. They were printed in London.

5. An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland chiefly opposed to the Censures, Calumnies and Accusations of a late Presbyterian Vindicator. In a Letter to a Friend wherein his Vanity, Partiality and Sophistry are modestly reproved; and the legal Establishment of Episcopacy in that Kingdom from the beginning of the Reformation is made evident from History and the Records of Parliament. Together with a Postscript relating to a Scandalous Pamphlet intituled, An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence.
(Quot. from M.T.C. Ort. in Q. Caecilium.)

(Imprimatur, Edmund Bohun. Sept. 24, 1692.)


40. 108 pp. (Wrong numbering of pages, p. 77 follows p. 70.)

Wing, M.2437. Not in Aldis, or in Mca. Coll. Cat.

The "Vindicator" replied to is Gilbert Rule. The author referred to in the Post-Script is George Ridpath.

6. A Collection of all the Acts of Parliament, with Publick Papers and Declarations Relating to the Clergy and Ecclesiastical Affairs within the Kingdom of Scotland since the Revolution.


40. 31 pp.


7. Sermons preached upon Several Occasions, (Most of them Before the Magistrates and Judges in the North-East Auditory of St Giles Church Edinburgh, By Al. Monro, D.D., (Then) Principal of the College of Edinburgh.

London. Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1693.

50. 502 pp.

Copy in N.L.P.H.36.9.

8. The Spirit of Calumny and Slander Examind, Chastis'd and Expos'd, In a Letter to a Malicious Libeller, More Particularly address'd to Mr George Ridpath, Newsmonger, near St Martin's in the Fields containing some Animadversions on his Scurrilous Pamphlets, published by him against the Kings, Parliaments, and Laws, Nobility and Clergy of Scotland. Together with a Short Account of Presbyterian Principles and Consequential Practices.

London. Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball, over against the Royal Exchange. 1693.

40. 89 pp.

Directed against Ridpath but also against Rule's Vindications.

   London. Printed for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's Head, In St Paul's Churchyard. 1696.
   8o. 339 pp.
   Wing, M.2439. Mca. Coll. Cat. H. & L.
   Copy in N.L.P.H.38.c.

Against Rule again. Interesting as an attack on Presbyterians as innovators in worship. In turn, the Presbyterians said that the Episcopalians were the innovators. See Rule, The Good Old Way Defended; and Willison, Queries to the Scots Innovators, etc.

Wing attributes to Monro the Pamphlet, The Prelatical Churchman against the Phenatical Kirk-man, but this was by John Sage.

Monro's Pamphlet, A Letter to Hon. Sir Robert Howard, 1696, has no relevance to this debate.
An Englishman who was stationed in Scotland about the time of the Revolution as chaplain to an English regiment. He was a keen observer of the religious observances and customs in the Scotland of that time. These he describes in his chief writing, A Short Account of Scotland, which is valuable for the information it gives. He was associated with John Sage and Alexander Monro in the writing of another Pamphlet attacking the Presbyterians for their treatment of the "outed" Episcopalians. Thus he was not a detached observer writing dispassionately on the Scottish scene but rather an active participant in the controversy. After his period of service in Scotland, he returned to London and became rector of St Anne's Church, Aldersgate. It was then that he wrote his Short Account out of recollections of his experiences in Scotland at the Revolution.

**PAMPHLETS**


This Pamphlet is noted also under John Sage who wrote the 2nd and 3rd Letters; and under Alex. Monro who wrote the 4th Letter.

Morer wrote the 1st Letter. It is dated "Glasgow, Oct. 12. 89." On the sufferings of the dispossessed clergy.
2. **A Short Account of Scotland.** Being a Description of the Nature of that Kingdom, and what the Constitution of it is in Church and State. Wherein also some notice is taken of their Chief Cities and Royal Boroughs. With an Appendix, - I. About their King's Supremacy. II. The Difference of the Scotch and English Liturgy. III. The Revenue and Expence on the Civil and Military List, according to a late Establishment.


12o. 156 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. A.115.d.

In his Preface, Morer says this is written from "some few notes I had taken about fourteen years ago when I was called to Scotland." It is therefore the setting of 1688 he is portraying here though the date of writing is 1702.

Dr C.G. McCrie in his *Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland* (1892) quotes extensively from this "valuable but scarce book".
An interesting figure of the period of whom little note has been taken. Some account of him is given in the Prefatory Note to the Book of Scottish Pasquils edited by James Maidment. In this book and in others edited by Maidment and noted below are to be found many of his writings. Maidment sets out what little can be ascertained of him and laments that so little information can be procured relative to an individual once so well known. He may have been related to Sir Robert Mylne of Barnton. A writer and transcriber of manuscripts by profession, he appears to have accumulated a vast collection of MSS. which was dispersed after his death, and parts of which have been discovered in different parts of the country.

He was a friend of Dr Archibald Pitcairne and shared the same political and ecclesiastical prejudices. His dislike of the Presbyterians seems to have been increased by the treatment which a relative of his wife, a Mr Robert Geddy, Episcopal minister at Arngask, had met with at the Revolution. He assiduously collected and transcribed lampoons and pasquils deriding the Presbyterians and Whigs and lauding the Episcopalians and Jacobites. He wrote many of his own although it is not always easy to tell which is his own work and which is transcribed by him from another source. Sometimes he transcribes another's writing with interpolations of his own.

1. Fountainhall, Chronological Notes, (Note by Editor).
A study of Mylne's writings and transcriptions introduces a separate phase of this controversy, consisting of these abusive, sometimes indecent, pasquils. The majority printed are to be found in James Maidment's various collections, but there are MSS. in the National Library mentioned here which contain specimens of Mylne's writings never printed.

**COLLECTIONS**

1. **A Book of Scottish Pasquils.** (Edited by James Maidment.)
   - Edinburgh. MDCCXXVII.
   - 80. 93 pp. and Preface.

   Contains biographical note on Mylne and many of his writings.

2. **A Packet of Pestilent Pasquils.** (Edited by James Maidment.)
   - Privately Printed. 1869.
   - 80. 31 pp. n.p.

   Mostly against David Williamson and Archbishop Paterson.

3. **Nupe Scotiae. Miscellaneous Papers Illustrative of Scotish Affairs.** M.D.XXV - M.DCC.LXX.
   - Edinburgh. M.D.CCC.XXIX.
   - 80. Not continuously paged. Edited by Maidment.

4. **Reliques Scotiae. Scottish Remains. In Prose and Verse from the Original M.SS and Scarce Tracts.**
   - Edinburgh. MDCCCLXXIII.
   - 80. Not continuously paged. Edited by Maidment.
(2), (3) and (4) contain pasquils and lampoons written from both sides in which many persons noted in this Bibliography appear. Maidment would appear to have drawn largely from Mylne's MSS. (1) contains the largest amount of writing identifiable as Mylne's.

Besides those writings of Mylne printed in the above, there are MSS. in his handwriting in the National Library MS. Collection. In these MSS. there are many writings of this type of rhymed invective.


A few Titles will indicate the style of the writing.

From MS. 2092/1

The Mystery of Iniquitie, or, The Revolution.

2092/14 Epitaph on Lord Dundee.
Laudatory. "His name's his country's boast and pride."

2092/19 Our northern Sennet seldom sits.
Verses on Parliament of 1697.

2092/22 Elegy on David Williamson.
The inevitable lampoon on Williamson. Scores of these. (See Williamson.)

2092/23 On the General Assembly sitting down on Candlemas Day and ye dreadful fire in Edr. ye day following.
The fire in 1700 during the sittings of the Assembly is often referred to (see Pitcairne), with humorous comments on the Presbyterians there assembled.

2092/25 Epithalamium on the Seventh Marriage of David Williamson.
Williamson again.

2092/38 Three Jacobite Verses.
(Sample)

The Whig hates and abhors indeed. The Lord's Prayer and the Creed.
The thing that they call Prelacie. From Scripture hath its pedigree.

Familiar attack on Presbytery.

2092/61  The Funeral of Blue Blanket.

These few titles shew the nature of these voluminous works collected or written by Robert Mylne. All are anti-Presbyterian and Jacobite and Episcopalian.
Consecrated Bishop of Carlisle in 1702. Earlier, while Archdeacon of Carlisle, he had been a friend and correspondent of Robert Wodrow. Wodrow's letter to him on his elevation to the bishopric gives an interesting glimpse of a Presbyterian's view of the office - "I pray God may give you the qualifications of a treu Apostollicall Bishop and make you ane eminent instrument for his service in the Church. You know my thoughts on your designed office, but I am sure I am a sincere though unworthy friend of your person." Nicolson published a work dealing with the history of Scotland, to which Wodrow makes frequent reference in his Letters. In this, Nicolson corrected John Sage's contention of "the spuriousness of Knox's History." This is now known to have been an error made by Sage, but a correction by a contemporary English Churchman delighted Wodrow. He was not so pleased with the rest of the work, a main contention of which was to "prove the subjection of Scotland to the See of York". On this point Wodrow hailed with pleasure a refutation of Nicolson by a Scots Episcopalian, Sir Robert Sibbald. Another who replied to Nicolson was Thomas Rymer, Historiographer Royal.

2. Ibid., 221-2.
3. Ibid., 206-9, 218, 221-2.
4. Ibid., 211.
5. Ibid., 213. See under Sir Robert Sibbald.
The Scottish Historical Library containing *A Short View and Character of most of the Writers, Records, Registers, Law-Books, etc.* which may be serviceable to the undertakers of a general History of Scotland down to the Union of the Two Kingdoms, in King James the Sixth.
By W. Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle.

A copy of this is listed in the National Library (Edinburgh) Catalogue, under N.L.P. A.34.b, but could not be located.

A copy of the above-mentioned, however, is contained in a volume including other historical studies by Nicolson. The full title is -

The Scottish Historical Library, etc. as given above is included and comprises 114 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. R. 290.c.

Sir Robert Sibbald's reply to the Bishop (as set out fully under Sir Robert Sibbald) was The Liberty and Independency of the Kingdom and Church of Scotland asserted etc.

Another to take up the challenge of Nicolson's work was the Historiographer-Royal, Thomas Rymer, who published -
Letters to the Right Reverend the I[d.], bishop of Carlisle. Occasioned by some Passages in his late Book of the Scotch Library. Wherein Robert the Third is beyond all Dispute freed from the Imputation of Bastardy. A particular Account is given of King David's Ransom, and of the Hostages for payment of the same. With several Original Papers relating to the Scotch Affairs; and a Grant of the Liberties of Scotland. - Letter I. -

3o. 52 pp.
Copies in N.L.P. 857/1 and N.L.P. 731/7.

But Sibbald, who himself had refuted Nicolson, found himself in opposition to Rymer and answered him in -

An Answer to the Second Letter to the Bishop of Carlile, occasioned by some Passages in his late Book of the Scotch Library.

(See under Sibbald.)
An important Pamphlet of the controversy is that often referred to as "Park against Patronage." When it was published in 1689 it was stated that it was being published posthumously. This has led to confusion as to its authorship. It was published by Robert Park, advocate, who was Town Clerk of Glasgow about the time of the Revolution and later acted for a time as Clerk to the General Assembly. He met his death in unfortunate circumstances at the Clerk's Chambers in Glasgow shortly after the Revolution. Robert Park published the pamphlet in 1689 and according to Wodrow "considerably enlarged it" but the original was written by his father John Park. This Park was minister at Stranraer and was deposed in 1662. Under an Indulgence he preached at Kilmarnock in 1672. He died in 1688. While in Galloway he had clashed with the Earl of Galloway who had dissolved the Synod of Galloway of which Park was Moderator in 1661. It must have been about this time and out of his experience that he wrote his pamphlet against Patronage to be published with additions after his death by his son. This is confirmed by a clear reference by Robert Wodrow.

1. Fasti, II, 356.
PAMPHLET

The Rights and Liberties of the Church Asserted and Vindicated against the Pretended Right and Usurpation of Patronage. (Text)


Edinburgh. Printed by a Society of Stationers. MDCLXXXIX.

30. 171 pp.


Second page reads "To the Right Reverend, the Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, and of the Presbyterian Persuasion - the following Defence of the Rights and Liberties of the Church, against the pretended Rights and Usurpations of Patronage; is most humbly dedicated by Robert Park". It is a general discussion of Patronage from the earliest times with only passing references to the contemporary situation.

Wing quotes part of this Second Page, "To the Right Reverend, the ministers....the following defence of the rights and liberties of this Church", and gives it as a separate Pamphlet (Wing, P.364) which is quite wrong and very misleading.
Bishop of Galloway, 1675-9; Bishop of Edinburgh, 1679-87, and Archbishop of Glasgow, 1687-90, Paterson was a figure of some notoriety. If the Episcopalian attacked David Williamson in their lampoons, the corresponding figure to be attacked by the Presbyterians was John Paterson. At the Revolution he adhered to the cause of James VII. He was present at the Convention of Estates in 1689 where, it was recorded, "the Bishop of Glasgow made a long discourse on passive obedience." He lived in Edinburgh after the Revolution. There is some suggestion that he was arrested and perhaps even imprisoned for holding correspondence with the exiled Court. About 1695 he was banished to London where he joined the group of exiled Scots Episcopalians so often mentioned in these notes. He was later allowed to return to Edinburgh, and, on the accession of Queen Anne, regained complete freedom. He was actively engaged in raising funds for the relief of the dispossessed Episcopalian clergy, collections being taken up in England for this purpose. Paterson was gravely suspect

1. Fasti, VII, 324; VIII, 707, 712; D.N.B., XV, 463-5; Keith, Scottish Bishops, 64, 270, 282; Lassow, Hist. of Episc. Church in Scotland, 34; Grub, Ecc. Hist., III, 49; J. Warrick, Moderators, etc.; Lauderdale Papers, III, 10, 199; J. Kirkton, Secret & True History, 182, 185, 188; Wodrow, Analecta, I, 326.


5. Antiquarian Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, II, 1864, pp.226-231. See also Alex. Rose.
of appropriating some of these funds for himself. Along with Bishops Rose of Edinburgh and Douglas of Dunblane, he consecrated in a private chapel in his house in Edinburgh the first two Post-Revolution Bishops, Sage and Fullarton. He was censured by friend and foe alike for reputed immorality.

PAMPHLET

Hackston's Ghost.
2-3 pp.

There is no printed copy of this writing known. A copy in handwriting is in the Wodrow MSS. in the National Library, Edinburgh. It is possible, however, that it was printed and circulated at the time for it was a well-known writing, and it originated a little three-cornered controversy involving Patrick Simson, Minister at Renfrew, and Sir James Turner and Paterson.

The Pamphlet gives an imaginary communication supposed to have come after his death, from the well-known Covenanter Hackston of Rathillet, who was involved in the killing of James Sharpe. The message was to the effect that the Presbyterians should give up the more moderate position of the Revolution Church and go over to the extreme position of the Cameronians. Whether Paterson was the author, or whether he reissued an

2. Kirkton, Secret & True History, etc., 182-5. G. Ridpath, Answer etc. and others.
older pamphlet, this is the familiar attempt by the Episcopalians to link the Presbyterians of the Post-Revolution Church with the Cameronian extremists. (See Alex. Monro, and Gilbert Rule's reply in his *Vindications.*

Patrick Simson replied in *Some few Brief Remarks on a Paper called Hackston's Ghost, etc.* in which he charged the author of *Hackston's Ghost* with being "a Prelate in a Cameronian Mask."

For the rest of the controversy see Patrick Simson and Sir James Turner.
Dr. ARCHIBALD PITCAIRNE. 1652-1713. Jacobite Writer in Edinburgh: Sometime Professor of Medicine in Leyden.

A celebrated figure in the Edinburgh of this period and a leading Jacobite and Episcopalian controversialist. Of the old Fife family of Pitcairne, he graduated M.A. in Edinburgh in 1671. Intended for the Church, he turned to Law and then to Medicine and Mathematics. He studied Medicine at Paris and Rheims in which latter university he graduated M.D. in 1680. There followed a distinguished career in Medicine. He was one of the original members of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. His Jacobite sympathies roused feeling against him and he went to Leyden to become Professor of Physic. In 1693 he resigned his Chair and came back to Edinburgh with a European reputation in Medicine. He published many brilliant medical pamphlets and he wrote polished Latin verses. He had one of the finest private libraries of the time. It was purchased by the Emperor of Russia. The least worthy things he did were his polemical writings against the Presbyterians which were bitter, scurrilous and often indecent. His law case against James Webster, who accused him of being an atheist is well-known. It was a pamphlet of his which challenged Thomas Halyburton to make his Inaugural Address at St Andrews a reply.

1. Account of Life and Writings of Dr Pitcairne, by Chas. Webster, Edin. 1871; D.N.B., XV, 1221-3; Chambers, Eminent Scotsmen; Irving, Scottish Writers; Fountehall, Hist. Notices, 660; Anderson, Scottish Nation, 289-291; H.G. Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the 18th century.
3. See under Thomas Halyburton.
His avowed purpose was to ridicule the Presbyterians and rouse the civil Government to depose them.

PAMPHLETS

1. **Good news from Scotland; or the Abjuration and the Kirk of Scotland Reconciled.**
   
   *Printed in the Year.* 1712.
   
   8o. 14 pp. n.p.
   
   Copy in **N.L.P. 600/8.**

   The Abjuration Oath. An attempt to embarass the Presbyterians over the taking of the Oath.

