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The Dual Aspects of Ministerial Training
in Late Sixteenth Century:

Edinburgh's 'Tounis College' and the formation of ministers'
early career with special regard to the 'Exercise'

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Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

2012

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the transformation of the clergy in the late sixteenth-century Scotland in which ministerial training had a crucial role to play both in the academia and in the Kirk. In order to demonstrate this transformation attention will be focused on the training of ministers at the Town College, Edinburgh and then following the unfolding of their ecclesiastical career including the 'exercise'. The foundation of the 'Tounis College' in Edinburgh is placed within the broader context of the expansion of higher education throughout Europe.

A college project had been in the mind of the Edinburgh Town Council since 1561 and had been resurrected from time to time until its final realisation in 1583. The newly-erected college was headed by Robert Rollock, a young and ambitious scholar from St Andrews, who was first the Professor of Divinity and then the Principal. Under his leadership both as a theologian and a churchman the institution became a place of higher learning that shaped the development of the different Scottish professions in general and the transformation and the emergence of the protestant clergy as a new professional elite, in particular.

This thesis also provides a detailed analysis on the early career patterns of the College's ministerial graduates by examining a) their family background, especially those who came from clerical families b) their way into ministry in the Kirk including the "gap-years" spent in another professions or elsewhere upon graduation c) their dissemination through central Scotland. Particular attention is given to the role of the 'exercise', as one of the most important functions of the presbytery, in examining and admitting candidates to their charges as well as providing other presbytery members with further training in preaching and theology.

DECLARATION

I, Péter Attila Komlósi, hereby declare that I have written this thesis, that the work it contains is entirely my own and that this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signature:

Date:

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Bringing an academic work into life can never be accomplished without those who faithfully advice, lead and support us. I would like to express my sincere thanks to my thesis supervisor, Professor Jane E. A. Dawson for her continuous guidance, commitment to this work, and all of her patience. Also, I wish to thank the examiners of this thesis, Dr Susan Hardman Moore and Professor W. Ian P. Hazlett, for the insightful comments they made and for their helpful suggestions on how to carry forth my thesis.

In addition my appreciation is extended to the Henry Meeter Center in Grand Rapids (MI, USA) for the scholarship which offered me a special opportunity to carry out research there in May 2009. Primarily, I acknowledge the contribution of Professor Karin Maag whose comments were most helpful.

Because of the financial constraints during the years of this research, I am especially grateful for scholarships and supports towards the expenses of my tuition to The Hope Trust Edinburgh, The Barleycorn Trust, and the Ulting Overseas Trust. Without their generosity, even start out on this thesis would not have been possible.

On a more personal note, I would like to express my deep thankfulness to Rutherford House which offered accommodation to me in the first two years during my stay in Edinburgh and became a home, in many ways.

Friendships made in Scotland are too numerous to list on this single page. However, I would like to name Dr Alistair Donald and Dr George Craig, for whose friendship, support and wise advice I am and will remain very grateful.

Finally, in addressing my family I wish to extend my deepest gratitude to my parents the Revd. Péter and Erzsébet Komlósi, my sister Erzsébet and brother Tamás for their continuous support in every way. In particular, I wish to thank my dear wife Nóri, without whose love and encouragement this thesis could not have been completed.

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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APS</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols, (Edinburgh, 1815-75).
<i>BUK</i>	<i>Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland</i> , ed. T. Thomson, 3 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 1839-45).
Calderwood	<i>History of the Church of Scotland by</i> , ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols, (Edinburgh, 1842-49).
<i>Catalogue</i>	<i>A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation</i> , (Edinburgh, 1858).
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
Craufurd, <i>History</i>	Thomas Craufurd, <i>History of the University of Edinburgh from 1580 to 1646</i> , (Edinburgh, 1808).
<i>DSCHT</i>	<i>Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology</i> , ed., Cameron, N. M. de S., (Edinburgh, 1993).
Edinburgh Presbytery	Register of the presbytery of Edinburgh, NAS,
<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae</i> , revised edn, ed. Hew Scott, 8 vols, (Edinburgh, 1915-).
<i>FBD</i>	<i>First Book of Discipline</i> , ed. J. K. Cameron, (Edinburgh, 1972).
<i>IR</i>	<i>The Innes Review</i>
<i>Life of Rollock</i>	Charteris, H., <i>Narrative of the Life and Death of Robert Rollock, Robert Rollock</i> , in <i>Select Works</i> , ed. Wm. M. Gunn, 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1844-49).
Melville, <i>Diary</i>	<i>The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville</i> , ed. R. Pitcairn, (Edinburgh, 1842).
NAS	National Archive of Scotland, Edinburgh

NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , (Oxford, 2004-2100).
OER	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation</i> , ed., H. J. Hillerbrand, (Oxford, 1996).
RRR	<i>Renaissance and Reformation Review</i>
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
SBD	<i>Second Book of Discipline</i> , ed. J. Kirk, (Edinburgh, 1980).
SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
<i>Select Works</i>	Gunn, W., ed. <i>Select Works of Robert Rollock</i> , 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1844, 1849).
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>Stirling Presb. Recs</i>	<i>Stirling Presbytery Records</i> , ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh, 1981).
<i>Synod Recs</i>	<i>The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, 1589-1596, 1640-1649</i> , ed. J. Kirk, (Edinburgh, 1977).

Before 1 January 1600, the year turned on 25 March, to avoid misdating and confusion all dates are given here in post-1600 style, therefore 5 February 1583 *is* 1583, not 1584.

The letter ‘yogh’ and ‘thorn’ have been given as ‘y’ and ‘th’ throughout.

All money is given either in £ Scots or in merks. The merk was two-third of £ Scots.

INTRODUCTION

How did the clergy survive the Reformation? To pose the question in this way is not, I think, to overdramatise the traumatic nature of the challenge posed to religious professionals by the new evangelical movement of the sixteenth century. [...] And yet the clergy survived [...]. The clerical groups which emerged from this process were certainly very different: much smaller, less differentiated by function than their medieval counterparts and better educated, but certainly not broken by the experience of evangelical criticism. Indeed the end of the Reformation century saw the emergence in several parts of Europe of a new sort of clergy, characterised by profession of a unique expertise; in this respect it is fair to talk of them as one of the new emerging professions, at least in embryo. The clergy was transformed by the Reformation, but not defeated.