2. **Babell; or The Assembly, A Poem.**
   
   *MDCCXCII.*
   
   Written originally in the Irish tongue and translated into Scottish for the benefite of the leidgss.
   
   By A.P. A Well-Wisher to the Cause.
   
   (Quots. from Genesis XI, 8; Lucanus - "Quis furor, 0 Goves").

   Copy in Maitland Club Publications (N.L.P. - Maitland Club 6) with title -

   **Babell: a satirical Poem, on the Proceedings of the General Assembly in the year M.DC.XCII.**
   
   *Printed at Edinburgh. A.D. MDCCXXX.*
   
   4o. 95 pp. (Prefatory Note XV pp.)
   
   Includes "Tollerators and Non-Tollerators - "a Dramatic Scene, written on the occasion of the attempt to tolerate Episcopacy in 1703."
   
   From the Arniston MS.

1. See Preface to The Assembly, and Prefatory Notice to Babell, (Maitland Club Ed. 1836).
The Editor states that there were two manuscripts of the poem—"one in the possession of Dr. Keith, Edinburgh, and the other belonging to that indefatigable collector Robert Mylne¹, and now in the library of Dundas of Arniston." This production was a collation of these two MSS. (Prefat. Note, XIV).

3. **The Assembly:** or Scotch Reformation; a Comedy. As it was acted by the Persons in the Drama. Done from the original manuscript written in the year 1692.
   - By Archibald Pitcairne, M.D. -
   - (Quot. from Claudian.) -
   Edinburgh. Printed for the Booksellers, 1817.
   8o. 100 pp. and Preface (I-XIII).
   Another copy in N.L.F. H.29.d./32 was published in Edinburgh in 1766. (77 pp. + Preface, I-XIII.) 8o.

1. See under Robert Mylne. It is also stated that Wm Meston (see under Wm Meston) must have had a copy, as he incorporated large portions of it in his poem, The Knight of the Kirk. (Pref. Note, XIII).
One of the most notable Presbyterian writers on the Toleration issue of 1703. He was a leader of the Church and was twice Moderator in 1738 and 1741 and was "Father of the Church" when he died in 1749. Much of his ecclesiastical activity, therefore, took place subsequent to the period under study here. But in his early days he was a doughty defender of Presbytery against Episcopacy. His two Pamphlets, the Letter from a Gentleman etc. and Toleration Fence Removed etc., are two of the best-known writings on the Toleration issue from the Presbyterian side and are repeatedly referred to in other writings of that period. A good account of his life and work is given by John Warrick in his Moderators etc.¹ Born in 1672 probably of the family of Ramsay of Edington he was educated at St Andrews and ordained to Eyemouth in 1693. Later he went to Kelso. In 1714 along with Wm. Carstares, James Hart and other leaders of the Church he was sent to bear the lyal assurances of the Church to George I on his succession.² He was strongly opposed to the Jacobites and to the Union of 1707. In 1706 at the Commission of Assembly he moved a protest against Bishops sitting in the United Parliament.³

1. J. Warrick, Moderators of the Church of Scotland. pp. 335-349.
2. J. Hart's Journal; See under James Hart.
3. Fasti, II, 72; Boston Memoirs, 19 n.; Wotherspoon, Ecclesiastical Characteristics; Ochtertyre MSS.; Wodrow, Analecta; Haig, History of Kelso; Tait, Border Church Life.
PAMPHLETS

1. A Letter from a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament concerning Toleration. To which is added A Letter concerning the Grounds and Reasons, why those of the Episcopal Persuasion cannot join in Communion with the Established Church.

- (Latin Quot. Quis pro pace, etc.) -

Printed in the year 1703.


This is Ramsay's best-known writing. It appeared in several editions and evoked many replies. The First Edition comprised 15 pp. and was against the granting of a Toleration to the Episcopalians. In the Second Edition he added 13 pp. refuting arguments advanced in Garden's The Case of the Episcopal Clergy. Many of the Episcopal writers wrote replies or made reference to the Pamphlet (see under George Brown, Matthias Symson, Sir Arch. Sinclair, J. Skene). But Ramsay's chief opponent was perhaps Dr. George Garden of Aberdeen. He wrote The Case of the Episcopal Clergy and those of the Episcopal Persuasion etc. considered. Second Edition Revised and Cleared from the Mistakes of the Gentleman's Letter. (See under Garden.)

Ramsay replied to Garden in

2. Remarks upon the Case of the Episcopal Clergy and those of the Episcopal Persuasion, considered as to granting them a Toleration and Indulgence. In a Letter from a Freind to a Member of Parliament.

- (Texts quoted - Psal. 63. 11; Prov. 25. 4, 5; - Quot. from David Dickson - "Papists hate nothing in Prelacy but what is
Presbyterian and Presbyterians hate nothing in it but what is Popish
- Edinburgh, Printed in the year 1703.
40. 43 pp.
N.L.P. 323/16.

Garden replied to this in - The Case of the Episcopal Clergy etc.
The Second Part. Being a Vindication of the former from the
Misrepresentations of the Remarks etc.

Ramsay then wrote one of the best known pamphlets of the period -

3. Toleration's Fence Removed: The Thoughts concerning the
present State of Arraights in so far as they respect a Toleration
considered and exposed; Plain Dealing with the
Presbyterians. As it is not found, so not to be expected from
Prelatical Pamphleteers; or, A Vindication of a Letter from
a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament concerning Toleration
from all the Cavils that have been advanced against it, and
the wilfull mistakes about it.
- (Text quoted, Jerem. 18. 19. 20.)
- Edinburgh, Printed by George Mosman and are to be sold at his
Shop in the Parliament Close. 1703.
40. 36 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 323/4. (Arch. Campbell writes of this in
Index, "By Ramsay of Heymouth, the great hack writer of the Party.")
Also in N.L.P. 521/20.

The full title of this Pamphlet reveals that it was Ramsay's
answer to several of his attackers. Sir A. Sinclair's Thoughts etc.,
G. Brown's Toleration Defended etc. and J. Skene's Plain Dealings etc.
are all referred to (See under Sinclair, Brown and Skene).

Sinclair replied in The Thoughts concerning Toleration Vindicated
and Enforced. In Answer to the 12 or 13 pages of a Scourrilous Pamphlet
entitled Tolerations's Fence Removed. (See Sir Arch. Sinclair.)

The final Pamphlet of Ramsay on the issue was -

4. An Examination of three Prelatical Pamphlets, viz. 1. A Full and Final Answer, etc. 2. Imparity among Pastors, in so far as it trencheth upon the Remarks on the Case, etc. 3. And the Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit, In a Letter to a Friend. (Text - Psal. 31, verse 18; Quot. from Hieron Ep. and Titum) - Edinburgh. Printed by George Mossman and are to be sold at his shop in the Parliament Close. MDCC.III. 4o. 46 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 509/21 (Arch. Campbell writes on Title Page "By Mr Ramsey of Heymouth").

Also in N.L.P. 521/22.

In the Pamphlet Ramsey replies to others who have contended against him. He deals with Matthias Symson's Short Character etc. (see Symson); with Skene's rejoinder to him in A Full and Final Answer, etc. (see Skene); and he replies to another opponent Dr John Hay who wrote Imparity among Pastors etc. (see J. Hay).

Ramsey is often credited with writing The Survey of the Case of the Episcopal Clergy etc., a title which is confusingly like his Remarks upon the Case etc. The writer of the Survey was James Hart (see under Hart).
Information regarding him is scarce. He does not seem to have held a Charge for the Fasti does not mention him. In the account of the proceedings in the Post-Revolution days of the Presbytery of Perth, there is reference to proceedings taken by that Presbytery against various persons who persisted in "intruding" and perpetuating Episcopalian ministrations in certain parishes. Amongst those named is one Thomas Rhind, who was chaplain to the Laird of Balgowan.1 It may be that this is the Thomas Rhind who wrote these Pamphlets. However sparse knowledge of Rhind is, one of his Pamphlets was very well known in the controversy. It is that which tells of his conversion from belief in Presbytery to Episcopacy. "As a result of impartial inquiry I abandoned the Presbyterian Party and joined the Communion of the suffering Church."2

"I own my birth to Presbyterian parents and sucked their prejudices from their breasts."3 "I was a Presbyterian of the most rigid kind."4 He goes on to tell how questionings arose in his mind causing him to study the whole subject of religion and its forms till he came to "a conviction so forcible that at length I was obliged publickly to renounce the Presbyterian principles and Party and embrace the principles of the

3. Ibid., p.6.
4. Ibid., p.9.
Lawson, the Episcopalian historian says Rhind's *Apology* was such an able work that "the Presbyterians saw it could materially injure them if it was left unanswered. Accordingly Mr. Anderson appeared as the Champion of his Party." This was John Anderson's *Defence of the Presbyterians*, one of the best-known pamphlets in the controversy.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. **An Apology for Mr. Thomas Rhind.** Or, An Account of the Manner how, and the Reasons for which he separated from the Presbyterian Party, and embraced the Communion of the Church.

   — (Texts quoted: 1 Thess. 5. 21; 1 Pet. 3. 15; Quot. from ArnoB. advers. Gent. Lib. 2.)


   8vo. 217 pp.

   Copy in New Coll. f.11/a.4.

Rhind mentions various writers he had consulted on both sides in his study. On the Presbyterian side he refers to Beza, Blondel, Salmesius, Calderwood and the "Lucubrations of Rule, Jameson and Forrester." On the other side he speaks of Dodwell (Book of Schism), Dr. Wakes' translation of St. Ignatius's Epistles (probably Robert Calder's edition — see Calder) and the Author of *The Principles of the Cyprianic Age*. (Sage.)

We are thus brought into the midst of the controversy with familiar names like Rule, Jameson, Forrester, Calder and Sage.

1. *Apology*, p. 28.
3. See under *J. Anderson*. 
After the story of his change-over from Presbytery to Episcopacy, Rhind goes on to attack Presbyterianism along the usual lines such as "their pretensions to the Divine institution of Parity" (p.61); and "Apostolical institution of their Orders" making them schismatical. In reply John Anderson wrote his Defence of the Presbyterians etc. (See Anderson.)

2. Presbytery the Pest of Society: In answer to Andrew Low's Vindication of the Scots Kirk, in the case of William Duguid. Together with his Introductory Epistle to Sir James Stewart of Goodtree's Approving of his Zeal against the Mitre and the Crown.

- By T.R. of D - 15 -
- (Quot. from Henry More) -
London. Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers Hall. 1714.
Price 6d.
So. 28 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 954/1.

An attack on the Presbyterians. References to William Duguid, Andrew Low and Sir James Stewart. (See under Duguid, Low and Stuart.)
GEORGE RIDPATH. -1726. Whig Journalist and Pamphleteer.

A study of his life and literary career takes one into the London of that time with its intrigue and controversy between Whig and Tory, Jacobite and Loyalists. Ridpath was in the thick of this fight on the Whig side. The Pamphlets which he wrote in connection with this controversy fit in with his other polemical writings and are part of his anti-Romanist, anti-Prelatical, anti-Jacobite position. He is the almost exact counterpart to Charles Leslie on the Episcopal side. 1 An account of his life and writings is to be found in the D.N.B. 2 For precise and interesting details of his early life the best sources are his own writings. 3 While a student at Edinburgh University he got into trouble in connection with an anti-Popish demonstration and, being charged with threatening to burn the Provost's house, he was imprisoned and then banished the country. He went to London and became a noted journalist and pamphleteer. He edited the Whig Journal The Flying Post for some years. Again in trouble over libellous writing in the Observer he left the country and lived for a time in Rotterdam returning to London on the accession of George I. He was known to Pope 4 and Swift 5 and other literary and

1. See Charles Leslie.
2. D.N.B.; See also Wodrow, Correspondence, ed. McGrie, vol. I, page 209, n.; Caratarea's State Papers, p. 364; The Trial and Conviction of Mr. George Ridpath, 1713; Account of the Proceedings and Sentence given against Mr. George Ridpath, 1713.
3. His pamphlet Scots Episcopal Innocence, (noted below) pp. 52-56.
political figures of the day. Though he had had to abandon his early aspiration to the ministry in the Church of Scotland he never lost his Presbyterian convictions and plunged into the Pamphlet warfare on that side. He knew the situation in London and made particular attack on the London group headed by Dr. Alex. Monro. These two did not spare each other in their exchange of pamphlets. There are obscure references to Ridpath acting in 1696 as a spy on the movements of the Bishop of Glasgow and Dr. Monro. He was a regular correspondent with Robert Wodrow on such subjects as the Union of 1707 and the writings of the Scots Episcopalians. Something of this correspondence has been published in the Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club with a Memoir of Ridpath which is useful for information.

PAMPHLETS

His best known Pamphlet was -

1. An Answer to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. In Three Parts. I. Being a Catalogue of the cruel and bloody laws made by the Scots Prelatists against the Presbyterians; with instances of their numerous murders and other barbarities beyond the extent of those laws: with reflections throughout demonstrating the lenity of their Majesties government against the Scots Prelatists and Clergy. II. Laying open the self-contradictions, impudent lies, horrible blasphemies, and disloyalty of the obscene, scurrilous Pamphlet called the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence. III. Being a Collection of

their ridiculous expressions in sermons, and instances of the
vicious lives of their Bishops and Clergy.
8o. 80 pp.
Wing R. 1458 and Wing R. 1459 (records a 2nd Edition in 1694 -
40.)
Signed "Will Laick". Ridpath's nom-de-plume. It is an
answer in the same vein to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence
Displayed. (See Crocket and Monro; and for full discussion
see Records of Scottish Church History Society, Vol.VIII,
Paper on Scotch Pres. Eloq. by T. Maxwell.)

This Pamphlet brought answers from Dr. Alex. Monro in his Spirit of
Calumny and Slander, etc. 1693 and Apology for the Clergy of Scotland,
etc. 1693; (See A. Monro) and from Wm. Strachan in his Some Remarks
upon a late Pamphlet etc. 1694. (See Wm. Strachan.)

2. A Continuation of the Answer to the Scots Presbyterian
Eloquence, Dedicated to the Parliament of Scotland. Being a
Vindication of the Acts of that august Assembly, from the
Clamours and Aspersions of the Scots Prelatical Clergy, in
their Libels printed in England. With a confutation of Dr. M....'s Postscript, in answer to the Former, proving, That it's
not the Church of England's Interest, to countenance the Scots
outed Clergy. As also Reflexions on Sir George Mackenzie's
Defence of Charles the Second's Government in Scotland. And
Instances on record of Sir George's Subornation against Sir
Hugh and Sir George Camobel and the Laird of Blackwood,
Presbyterian Gentlemen. Together with the Acts of the Scots
General Assembly and present Parliament, compared with the
Acts of Parliament in the two last Reigns against the
Presbyterians. - By Will Laick. -
London. Printed in the year 1693.
4o. 52 pp.
Aldis 3303. Wing R. 1460. (Wing omits Aldis ref.)

A continuation of 1. along the same lines.
3. The Scots Episcopal Innocence; or, The Juggling of that Party
with the late King, his present Majesty, the Church of England,
and the Church of Scotland, demonstrated. Together with a
Catalogue of the Scots Episcopal Clergy turned out for their
disloyalty, and other Enormities, since the Revolution. And
a Postscript with Reflections on a late Malicious Pamphlet,
titled, The Spirit of Malice and Slander. Particularly
addressed to Dr. Monroe and his Journeymen, Mr. Simon Wild,
Mr. Andrew Johnston, etc. near Thieving Lane, Westminster.

(Latin Quot.) -

By Will Laick.

London. Printed in the year 1694.
40. 68 pp.
Wing R.1465. McA. Coll. Cat.
Copy in N.L.P. 196/5.

Written as he says (p.57) "to obviate the malicious reflections and
seditious news of your newsmonger general against the present Government."

A reference to Alexander Monro and his Pamphlet, The Spirit of Calumny,
etc.

4. The Queries and Protestations of the Scots Episcopal Clergy.
Against The Authority of the Presbyterian General Assemblies
and Committees, given in to the Committee of the General
Assembly at Aberdeen, June 29th, 1694. Together with the
Committee's Answer and Proceedings, with Reflections upon the
Queries, etc.

- (Text quoted in Greek, 1 Cor. 11.16.)

- By a Layman of the Church of Scotland -

London. Printed in the year 1694.
40. 28 pp.
Wing R.1462. McA. Coll. Cat.
Copy in New Coll. P. E.c/10.10.

This is copy of the Queries and Protestations of 1694. For
discussion of this document see James Gordon and George Garden.

Ridpath has published a copy with the replies of the Commission of
Assembly; speeches made by Principal Dunlop and others; and the action
taken by the Commission. The original document must have been circulated in London. Ridpath says it was "a special occasion of begging and running about with their malicious tattle among the Church of England clergy." He points out that he has published this Pamphlet without any official sanction, but "out of pure zeal for the Government of his country as at present established in Church and State."


On the Abjuration Oath question. Ridpath was one of those like Wodrow, Carstares etc. who felt it could be taken by Presbyterians without prejudice to their position.

John Sage in his Fundamental Charter etc. (p.315) attributes to Ridpath the Pamphlet, Plain-Dealing, or, a Moderate General Review of the Scottish Prelatical Clergy's Proceedings in the latter reign. This, however, is more generally believed to have been written by Dr. John Gordon and is listed under him. (See Gordon.)


(Written in ink in N.L.P. copy, "London, 1711-12. By George Ridpath and his associates, Mr. William Carstares, mentioned in the
History of the Rye House Plot, and Daniel De Foe."