With this argument Andrew Pettegree opens his chapter entitled ‘The clergy and the Reformation: from ‘devilish priesthood’ to new professional elite’¹ in a collection of historical essays that focuses on the clergy, one of the central issues of the sixteenth century evangelical movement, and on their transformation and emergence as a new elite within society.

In this long process of transformation the education of the clergy had a vital role. The sixteenth century witnessed resurgence in theological education and training for the ministry on both Catholic and Protestant sides.

In the Scottish context two strands of efforts appear to be significant in regard to academic reforms in theological education: first, the re-formation of the old, medieval universities in St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen including their faculties of theology; second, the founding of new institutions of higher education such as the ‘Tounis College’ in Edinburgh, Marischal College in New Aberdeen and an abortive attempt in Fraserburgh.

This thesis focuses on the development of theological education at the Town College in Edinburgh in its initial years and its contribution to the formation of the early career pattern of the college ministerial graduates, including the process through which one entered the ministry, that is the ‘exercise’. All this had a lasting influence on the development of the new Protestant ministerial body in Scotland. The

¹ A. Pettegree, ed., *The Reformation of the Parishes*, (Manchester, 1993) pp. 1-21.

Town College in Edinburgh is used as the case study to assess to what extent the Reformed theological education had a lasting influence on the new ministerial profession.

Much attention has been given to the examination of clerical groups in Scotland before and after the Reformation.² Historians have considered issues such as the state of the clergy prior to the Reformation,³ the shortage of ministers and recruitment to the ministry⁴, examined their preaching⁵, the social changes that occurred within the new clerical estate, and their relationship to the laity⁶. Careful studies, based on scrutinised research, have also come from historians, considering education and academic reforms in general and theological education in particular. These studies explored the history of universities and the changes occurring at the Reformation, and paid attention to the reforming activities of leading individuals of the time such as Andrew Melville.⁷

In the early 1960s, S. Mechie dedicated two short studies⁸ to the advance of theological education in Scotland but the primary aim of his essays was to offer an overview of the last four hundred years and sketch out the major trends in the development of different disciplines within the field of theology. Less attention was paid to the content of theological education or to the career of individuals who received their instruction after the Reformation until a recent study of the subject by Jack Whytock entitled “*An Educated Clergy*”: *Scottish Theological Education and*

² A. D. M. Barell, “The Papacy and the Regular Clergy in Scotland in the Fourteenth Century” in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 24 (1992) pp. 103-122; I. B. Cowan, “Vicarages and the Cure of Souls in Medieval Scotland” in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 16 (1984) pp. 111-128; *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1967); M. Dilworth, “Monks and Ministers after 1560” in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 18 (1986) pp. 201-222; *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages*, (Edinburgh, 1995); C. H. Haws, “Continuity and change: the clergy of the Diocese of Moray, 1560-74” in *Northern Scotland*, vol. 5, (1983) pp. 91-98; *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574*, (Edinburgh, 1972).

³ C. Edington, “To speik of Preistis be sure it is na bourds’: discussing priesthood in pre-Reformation Scotland” in *The Reformation of the Parishes*, ed. A. Pettegree, (Manchester, 1993) pp. 22-42.

⁴ J. Kirk, “Recruitment to the ministry at the Reformation” in *Patterns of Reform, Continuity and Change in the Reformation* Kirk, J. Kirk, (Edinburgh, 1989) pp. 96-153.

⁵ D. G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638*, (Oxford, 2000) pp. 45-84.

⁶ M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, (New Haven, 2002) pp. 361-401.

⁷ See especially the works of R. D. Cant, G. Donaldson, J. Durkan, G. B. Henderson, D. B. Horn, J. Kirk, M. Lynch, D. Stevenson in the bibliography.

⁸ S. Mechie, “Education for the Ministry in Scotland since the Reformation” in *Records of Scottish Church History Society* 14 (1962) pp. 115-133; 15 (1965) pp. 161-178.

*Training in the Kirk and Secession, 1560-1850.*⁹ Its first three chapters offer a valuable introduction to Reformed theological education on the Continent in general and to the training programme for the ministry put forth by the Scottish Reformers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century in particular. Since the main purpose of Whytock's study is to give an overview of the development in theological education in the existing universities as well as in the newly founded Protestant colleges, it is unavoidable that some important questions receive less attention such as the interaction among the local powers, the Crown and the Kirk, their effect upon one another in the process of erecting new centres of higher learning in Edinburgh and in New Aberdeen. Whytock appears to take it for granted that these institutions primarily came into being on the initiative of the church and operated mainly as places for ministerial training. Nevertheless one important factor is clearly brought to light in these chapters, namely the continuity in ministerial training. It was not only the academic world that said the last word on one's qualification for a career in the church but the final accreditation from the developing new system of church government: the kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods and the general assembly. Most important among these in the process of examining a candidate's suitability for the ministry was the presbytery. The examination, called 'the exercise', was an essential part of presbytery meetings.

For more than three decades D. B. Horn's *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556-1889*, published in 1967, was the standard reference work offering not only the findings of his research concerning the origin of the Town College¹⁰, but also valuable insight into financial matters and student life. Another work of greater importance is *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), by Michael Lynch. The value of this work is twofold from the point of view of this thesis. It sets the background for the foundation of the Town College by providing a detailed account of Scottish burgh society as it was affected by the Reformation. And it also reveals,

⁹ Milton Keynes, 2007.

¹⁰ For his more detailed study on the genesis of the college see D. B. Horn, "The Origins of the University of Edinburgh, Part 1" in *Edinburgh University Journal* 22 (1966) pp. 213-225; and his "The Origins of the University of Edinburgh, Part 2" in *Edinburgh University Journal* 22 (1966) pp. 297-312.

with other studies in the localities,¹¹ the variety of areas in which training for the ministry existed. Yet Lynch touches only briefly on the question of a university in Edinburgh, as he is mainly concerned about the 1560s and 1570s.¹²

Previous works on the history of Edinburgh University dealt with the first fifty years after its foundation from a Protestant ecclesiastical aspect, seeing the institution established on unambiguously Reformed lines.¹³ It has been strongly argued that the burgh ministers especially James Lawson, John Knox's successor at St Giles', had a key role in opening a college as a possible place to educate future ministers. It is, therefore, not surprising that this understanding of the developments at the university sees Andrew Melville's influence crucial to the formation of the academic curriculum as well as of the training for the ministry.¹⁴

This view is challenged by Michael Lynch's article in which he tends to place not only the origin but the university as a whole more in the civic sphere of life than under ecclesiastical supervision, by arguing that the university was a civic creation and firmly controlled by the town council.¹⁵ Lynch's arguments follow the same line in the most recently published history of Edinburgh University.¹⁶ In his chapter on the first hundred years, he retains his arguments for a civic controlled institution, with perhaps a minor alteration: that is, a greater emphasis is given to the part played by James Lawson in the inception of the Town College.

Mention must be made of the use of sources. For a Hungarian, whose country was under Turkish occupation in the sixteenth century and as a result sources from the period are extremely scarce, Scotland demonstrates an enormous wealth of sources to research. Finding the most appropriate source of information was not

¹¹ F. Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1989); I. Cowan, *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation*, (1978); M. H. B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation, People and Change, 1490-1600*, (East Lothian, 1997); J. Wormald, "'Princes' and the Regions in the Scottish Reformation" in *Church, Politics and Society, 1408-1929*, ed. N. Macdougall, (Edinburgh, 1983) pp. 65-84.

¹² M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (Edinburgh, 1981) pp. 197, 214.

¹³ See the works of A. Dalzel, A. Grant and A. L. Turner in the bibliography.

¹⁴ James Kirk, "'Melvillian' reform in the Scottish universities" in *The Renaissance in Scotland*, eds A. A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I. B. Cowan, (Leiden, 1994) pp. 276-300.

¹⁵ "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College': A Revision Article" in *The Innes Review*, 33 (1982) pp. 4-13.

¹⁶ R. D. Anderson, M. Lynch and N. Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh, An Illustrated History*, (Edinburgh, 2003).

always easy, though printed material relating to the history of the University of Edinburgh is substantial thanks to the painstaking work of transcribing and commentary by previous. However, the sixteenth-century Scottish handwriting in the manuscript sources, such as the wills and testaments of the graduates and the records of Edinburgh Presbytery proved rather challenging. Edinburgh was chosen because its Town College was the product of the sixteenth-century Reformation and one of the centres of higher learning on the North-Western peripheries of Europe.

This thesis falls into six chapters. The first chapter will set the 'Tounis College' in Edinburgh in the broader context of both the European and the Scottish Reformation. Attention also will be given to the initiatives, both political and ecclesiastical, that were of high importance to the creation. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to assess the role of Robert Rollock, the first principal of the college. The second chapter, entitled 'Theological education and training for the ministry in Edinburgh', examines the curriculum and resources such as Rollock commentaries, and reference will be made to the college library. All these will shed light on the strategies of Reformed education and the theological formation of the college ministerial graduates. The third chapter of the thesis will cover an analysis and discussion of the transitional years of ministerial careers. After discussing the context and sources, ministerial graduates graduating from the college in the period of 1587-1620 will be identified and also their social and family background will be discussed. Chapter four discusses the years of transition of the students graduating from the Town College and entering the ministry. Chapter five examines the crucial role of the exercise in the ministerial process placing it in its European context. Chapter six follows the dissemination of graduates from the Town College into Scotland. The final chapter is the conclusion bringing all these stands together to gain insights into theological education in Edinburgh up to 1610.

CHAPTER 1

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION: CONTINENTAL EUROPE AND SCOTLAND AND THE CREATION OF EDINBURGH'S TOWN COLLEGE

This introductory chapter first seeks to identify the major changes and shifts that took place in sixteenth-century higher education in general and after 1560 in Scotland in particular and which paved the way for the foundation of the Town College in Edinburgh as well as the training of ministers in the Protestant churches across Europe. Then attention will be given to the important influences that contributed to the creation of the college and finally to the formative character of its first professor and principal, Robert Rollock.

1 Changes and patterns in late sixteenth-century higher education in its European context with a special focus on Protestant theological education

1.1 The European context

Renaissance humanism brought a new vigour to education at every level within society. The study of Greek and Latin classics in their original languages was the most significant curricular change. The shift from dialectical learning based on scholastic logic and grammar texts to liberal arts, such as poetry, rhetoric and history took place across Europe.

The high respect for learning was reflected in the training of the young as well as in the continuous development of the school system and growth of university

education.¹⁷ Universities in the sixteenth century developed diversely in different countries and they were shaped by many factors such as the socio-cultural system of the day, by the higher educational network to which they belonged but predominantly by the national culture in which they existed.

However diverse in their academic structure, in the subjects they taught and in the number of professors they employed and in the size of the student body the late medieval universities all shared one common feature: a papal bull, less often an imperial charter, sometimes both (e.g. Prague, Pavia, Florence) provided the basis for their foundation.

The medieval term that most closely corresponds to the concept of a university, as it was understood in the early modern period, is *studium generale*. The most important legal attribute that came to be exclusively associated with the status of a *studium generale* was that of the *ius ubique docendi*.¹⁸ This privilege entitled the holder of a degree from a *studium generale* to have a teaching licence of universal validity. Nonetheless, in reality, the *ius ubique docendi* did not function as a binding force on medieval universities. The great ancient universities often refused recognition of doctorates granted by their younger counterparts.¹⁹

It seems that the most accurate definition of a university that present day scholarship can offer is ‘universities in the strict sense of the term could be defined

¹⁷ R. Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, (Basingstoke, 1993) pp. 124-128. Pier Paolo Vergerio, (1370-1444/5) Italian humanist and statesman, writing as early as 1404, laid emphasis on the importance of public education: “For the education of children is a matter of more than private interest; it concerns the state, which indeed regards the right training of the young as, in certain aspects, within its proper sphere. I would wish to see this responsibility extended.” From *De ingenius moribus*, cited in *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, ed. W. H. Woodward, (Cambridge, 1921) pp. 99-100.

¹⁸ A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization*, (London, 1975) pp. 27-28.