See under William Carstares.

The Representation then submitted to the Queen here published as a Pamphlet.

These are the Pamphlets Ridpath wrote in direct contribution to the controversy under review. He was a voluminous writer on many topics mostly with a politico-ecclesiastical bias. A group of these Pamphlets may be mentioned, mostly political.

(a) Scotland's Grievances relating to Darien humbly offered to the consideration of Parliament - 1700.

(b) A Discussion upon the Union of England and Scotland. By a Lover of his Country.

(c) The case of Scotsmen residing in England and in the English Plantations. 1703.

(d) A Historical Account of the Ancient Rights and Power of the Parliament of Scotland. 1703.

(e) An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland. 1703.

(f) The Reducing of Scotland by arms...... considered. 1705.

There are also other Pamphlets written by Ridpath on happenings in London. These are sometimes confused with the Scottish Pamphlets and should be distinguished. Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Presbyterian Lord Mayor of London, in his official capacity had apparently attended a Presbyterian Meeting-House and had been criticized for so doing. Ridpath defended him in a Pamphlet - Dialogue between Jack and Will -
concerning the Lord Mayor's Going to a Meeting-House with the Sword before him: Other pamphlets in the London controversy were - Answer to a Rash Dialogue between Jack and Will, 1698; Answer to the Champion of the Wooden Sword, 1698; and A Rowland for an Oliver.

As a Whig Journalist Ridpath edited The Flying Post, or, The Postmaster. This publication was active in politics and ecclesiastical affairs. Copies of some of its editions can be found in N.L. Pamphlets. For example -

The Flying Post or The Postmaster. Numb. 3181.
From Saturday, Feb. 16th to Tues. Feb 19th, 1712.
Fol. 2 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 9/130.

Contains reflections on George Barclay's dispute with Bishop Rose - "to set the disloyal and persecuting temper of the Chief of the Episcopal Party in Scotland in a true light. A complaint by a minister of their own way."
ALEXANDER ROSE. 1647-1720. Minister at Perth.
Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University;
and Bishop of Edinburgh.

One of the most interesting and puzzling characters in the drama of the Scottish Revolution. He was a key figure on the Episcopal side and is blamed by many for throwing away the chance of an Episcopalian Establishment in Scotland. The story of his interview with William is well-known. Of an ancient family in the north of Scotland, he was educated at Aberdeen and studied theology under Gilbert Burnet at Glasgow. He was Minister at Perth, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, and later Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews. Appointed Bishop of Moray in 1687 he was translated to Edinburgh before he could take charge of the See. He was Bishop of Edinburgh when the Revolution came and, as he lived on till 1720, he remained an important figure in the Post-Revolution Episcopal Church. At the Revolution, he attended the decisive Convention of Estates in March, 1689, and opened the proceedings with prayer. On 13th April the Act disestablishing Episcopacy was passed. The Bishops withdrew and from then onwards took no active part in affairs, living in retirement and content to keep the organization of the Church in being till "the King should come into his own again". It has been said that Rose withdrew to the Episcopalian Chapel in Carrubbers

Close. Others have said that the present Episcopal Church of Old St Paul’s is descended from the body to which Rose ministered after the Revolution. This however, has been denied and it has been stated that Rose did not statedly officiate to any particular congregation as pastor after the Revolution. Many modern Episcopalian historians are severe in their criticism of him. Grub says, "A man of blameless life and moderate attainment who was unequal to the difficulties he had to encounter and made no attempt to overcome them". He seems to have taken little part in the Episcopal-Presbyterian controversy; and there is no evidence of contact between him and the group in London associated with Dr Alex. Monro. He did try to raise funds in England for the relief of the dispossessed Scots clergy; and his administration of these funds was the subject of some controversy among his own people, owing to his insistence on loyalty to the Stewarts (see below).

PAMPHLETS

1. A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty’s Most Honourable Privy Council at Glasgow. Glasgow: Printed by Robert Sanders. 1684.

40.

Aldis 2488. Wing, R. 1932.

Copy in N.L.P. F.F.,/7./10.

The Sermon is under 4 Heads:-

1. The different parties of our divided Zion.
2. The malignancy of the national sin of Schism.
3. The necessity of Episcopacy for supporting the prime concerns of Christianity.
4. A brief application.

This was preached before the Revolution, but having been printed, no doubt circulated after the Revolution. Copies of it are rare. A defence of Episcopacy.

Rose concerned himself in the ingathering and administration of contributions from people in the Church of England given to help the Scots Episcopalians. A Pamphlet of the time tells of this work —


Copy in N.L.P. 9/6.

This gives an account of the Fund and its administration.

In connection with this, Rose fell foul of one of the Scots Episcopal Clergy. There was a succession of Pamphlets on the question. Although this was a domestic issue for the Episcopalians alone it was commented upon by the Presbyterians to embarrass their opponents, much in the same way as the Episcopalians used the questions dividing the Presbyterians, such as the Abjuration Oath, the Camerons, etc. It may be worth while to note this controversy.

B. A Full Vindication of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Edinburgh and the other Administrators of the Charities there, from the Calumnies and the false and Scandalous Assertions and Insinuations of Mr George Barclay, in his Defamatory Libel published in the Flying Post, No. 3181. With an Inhuman as well as an Unchristian Design to hinder the Charity of Good Christians towards the Relief of the Suffering Episcopal Clergy in Scotland. London. Printed and Sold by G. Strahan, at the Golden Ball, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1712.

40. 16 pp.

George Barclay had made the charge that "Such as did or do pray for the Queen are, upon that very score shot at and debarred from any share of the charitable Fund set up for the relief of the indigent families of the Episcopal Clergy" (p. 16).

It is significant that this charge by Barclay was published in the Flying Post, the Journal edited by George Ridpath, a noted Presbyterian controversialist, who was quick to give publicity to this complaint by "a minister of their own way", showing "the disloyal and persecuting temper of the Chief of the Episcopal Party in Scotland in a true light."

Presumably Rose had debarred Barclay from receiving aid because he had taken loyalist vows to Queen Anne.

This is the Reply to that charge and is a Vindication of Bishop Rose.

C. A Full Answer for Mr George Barclay, Minister of the Gospel. To a Scurrilous Pamphlet published against him, in Vindication of the Bishop of Edinburgh, and the other Administrators of the money collected; for the Relief of the Distressed Episcopal Clergy in Scotland. Whereby his Complaint, exhibited against them to the Lords of Session is shewed Reasonable; and the Malice, Folly and Falsehood of the Vindicator are made appear.

- (Text quot., John 3, 20) -

Edinburgh. Printed by John Moncur at his Printing House at the foot of the Bull's Close. M.DCC.XII.

40. 28 pp.


A Reply by Barclay explaining the situation and his own position.

D. A Vindication for Mr George Barclay, Minister of the Gospel, on his leaving the Meeting-House in Skinner's Close, and on the Law Plea that followed thereafter.
Copy in N.L.P. 9/79.

A further Pamphlet by Barclay describing how he took the case to law.
One of the chief men on the Presbyterian side at the Revolution.

Strangely little has been written about him although there are the materials for a biography. He was prominent in nearly every issue of these days. He played a leading part in the negotiations which brought the chief Hillmen, Shields, Linning and Boyd, into the Establishment.

He was appointed, along with David Blair, to "go to London to attend His Majesty anent the affairs of this Church", and was favourably received by William. In 1690 he was appointed by the Privy Council one of the Commissioners to investigate the Professors of Edinburgh University and the Teachers of Edinburgh. Perhaps his chief appointment came at that same Assembly of 1690. At Session 25 he was appointed to reply to the Episcopal Pamphlets, published mostly in London, which were deemed to be doing hurt to the new Establishment. Thus Rule was given the official commission of the Assembly to be, in the words of his opponents, "The Vindicator of the Kirk." This indicates how seriously the

1. Fasti, I, 39, 415; D.N.B.; Wodrow, History, III, 194; Analecta; Watt, Bibl. Brit. II; Grant, Edinburgh University, I, 239; II, 286 seq.; Bower, Hist. of Edinburgh University, I, 319-321; Session Book of Bunclere (Berwickshire Naturalist Club); J. Hardy's Notes, 33-34; Fountainhall's Decisions, I, 99; Tate, History of Alnwick, II, 123-130; J. Warrick, Moderators etc.; The Martyrs of the Bass, 291-315; Calamy, Abridgement of Baxter's Life, II, 317; A. Pitcairne, Babell, and The Assembly.
2. Macpherson, Alex. Shields, 94, 105-106;
3. Acts of Assembly, 1690; Rule, Second Vindication;
4. Cockburn's Historical Relation;
5. Acts of Assembly (N.L.P.); Cockburn, Hist. Relation etc.; A. Stewart, Hart, Vindicated, 60 etc.;
6. J. Sage, Fund. Charter, see Title etc.
Presbyterians viewed this Pamphlet warfare, and gives the controversy an importance in the history of these times. His Vindications are noted here, as well as other writings in the controversy. He became the object of attack by many on the other side who were not slow to take up his challenge.

Details of his life reveal a chequered career. A scholarly man (although he was attacked on that score also by his opponents) he was at different times, regent at Glasgow University, where he was educated; Sub-Principal of King’s College, Aberdeen; and, after the Revolution, Principal of Edinburgh University. His early career is interesting in that he seems to have left Scotland in 1656 to become curate of Alnwick. He was uneasy in this appointment and preached against the use of the Book of Common Prayer in 1660, and was ejected under the Uniformity Act. He went abroad and, in 1665, graduated M.D. at Leyden. Returning to Berwick he practised medicine there and became increasingly involved in preaching to Dissenters there and at Presbyterian Conventicles across the Border in Scotland. He accepted the Indulgence of Charles II and preached at a Meeting House at Linton Bridge (now East Linton) fitted up for him by the Earl of Haddington. For preaching in St Giles, he was brought before the Privy Council and imprisoned on the Bass Rock. Owing to ill health he was released, on agreeing to leave Scotland. He went to Dublin and ministered there till the Revolution, when he returned to be Minister of Greyfriars and, as has been said, a leading man in the Church of Scotland, although he was never Moderator, and has received what would seem to be less than due notice.
PAMPHLETS

1. *A Modest Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum.*
   By a Learned Pen.
   - (Quot. from Theod. Bezae Resp. ad Serav. ac minister, Evang.
     grad. cap. IX, 15 a calce.)
   London, Printed for Richard Janeway in Queen's Head Alley in
   Pater-Noster-Row, 1680.
   8o. 162 pp.
   Wing, R.2217. Also Wing, R.2223. McCa. Coll. Cat. (Modest
   omitted in title).
   Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f/18.

An early pamphlet written before the Revolution challenging Stilling-rocket's position as set forth in the Irenicum.

2. *A Rational Defence of Nonconformity.* Wherein the Practice of
   Non-Conformists is Vindicated from promoting Popery, and
   Ruining the Church, imputed to them by Dr Stillingfleet in his
   Unreasonableness of Separation. Also his Arguments from the
   Principles and Way of the Reformers and first Dissenters are
   Answered. And the Case of the present Separation clearly
   stated; and the blame of it laid where it ought to be. And
   the way to Union among Protestants is pointed at.
   - By Gilbert Rule, Minister of the Gospel.
   - (Text quot. - Ezek. XLIU, 10. 11.)
   London, Printed for John Salisbury, at the Rising Sun, near
   the Royal Exchange in Cornhil. M.DCC.LXXIX.
   4to. 276 pp.
   Wing, R.2224.

An early writing from before the Revolution when Rule was still a
non-conformist. It is an answer to Stillingfleet's Pamphlet - The
Unreasonableness of Separation. Or, An Impartial Account of the History,
Nature and Pleas of the present Separation from the Communion of the
Church of England. To which several late Letters are annexed, of
eminent Protestant Divines Abroad, concerning the nature of our

4o. 15 pp. Text - Isaiah 2, 2.
Aldis 3091. Wing, R.2227.
Copy in New Coll. P. E. a/6.7.

One of a series of sermons preached by Presbyterian Ministers at the time of the 1690 Parliament. Printed later and used in this controversy.

4. A Vindication of the Church of Scotland. Being an Answer to a Paper, intituled, Some Questions concerning Episcopal and Presbyterian Government in Scotland, Wherein the Latter is vindicated from the Arguments and Calumnies of that Author; and the Former is made appear to be a Stranger in that Nation. By a Minister of the Church of Scotland as it is now Established by Law.
Edinburgh. Printed by George Mosman and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Close. Anno Dom. 1691.
4o. 35 pp.
Wing, R.2223. Aldis 3206.
Copy in N.L.P. 209/10.

This is the first of Rule's semi-official Vindications of the
5. A Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland. Being an Answer to Five Pamphlets, the Titles of Which are set down after the Preface. By the Author of the Former Vindication in answer to the 10 Questions. Edinburgh. Printed by George Mosman, Printer to the Church of Scotland and her Assemblies, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament-Close. 1691. 40. 192 pp. With a Postscript by George Meldrum.
Wing, R.2225. Altd 3193.
Wing, R.2226 notes another edition reprinted in London.
Copy in N.L.P. 289/5.

This is Rule's chief Vindication, and drew replies from several opponents. The Five Pamphlets he seeks to answer are -

a. An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in Scotland in Several Letters. (Monro, Sage, Morer. See under these writers.)

b. The Case of the Afflicted Clergy of Scotland truly Represented. (Sage.)

c. A Late Letter concerning the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland. (Sage.)
Most of these pamphlets replied to by Rule deal with the hardships of the disposed clergy and were being circulated in London to win sympathy for the Episcopal ministers and their cause.

6. *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland*. Being an Answer to Five Pamphlets, the Titles of which are set down after the Preface. By the Author of the former Vindication in answer to the Ten Questions.

Licensed and Entered according to Order - (Quots. from Psal. 31, 18; Psal. 55, 3; Psal. 63, 11; Gregor. Lib. 18 Moral.; Augustine contra Faramen. 1. 4.) -


4o. 171 pp. including Meldrum's Postscript.

Copies in N.L.P. 333/10 and M.L.P. H.38.c/37.

This is confusing, being a Reprint of the Second Vindication, although in the short Title, *A Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, it might appear to be the first Vindication, the word *Second* being omitted. Many fall into error here in cataloguing. It is possible that Wing made this mistake in the writing he lists as R.2232.

7. *A Defence of the Vindication of the Church of Scotland; In Answer to an Apology of the Clergy of Scotland.*

Monogram - GM -

Edinburgh. Printed by George Hosman and are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Close, in the Year 1694.

4o. 49 pp.

Wing, R.2219. Allen 3367.

Copy in N.L.P. H.38.c/27.
A continuation of the Vindication dealing with fresh points made by
Dr. Alex. Monro in his pamphlet An Apology etc. (See Monro.)

8. A Sermon preached at the Meeting of the Council of George Heriot's Hospital.
   Wing, R.2230. & Alais 3514 list this separately, as do other
   catalogues.
   The edition noted here is a joint one:
   Two Sermons Preached at a Meeting of the Council of George
   Heriot's Hospital, at Edinburgh.
   Edinburgh. Printed by George Mosman in the Year 1695.
   40. 34 pp.
   Copy in N.L.F. 290. Sermons by Gilbert Rule and George
   Meldrum.

   It was a jibe of the Episcopalians that the Presbyterians would
   observe George Heriot's Birthday but not the Birthday of Christ.

9. A Just and Modest Reproof of a Pamphlet, called The Scotch
   Presbyterian Eloquence.
   Edinburgh. Printed by George Mosman and are to be sold at
   his Shop in the Parliament Cloister. Anno Dom. M.DC.XCIII.
   40. 40 pp.
   Wing, R.2222. Alais 3792.

   A reply to the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence in which his Second
   Vindication had been attacked and he had been abused.
   The Fasti does not list this pamphlet.

10. The Cyprianick-Bishop Examined, and Found not to be a
    Diocesan, nor to have Superior Powers to a Parish Minister, or
    Presbyterian Moderator. Being an Answer to J.S., his
    Principles of the Cyprianick-Age, with regard to Episcopal
    Power and Jurisdiction. Together with an Appendix, in answer
By Gilbert Rule, one of the Ministers of the City, and Principal of the Colledge, of Edinburgh.
Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to His most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1696.
4o. 120 pp.
Wing, R.2218. Aldis 3627.
Copies in N.L.P. 269/6 and N.L.P. H.38.e/27.

A reply to Sage’s Cypriankick-Bishop with reference also to Sage’s Fundamentals Charter.

11. The Good Old Way Defended against the Attempts of A.H. D.D., in his Book called, An Enquiry into the New Opinions, (chiefly) Propagated by the Presbyterians of Scotland, wherein the Divine Right of the Government of the Church by Presbyters acting in Parity, is Asserted; and the pretended Divine Right of the Hierarchie is disproved; the Antiquity of Parity and Novelty of Episcopacy as now pleaded for are made Manifest from Scriptural Argument, and the Testimony of the Antient Writers of the Christian Church; and the groundless and unreasonable Confidence of some Prelatick Writers exposed. Also the Debate about Holy-Days, Schism, the Church-Government used among the first Scots Christians, and what else the Enquirer chargeth us with are clearly stated and the Truth in all these Maintained against him. Likewise, some Animadversions on a book called The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery: in so far as it misrepresented the Principles and Way of our First Reformers from Popery: Where the Controversie about Superintendents is fully handled; and the Necessity which led our Ancestors into that course for that Time is Discovered.
By Gilbert Rule, one of the Ministers of the City and Principal of the Colledge of Edinburgh.
Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the King’s most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1697.
4o. 316 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.e/37.