¹⁹ Even Paris and Oxford mutually failed to accept each other’s degrees without fresh examination. After the complaint of Paris Gregory IX in his bull issued in 1233 had to explain that the rights given to the graduates of the newly founded university in Toulouse did not interfere with those of Paris. Also, when Salamanca was granted the *ius ubique docendi* a papal bull by Alexander IV confirmed this privilege in 1255 and at the same time ensured that Paris and Bologna were accepted. Cf. H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1936) I. p. 14; and L. Jilek, *Historical Compendium of European Universities*, (Geneve, 1984) p. 274, 296; W. Frijhoff, “What is an early modern university? The conflict between Leiden and Amsterdam in 1631” in ed. H. de Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe, volume 2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, (Cambridge, 1996) pp. 149-168; A. Sottili, *Renaissance humanism and university studies: Italian universities and their influence on the studia humanitatis in Northern Europe*, (Leiden, 2006) p. 5.

as all institutions of higher education which regard themselves as universities, and had been recognised or legitimated as such by the *de facto* authority in the territory by its granting the right to award degrees.’²⁰

The flowering of higher education in the sixteenth century can be seen in the creation of a variety of different types of higher educational institutes: (arts) colleges, academies, seminaries and universities. In 1527, however, the first breach in the hitherto universally observed system was made by the foundation of Marburg as a Lutheran *studium generale* by Landgrave Philip of Hesse with the help of Melancthon who played a key role in its foundation, without papal or imperial approval (although the university was eventually given an imperial charter in 1541).

As Willem Frijhoff pointed out, there were several powerful reasons for the dilution of the institutional norms such as the development of the educational system itself because of a growing need for more widespread general education in society; the territorial states, municipalities and emerging professions required for their governmental and administrative purposes an increasing number of appropriately educated officials. Furthermore, the need for apologetics and the religious and cultural offensives of Protestants and Catholics against each other explains why both secular and ecclesiastical authorities invested in schools for philosophy and theology.

All these reasons led to the creation of a complex educational network consisting of grammar schools, ‘illustrious schools’, colleges, academies and universities. These foundations in their functions often overlapped with each other and the institutional requirements for true learning may have varied from one place to the other.

One of the first higher education catalogues was the *Tractatus de academiis et scholis* in Europa, published in Frankfurt-on-Oder in 1554. It was followed by a long series of similar catalogues: Franciscus Junius (Heidelberg, 1587), Burchardus (Magdeburg, 1615), Gisbertus Voetius (Utrecht, 1636), Hermann Conring

²⁰ Frijhoff, “Patterns” in ed. H. de Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe, volume 2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, (Cambridge, 1996) p. 68.

(Helmstedt, 1651).²¹ These were useful guides for the academic traveller abroad but also these lists of schools reflect the authors' opinion or a common consensus on which schools were regarded as proper places of higher learning. Moreover, in some cases, the authors' confessional stand was represented. For example, Voetius speaks of academies and schools, not of universities. It was true learning that counted for him, and he was less interested in the formal recognition of the institutions.

Voetius mentions 55 institutions of higher education, half of them (26) situated in the Holy Roman Empire. For Scotland his list contains only the school of Edinburgh, apart from the universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Interestingly, he is not aware of the two separate colleges in Aberdeen, and he only regards Edinburgh as an illustrious school although Edinburgh, through the royal charter, had received full university recognition.

1. 2 Development of the Protestant higher education

In a broader context, the foundation of the 'Tounis College' in Edinburgh can be seen as part of an expansion of higher education throughout Europe, which had marked the period since 1450 and, more specifically, as part of rapid growth in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the result of rival Protestant and Counter-Reformation educational expansions. By the early sixteenth century Europe had some fifty active universities, to which 43 new colleges, academies and universities, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, were added between 1558 and 1619.²²

²¹ W. Justus [=Jobst], *Tractatus de academiis et scholis in Europa* (Frankfurt-on-Oder, 1554); M. Cholinus, *Tractatus de academiis orbis Christiani* (Cologne, 1572); J. Middendorpius, *In VIII libris academiarum celebrium universi terrarium orbis* (Cologne, 1572); F. Junius [du Jon], *Tractatus de academia, cum catalogo omnium orbis academiarum* (Heidelberg, 1587); A. Burchardus, *Seculum Catalogicum et chronologicum academiarum orbis Christiani* (Magdeburg, 1615); G. Voetius, *Sermo van de Nutticheydt der Academien ende Scholen* (Utrecht, 1636); J. M. Schwimmer, *Tractatus de academicis omnium facultatum professoribus, academiis et studiosis* (Jena, 1672).

²² *OER* IV. p. 196; L. Spitz, "The importance of the Reformation for the Universities: Culture and Confessions in the Critical Years" in *Rebirth, Reform, Resilience: Universities in Transition 1300-1700*, eds J. M. Kittelson and P. Transue, (Columbus, OH, 1984) pp. 42-67; K. Maag, *Seminary or University*, (Aldershot, 1995) p. 1; Jilek, *Historical Compendium of European Univesities*; Frijhoff, "Patterns" pp. 80-89.

Institutions of higher learning founded in this period included Strasbourg (1538), Debrecen (1538), Lausanne (1547), Geneva (1559), Leiden (1575), Helmstedt (1575/76), Herborn (1584), Franeker (1585), Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1585), Trinity College, Dublin (1592), Marischal College, Aberdeen (1593), Kassel (1597), and the Huguenot academies which were either part of earlier founded universities as at Orange and Montpellier or brand new at Saumur (1598), Montauban (1600) and Sedan (1602).²³

One of the main reasons for the growth in the number of centres of higher learning was confessional. As Roman Catholic universities began to refuse entry to students from a Protestant background or more specifically on the basis of the students unwillingness to take Roman Catholic oaths, Protestants began to create their own places of higher learning and therefore to educate their own intellectual elite. In his *De Regno Christi* of 1551 Martin Bucer appealed to Edward VI to ‘take in hand immediately your universities and the colleges which are part of them’ to provide well educated and sufficient ministers for the church. Bucer saw the universities as vocational training schools with colleges assigned to the different professions such as law, medicine and some dedicated to ‘the reading and interpretation of Holy Scripture.’²⁴ Along similar lines, with the precise purpose of providing a learned and Protestant ministry for the church and the country the two Cambridge colleges, Emmanuel (1585) and Sidney Sussex (1596) were brought into existence. In the statutes of Emmanuel it is stated:

that in establishing this college we have before us this one aim, of rendering as many persons as possible fit for the sacred ministry of the word and sacraments; so that from this seminary the Church of England might have men whom it may call forth to instruct the people and undertake the duty of pastors.²⁵

²³ The university in Orange was founded in 1365, however, by 1573 it had been transformed into an academy. The Academy of Montpellier developed from a series of public lectures given by renowned Protestant scholars in the city beginning in the 1540s. The university in Montpellier, a separate institution, had already taught law and medicine. Its statutes of medicine goes back as early as 1220. Cf. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities*, p. 31; H. Meylan, “Collèges et Académies protestantes en France au XVI^e siècle” in *D’Érasme à Théodore de Bèze: problèmes de l’Église et de l’école chez les réformés*, H. Meylan (Geneva, 1976) pp. 191-192.

²⁴ M. Bucer, “De Regno Christi” in *Melancthon and Bucer*, ed. W. Pauck, (London, 1969); also cf. R. W. Henderson, *The Teaching Office in the Reformed Tradition*, (Philadelphia, PA, 1962) pp. 156-162.

²⁵ Quoted in R. O’Day, *The English Clergy, The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642*, (Leicester, 1979) p. 134.

On the Continent one particular form of the new higher educational system was the academy. These schools, however, could not claim university status, unless they were part of a larger university system, as was the case of the colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, partly because of the lack of the necessary papal or imperial charter and partly due to the smaller scale both in the numbers of professors and the range of subjects on offer.²⁶ Nevertheless, most of these schools enjoyed academic reputation similar to the universities.²⁷ They were well attended since during the Reformation a great importance was given to training ministers in order to meet the needs of the Protestant parishes.²⁸

The intellectual context in which the training of clergy in the Protestant academies took place was unarguably humanist in its flavour. The educational curriculum of these academies was structured along humanist lines laying emphasis on the classical studies with a special focus on the ancient languages.

Even after his conversion to Protestantism, Calvin did not turn away from humanism and the importance of learning in arts and sciences. Scholars such as Francois Wendel and more recently Karin Maag, argue that in constructing the Genevan curriculum, Calvin was just as influenced by his contact with Johann Sturm of Strasbourg as by his own humanist training.²⁹ In his commentary on I Corinthians 3, 19, for instance, Calvin, like Melanchthon and Sturm, insisted on the importance of the liberal arts: '[...] natural perspicacity is a gift of God, and the liberal arts, and all the sciences by which wisdom is acquired, are gifts of God.' Furthermore, he clearly states 'so that the church is not left desolate to our children, it will be necessary to build a college for the purpose of instructing them, with a view to preparing them both for the ministry and for the civil government.' Calvin

²⁶ Not until after 1648 would an emperor grant them a charter recognizing them as universities that were able to award degrees. Cf. under 'University' in *OER*, IV. p. 199.

²⁷ This was the case in Geneva and Zurich and in France where eight academies were founded between 1560 and 1604. Cf. K. Maag, "Education and Literacy" in *The Reformation World*, ed. A. Pettegree, (London, 2000) p. 540.

²⁸ As Maag points out in her essay that, for instance, by 1600 85% of the clergy in the Electoral Palatinate graduated from the University of Heidelberg. Maag, 'Education and Literacy', p. 540.

²⁹ F. Wendel, *Calvin et L'humanisme*, (Paris, 1976) p. 81f; K. Maag, "Higher education for Melanchthon and Calvinism: a comparative approach" in *Melanchthon und der Calvinismus*, eds F. Günter and H. Selderhuis, (Stuttgart, 2005) p. 68.

recognised the need for not only well-trained pastors but also for well qualified men for the state.³⁰ Thus the remark, suggested by one of Calvin's biographers, that the church in Geneva was more like a humanist academy than a school of theology is hardly surprising.³¹

In his inaugural address in 1559, Theodor Beza, the Genevan Academy's first rector, professor of Greek, and later Calvin's successor, further underlined the importance of classical studies, giving examples from Aristotle, Josephus and other ancient scholars. At the same time, however, along with Calvin, he emphasised the subordinate status of studies in the humanities as they were only useful and important as long as their knowledge contributed to a deeper understanding of the Scriptures.³²

In a similar fashion to Geneva, once persecution abated and Protestantism gained ground in the second half of the late sixteenth century, the French Protestants began to create their own academies to provide higher education for the Huguenot intellectual elite and for ministerial training. The result was the birth of six academies and two further ancient universities which were either transformed into an academy, like Orange, or developed from a series of lectures to exist as a separate institution along with the university in Montpellier.

In describing the key features of these academies it is clear that the local political powers had a prominent role to play in their creation. The academy of Orthez in Béarn came into being in 1566 through the support of the princely house of Navarre that ruled the territory; behind the academy in Sedan the organising force stood the ducal de Bouillon family; Saumur academy was founded largely through the efforts of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, royal governor of Saumur in 1588.

³⁰ J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, (Grand Rapids, 1948) p. 145; "Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541" in *The Register of the Company of Pastors of Geneva in the Time of Calvin*, ed. P. E. Hughes, (Grand Rapids, 1966) p. 41.

³¹ W. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait* (Oxford, 1988) p. 227.

³² For Beza's address see "Beza's Address at the Solemn Opening of the Academy in Geneva" in *Transition and Revolution, Problems and Issues of European Reformation History*, ed. R. M. Kingdon, (Minneapolis, MN, 1974) pp. 175-179. See also Melanchthon's emphasis on the biblical languages in his inaugural address as a professor of Greek in Wittenberg, 'On correcting the studies of youth' from 1518; and for Calvin's awareness of the danger and limits of academic studies: 'the liberal arts and all the sciences [...] are confined, however, within their own limits; for into God's heavenly kingdom they cannot penetrate. Hence they must occupy the place of handmaid, not of mistress: nay more, they must be looked upon as empty and worthless, until they have become entirely subject to the word and Spirit of God.' Calvin, *Commentary... to the Corinthians*, p. 145.

All of the academies enjoyed a strong confessional character with the exception of the *collège des artes* in Montpellier which was half Roman Catholic and half Protestant. This was primarily due to the keen interest of the Huguenot church to oversee teaching and training in the academy. Furthermore, the emphasis on training future pastors for the church locally instead of abroad led to the appointment of professors of theology in each academy. Nonetheless, it must be noted that beside the focus on teaching theology, a wide range of subjects such as the ancient languages including a chair of Latin eloquence in Nîmes, philosophy, law, medicine, mathematics were also included in the curriculum.

The national synod had clear control over these institutions through the financial support offered to them. In fact, two of the academies, Montauban and Saumur were officially established and financed by the national synods. Also by 1603 the national synod began to call for common statutes and the synodal regulations left no room for civil authorities to do more than appoint council members for the academies. This was one way to ensure that they would not lose their confessional character.