A reply to Alexander Monro’s An Enquiry into the New Opinions and Sage’s Fundamental Charter. Each side accused the other of “innovations.”
in church government and worship.

12. A True Representation of Presbyterian Government. Wherein a Short and Clear Account is given of the Principles of Them that came It. The Common Objections against It Answered, and some other Things opened that concern it in the Present Circumstances.

By a Friend to that Interest.
The Second Edition Corrected and much enlarged. Licensed April 18, 1690.

4to. 19 pp.

This above is the Second Edition — Wing, R.2229. Aldis 3106.

The First Edition seems to have been published by Andrew Anderson as listed Wing, R.2228. Aldis 3105.

Copy of the above Second Edition in N.L.P. 228/7.

His other writings are outwith this controversy.
If Gilbert Rule was the "Vindicator" of the Presbyterians, the great exponent of the principles of the Episcopalians was John Sage. The fact that his Life was written as early as 1714 by John Gillan means that there is more known of him than of many of his contemporaries.

Descended from an old Fife family, he was educated at St Andrews and was for a time parochial schoolmaster at Ballingry and Tippemuir. He was then tutor in the family of Drummond of Cultmalundie. He was ordained by Ross, Bishop of Glasgow, and presented to St Mungo's, Glasgow, where he ministered and acted as Clerk to the Diocesan Synod till the Revolution. He was not actually deposed then but privately warned to leave Glasgow. For a time he ministered to a small body of his co-religionists in Edinburgh, but was eventually banished from that city as a Non-Juror. He returned to the protection of several Episcopalian families, being successively chaplain in the households of Sir William Bruce of Kinross, the Countess of Callander and Sir John Stewart of Grantully. Supported by these people, and perhaps encouraged by them, he began to issue his pamphlets setting out the Episcopal position and attacking the Presbyterians. He was a man of erudition and a


2. Life, etc. by Bishop Gillan, N.L.P. 794. See under Gillan.
considerable student of the Early Fathers. He can be very abusive at times. Wodrow paid tribute to his ability and pointed out his defect of "prolixity". He was consecrated Bishop along with Fullarton in 1705, and was the weightiest of the opponents of the Presbyterians. Several of his Writings were edited and published by the Spottiswoods Society in three volumes in 1844-6.

PAMPHLETS

   London. Printed for S. Cook. 1690.
   4to. 68 pp.
   Copy in H.L.P. 289/1.
   Wing does not list this under Sage but under Morer - Wing M.2722.

   This Pamphlet on the sufferings of the deposed Episcopal Clergy consisted of Four Letters, the Second and Third of which were written by John Sage.

2. The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland truly Represented. To which is added for Probation, the Attestation of many unexceptional Witnesses to every Particular; and all the Publick Acts and Proclamations of the Convention and Parliament relating to the Clergy. By a Lover of his Church and Country.
   London. Printed for J. Hindmarsh at the Golden Ball over

1. Early Letters (No. CIII, 1704) S.H.S.
2. See Chambers, Eminent Scotsmen; Cunningham, History, II; Grub, History, III, 349; and other historians.
412.

against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1690.
4o. 108 pp.

Also on the hardships of the "outed" clergy.

3. A Late Letter concerning the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland.
   London. Printed for Robert Clavel at the Peacock in St Paul's Churchyard. 1691.
   4o. 30 pp.
   McA. Coll. Cat.
   Copy in N.L.P.

Generally agreed to be by Sage. One of the Five Pamphlets replied to by Rule in his Second Vindication.

4. The Prelatical Church-Man against the Fanatical Kirk-man, or,
   a Vindication of the Author of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.
   London. Printed in the Year 1690.
   4o. 8 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 333/4.

Believed to be by Sage in continuation of the theme of The Late Letter, etc. in 3. above.

5. An Account of the Late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland Anno 1690. Together with the methods by which it was Settled, and the Consequences of it. As also several Publick Acts, Speeches, Pleadings and other Matters of Importance relating to the Church in that Kingdom. To which is added a Summary of the Visitation of the Universities there: In a Fifth Letter from a Gentleman at Edinburgh to his Friend at London.
   (Quot. from Seneca and Horace.)
A satirical description of the proceedings of this Parliament especially with regard to the Establishment of Presbyterianism and the sermons preached by different Presbyterians at the opening.

6. The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery. As it hath been lately Established in the Kingdom of Scotland, Examin'd and Discovered; by the History, Records, and Publick Transactions of our Nation. Together with a Preface; Wherein the Vindicator of the Kirk is freely put in mind of his habitual Infirmities.

London. Printed for C. Broms, at the Gun, at the West End of St Paul's Church-Yard. 1695.
Co., 422 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.d/24.

One of his best known Pamphlets. Based on the Article in the Claim of Right, "That Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, etc." He argues the case for Episcopacy and against Presbytery largely from Scottish History. He includes a bitter attack on Gilbert Rule.

Some times there is an addition on the first page - "Presbytery untwisted to the Bottom."

Many Replies - from Rule, Jameson, Anderson, etc.
7. The Principles of the Cyprianic Age with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction. Asserted and Recommended from the Genuine Writings of St Cyprian himself, and his Contemporaries. By which it is made evident, that the Vindicator of the Church of Scotland is obliged by his own Concessions to acknowledge, that he and his Associates are Schismatics. - In a Letter to a Friend. - By J.S. - In the Savoy. Printed by Edw. Jones for Walter Kettilby at the Bishop's Head in St Paul's Church-Yard. 1695. 40. 94 pp.

Reprinted by the Spottiswoode Society with (6) above.
Copy in N.L.P. 493.

Another well known writing. A defence of the whole Episcopal position with regard to the three-fold order in the Christian Ministry argued from the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Early Church, with special reference to Cyprian.

Replied to by Forrester, in Causa Episcopatus Hierarchi etc. and Rule in The Cyprianic Bishop Examin'd etc.

8. A Vindication of a Discourse entitled, The Principles of the Cyprianic Age, with regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction: Being a Reply to Gilbert Rule's Cyprianic Bishop Examin'd and Found not to be a Diocesan. Wherein besides a great many Things more briefly considered: The usefulness of fixing the Principles of the Cyprianic Age is succintly Represented: The main Controversie between those of the Church and the Presbyterians is fully and distinctly stated: Mr Rule's main subterfuges are utterly overthrown: Large Supplements are added to the Principles of the Cyprianic Age: The Cyprianic Episcopacy is shown to be inconsistent with a Papacy: And it is Demonstrated that Episcopal Government was universally delivered to be of Divine Right in the Days of St Cyprian. - (Text quot. - Tit. I.2.) -

London. Printed by G. Groom for Robert Clavel at the Peacock at the West End of St Paul's, and George Strahan, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange. 1691.
40. 536 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.d/33.
This is the Second Edition published in 1701. The First Edition printed in 1695.

*Wing* does not list it.

A continuation of (A) with a rejoinder to Rule's *Cyprianic Bishop Examin'd, etc.*

Unlike his great opponent Gilbert Rule, who had died in 1701, John Sage took part also in the later stage of the controversy when the Toleration issue was debated in 1703.

9. **Some Remarks on the late Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Minister in the Country: and Mr David Williamson's Sermon preached before the late General Assembly. - In a Letter, from a Person in the Country, to his Friend in the City.**
   Printed in the Year 1703.
   4o. 29 pp. n.p.
   Copy in N.L.P. 323/3.
   (Arch. Campbell writes "By the learned Mr John Sage").

An Answer to Robert Wyllie's Letter and David Williamson's Sermon (of 10th March, 1703). (See under Wyllie and Williamson.)

10. **A Brief Examination of Some Things in Mr Meldrum's Sermon preach'd May 16. against a Toleration to Those of the Episcopal Perswasion. - In a Letter to a Friend.**
   Printed in the Year 1703.
   4o. 15 pp. n.p.
   Copy in N.L.P. 323/5.
   (Arch. Campbell writes on Title Page - "By the Rev. and Learned Mr John Sage").

An Answer to George Meldrum's Sermon against Toleration which evoked so much controversy. (See Meldrum.)
Copy in N.L.P. 323/7.

Continuing the argument against Meldrum.

11a. Another edition of (11) is to be found under the title

The Reasonableness of a Toleration Enquir'd into, Purely on Church Principles. - In Several Letters. - (Same Texts quoted as (11).) - London. Printed in the Year 1705.
8o. 246 pp.

A Reprint of the 1704 Pamphlet. Contains Meldrum's Sermon as well.
JAMES SANDS. 1673-1723. Minister at Harray and Birsay, Orkney.

Said to have been a son of Lady Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Merton and one William Sands. Educated at Edinburgh University and licensed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, he was ordained to Harray and Birsay in 1701 and died in 1723.¹

PAMPHLET

A Letter Directed thus, for Mr James Lyon in Kirkwall. Printed in the Year 1710.
Signed, "James Sands, a Lover of your Person and Truth, though no great Friend to your Cause." Dated Sept. 8th, 1709.
Copy in N.L.P. H.38.f/30.

This was a challenge to James Lyon on the issue of Church Government. Lyon issued his reply in, A Short Account of the Divine Origine of Episcopacy ......... Being an Answer to a Letter from Mr James Sands, etc. (See under James Lyon.)

¹ Fasti, VII, 240. Peterkin, Rentals.
ALEXANDER SHIELDS. 1660-1700. Cameronian Leader.

Later Minister at St Andrews.

In a short life of forty years Shields was successively student in Holland, preacher in London, prisoner on the Bass, leader of the Cameronian remnant at the close of the Killing Times, chaplain to the Cameronian Regiment in Scotland and in Flanders, Minister at St Andrews, Chaplain to the ill-fated Darien Scheme and incidentally the first foreign missionary of the Church of Scotland. He was also an exponent of the philosophy of man and society underlying the Covenanting movement.

At the Revolution, along with Linning and Boyd, he was admitted into the Church of Scotland. Although a loyal minister of that Church thereafter, he was strongly critical of some of its position and actions. His general position was more extreme than that of the most of his brethren. This can be seen in his writings, especially his earlier ones.

PAMPHLETS

1. A True and Faithful Relation of the Sufferings of the Reverend and Learned Mr Alexander Shields, Minister of the Gospel, written with his own hand, containing an Account of his Examinations and Imprisonment at London; his being sent down to Scotland; his Disputations with the Bishops and others; With large and pertinent Observations and Reflections upon all the material passages of these Trials.

1. Fasti, V, 239-240; for a full study see Hector Macpherson's The Cameronian Philosopher; Alexander Shields; and, The Covenanter's under Persecution.
Examinations and Disputations. Together with a large and elaborate Defence of the Doctrine of Resistance or Defensive Arms of the Apologetical Declaration and other Heads of Suffering. As likewise a clear and full Continuation of the Oath of Abjuration.

Never before published.

Printed in the Year MDCGXV.

40. 140 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 834/1.

A late publication of a MS. of Shields', probably by his friend Linning. The Preface states, "The Tract was written by Shields in his own hand, and having been kept in manuscript hitherto, a copy falling into the publisher's hands, he thought it might be of use to the public."

Here are references to many of the issues disputed between the parties. A reference to the doctrine set out in the Apologetical Declaration (see J. Brown).

2. A Hind let loose; Or an Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the interest of Christ. With the true state thereof in all its Periods. Together with a Vindication of the present Testimony against the Popish, Prelatical and Malignant Enemies of that Church, as it is now stated, for the Prerogatives of Christ's Privileges of the Church, and Liberties of Mankind; as sealed by the Sufferings of a Reproved Remnant of Presbyterians there, witnessing against the Corruptions of the Time. Wherein Several Controversies of greatest Consequence are enquired into, and, in some Measure cleared; concerning bearing of the Curates, owning of the present Tyranny, taking of Ensaring Oaths and Bonds, frequenting of Field Meetings, defensive Resistance of tyrannical violence, with several other subordinate Questions useful for these Times.

By a Lover of True Liberty.

- (Texts Quoted - Psal. XCV, 20; Prov. XXVIII, 15; Hos. VIII, 4; Revel. XIII, 11.) -

Printed in the year MDLXXXVII.

40. 742 pp. n.p.

Copy in New Coll. P. F. 10/a.5.

Wing S. 3431.
This is the first edition of 1687.

There were several later editions, e.g. the 1770 copy in New Coll. F. F.10/a.5 which gives Shields as author, and is printed in Glasgow.


Sometimes the Informatory Vindication is included.

Wing S. 3432 lists The History of Scotch Presbytery as by Shields. This was Alex. Monro's re-issue of The Hind let loose for the purpose of fastening Shields' more extreme sentiments upon all the Presbyterians. (See A. Monro.)

For analysis of contents see Macpherson's Alex. Shields, Chaps. XI-XIII.


Written at Leadhills in 1687 jointly with James Renwick.

4. A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, past and present of the Presbyterians in Scotland; Particularly those of them called by nick-name Cameronians.
Largely based on the historical section of *The Hind*. Although a
Cameronian writing, it was much quoted in discussion of the sufferings
of the Presbyterians in the Stewart reigns.

5. An Enquiry into Church Communion, Or, a Treatise against
Separation from the Revolution Settlement of this National
Church, as it was settled Anno 1689 and 1690. Wherein,
I. Some Truths confessed on all hands are held forth, which
if rightly considered would do much to end the Present
Controversy. II. Some Concessions are laid down for
clearing the present Debate. III. The Controversy is
stated, and Truth vindicated. IV. Fifteen Objections
clearly answered against joining with the Revolution
Settlement, wherein are considered the belief of Scriptures
and Reason, that are or may be alleged against what is said;
as also three Objections answered from something supposed to
be wrong in the Revolution Settlement and Practice of this
Church.
By Mr Alexander Shields Minister of the Gospel at St Andrews.
- Second Edition -
To which is subjoined some of the most valuable Acts of the
First Parliament of King William and Mary, in re-establishing
the true Reformed Religion, and Rescinding the persecuting
Acts made by Charles the II and James the VII. As also King
William's Letter to the National Assembly, met at Edinburgh,
October 16, 1690, with the Acts of that Assembly anent
receiving Messeurs Thomas Linen, Alexander Shields, William
Boyd, into Communion with the National Church.
- (Text quot. - Rom. xiv. 19.) -
Edinburgh. Printed by William Gray and Sold at his House
at Magdalen's Chapel, within the Cowgate Head. 1747.
8vo. 131 pp.
Copy in New Coll. P. F. 10/a 5.

A 1747 Reprint of the Pamphlet first printed in 1706 by Thomas
Linning from the MSS. of Shields. This gave the reasons of Shields
and his companions for seeking entrance to the Revolution Church. It contains criticisms of that Church, but also praise of it and condemnation of the previous Episcopal regime which it displaced; and was therefore a useful controversial pamphlet for the Presbyterians.

6. A Proper Project for Scotland. To startle Fools, and Frighten Knaves; But to make Wise Men Happy. Being a Safe and Easy Remedy to Cure our Fears, and Ease our Minds, With the undoubted Causes of God's Wrath, and of the present National Calamities. - By a Person neither Unreasonably Cameronian, nor Excessively Laodicean and Idolizer of Moderation; but entre deus, avoiding Extrem on either Hand. That is a Good, Honest, Sound Presbyterian, a Throw-pac'd True-blue Loyalist, for God, King and Country: And why not for C-____-t too? - Printed in a Land where Self's Cry'd up and Zeal's Cry'd down; and therefore, in a Time of Spiritual Plague and Temporal Judgments. Anno Dom. 1699.
40. 80 pp. n.p.
Copies in N.L.P. 494/12 and New Coll. P. c/1.17-10.

7. A Sermon Preached by Mr Alexander Shields, in the Canongate Meeting-House, Feb. 10, 1691. Being his last Publick Sermon before he went to Flanders.
- (Text quot. - II Samuel, 15, 26.) - Printed in the Year 1702.
40. 16 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 494/6.
In the correspondence of Robert Wodrow, among references to many of the pamphlet-writers and their writings in this controversy, there is repeated mention of a pamphlet by Dr. Sibbald. This was Sir Robert Sibbald, the antiquarian and naturalist, who was a friend of Wodrow in his younger days. Sibbald was an Episcopalian and it is interesting to find Wodrow, the Presbyterian, viewing this pamphlet with approval and at the same time with disfavour. The position is made clear by a study of the writing itself, set out below. Elsewhere in this Bibliography, there is listed a writing by Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, which gave great offence because it asserted the dependence of the Church of Scotland on the See of York in early days. In a letter to Sibbald, Wodrow expresses his confidence that Sibbald will "set that matter in its due light" in a pamphlet which he is publishing. When it did appear he wrote approvingly to Sibbald, "I received your piece on our liberty and independency ... I believe it unanswerable, and will serve sufficiently to quell these haters of our independency, and to stop their tongues and pens from bespattering us, till they say something in answer to you ..." But then Wodrow turned on Sibbald because in vindicating the liberty of the Church of Scotland, Sibbald gave all the credit to the Episcopalians for their stout defence of the liberties of the Scottish Church, and went on to say that these same Episcopalians were now "groaning under heavy

1. D.N.B. account of life.
2. The Scots Historical Library. - See under Wm. Nicolson.
pressours and few to pity them." This was too like the Scots Episcopal pamphlets on the sufferings of the clergy for Wodrow to accept without protest. "I am sure" he says, "their pressours that I have ever heard of were but flea bites to the scorpions with which they oppressed others. But you make that order of men the only defenders of Scots liberty and independency whereas it hath been shown of late, and very pungently too, that our libertys and independency were never encroached upon till the hierarchy was set up, and they have been tools at all times for enslaving us."