Another significant feature of the academies was the efforts made by the academic councils to employ scholars of high calibre to enhance the attraction for students to enrol in the academies. The most renowned professors included men such as Moïse Amyraut at Saumur, Daniel Chaumier at Montauban, Pierre du Moulin, and from Scotland Andrew Melville and John Cameron at Sedan.

In summary, the strength of the Huguenot academies did not lie in the innovative content of their academic programme but rather their curriculum helped integrate the Huguenot academies into the network of Protestant academies and universities.³³

³³ See the study on the Huguenot Academies by Karin Maag, "The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future" in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, eds R. A. Mentzer and A. Spicer (Cambridge, 2002) pp. 139-156; S. Deyon, "Les Académies protestantes en France" in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 135, (1989) pp. 77-85.

2 Developments of centres for theological training in Scotland after 1560

By the end of the sixteenth century Scotland had five universities. Three of them had medieval foundations: St. Andrews (1412), Glasgow (1450), and Old Aberdeen (King's College, 1495) and two institutions were founded after 1560: the Town College in Edinburgh in 1583 and the Marischal College in Aberdeen in 1593.³⁴ Furthermore, attempts were made for the creating of a sixth centre of learning at Fraserburgh but it did not survive. All the medieval universities, or more accurately colleges until about the end of the sixteenth century, owe their origin to the church, while Edinburgh was the only one to be created at the instigation of a Town Council.³⁵

The first native university, St. Andrews, in company with the universities of Heidelberg (1386) and Cologne (1388), finds its origin in the papal schism of the fourteenth century and took its foundation bull from the Avignon pope Benedict XIII.³⁶

The universities in Glasgow and Aberdeen arose in part out of episcopal rivalry within Scotland. Nevertheless, all three universities aimed to raise the standard of education within the church and consequently within the country. In helping the educational institutions towards this end, in 1494 an act had been passed by the Parliament to recruit enough students for both grammar schools and universities from the ranks of nobility and freeholders.³⁷ Therefore the twin aspects of university education, namely training men for the service of both church and state, were undoubtedly present before the end of the fifteenth century.³⁸ Nonetheless, the

³⁴ It should be noted that the two Colleges in Aberdeen were separate, degree-granting institutions until their union in 1860.

³⁵ Cf. Horn, "The Origins of the University of Edinburgh", pp. 213-225, 297-312; M. Lynch, "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College': a revision article" in *IR* 23 (1982) pp. 3-14.

³⁶ M. Lynch, *Scotland A New History*, (London, 1992) p. 102.

³⁷ 'All the greater barons and freeholders should send their eldest sons at the age of eight or nine years to grammar schools and thereafter to the universities to study arts and law so that justice may reign universally through all the realm.' in *APS*, II. p. 238.

³⁸ J. K. Cameron, "The Church and the Universities in Scotland in the era of the Reformation" in *The Church in a Changing Society*, (Uppsala, 1978) pp. 217, 219.

ecclesiastical nature and objective of the universities remained dominant because their funds came, in a large proportion, from parochial sources as well as from other church endowments. A good number of graduates entered into the ministry and some later followed their careers in the hierarchy. It is worth noting, however, that the appropriation of parochial resources contributed to the impoverishment of the parishes by drawing away a substantial part of the revenues that should have served the needs of the local parish and as a consequence, for instance, left clergy underpaid in the congregations.

The growing demand of the state for literate officials and the constant concern of several reforming councils for a more learned clergy provided impetus for educational development in sixteenth-century Scotland. Furthermore, humanist influence made headway in the early decades of the sixteenth century by the close connections with the Continent through the high number of Scottish students who went abroad to further their education at universities and to a lesser degree through travellers from overseas who brought new ideas to the northern kingdom.³⁹

2.1 The *First Book of Discipline*

The Reformation opened up a new phase of reforming efforts in the history of the universities and in theological education. As J. K. Cameron argues, it is a distinctive characteristic of the Scottish Reformation that a detailed programme of educational reform, within which there was a complete and elaborate reconstruction of higher education, was clearly set out from the beginning in the *First Book of Discipline*.

The compilers of the *First Book of Discipline* devoted two chapters, which exceeded in length and detail any other topic in the book, to their reforming programme.⁴⁰ Their intentions were made clear by stating that provision is made for

³⁹ See the list of students studying abroad in the sixteenth century prior to the Reformation, compiled by John Durkan in his "The cultural background in sixteenth-century Scotland" in *IR*, 10. (1959) pp. 427-433.

⁴⁰ *FBD*, cf. J. K. Cameron's interpretation on pp. 54-62, and in the main text the two headings: on the schools pp. 129-136, and on universities pp. 137-155.

schools in every parish and an Arts college in every important town as well as ordering the radical reorganisation of all three medieval universities. A comprehensive scheme for the whole country from which everyone can benefit was suggested. This included two years of primary schooling followed by grammar school education. It was also suggested that in parishes without schoolmasters, ministers and readers could take over teaching responsibilities. For readers this assigned teaching task was an important step towards being recognised as ministers.⁴¹ This point may indicate that for actual ministerial training much room was left at the parish level.

The chapter on the universities, as it is found in its final form, was latter added to the quickly composed text of April and May in 1560. Undeniably it was compiled with help from St Andrews. This was not at all surprising since at least three of its authors can be easily associated with St. Andrews.⁴² The plan for the reorganization of the universities was as follows: at St Andrews the three colleges were to be kept but in their curricula changes had to be implemented. One college was to offer a three-year arts course teaching mathematics, logic and natural philosophy and a five-year course in medicine. The second college would provide a four-year course in legal studies and a one-year course in moral philosophy. The third college was to be devoted, according to the plan, to the study of Divinity by offering a one-year course in ancient languages, Greek and Hebrew and the exposition of Scriptures over five years. Similar plans were put forward in the case of Glasgow and Aberdeen suggesting that each be broken up into two colleges. The first college at both places would follow the same arts course as the first college at St Andrews and the second college was to focus on ancient languages, Divinity, moral philosophy and legal studies.

⁴¹ “If reading he begin to exhort, and explain the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented, till finally he come to the honour of a Minister.” *FBD*, p. 111; cf. J. C. Whytock, “*An Educated Clergy*”: *Scottish Theological Education and Training in the Kirk and Secession, 1560–1850*, (Milton Keynes, 2007) p. 27.