Thus in one and the same pamphlet the Scots Episcopalian is hailed as a co-defender of the Church of Scotland and also as a detractor of Scots Presbyterians in favour of Episcopalians. It is an unusual byway in the controversy.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. The Liberty and Independence of the Kingdom and the Church of Scotland. Asserted from ancient Records. - Second Edition. Enlarged, and divided into Three Parts. Wherein, All the Objections by Mr Atwood, and Others against the same are fully answered; And the Independence of both, prov'd from the choicest English Historians, Ancient and Modern.

Edinburgh. Printed by Mr Andrew Symson. 1704. And are to be Sold by Mr Henry Knox in the Luckenbooths and Mr Robert Freebairn in the Parliament Close.


Defence of the Independence of the Church of Scotland. - The Second Part -

Edinburgh. Printed by Mr Andrew Symson. 1704.

40. 23 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 332/14.

The three although found together appear as if they may have been issued separately.

In a Dedication "To the Learned and Worthy Professor of History, Mr Henry Dodwell", Sibbald writes, "Sir, It is very surprising to us here, that some Papers have been lately printed at London, which invade the Rights and Liberties of this Ancient and Independent Kingdom and Church of Scotland. At a time when many of that Order of men, who formerly defended them are now groaning under heavy pressours and few to pity them. That this should be done by some of the same Order is a matter of astonishment to all good men.... I (tho no Churchman) should make use of the small pith I have to defend the Rights and Liberties of my Country and its National Church."

In a Preface to the Reader he says -

"The printing of some forged Records, which struck at the Independencie of the Ancient Kingdom and Church of Scotland occasioned the first printing of the Treatise, Anno 1702. and the publishing of Mr Atwood's Book concerning the Superiority of the Kingdom of England has obliged the Author to make some additions."

2. An Answer to the Second Letter to the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of Carlile, occasioned by some Passages in his Late Book of the Scotch Library.
   - Addressed to the same Bishop -
Wherein, the Scots Antient Possession in Britain, is asserted; and answers are given to the Objections against it, in the Second Letter, and in Mr Atwood's late Book. And our Authors are vindicated.

Copy in N.L.E. 2/78-6.

Thomas Rymer had made a reply to Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library challenging him on certain historical points. Although Sibbald himself had taken issue with the Bishop, he here comes out in support of him against his critics. (See also under Wm Nicolson.)
Grandson of the well-known Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling; father of Professor John Simson, the central figure of the "Simson Case"; and a cousin of George Gillespie. He was chaplain to the Marquis of Argyll and was associated with another great Covenanting figure, David Dickson, in the publication of The Sum of Saving Knowledge. Called to Renfrew in 1653, he was deprived in 1662. In 1690 he was restored to full rights in his former parish. He was then 63, and remained minister of the parish for another 25 years, being described by Wodrow in 1714 as one of the "two antedeluvian ministers alive in all the Church of Scotland." He was an influential figure at the time of the re-establishment of Presbyterianism and continued to be a trusted leader of the Post-Revolution Church. He strongly advocated the acceptance of the Union; and he took the Abjuration Oath in 1712; thus giving a lead in these two difficult questions for the Presbyterians.

**PAMPHLETS**

His best known works are his *Spiritual Songs* in six books; but here there are noted only his controversial writings.

1. Fasti, III, 30; J. Warrick, Moderators, etc., 71-79; Wodrow, Analecta, I, 158; II, 276; III, 30; History, III, 56; Correspondence, ed. McCrie, I, 339; Early Letters, ed. Sharp, S.H.S., 3rd Ser., 24; Christian Instructor (1826).

1. **Some Brief Remarks on a Paper called Hackerston's Ghost.**
   Copy in the Wodrow MSS. in the National Library, Edinburgh.

   This is part of the little controversy involving Simson, Sir James Turner and John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow.

   Paterson had written *Hackerston's Ghost* (see Paterson). The above was Simson's Reply. Then Turner is supposed to have made a rejoinder to Simson (see Turner). Simson's last word was in -

2. **A Vindication of True Presbyterians from the Aspersion cast upon them in a malicious Paper called Hackerston's Ghost.**
   Also to be found in the Wodrow MSS. in the National Library, Edinburgh.

   It would appear as if these papers must have been printed at the time although there are no traces of them now outside the Wodrow MSS. Wodrow refers to them in his correspondence.
SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR. Member of Parliament
for Wick. 1690-1702.

Little information is available on Sinclair. It would seem that he was the third and youngest son of Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus in Berwickshire. This Sir Robert had been a strong Royalist, an advocate and M.P. for Berwick. He was created a baronet in 1661. His son Archibald was admitted an advocate in 1686, became Judge of Admiralty in 1687, and was M.P. for Wick, 1690-1702. He was knighted about 1697 and died in 1719. He published three pamphlets anonymously, one on civil affairs and the other two on the ecclesiastical situation of the time. In these latter he began by deploring the controversy between "Protestant ministers who differ nothing in essentials". Thereafter, however, he proceeded to argue for a Toleration for the Episcopalians along the usual lines. His plea was very severely dealt with by James Ramsey, who treated his pamphlet as just another Episcopal writing.

Pamphlets

Copies in N.L.P. 323/33 and 300/29.
(Arch. Campbell writes on Title Page of copy in 323/33 – Sir Arch. Sinclair.) See also H. & L. Nat. Lib. Cat.

Ramsay replied in his *Toleration's Fence Removed* (see Ramsay). Sinclair in turn made answer to Ramsay in -

2. *The Thoughts concerning Toleration Vindicated and Enforced.* 
   In Answer to the 12 or 13 pages of a scurrilous Pamphlet, entitled, *Toleration's Fence Removed,* etc. 
   Printed in the year 1703. 
   4to. 12 pp. n.p. 
   Copy in N.L.P. 323/35. 
   (On title page of 323/35 Arch. Campbell writes, "By Sir Archibald Saintclaire.")

3. *The State of the Nation Enquir'd into,* Shewing the Necessity of laying hold of the present Opportunity to secure our Laws and Liberties, from English influence; and procure a free Trade with that Nation. 
   (No Title Page. Probably printed in 1704.)
   4to. 16 pp. 
   Copy in N.L.P. 181/2k.

Mostly on civil affairs, but it contains strictures on the Presbyterians, suggesting that, to secure the Establishment, they gave away too much to the English. (See Fletcher of Saltoun also on this.)
J. SKENE. Episcopalian Writer.

This Episcopalian writer is hard to indentify. His two pamphlets listed here, published anonymously, were well-known in the controversy. Archibald Campbell, in his contemporary collection of Pamphlets (N.L.P. 323) has copies of both the pamphlets. On one he writes on the Title Page "By Mr Skeen" and on the other "By Mr Skene". In his written Index he gives the author as Mr Skeen, Mnr. That would seem to indicate he was a minister, but there is no J. Skene in the Fasti. Halkett and Laing list his pamphlets under "J. Skene" as does the catalogue of the National Library. But the mystery of his identity remains.¹

PAMPHLETS

1. Plain Dealings with the Presbyterians. By way of Answer to a Letter from a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament concerning Toleration. - In a Letter to a Friend. - (Texts) S.Matt. VII, 12; Isaiah, XVIII, 15, 19. (Quotation from Cicero.) -
Printed in the year 1703.
4o. 27 pp. n.p.

A Reply by Skene to Ramsay's A Letter from a Gentleman which initiated so much controversy on the Toleration issue. (See J. Ramsay.)

Ramsay replied to Skene in Toleration's Fence Removed etc.

1. There are three of the name of Skene each of whom would be a possible save that the initial is different in each case which reduces the matter to surmise. Robert Skene (Fasti, I, 253) known as a writer on the Episcopal side.
Alexander Skene, Fasti, VII, 411; VIII, 718. 4th son of Sir Andrew Skene of Halyards.
Andrew Skene, Fasti, VIII, 519. Episcopal "intruder" at Benholme in Presbytery of Fordoun.
Skene's second Pamphlet was -

2. A Full and Final Answer to a Trifling Reply made unto a Paper; entitled Plain Dealing with the Presbyterians Wherein the Reasonableness and Necessity of a Toleration is maintained, against All that is said in the Gentleman's Letter to a Member of Parliament, and Vindication thereof. - In a Letter to a Friend -

- (Texts) Isa. 54, 17; 2 Tim. 3, 13; (Quotation from Calvin Comment.) -

Printed in the year M.D.CCIII.
40. 50 pp.
Copies in N.L.P. 323/36; N.L.P. 269; N.L.P. 240/3; N.L.P. 524/21.

Ramsay replied to this in An Examination of Three Prelatical Pamphlets. The First of these was A Full and Final Answer etc. (See Ramsay.)

Skene in his two Pamphlets argued for a Toleration, and contended for Imparity of Office-Bearers in the Church instituted by Christ. Parity and Presbytery were devised by Calvin at Geneva.
JAMES SMALL, of Quarrell-hill, 1650-1730?

Minister at Forfar.

John Willison of Dundee refers in one of his pamphlets to one who opposed him as "J.S., late incumbent at Forfar." Enquiry establishes that there was a James Small, Minister at Forfar\(^1\), a man of strong Episcopal sympathies who was deposed in 1717 as a result of Presbytery action. The *Fasti* gives a brief account of his life and attributes one pamphlet to him, but is apparently unaware of all the other pamphlets which he wrote in this controversy.\(^2\) He is revealed, on further examination of contemporary pamphlets, as conducting a spirited debate with Willison in defence of his Episcopal principles.

PAMPHLETS


This is the Pamphlet attributed to him by the *Fasti*, but there would not appear to be a copy of any such writing extant.

2. *The Fourth Command of the Decalogue Considered; and its Moral and Perpetual Obligation. Asserted and vindicated, from the Cavils of its Adversaries, and particularly of Philip Limborch.* - By J.S., a Presbyter of the Episcopal Church of Scotland -

- (Text - Psal. LXXIV, 1.) -

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Against Limborch whose works had been translated into English.

Defence of Sabbath. Not anti-Presbyterian.

John Willison issued his Letter from a Parochial Bishop, etc.

Postscript in answer to Mr J.S. Pamphlet on the Lord's Day.

Small then published a Pamphlet in reply -

3. An Answer to a Book called A Letter from a Parochial Bishop to a Prelatical Gentleman, wherein the Presbyterians of Scotland are proved to be a Schismatick Party, and the Primitive Government of the Church by Bishops is Vindicated; and the substance of that which the Parochial Bishop says against it is answered in a very few words. - By a Lover of the Truth and Order of the Church. -

- (Texts quoted - Jam. 3, 4; 2 Thess. 3, 6; Quot. from St Ignatius (who was contemporary with the Apostles and who did see Christ in the Flesh) in his Epistle to the Church at Smyrna.)

Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Freebairn, Printer to the King’s most Excellent Majesty. 1715.

8o. 64 pp.

Copy in New Coll. P. Ec. 43-1.

Willison had then written his Apology for the Church of Scotland etc.

Small countered in -

4. An Apology for the true Church of Scotland; Being a Short Reply to a Book published by J.W. (of late Presbyterian Preacher at Brechin, but now at Dundee) called An Apology for the Church of Scotland, against the Accusations of Prelats and Jacobites; and particularly the Reflections of J.S. late
Incumbent at Forfar. Whereby the hainous and unchurching
Crime of Schism is further fixed upon the Presbyterian Party
in Scotland; and the Ancient and Apostolic Government of the
Church by Bishops is further confirmed.
- By J.S. Author of the Answer to the Parochial Bishop's
Letter.
- (Quot. from Job. XI, 2, 3; Psal. CXL, 3; Psal. 10, 6;
St Augst., Epist. 166 ad Donatistas etc.)
Edinburgh. Printed in the Year MDCXIX.
So. 62 pp.
Copy in New Coll. P. E.c./43-3.

Title explains contents. Deals with local situation at Forfar, and
then goes on to discuss the primitive organisation of the Church
accusing the Presbyterians of Schism.

There was one other Pamphlet written by Small presumably in reply to
one by Willison called, A Treatise Sanctifying the Lord's Day.

5. Some Reflections upon the Preface, and some Paragraphs of a
Book printed for Mr James M'Guen at Edinburgh, 1716; called,
A Treatise concerning the Sanctifying of the Lord's Day.
Together with an exact Answer to its Postscript. Wherein the
Answer to the Parochial Bishop's Letter is Vindicated; the
primitive Government of the Church by Bishops is further
established, and the Presbyterians in Scotland are plainly
proved to be a Schismatick Party, and consequently that their
Communion is Unlawful.
- By the Author of the said Answer.
- (Quots. from James III, 17; St Augst. Epist. 166 ad
Donatistas.)
Edinburgh. Printed in the year M.DCC.XVII.
So. 92 pp.

Small is careful to point out that he is not attacking Willison's
"practical writing on the Lord's Day". With that he has no quarrel.
It is the Preface and Postscript and certain remarks in the pamphlet
concerning himself that he is anxious to answer.

In the same way Willison could have had no quarrel with Small's **Fourth Command of the Decalogue**. It was the personalities introduced into the pamphlets that provoked replies. This is confusing to those who reading the titles, assume a debate on the Lord's Day between these two. A closer reading shows that the subject of the Lord's Day was not a topic of discussion between Presbyterians and Episcopalians.
WILLIAM SMART. 1649-1715. Minister at Ecclesmachan.

Information concerning him is scanty. A graduate of Glasgow University in 1669, he was presented by Charles II to the parish of Ecclesmachan in 1682. He was "outed by the rabble" in 1689, and died at Edinburgh in 1715. He seems to have been quite well-known as a defender of Episcopacy.

PAMPHLETS

   - By William Smart, Minister of the Gospel.
   - Published at the Earliest Desire of the Hearers.
   - (Texts - Jerem. VI, 16; Rom. XV, 6; 1 Cor. 1, 10; 1 Cor. VI, 20)
   Edinburgh. Printed by James Watson. M.DCC.XII.
4o. 12 pp.
Copies in N.L.P. 400/15 and N.L.P. 115/12.

2. Two Sermons against Treacherous and Double-Dealing; being the Substance of many Sermons preached from several Texts, upon particular Occasions, since the Year 1688.
   - By William Smart, Minister of the Gospel.
   - Published at the Desire of the Hearers.
   - To which is added An Answer to Mr Anderson.
   - (Texts - Psal. XII, I, II; Psal. CXX, II; Quot. from Augustine)
   Edinburgh. 1712.

1. Fasti, I, 203; MS. Account of Ministers, 1689; Mun. Univ. Glasg. III.
40. 88 pp.
Copy in New Coll. P. M.d./24.

This copy has an imperfect Title Page.

Edinburgh ............... Stewart at the sign of the .......
1712.

The National Library Catalogue lists a copy under N.L.P. 683, but on inspection, no copy could be found in that volume. The Catalogue also gives "Treacheries" instead of "Treachorous" as in the copy in New College Library, and as set out above.

The last part deals specially with John Anderson's Defence of the Presbyterians.
An acceptable preacher and a staunch Presbyterian he has a place in this controversy by reason of his two sermons which were printed and circulated as pamphlets. Not a great deal is known of his life. Minister at Dreghorn he was deprived in 1662, but received an Indulgence to resume his ministry there in 1670. He was later translated to Kirkcudbright and then to Dundee. He occupied a position of some leadership among the Presbyterians for it is known that he acted as Clerk to the General Meeting of the Presbyterian ministers in the days before the Revolution. He was chosen to preach before the decisive Parliament of 1690. A malicious reference to him and his Sermon is made by John Sage "Good Mr Spalding, Clerk to the late General Assembly, who had sat many a day in a little shop in Irvine and measured out in retail many a noggin of brandy, was a man of much finer metal in his Sermon of 11th May..."  

PAMPHLETS

1. A Sermon Preached before his Grace, George, Earl of Melvil, Their Majesties High Commissioner, and the Nobility, Barons and Burrows, Members of the High Court of Parliament. In

2. In his Pamphlet An Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government etc.
the Parliament-House, upon Sunday, May 11, 1690. - By John Spalding, Minister of Kirkcudbright.
- Edinburgh, Printed by the Heirs of Andrew Anderson, by Order, Anno Dom. 1690.
4o. 22 pp.

2. A Sermon Before His Grace, John Earl of Tullibardine, His Majesties High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland; the Nobility, and Members of the Honourable Court of Parliament, then present in the High Church of Edinburgh. The 13 of September, 1696. - By John Spalding, Minister at Dundee.
- Edinburgh, Printed by George Mosman and to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Close. Anno Dom. 1696.
4o. 19 pp. Text - "Prov. 29.2."
Dedication is signed Jo. Spalding.
Aldis - 3633. Wing - S.4796.
Copy in M.L.P. 209/22.
WILLIAM STRACHAN, c. 1694. Episcopal Writer.

His one Pamphlet is well known but little knowledge is available of the writer. He does not appear in the Fasti, so possibly he may have been a layman living in London and associated with the London group of Scots Episcopalians. He is sometimes confused with John Strachan, Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University who was deposed at the Revolution along with his colleague, Dr Alexander Monro.

PAMPHLET.

Some Remarks upon a Late Pamphlet: entituled An Answer to the Scots Presbyterian Eloquence. Wherein the Innocency of the Episcopal Clergy is Vindicated, and the Constitution and Government of our Church of Scotland defended, against the Lies and Calumnies of the Presbyterian Pamphleteers.


London, Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1693.

40. 88 pp.


The Epistle Dedicatory is signed "W.S." Halkett and Leing identify the writer as Wm. Strachan as do most of the Library Catalogues. The McAlpin Collection Catalogue lists the Pamphlet as by "William Strachan, Scots Episcopalian".

The Pamphlet is obviously part of the controversy following the publication of the Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence and the Answers to that writing. One Answer was by George Ridpath, and it is to reply to Ridpath that Strachan wrote the Pamphlet.
A leading Presbyterian in the Revolution Church, he exercised considerable influence on events of the period. A son of Sir James Stuart of Kirkfield and Coltness, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, he had been known as a convinced Presbyterian before the Revolution. He had incurred the displeasure of Lauderdale because of his share in the writing of An Account of Scotland's Grievances, etc. (see below) a scathing indictment of Lauderdale's administration. His arrest was ordered but he escaped. He was restored to royal favour but forfeited that by complicity in the Earl of Argyle's plot. Escaping to Holland, he threw in his lot with the Prince of Orange. When the Toleration was granted he returned to Scotland and became an influential figure among the Presbyterians. It may be assumed that it was he who drafted many of the documents of the time. The Act establishing Presbyterianism in the Parliament of 1690 was drafted by him before being scrutinised by William and Carstares. Again Wodrow tells us that Sir James Stuart had informed him that he had drawn up the Act abolishing Patronage along with two lawyers and three ministers. Although most of his pamphlet writing was done before the

1. Wodrow, History, II, 232, 290; Article in Christian Instructor, Oct. 1873; Coltness Collections (Maitland Club); R.H. Story, Wm Carstares, 37-9, 187 ff.
2. Story, Carstares, 187; Coltness Collections, 94.
Revolution, these give the position and outlook of this man who occupied the key position of King's Advocate in the post-Revolution days, and is a person of importance for this study.

**PAMPHLETS**

   40. n.p. n.d. (Dated - Edinburgh, Jan. 27, 1674.)
   Copy in N.L.P. H. 34 c/45. 43 pp. Copy in New Coll. P.
   B.c/1, 14-2. Smaller 40. 52 pp.

   Both Wing and H. & L. give date as 1672.

   A full description of contents is given in Story's Carstares, pp.37-8.

   See also Wodrow, History, II, 293.

   Story says that this is a very rare pamphlet. There is the above-mentioned copy in N.L.P.

   Although the Pamphlet was largely written by Steuart, some would affirm that William Carstares was associated in its writing. (See Sprat, *Account of the Rye-House Plot*, p.77.)

2. *Naphtali: or, The Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ: Contained in a True and Short Deduction thereof from the beginning of the Reformation of Religion until the year 1667. Together with the last Speeches and Testimonies of some who have died for the truth since the year 1660. Whereunto are also subjoined, A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of Mr Hugh McKail, and some Instances of the Sufferings of*
Galloway and Nithsdale.
(Texts quot. - Lam. I. 12; Mic. VII. 8; Isa. XIV. 32.) -
Glasgow. Printed by Thomas Crawford. 1721.
80. 306 pp.
Wing, 8.5536.

An early Pamphlet but very well known in Post-Revolution days. The
first of a series of exchanges between Bishop Honeyman and Stuart.
Jointly written by Stuart and James Stirling, minister at Paisley. (See
Wodrow, History, I, 28.)

Honeyman replied in, A Survey of Naphtali, Parts I and II. (See
Honeyman.)

Stuart replied to Honeyman in another well-known Pamphlet -

3. Jus Populi Vindicatum; or, The People's Right, to defend
themselves and their Covenanted Religion, Vindicated. Wherein
the Act of Defence and Vindication, which was interprised Anno
1666 is particularly justified; The Lawfulness of private
Persons defending their Lives, Liberties and Religion, against
manifest Oppression, Tyranny and Violence, exercised by
Magistrates Supream and Inferiour, contrare to Solemne Vowes,
Covenants, Promises, Declarations, Professions, and Solemne
Engagements, is demonstrated by many Arguments. Being a full
Reply to the first part of the Survey of Naphtaly etc. - By a
Friend to true Christian liberty.
- (Texts quot. - Psal. lxxiv. 20-23; Hos. I. 7.) -
- Printed in the year 1669.
Copy in New Coll. P. B.c/6.2.
Wing, 8.5536. (Wing says it was printed in London.)

This is a defence of the Covenanting position rather than the later
position of the Presbyterians after the Revolution. But it demonstrates
Stuart's Presbyterian principles.
This pamphlet caused considerable controversy. Two anonymous writings on it may be mentioned.

A Letter to the Unknown Author of Jus Populi.
Printed in the year 1671.
8vo. 45 pp. n.p.
Copy in N.L.P. 2/273.11.

and in reply

An Answer to the Letter Directed to the Author of Jus Populi.
By a Friend of the Authors.
Printed in the year 1671.
8vo. 40 pp. n.p.

4. The Oath of Abjuration set in its true Light. In a Letter to a Friend.
Edinburgh. 1712.
8vo. 30 pp.
ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND. 1655-1729. Episcopal Minister in Edinburgh.

Born in Sutherland and educated in Aberdeen he was minister of the West Kirk, Edinburgh, in 1682 and later at Larbert and Dunipace, from which latter parish he was ejected by the Privy Council for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates in 1689 acknowledging William and Mary. He returned to Edinburgh and was actively engaged in ministering to his Episcopal brethren. In 1701 he was in charge of an Episcopal meeting-house in Gray's Close; and in 1716 there is mention of him officiating in another in Bell's Wynd. He was involved in controversy with various Presbyterians on the Toleration issue. He took an unusual line of attack on the Presbyterians in criticising their doctrine of Baptism, drawing a reply from James Hadow.

PAMPHLETS

Copies in N.L.P. 300/21 and N.L.P. 509/1.

Under the general debate on the Toleration, this was a questioning of the Presbyterian Doctrine and Practice of Baptism.

This would seem to have drawn replies from the Presbyterians for he issued another short pamphlet -

1. Fasti. I, 4; and IV, 311; Peterkin, Constitution of the Church.
2. A Specimen of the Method the Presbyterians take to answer all Arguments against their Errors.

40. 4 pp. No Title Page. n.d.
Copies in N.L.P. 509/2 and N.L.P. 300/22.

This was a rejoinder to various replies from the Presbyterians to (1).

One such reply was - The Character of Those who plead for Toleration, at this time. Gathered out of their Prints, and set down in their express words. Fol. S. Sh. n.p. n.d. Copy in N.L.P. 509/4. Deals with several Episcopal Pamphlets including The Practice and Doctrine etc.

The fullest answer came from Principal Hadow of St Andrews in his pamphlet The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Scotland anent the Sacrament of Baptism Vindicated, etc. (See under Hadow.)

One other pamphlet is attributed to Sutherland -

3. Double Instrument of Protest taken by Mr A. Sutherland for himself and in name and behalf of his Brethren, now prisoners in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

Mentioned in the Catalogue of the National Library but not specifically listed.

A protest by Sutherland on treatment received in the Tolbooth, where he had been imprisoned for his activities in 1701.
ANDREW SYMSON. 1640-1712. Pastor of Kirkinner.

Printed in Edinburgh.

Included not so much for his writings as because he was one of the best-known Episcopal printers in Edinburgh at this time. His Printing House in the Cowgate near the foot of the Horse Wynd was well-known and a great asset to the Episcopal party. Many of the Pamphlets from that side bear his name on the Title Page. Dr. A. Stewart in his History Vindicated goes as far as to say that he was "the printer of all the Episcopal tracts printed in Edinburgh at that time".¹ That is manifestly incorrect. There were many others in the field. Certainly, however, "the ornamental scroll and other peculiarities of typography which characterised Symson's books"² appear frequently in Pamphlets of the period and at once identify an anonymous writing as coming from the Episcopal side.

From 1664 till 1671 he was Clerk to the Synod of Galloway being then minister or, as he styled himself "pastor" of Kirkinner. In 1684 he gave in a list of the "disorderly" in his parish, one of whom was Margaret McLauchlan, one of the Wigtown martyrs. Translated in 1686 to Douglas, Lanarkshire, he was dispossessed in 1689 by the "rabble" though he continued till 1690 in a hired house in the town preaching and performing all ministerial functions. He is thus an interesting example of an Episcopal "curate". In 1698 he set up as bookseller in Edinburgh and in 1702 took over the Printing business of his son Matthias.

1. A. Stewart, History Vindicated etc. (1869) p. 72.
2. Ibid, p. 72.
A full account of his life is given by Dr. W. J. Couper under the title *Andrew Symson, Preacher, Printer and Poet,* in an article in the *Scottish Historical Review* and also in a paper in the *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* entitled *The Levitical Family of Symson.* Bibliographical details can be found in the Preface to his own writing *Tripatriarchicon.*

**PAMPHLET**

A Letter from Mr Andrew Symson, to Mr William Forbes, Advocate.
No Title Page. 40. 7 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 300/17.
Signed "Andrew Symson, From my Printing House in the Cowgate. Aug 1st, 1706."
(This was an interesting discovery among the N.L.P. as Andrew Symson is seldom given as writer of a Pamphlet in this controversy. The Nat. Lib. Catalogue does not list this as his thought it is here in the N.L.P. 300.)

Symson explains in the Preface why he is issuing this Pamphlet. He has noticed "in the Front of Advertisements subjoined to two or three late Courants" notices concerning "a late Scurril Pamphlet entituled Some Just Reflections on Mr Forbes' Remarks Penned and Published by two of the Wise Men of Gotham, viz. Mr James Gordon, Parson of Banchory, and Mr Andrew Symson, an Abdicat Preacher turned Poet and sole Printer to Bedlam;" is just now fully and facetiously answered in a Letter from the said Mr Forbes to a Gentleman in the Country, etc.

1. *Scottish Historical Review,* Vol.XIII, 47.
Symson is here replying to the Letter.

First he gives the true title of the original pamphlet —

_Some Just Reflexions on a Nonsensical an Scurril Pasquil, against the Parson of Banchory penned by a Brownsick Biggot, named William Forbes, Advocate._

The Courant had asserted that this was written by Jas. Gordon and A. Symson. Symson says "I was but the Printer and Publisher of this".

He goes on to defend the Pamphlet which had been written by James Gordon. See under James Gordon and William Forbes.

A brother of Matthias Symson, Rector of Moorby, and son of Andrew Symson, Printer, he was associated with the family printing business and shared in the ecclesiastical convictions of his father and brother. Dr W.J. Couper, in a paper on the Levitical Family of Simson, ascribes two pamphlets to him. One is in the National Library, Edinburgh, but the other is difficult to locate. Couper mentions that a copy is in the British Museum.

PAMPHLETS

1. Sir George Mackenzie's Arguments against an Incorporating Union particularly Considered, as they are in his Observations upon James 6. Parl. 17......
   Edinburgh. Printed in the year 1706.
   40. 16 pp.
   Copy in British Museum. (Marked "By Mr Andrew Symson" in a contemporary hand.)

2. A True and Impartial Account of the Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr James Sharp ... With a short, but faithful Narrative of his execrable Murder, taken from publick Records, original Letters, and other Manuscripts. With a Preface,

1. See under Matthias Symson.
2. See under Andrew Symson.
Wherein a clear Discovery is made of the malicious Falsehoods contained in some late scandalous Books and Pamphlets, concerning that Affair. To both which is subjoined an Appendix, containing Copies of such Papers as are therein referred to.

- (Text - Psal. V. 6.) -

Printed in the year M.DCC.XXIII.

Copy in N.L.P. H.1.d.

Blames the Presbyterians for the Murder. Rejects Wodrow's plea that "the actors were Separatists from them, followers of Gargill, Cameron, etc."
Rector of Moorby.

One of the family of Symson who took an active part in this controversy was Matthias son of Andrew Symson, "parson" of Kirkinner, and later publisher in Edinburgh. He is noteworthy as a Scotsman who became a clergyman in the Church of England, but kept an interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of his own country. His name does not appear in the Fasti for he never held a charge in Scotland. He graduated M.A. in Edinburgh in 1699. While still a student of Divinity in 1700 he set up a small printing house in Edinburgh, but after a short time the business was taken over by his father. From that printing house there issued many episcopal pamphlets. Matthias entered the ministry of the Church of England. The D.N.B. account traces his career there. He became Rector of Moorby and Canon of Lincoln. Besides the D.N.B. account there are notes on Symson in Nichol's Literary History and in Dr Alexander Stuart's History Vindicated and in Mark Napier's History Rescued.

2. Ibid. pp. 259-264.
3. See under Andrew Symson.
5. See Watson's History of Printing.
6. Ibid. Also George Chalmers, MS. Notes on Scottish Printing (Nat. Library); also Aldis, Printed Books before 1700, Appendix of Printers.
An account of him and a full list of his writings on many subjects are given by Dr W.J. Couper in an article in the Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Though living in England, he did not hesitate to engage in controversy with the Presbyterians in Scotland and one at least of his pamphlets, The Short Character was well-known.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. **A Short Character of the Presbyterian Spirit.** In so far as it can be gathered out of their own Books. Especially out of the Letter from a Gentleman to a Member of Parliament, concerning Toleration; the Vindication thereof; and the Remarks upon the Case etc.

   - (Texts) - Matt. XVII. 15, 16; Psal. V. 9; Psal. LXIII. 11.
   - Printed in the year 1703.
   - On N.L.P. 509/20 copy Arch Campbell has written "Matthias Symson."

A Pamphlet often referred to in the controversy. On the 1703 Toleration issue, it attacks James Ramsay. Three of the Pamphlets are mentioned in the title, and another - Toleration's Fence Removed, is also discussed in the Pamphlet. He shows a wide knowledge of the Pamphlets on both sides, quoting amongst others Sir George Mackensie's Vindication; Shield's Hind let loose; Robert Calder's Sermon and Vindication; John Cockburn's Historical Relation: The Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence.

Sage's Fundamental Charter; John Hay's Imparity among Pastors; David Williamson's Sermon on Toleration and George Meldrum's Sermon on the same issue. (See under these men for full titles of these Pamphlets.)

1. Article mentioned above. **Levitical Family of Symson.**
James Ramsay replied in his *Examination of Three Prelatical Pamphlets*, one of which was the above *Short Character*.


London. Printed for George Strahan at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange, 1708.

40. 24 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 400/3.

Text — Romans X, 18, "And how shall they preach unless they be sent".

On valid ordination. The Episcopalian as against the Presbyterian position.
SIR JAMES TURNER. 1615-1686. Episcopalian Soldier.

A well-known figure of Covenanting times ranking in opprobrium to the Covenanters with Claverhouse and Dalziell. His activities in South-West Scotland are familiar, provoking as they did, the Pentland Rising. A full account of him is given in the D.N.B. Gardiner describes him as "a soldier to the backbone". Burnet says he "was naturally fierce, but very mad when drunk and that was very often", but "he was a learned man". Wodrow too describes him as "very bookish".

He is included here because he is said by Wodrow to have interposed in the exchange of pamphlets between Archbishop James Paterson and Patrick Simeon.

PAMPHLET

The Pamphlet mentioned by Wodrow was

A Reply to Some Brief Remarks on a Paper called Hackston's Ghost.

Unfortunately no trace of this Pamphlet by Turner has so far come to light, but it may be useful to list it here, as it may be discovered.

Hackston's Ghost is written by James Paterson, and Some Brief Remarks by Patrick Simeon.

5. See under J. Paterson.
6. See under P. Simeon.
7. See J. Warrick, Moderators, etc.
A well-known figure of the time to whom there are numerous references in contemporary writings. While still a student at St Andrews he incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Sharp and had to leave without a degree. He was imprisoned three times for his Presbyterian principles. In 1688 he was ordained to the Meeting House at Craigmillar, Edinburgh, reputed to be the first Presbyterian Meeting house to be opened after the Indulgence of 1687. After the Revolution he was minister at Liberton, Whitekirk and the Tolbooth. He was involved in many controversies. Sometimes these were in connection with his own brethren, as in his attack on Professor Simson for Arminianism; or against the taking of the Abjuration Oath; or, in association with Wyllie of Hamilton, in a plea for the clear proclamation of "the intrinsic power of the Church." He was opposed to the Union of 1707, and was involved in controversy with Defoe. He strongly opposed the granting of a Toleration to the Episcopalians in 1703. In this

1. Fasti, I, 123, 172, 423; Edinburgh Christian Instructor, 23; British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Vol.33, 254-264; Kay's Portraits, 2; Bower, Edinburgh University, II, 133-4; H.G. Graham, Social life in 18th Century, 400, 409, 415; D.N.B., XX, 1025-6; Contemporary references in Wodrow, History, I, 163, IV, 483; Analecta, III; Correspondence, ed. McCrie, VII, 121; Boston, Memoirs (Ed. Low), 217 n.; Scotch Presb. Eloqu. and other pamphlets.

2. Wodrow, History, IV, 483.


4. See under Wyllie etc.

5. See under Defoe.
connection he preached a noted Sermon which he later issued as a pamphlet - An Essay on Toleration. This drew at least nine opposing pamphlets in reply. An enthusiastic Presbyterian, to Episcopalians like Arch. Campbell he was "the furiously mad Webster." Dr Arch. Pitoaine, instituted proceedings against him in the Court of Session for calling him an atheist.