⁴² John Winram, Dean of the Faculty of Theology and Superintendent of Fife; John Douglas, Principal of St Mary’s and Rector; John Row a St Andrew graduate, and even John Knox might have had some connections with it as a possible alumnus.

The plans for setting up these arts colleges were not unique inventions of the compilers of the *First Book of Discipline*. Across Europe large number of centres of higher learning were created along similar lines. The point has been earlier made that the most notable of these was the Academy of Geneva founded by John Calvin in 1559. It has been pointed out that Geneva must have been a source of inspiration for Scottish Reformers in carrying out their own academic reforms especially in the field of Divinity and training for the ministry.⁴³ Geneva provided a formative and rapid training for young men entering the parish ministry as well as for ex-Roman Catholic priests wishing to pursue an ecclesiastical career in Protestant churches mainly at the request of the growing Calvinist movement in France.⁴⁴ The success of the Genevan Academy in this respect must have been attractive for many. Therefore, it is probable that Reformers in Scotland would have welcomed similar results for their own country.

One further aspect of the *First Book of Discipline* needs to be mentioned in relation to training for the ministry. In the ninth chapter, entitled 'Concerning the Policy of the Kirk', a section was devoted to the 'exercise' of future ministers, called 'prophesying' in the document.⁴⁵ This training tool technically describes a common meeting of the presbytery where the congregation was hearing a minister explain a matter.⁴⁶ This training programme meant that preparing men for the ministry was not left solely to the universities but the church retained the right of examining and qualifying individuals for their further ecclesiastical career as ministers.

The compilers of the *First Book of Discipline* planned to retain ecclesiastical control over the universities. Also the General Assembly set itself the task of reforming the three existing universities and bringing them under the control of the Kirk in matters of faith. A number of Articles were issued and these reforming efforts were further confirmed by an Act of Parliament in December 1567 which

⁴³ *FBD*, pp. 58-59, 137.

⁴⁴ Maag, *Seminary or University*, pp. 18-23.

⁴⁵ *FBD*, pp. 187-191.

⁴⁶ A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, (Oxford, 1992) pp. 23-24. 33.

clearly stated that none was allowed to be appointed to any teaching position who had not been tried by the church authorities.⁴⁷

The authors of the *First Book of Discipline* also entrusted the civil authorities with the responsibility for exercising their power for the benefit of the youth by clearly stating that ‘of necessitie it is that your Honours [i.e. the godly Magistrate] be most careful for the vertuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realme’.⁴⁸ One might want to note that seeing the universities as national institutions, erected and maintained for the entire nation, was a positive side of sharing responsibilities between church and state. However, this idealistic interlocking of the Crown, Parliament and the General Assembly created a great deal of tension that marked the following decades.⁴⁹

The implementation of this ambitious educational scheme took its time and the first legislative support for the school programme came surprisingly late with an Act of Council in 1616 and an Act of Parliament in 1633.⁵⁰

As for university reform, the intended programme of the *First Book of Discipline* in the years immediately after 1560 came to very little. The original programme envisaged the three universities – at St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen – with colleges to which special teaching tasks were assigned. The university as an institution remained in existence, but its principal function was to regulate the colleges. This arrangement was not entirely new, for efforts had been made prior to 1560 to shift effective power from the university to the colleges.

⁴⁷ 26 June 1563: “Ordained, That the instruction of Youth be committed to none within this Realme, nather universities nor without the same, bot to them that professe Christ’s trew Religion, now publiclie preached; and that sick as now occupie the places not professing as said is, be removed frae the samen, and to remember that some ordour be made for the sustentatioun of poore Scholars.” *BUK*, I. p. 33. This Article of the Assembly was repeated word by word in the 14th General Assembly 1567. 26 June 1565: “Thirdlie, That none be permitted to have charge of Scooles, Colledges, or Universities, or yet privately or publickly to instruct the youth, but such as shall be tried be the Superintendents or visitors of the Church, sound and able in doctrine, and admitted be them to their charges.” *BUK*, I. p. 60.

⁴⁸ *FBD*, p. 130.

⁴⁹ D. Shaw, *The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1600*, (Edinburgh 1964) pp. 113-115.

⁵⁰ By this time the number of parish schools was very high in certain parts of the country. In the case of arts colleges, the older grammar schools were to be converted into or upgraded to the level required by an arts college (*schola publica* or *schola illustris*). Cf. G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, (Cambridge, 1960) pp. 95-96.

2.2 Andrew Melville

The name of Andrew Melville is inextricably woven in and through the resurgence of theological education, during the time from 1574 onwards. It was not until his return from Geneva in 1574 that changes in theological higher education gained not only further encouragement, but substantial change took place with noteworthy success.⁵¹

Melville is often regarded as the father of Scottish Presbyterianism, and he mainly concerned himself with the ecclesiastical policy of the church. Far less attention has been paid to his contribution to the educational reforms that took place under his guidance in the Scottish universities in the last twenty-five years of the sixteenth century.

His educational background⁵² enabled him to develop a vision through which he would carry out substantial changes in both university curricula and structure.

In Paris, he became acquainted with the anti-scholastic philosophy of the French humanist, Pierre de la Ramée (1515-1572) and his new approach to logic and its application to education as a whole.⁵³ He advocated comprehensive reform of the academic curriculum, which had long been dominated by Aristotelian logic. Instead of relying on syllogism to derive truth, Ramée sought the axioms. The task of a logician was to arrange and classify these concepts (axioms) in order to make them understandable and memorable. His emphasis was on practical utility and simplification.⁵⁴ This seemed especially attractive for many contemporaries as it offered an efficient way of thinking and communicating in an age of controversies.

⁵¹ J. Kirk, "'Melvillian' reform in the Scottish universities" in *The Renaissance in Scotland: studies in literature, religion, history and culture offered to John Durkan*, eds A. A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I. B. Cowan (Leiden, 1994) pp. 276-300.

⁵² He studied Latin and Greek grammar at Montrose and matriculated from St Mary's, St Andrews. After finishing his arts course at St Mary's he went abroad to advance his humanist studies first in Paris studying at the Royal Trilingual College then moved to Poitiers in 1566 to study law. In three years we find him as a theological student of Theodore Beza at Geneva and later he was offered a teaching position in Humanity at the city college. *ODNB* online, accessed on 22 August 2011.