PAMPHLETS

1. An Essay upon Toleration. - By a Sincere Lover of the Church and State. -
   (Text quot. - I Kings II. 21.) -
   Printed in the year 1703.
   4o. 24 pp. n.p.
   Copies in N.L.P. 521/1 and N.L.P. 323/10.

This was an expansion of a Sermon preached at Edinburgh on July 25th, 1703, before Parliament against the granting of a Toleration to the Episcopalians.

Many replies to this pamphlet appeared in print. Of these there may be mentioned - A Letter to Mr James Webster, (In name of the Episcopal Clergy). Concerning a Sermon preached by him at Edinburgh, July 25th, 1703. Before Her Majesties High Commissioner and the Honourable Estates of Parliament. - (Quot. from - Jos. Hall's Contemplat. on Coreh's Conspiracy) - Calumniare audacter, et aliquid adhaerebit. - Edinburgh. Printed in the year 1703.

1. N.L.P. 323/10, note by Campbell.

An anonymous reply to this came from a Presbyterian source -


The attack on Webster's Sermon was continued in a pamphlet written in an ironic vein - An Apology for Mr James Webster's Sermon. Preached on the 25th of July, 1703. Before His Grace Her Majesties High Commissioner and the Honourable Estates of parliament. Humbly offered to the consideration of those of the Presbyterian Perswasion who condemn'd it. By an Unknown hand. Printed in the year MDCCIII. 40. 10 pp.


2. A Discourse demonstrating that the Government of the Church, which is of Divine Right, is Fixed, and not Ambulatory. In answer to an Essay for Peace, by Union in Judgement about Church Government in Scotland. Written by a Nameless author. - (Texts - Matt. XXVIII, 20; Matt. V. 19; Psal. LXXXIII, 10; Heb. XII. 14.) - (Quot. from F.G. Gent.'s Loyalist's Reasons.) By James Webster, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh. Edinburgh. Printed by John Reid, Junior, in the year 1704. 40. 23 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 509/26.

Sometimes wrongly dated as 1701 as in the Fasti. Obviously wrong because this is a reply to Lord Cullen's Pamphlet - An Essay for Peace, etc. (see under Sir Francis Grant) published in 1703.

This Pamphlet was the centre of much controversy. Replies came in...
two pamphlets -

(a) A Letter to a Friend containing some Modest Reflections on the Essay for Peace, the Answer thereto by James Webster, with a Reply by the Author of the Essay entitled A Letter from the Country Gentleman to his friend in the City. 40. 3 pp. n.p. n.d. No Title Page. Copy in N.L.P. 509/28.

(b) A Letter from a Country Gentleman to his Friend in the City shewing the Reasons which induce him to think that Mr W-----r is not the Author of the Answer to the Essay for Peace. 40. 4 pp. (not paged). n.p. n.d. Copy in N.L.P. 509/27. Said by Arch. Campbell to be by Grant, (see Grant).

3. The Picture of the Prelatists drawn by their own Pencils; Or, The Character of the Prelatical Party in Scotland taken from their own Writings. Fol. 4 pp. n.p. n.d. Copy in N.L.P. 509/32. (Attributed by Arch. Campbell to Webster.) N. & L. identify it as by Webster. But not often given as his. The Fasti does not note it. Nor does the Catalogue of the Nat. Lib. though there is actually a copy in N.L.P. 509/32.

An answer was published in -

The Exact Conformity of the Principles and Practices of the Scots Non-Conformists, to the Apostolick Government of the Christian Church. Or, A System of Presbyterian Propositions, especially with respect to their subjection to Civil Government, from their most celebrated Papers. In opposition to the Picture of the Prelatists, etc. 40. 7 pp. n.p. n.d. Copy in N.L.P. 509/33. Unidentified.
The other considerable controversy in which Webster was involved arose out of his opposition to the Union of 1707. He was concerned in the four-cornered exchange of pamphlets involving Daniel Defoe, James Adams of Humble and James Clark of Glasgow. (See under these men for their pamphlets.)

Webster set out his sentiments in -


James Adams replied in his two pamphlets (see Adams) and Daniel Defoe replied in The Dissenters in England Vindicated etc. (see under Defoe).


This was Webster's answer to Defoe.

6. A Second Defence of the Lawful Prejudices: Containing a Vindication of the Obligation of the National Covenant and Solemn League; In answer to a Letter from the Country, etc. written by the Minister of Humby. 40. 12 pp. No Title Page. Copy in N.L.P. 301/30.

This was Webster's reply to Adams.
7. The Covenants of Redemption and Grace Displayed. In some Questions sent by a Gentleman to a Reverend and Pious Minister of the Church, with his Answers returned to them. - (Texts - Zech. 6, 13; Psal. 2, 8; Psal. 89, 19-21, 24, 28.) Edinburgh. Printed by John Moncur, at his Printing House in the foot of Salater's Glose, on the North-side of the Trone. 1727.
4s. 24 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 40s/4.

Sometimes listed, but on examination it is found to be a theological writing and not concerned with this controversy.

Similarly with other devotional and theological writings listed in Catalogues and in Wing etc. Not given here as they have no place in this study.
GEORGE WHITE. 1647-1724, Minister at Maryculter.

Educated at Aberdeen where he graduated M.A. in 1657, he was presented by Charles II to the parish of Ayr in 1664. He is said to have bought the patronage of Maryculter and to have presented himself to that parish sometime before 1679. For being concerned in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, he was deposed by the Presbytery of Aberdeen and his case was the topic of several writings. These are a little beyond the dates of this survey, but are so much part of the controversy in the north-east that they merit inclusion.

PAMPHLETS

1. The Case of Mr George White, Minister of the Gospel at Maryculter. Wherein, the Jurisdiction of the Kirk of Scotland in relation to Episcopal Ministers is considered with the Acts of Toleration and Indemnity, with the several Steps and Proceedings of the Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen against him, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, to several express Acts of Parliament, and to all former Presidents in the like Case. As also, the Proceedings of the Justices of the Peace at Aberdeen, in relation to the Episcopal Ministers, in a Letter from a Gentleman there to his Friend at Edinburgh. Printed in the year 1717.

40. 12 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 98/35.

His own description of how he was libelled before the Presbytery of Aberdeen in June 1716 for "treasonable practices against the Government;
accession to the late Rebellion; praying for the Pretender under the name of King James VIII etc., and deposed. Gives his Defence.

Another Pamphlet on the case was—

2. The Appeal of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland to the Lords of Parliament. Wherein the Proceedings of the Presbyterian Judicatories against Episcopal Ministers are prov'd to be contrary to the Laws of the Land, to express Acts of Parliament, to common Equity, and to former Precedents in the like Cases. In which the sentences of the Lords of Justiciary against them are likewise considered, together with His Majesty's Act of Indemnity, as the Reasons in law why these Sentences ought to be reversed. In a Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to the Archbishops and Bishops of England. Printed in the Year MDCXXVIII. 8vo. 107 pp. Copy in N.L.P. 633/6.

This includes "a Memorial on the Case of Mr George White, Minister of the Gospel at Maryculter, humbly offered to the consideration of the provincial Synod of Aberdeen and sent thereafter to the Lords of Justiciary on behalf of himself and others."

This pamphlet may have been by White. The word "Gentleman" is used as in the previous pamphlet, and certainly the material of the Memorial was supplied by White.

The Fasti attributes to White a Pamphlet ambiguously entitled The Case of the Episcopal Ministers Considered. Edinburgh. 1717. Which of the two listed above this represents is difficult to determine.
Robert White (or Whyte) of Bennachie. Advocate. c. 1704.

One of the laymen engaging in this controversy, he was a member of the Faculty of Advocates. The National Library Catalogue describes him as Robert Whyte of Banachy, but this may more correctly be Bennachie in Aberdeenshire. It is interesting to find a lawyer from that region of the North-East writing as a Presbyterian protagonist. Very little information is available on White, although his pamphlets were well known at the time and involved him in debate with John Hay, Simon Couper, Sir Francis Grant and others. In the N.L.P. 509 Archibald Campbell in his written Index to the pamphlets refers to The Funeral of Prelacy, etc., as having been written by "one White, an Advocate who, wanting employment and business, thought to procure himself clients from among the biggotted Presbyterians by his railing pamphlets." This typical comment by the contemporary Campbell indicates that he was a known Presbyterian writer.

Pamphlets

1. The Funeral of Prelacy, or, The Modern Prelates Claim to the Office of an Apostle or Evangelist disquiet: Where also its demonstrated by several Arguments, that the Presbyterian (and not Prelatick) Government, is that unalterable Form of Church Government instituted by Christ. In answer to a late Pamphlet intituled Imparity among Pastors, the Government of the Church by Divine institution, as maintaine'd in an extemporary Debate, etc.

   - (Texts - Prov. 25, 8; Rev. 2, 2; 2 Cor. 11, 13; Tit. 1, 10-11.) -

There is also, added a Postscript and an Appendix; The First containing a few Remarks on a late Pamphlet intituled (Self-Condemnation) and the last, a few Reflections on the Essay for
Peace by Union in Judgement about Church Government, also lately published.
Printed in the Year 1704.
40. 59 pp. n.p.

The pamphlet takes the high ground of the Divine Institution of Presbytery. It opens up again in 1704 the controversy of the 1690's about the Scriptural form of Church Government. There are references to the writings of Sage, Forrester, Rule, Jameson, Williamson, etc.

Special reference is made to John Hay's two pamphlets Imparity among Pastors, etc.; and Self-Condemnation; both of which had appeared that year asserting the Divine Institution of Episcopacy.

There is also reference to the pamphlet The Essay for Peace, etc. by another lawyer, Sir Francis Grant, later Lord Cullen. He refutes the argument of that pamphlet that "the Presbyterian Government of Parity is of Divine Institution, but this is a Rule that admits a few exceptions."

2. Mene Tekel; or, Prelatick Church Principles, Weighed in the Balance of the Sanctuary, and found wanting. In a few Remarks on a late Book entitled, The Reasonableness of Toleration to those of the Episcopal Persuasion. In Four Letters to Mr Meldrum, Enquired into, purely on Church Principles: Wherein the Author's Gross Errors are Briefly Detected: His Raw and undigested Notions in some measure exposed, and his Self-Contradictions and Inconsistencies are shortly Pointed at.

- (Texts - Matt. 7, 15-16: Mark 7, 5, 8-9: Jer. 23, 1.) -
Printed in the Year 1705.
40. 43 pp. n.p.
Copy in N.L.P. 92/14.

The New College Library Catalogue lists this pamphlet wrongly as by George Meldrum. H. & L. have it correctly as by White.
Two other pamphlets beginning Mene Tekel should be distinguished from White's pamphlet viz (1) one by Alex. Robson, Tinwald, 1717: and (2) one by Roger Jones, 1662, on the "Downfall of Tyranny".

In this pamphlet White enters the Toleration Controversy making a reply to John Sage's Few Remarks, etc., which Sage wrote in answer to George Maldrum.

3. The Fable of the Sacred Phoenix; or, Prelacy Revived from the Ashes of its Funerals, briefly Examined and Refuted. By the Author of the Funeral of Prelacy.
   -(Texts quot.) I Kings, 18, 29; Acts, 8, 18-19: I Cor., 12, 29: II Cor., 12, 12.
   Printed in the Year 1704.
   40. 16 pp. n.p.
   Copy in N.L.P. 224/19.

Simon Couper of Dunfermline had replied to White's Funeral of Prelacy in a pamphlet entitled, The Sacred Phoenix, or, Prelacy revived etc.

This is White's reply.

Couper came back at him with The Moral of the Phoenix justified etc.

(See under Couper for his side of the debate.)

White's final word was in

4. A Stone upon the grave of Prelacy; or, Prelats not Apostles.
   In Some Few Remarks on a late Print bearing this title The Moral of the Phoenix justified, etc., Wherein the Author's Self Contradictions and false Glosses upon Scripture are discovered, and his much boasted of Arguments and Answers are briefly Refuted. By the Author of the Funeral of Prelacy.
   -(Texts quot.) I Cor. 9, 1: 15, 7: 2 Cor. 12, 12: Jer. 7, 3.
   Printed in the Year 1705.
   40. 26 pp. n.p.
   Copy in N.L.P. 224/21.
DAVID WILLIAMSON. 1635-1706. Minister of the West Kirk, Edinburgh.

One of the most frequently encountered names in the controversy. He was the object of the jibes of nearly every scurrilous pamphlet from the Episcopal side, yet his reputation was zealously defended by his friends; and he was a man of authority and influence in the Revolution Church. He was ordained in 1661 to the West Kirk, Edinburgh, with which church all his ministry is associated. Deposed in 1665, he went to the west country and took part in many field meetings. During a visit to Edinburgh there occurred the incident in the house of the laird of Cherrytrees which is repeated in scores of pamphlets and pasquils. Added to that was the fact that he was married seven times. This made him the great butt of the Episcopal writers. In the Books of Scottish Pasquils and Mylne MSS. in the National Library there are innumerable pasquils, poems and malicious references to "Mess David" and "Dainty Davie". One William Fynnie, sometime curate of Dornoch, was one of the chief writers of these discreditable stories about Williamson. He was specially defended by Gilbert Rule in his Second Vindication.

1. Fasti, I, 96, 100; D.N.B.; Warrick, Moderators, etc. 140-157; Anderson, Scottish Nation; Chambers, Eminent Scotsmen; Lorimer, Book of the West Kirk; Wodrow, History, IV, 456; Correspondence, I, 444.
2. Creighton, Memoirs, ed. Swift; Cumberland Hill, Rem. of Stockbridge; Episcopal Pamphlets, passim.
3. See Mylne. Maidment, Book of Pasquils. Meston, Pitcairne, etc.
publication of the Indulgence of 1687 he made his way back to Edinburgh. Members of his old congregation rallied to him and built him a Meeting House at the Dean. The two curates in charge of the West Kirk were instrumental in having him arrested and confined in the Tolbooth for a time, and the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, threatened him with a charge of high treason. It is interesting that in prison he met James Renwick the Cameronian leader, and they did not agree well at all, showing the difference of opinion between the extreme Presbyterians and the leaders of the Revolution Church. He was a powerful preacher as has been testified by both friends and enemies. Several of his Sermons were published at the request of his brethren and issued as pamphlets, playing a considerable part in the controversy, particularly on the Toleration issue.

PAMPHLETS

1. *An Account of the Sufferings from 1660 to 1688.*

Drawn up at the request of Robert Wodrow, a copy of this writing, extending to 20 pages quarto, is in the *Wodrow MSS.* in the National Library. It was never printed.

The rest of Williamson's pamphlets are prints of sermons.

2. A Sermon Preached before His Grace the King's Commissioner, and
the Three Estates of Parliament: June the 15th, 1690 on Psalm
2.10. Be ye wise now therefore; O ye Kings, be instructed, ye
judges of the Earth.
- By David Williamson, Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh.
- Edinburgh. Printed by John Reid for George Mosman, Bookseller,
at his shop in the Parliament Close. 1690.
40. 20 pp.
Wing, W.2792. Aldis 3117.
Copy in N.L.P. 294/28.

A Second Edition of this Pamphlet is more often found.

A Sermon Preached before His Grace the King's Commissioner, and
the Three Estates of Parliament: June the 15th, 1690 on Psalm
2.10. Be ye wise now therefore; O ye Kings, be instructed, ye
judges of the Earth.
- By David Williamson, Minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh.
- The Second Impression Corrected and Amended.
- Edinburgh. Re-printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer
to the King and Queens most Excellent Majesties. Anno Dom. 1690.
40. 20 pp.
Wing, W.2796. Aldis 3118.

A sermon before the Parliament of 1690. Sage describes it in his
pamphlet An Account of the Late Establishment of the Presbyterian
Government, etc. Ostensibly it deals with the duties of magistrates but
he takes the opportunity to reply to the flood of Episcopal pamphlets on
the sufferings of the outed clergy. These he dismisses as "Flea-bite
sufferings".

3. A Sermon Preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, June 9th,
1695. Before His Grace the Marquess of Tweeddale, His
Majesties High Commissioner and before many of the Nobility,
Barons and Burrows, Members of the High Court of Parliament,
and the Magistrates of the said City.
- By David Williamson, Minister of the Gospel at the West Kirk.
- Edinburgh. Printed by George Mosman, and to be sold at his
Shop in Parliament Close. 1695.
40. 25 pp.
Copy in New Coll. E. B.a/6.7.
On Text - Isaiah 38-3.

Edinburgh. Printed by Mr James McKean and Company, and are to be Sold at his Shops in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Others in town. M.DCC.XX. Price Sixpence.
40. 44 pp.
Text - Isaiah 38, 3.
Copy in N.L.P. 494/8.

A Sermon published 14 years after its delivery in 1696 by his son. In this Williamson gave his views on the prospects of Union. In the Book of Scottish Pasquils it is commented, "In the Preface we are favoured with Mass David's opinions on the projected Union."

40. 33 pp.
Text - Luke 19, 42.
Wing, W.2798.

Described by Warrick in his Moderators etc., pp.152-3.

6. A Sermon preached in Edinburgh at the Opening of the General Assembly of this National Church of Scotland, upon the 10th
This is Williamson's best known Sermon. At the end of his exposition he gives a defence of Presbyterianism as the form of Church government set out in the New Testament. He goes on to deny the need of a Toleration to the Episcopalians.

In a Preface he says that he is publishing this Sermon at the request of a Committee of the General Assembly, thus claiming some official backing for the Pamphlet.

John Sage made a reply in, Some Remarks on a Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Minister in the Country on Mr David Williamson's Sermon before the General Assembly. (See under Sage.)
JOHN WILLISON. 1680-1750. Minister at Brechin and the South Church, Dundee.

A well-known figure in ecclesiastical affairs in the first half of the 18th century. It is in his earlier years that his connection with this controversy is to be found. Ordained to the First Charge in Brechin, he met with considerable opposition from Episcopalians and Jacobites. The dispossessed minister, John Skinner, had a large following and it was not till 1708 that this Episcopal rival was finally libelled and deposed. In 1716 he went to Dundee and continued there till his death in 1742. In many of his activities we are not concerned here though it is interesting that in 1745 he is still strongly anti-Jacobite and for a time his Church was closed by his enemies. Full accounts of him are available.

PAMPHLETS

(Only those of his numerous writings that concern this controversy are mentioned here.)


1. Fasti, V, 320-2; D.N.B., XXI, 498-9; Chambers, Eminent Scotsmen, III, 530; Anderson, Scottish Nation, III, 644; Wodrow, Correspondence, III, 277, 275, 429; and Collected Works with an Essay on his Life and Times, Wm. Hetherington, Glasgow, 1844.
Set in the form of 46 questions to the Episcopalians of Scotland accusing them of being Innovators.

2. A Letter from a Parochial Bishop to a Prelatical Gentleman in Scotland, concerning the Government of the Church, Wherein the Controversial ancient Bishops, and Presbyterian Ordination, is set in a true light, and distinctly handled: The Sentiments of the Ancients in these Matters, fully represented and canvassed; and a Historical Account Given of the Ancient Government of the Church, and Alterations made therein since the Apostles Times, with the Rise and Growth of Preracy.

- (Quotation from) Isidori Pelusiota a Disciple of Chrysostom -

Edinburgh. Printed for Mr James McEuen, and are to be sold at his House within the Head of Midderie's Wynd.


146 pp. 8o.

Copy in N.L.E. H.38, s/45 and New Coll. F. D.C/19.

Like Alex. Lauder in his Ancient Bishops etc. he claims that the Presbyterian parish minister is the true bishop. James Small replied in An Answer to a Book called A Letter from a Parochial Bishop etc. There is an interesting Post-Script in answer to Mr J- S- 's Pamphlet on the Sabbath Day.

In some Catalogues there is listed as one of Willison's writings - A Letter concerning the Government of the Church.

Edin. 1714. But this is Pamphlet (2) above.
3. An Apology for the Church of Scotland against the Accusations of Prelatists, Jacobites and particularly the reflections of J.S. late Episcopal Incumbent in Forfar; Wherein the said Church is fairly vindicated from the unjust charge of Schism and the same justly fastened upon her accusers. As also, the late Proceedings of the Presbytery of Angus and other Judicatures against the disloyal and rebellious Clergy are justified; and that Wickedness of the Rebellion and Clemency of the Government att fault. And likewise the Divine Institution of Presbyterial Government and Ordination clearly evinced from Scripture; and the usual Pretexts for the Apostatical Foundation of Prelacy, are fully overthrown.

- Magna est Veritas et Vincent. - (Text) Isaiah VIII, 20

Edinburgh. Printed by Mr James McEuen, William Brown and John Mosuen, and sold by the said Mr James McEuen at his Shop a little below the Cross, North side of the Street.

1719. Price One Shilling.

So. 152 pp.


James Small replied in An Apology for the True Church of Scotland, etc. (See under J. Small.)
JOHN WILSON. 1654-1719. Episcopal Minister at Kirkwall.

A study of Wilson's life and writings introduces us to the Revolution struggle in ecclesiastical circles in the Orkneys. Licensed by the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1677, he became schoolmaster in Elgin and chaplain to Lord Duffus. In 1684 he went to Kirkwall. He was deprived at the Revolution but only after a bitter struggle with his Presbyterian successor, Thomas Baikie. In 1703 he returned to Kirkwall and once more challenged Baikie for possession of the pulpit. When finally worsted, he opened a Meeting House which was largely attended. Later Wilson came south and officiated at the Meeting House in Toddrick's Wynd in Edinburgh, and the Episcopal Meeting House in the Poldrate in Haddington. He was well known as a participant in this pamphlet controversy. Wodrow refers to him and his associates as "Those of the Wilson gang", though he says of Wilson himself, "He seems antipapistically and antiarminian, which is but rare in one of his coat."

PAMPHLETS

1. An Essay wherein National Love and Unity is Recommended; Its Opposite exposed; Arguments for it Propounded, and its Standard Expounded; and all its Contenders Blamed. By a Lover of God.

Love, Peace, Unity and the Church and Kingdom of Scotland and Islelands of Orkney. To this is subjoined by the Author a Poem, containing a Lamentation for Church Divisions.

- (Texts - I John 4, 16; I John 3, 18; Quot. from Aug. de Civit. Dei.) -

Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1702.

40. 26 pp. and the Poem of 4 pp. (unpaged).
Copy in N.L.P. 89/17.

Perhaps Wilson's best known pamphlet. Wodrow and others are very scathing about his plea for "love and unity." (Early Letters, 205-6.)

2. God's Warning to Scotland, being Two Sermons, on Isa. 26, 9.
Preached in a Meeting House in the Northern Suburbs of the City of Edinburgh, March 3rd and 10th, 1706. Where it is manifested, That, without the Spirit of Prophecy, only by comparing the present State of this Nation, with the Word of God, and the constant actions of Providence in other Kingdoms and Ages, we cannot be far from National Judgements. With Proposals for Reformation. To which is subjoined a Poem suitable to the Subject.

- (Texts - Isa. 58, 1; Jer. 18. 7, 8) - (Deus minatur ne cædit)
- By John Wilson, Minister of the Gospel. -

Edinburgh. Printed by John Reid, Junr. MDCGVI.

40. 26 pp.
Copy in N.L.P. 268/19.

Interesting Dedication to "The Gentlemen and other Hearerers who are pleased to countenance the ministrie of Mr Simon Couper, Minister of the Gospel, and the Author, in the Northern Suburbs of the City of Edinburgh."

Obviously he was associated with Couper in Edinburgh. (See under S. Couper.)

3. Queries proposed to, and rejected by the Presbytery of Orkney. Afterwards offered, by way of Instrument, at the most patent Door of St Magnus's Church in Kirkwall, upon the 13 Day of
January. Now to be offered to the Assembly.

S. Sh. Fol.


Contains 38 questions propounded from the Episcopal side on the ecclesiastical situation in Orkney.

4. The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government, Received in the Antient Church, proposed in the year 1641, as an expedient for the prevention of these Troubles, which did afterwards arise about the matter of Church Government, Episcopal and Presbyterian Government conjounded. Proposed now again, Anno 1703, for removing the Differences in the Church of Scotland. - By the Author of the Essay for promoting National Love and Unity. - - This may be altered according to the different Circumstances of the National Church of Scotland. - Edinburgh. Reprinted in the Year 1703. 4to. 7 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 332/17. (Nat. Lib. Cat. does not list it.)

Dedication to the Earl of Seafield, signed J.W.

The pamphlet is a reprint by John Wilson of Bishop Usher's pamphlet, The Reduction of Episcopacie, etc. This was a well known pamphlet of an earlier date. It was another plea for an understanding between Presbytery and Episcopacy. But there was almost complete hostility to such attempts from writers on both sides.

5. An Essay on that Divine Hymn called the Doxology. Wherein it's Scriptural Authority is Proven; it's Primitive Use asserted; Objections against it answered; and an Exhortation to it's Use Pressed.

- By J.W. Minister of the Gospel at Haddington.

Edinburgh. Printed for John Reid, Junior, in Liberton's Wynd. MDCCXII.

4to. 30 pp.

Copy in N.L.P. 53/18. (At end of Pamphlet) "Written at Kirkwall, June 23, 1698. Published 1712."
The pamphlet deals with the Doxology, the use of which was a point of discussion at this time. (See Thos. More etc.)

6. An Essay on Government. Written for the Author's Divertissement, at Shapinsa, one of the Orkney-Islands, March 11, 1702. Now Publish'd, as an Endeavour for promoting National Love and Unity, in Church and State, and healing our Tragical Divisions. — By John Wilson, Minister of the Gospel —

(Texts quot.) Psal. 133. 1; Neh. 4. 19; 1 Cor. 12. 28;

Printed in the Year 1706.

4o. 6 pp. n.p.

Copy in N.L.P. 224/23.

Dedicated to "My Lord Bishop of Edinburgh".

Commends Ushers' Model of Church Government.


Pol. S.Sh.

N.L.P. 224/15.

Remonstrates with Wishart for his attitude to the Episcopalians.

Although only a child of nine in 1688, Wodrow grew up to become a leading figure in the Post-Revolution Church. In his writings and voluminous correspondence there are to be found references to the great majority of the names mentioned in this study. In fact, in the rather obscure period after 1700, his writings are a chief source of information on the men of the time and their pamphlets. His History of the Sufferings; his Analects; his Correspondence (edited by M'Crie and more recently by Sharp), are all most useful. And there must be much more valuable information on the period in his unpublished MSS. in the National Library.

But beyond that, he has a place in this study in his own right for he was a doughty defender of Presbytery and opponent of Episcopacy. Of Covenanting stock, he was educated at Glasgow University, where he acted for some time as Librarian. In 1703 he was ordained to Eastwood in which parish his whole ministry was spent. There he became the confidant of many of his brethren and the writer and recipient of letters on all the ecclesiastical issues of the day.1

PAMPHLETS

1. The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution. Collected from the

1. Fasti, II, 212; his own Writings; Preface by W.L. Sharp to Early Letters, S.H.S. Third Series, Vol.XXIV.


It was in 1721 that Wodrow published this History. Although written as a history of the days before the Revolution, it was regarded as part of the pamphlet warfare by the Episcopalians who were not slow to attack it as a partisan writing. So it may be included here as one of the tracts in this controversy.

A synopsis and full discussion of this work is to be found in Dr. W.J. Couper's study of Wodrow in the Records of the S.C.H.S.

The General Assembly "gave a recommendation to all their members who can conveniently sign for copies."

Alexander Bruce condemned it in his Pamphlet - The Scottish Behemoth, (see under Bruce).

It was also attacked by David Symson in his A True and Impartial Account, etc.

Couper gives the various editions which have appeared since the original.

2. The Oath of Abjuration Considered. Both as to the Lawfulness and Expediency of its being taken by the Ministers of the
Church of Scotland. In a Letter to a Friend. Edinburgh. Printed in the year MDCCXII.
4to. 26 pp.

It would appear that this was written by Wodrow and sent by him to Robert Wyllie. Wyllie, without Wodrow's consent, had it printed. (See Wodrow, Correspondence, ed. McCrie, 253-263.)
WILLIAM WRIGHT. - 1724. Minister at Kilmarnock.

One of his Pamphlets is well-known in the controversy, but information concerning the author is scanty. A son of a Bailie Robert Wright of Kilmarnock, he himself was minister in that town, first of the Second Charge and then from 1711, of the First Charge. He was opposed to the Union of 1707, and was strongly Anti-Jacobite.

PAMPHLETS

1. The Jacobite Curse; or, Excommunication of King George and his Subjects; With some Reflections on the same; To which is added a Poem on the Protestant Succession, By a Lover of the Protestant Religion, his Country and the Protestant Succession. - Flectere si Superos nequeo, Acheronta movebo - Glasgow, Printed by Hugh Brown, Printer to the University, Anno Dom. 1714. 4to. 16 pp. Copy in N.L.P. 98/23.

In answer to "a Paper that spoke of Excommunication etc." Wright said it was "a product of the town where I live". This Pamphlet called forth a reply by Robert Calder in his The Spirit of Slander exemplified in a Scandalous Pamphlet called the Jacobite Curse etc. (see Robert Calder).

2. The Comical History of the Marriage betwixt Pergusia and Heptarchus.

1. Fasti, III, 106, 107; Wodrow, Correspondence, I, 624.
Attacks the proposed Union of 1707 and points out dangers to the Church of Scotland.
"Wyllie of Hamilton" is a name which appears frequently in the later stages of the controversy. A son of the minister of Fenwick, he graduated at Edinburgh University in 1663, and acted for a time as tutor. He does not seem to have been ordained till after the Revolution. He became minister at Yarrow in 1690 and was translated successively to Ashkirk, and then to Hamilton where his chief ministry lay.\(^1\) Though not in the ministry prior to the Revolution, he was a resolute defender of Presbytery, both in the courts of the Church and in his writings. He was one of those anxious to proclaim "the intrinsic power of the Church", in view of the taunts of both Episcopalians and Cameronians anent the Erastian nature of the Revolution Settlement.\(^2\) He was prominently associated with the motion sent up by the Presbytery of Hamilton in 1701 asking the General Assembly to make a Pronouncement asserting "the intrinsic power".\(^3\) Robert Wodrow in his letters written at this period is very uneasy about this demand.

**PAMPHLETS**

1. *A Speech without Doors concerning Toleration.*

   40. 8 pp.  No Title Page.  n.p.  n.d.

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1. Fasti, III, 260.
2. He was supported by many others, James Webster, William Hamilton of Cramond, Thomas Hog of Campvere, James Hart, etc. Others by the Presbyterian leaders were apprehensive about such declaration of spiritual independence, e.g., William Carstairs and Robert Wodrow.
3. Cunningham, Church History, II, 200-1; Carestares, State Papers, 255, 364-5.
Copies in N.L.P. 521/9; N.L.P. 323/25. In N.L.P. 323/5 the last 4 pages are unnumbered. (Arch. Campbell writes on this copy "By Mr Wyllie of Hamilton.")

This asserts high principles of Presbyterianism. "The Government of the Church according to Gospel institution and in this nation of Reformation right, must be by Presbyters acting in parity." He denies the right of the Episcopalians to a Toleration.

2. A Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Minister in the Country.
   No Title Page. n.p. 21 pp. 4o.
   Pp.1-5 - A Letter, etc. (dated Feb. 4, 1703.).
   Pp.7-21 - Objections against the General Assembly's Asserting the Government of this Church by Presbytery in the present Juncture. With Answers to them. In a Conference between B and A., Two Ministers.
   Copy in N.L.P. 323/1. (Arch. Campbell writes in this copy, "Said to be done by Weily, preacher at Hamilton", 1703.)

Perhaps Wyllie's best known Pamphlet. On the "Intrinsic Power" of the Church and the need for it to be reasserted at this juncture of affairs.

John Sage replied in a Pamphlet - Some Remarks upon a Late Letter from a Gentleman in the City, etc. (See John Sage.)

3. A Short Answer to a Large Paper entitled, A Continuation of a Few Brief and Modest Reflections, etc.
   No Title Page. n.p. n.d. (Almost certainly 1703.)
   4o. 4 pp.
   Copy in N.L.P. 521/17; and in N.L.P. 323/27. (In this copy, Arch. Campbell writes "By Wyllie of Hamilton").

This was part of an exchange of Pamphlets between Wyllie and Viscount
Tarbat on the Toleration question. Tarbat wrote two Pamphlets pleading for a Toleration for the Episcopalians. A Few Brief and Modest Reflexions persuading a Just Indulgence to be granted to the Episcopal Clergy; and, A Continuation of a few Brief, Modest Reflexions, etc. This Pamphlet by Wyllie answers these writings, both published in 1703. (See Tarbat.)
A Short-Title List in Alphabetical Order of the Pamphlets.

(A Short-Title of each Pamphlet is given with the writer, under whose name in the Bibliography the Title is set out in full. Several Pamphlets which are unidentified are listed under writers where information can be obtained concerning them.)

   Sir James Stuart.

   John Sage.

3. Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland .... An.
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4. Account of the Purging and Planting of the Congregation of Dalkeith .... An.
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6. Account of the Affairs of Scotland in Relation to their Religious and Civil Rights.
   See under Alexander Monro.

7. Account of the Sufferings from 1660 to 1688. An.
   David Williamson.

8. Advertisement from Daniel Defoe to Mr. Clark.
   Daniel Defoe.

9. Ancient Bishops considered .... The.
   Alexander Lauder.

10. Animadversions upon Mr William Jameson's Writings, etc. (Miscellany Number XXVIII.)
    Robert Calder.
11. Answer to Mr. James Hog at Carnock, his Letter to a Gentleman .... An.
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12. Answer to the Dialogue between the Countryman and the Curat .... An.
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19. Answer to the Dialogue between the Curat and the Countrey-Man .... The.
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20. Anti-Counter-Querist Counter Queried .... The.
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22. Apologie for Presbyterie for removing Prejudices .... An.
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24. Apology for the Use of the English Liturgy and Worship ....  
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25. Apology for the Clergy of Scotland ....  An. 
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26. Apology for Mr. Thomas Rhind ....  An. 
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27. Apology for Mr James Webster's Sermon ....  An. 
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28. Apology for the Church of Scotland against the Accusations 
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29. Apology for the true Church of Scotland; Being a Short Reply 
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36. Mr Baxter's Evidence of the Soundness of the Liturgy etc.  
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38. Brief and True Account of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland occasioned by the Episcopalians since 1660. A.
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