⁵³ Kirk, "'Melvillian' reform in the Scottish universities", pp. 276-300.

⁵⁴ W. J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, (Cambridge, MA, 1958) pp. 36-48; J. H. Overfield, "Scholastic opposition to humanism in pre-Reformation Germany" in *Viator* 7 (1976) pp. 391-420; K. L. Sprunger, "Ames, Ramus, and the method of puritan theology" in *Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966) pp. 133-151.

His influence on theology was indirect and his sole theological work attracted little interest.⁵⁵ His most ardent advocate in the sixteenth-century Scotland was Andrew Melville, who was the first academic to introduce Ramist texts as an integral part of the official curriculum. Nevertheless, reforms of education and the new way of doing theology should clearly be distinguished from each other, and it was the former that contributed to Melville's success in the course of academic reforms. To assess the extent of Ramée's philosophy in Melville's theology requires further investigation.⁵⁶ Melville was also familiar with the arguments of anti-Ramist thinkers such as Turnebe and Charpentier.

On his return to Scotland in 1574, he chose to move to Glasgow, and then in 1580 he was appointed as Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews. He remained there till 1606. His reforms in both places began with revising the curricula and appointing new teaching staff. As a result of these changes, Glasgow became the first Scottish university to abolish the old way of tutoring, called regenting, as had been suggested by the *First Book of Discipline*.⁵⁷ He was also able to introduce more or less fixed professorships at St Andrews, though the practice of regenting remained for many years.⁵⁸

As for changes in the curriculum, emphasis was put on the new Ramist texts in logic, rhetoric, geometry and arithmetic. Although much has been made of Melville's support of Ramism, his advocacy of the biblical languages is equally important. For him the basis of theology was to be in the original text. Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldaic languages were introduced and instruction was given by specialist teachers. Furthermore, there were classes in history, geography and astronomy. The liberal arts (*studia humanitatis*) gained more attention than ever before.

It is important to discover and examine to what extent the humanist tradition, Ramist philosophy and Calvinist theology were amalgamated in the theological

⁵⁵ *Commentary on the Christian Religion* (1576).

⁵⁶ For further readings see T. F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, (Edinburgh, 1996) pp. 60ff.

⁵⁷ *FBD*, p. 138; Kirk, "'Melvillian' reform in the Scottish universities", p. 281.

⁵⁸ R. G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, (Edinburgh, 1970) p. 55.

writings of the period. One needs to look not only at material of a theological nature that survived from Melville but also at other writings by his contemporaries and students, such as Robert Rollock and John Forbes of Corse.

2.3 Melvillian reforms in higher education

2.3.1 Glasgow University

At Glasgow the *nova erectio*, ‘a landmark for Scottish university organization’, vision of Andrew Melville⁵⁹, was a fusion of the medieval curriculum with modern Christian humanism. It was an arts degree that was heavily classical yet thoroughly Protestant in its nature.

An arts course generally took three and a half years while for theology one more year was required for beginning to learn Hebrew which was prominently stressed by Andrew Melville, the principal and professor of theology since his arrival to Glasgow in 1577. He also emphasised the importance of studying the writings of Calvin, besides the Scriptures.⁶⁰

The old regent system (the lectures, reading, disputation and memorization led by a regent) worked here with a short intermission until the arrival of James Melville who started lecturing on special areas and shared teaching with Andrew Melville which resulted a slow transition between the old system and a new, specialised curriculum⁶¹ affecting both St. Andrews and King’s College, Aberdeen (see their New Foundations)⁶².

2.3.2 St. Mary’s College

At the call of the leaders of the English Presbyterian Movement (namely Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers), Andrew Melville went to St. Mary’s

⁵⁹ J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, (Glasgow, 1977) p. 270.

⁶⁰ Whytock, “*An Educated Clergy*”, p. 37.

⁶¹ Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 282.

⁶² D. Stevenson, *King’s College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641*, (Aberdeen, 1990) pp. 149-166.

College in 1580 as a principal and professor of Divinity⁶³ in order to reorganise St. Andrews University according to the vision of the *First Book of Discipline*. At St. Mary's the Melvillian reform also happened by instituting specialised regents and professors and with private tutoring which transformed the college into one of the leading Scottish colleges.⁶⁴ St. Mary's even attracted numerous foreign students from all over Europe.⁶⁵

2.3.3 King's College

Andrew Melville was in correspondence with the principal (Arbuthnot) in the late 1570s about reforming King's College, Aberdeen modelled after Glasgow (see more similarities on the bursar system and the arts degree). In 1582-83 it received the New Foundation.⁶⁶ However, the curriculum remained more regent-oriented; the lecturers were recently graduated young men (or ministers combining their church duties with the lectures), less specified in their 'professions'.

The arts degree was also based on classics (similarly to Glasgow), on exegesis and Reformed theological studies (though Hebrew was taught only between 1564 and 1572 probably by James Lawson) while medicine and law were peripheral like at all the other contemporary universities.⁶⁷ Attending religious services of the college and lectures on the Confession of Faith were taken very seriously, yet it might have looked more like seminary training than a university curriculum.⁶⁸ Despite the slow and maybe uncertain first steps, the reform did happen by 1597 at King's College as well.⁶⁹

2.3.4 Marischal College

The Marischal College, Aberdeen (sometimes also mentioned as 'Gymnasium' or 'Academia' and once as 'Universitas'⁷⁰) was founded in 1593,

⁶³ Melville, *Diary*, p. 83.

⁶⁴ Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", p. 38.

⁶⁵ Cant, *The University of St. Andrews*, p. 67.

⁶⁶ Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen*, pp. 29-31.

⁶⁷ Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", p. 43.

⁶⁸ Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen*, p. 54.

⁶⁹ Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 289.

influenced by the Genevan Academy, the Melvillian educational ideas, the Presbyterian climate and the growing need for ministers.⁷¹

Marischal had its own charter to award degrees. As for the curriculum it only had the arts course including theology (no law or medicine), three regents (who first had six months to bring the students up to standard Latin writing) and one principal/professor (the latter taught Hebrew and Syriac); while the bursars system worked similarly to the other colleges. Students (who were resident in the college community) were expected to attend lectures, disputations, sermons, and the exercise, thus completing the system of training.⁷²

The fact that the college did follow the new specialist regenting system (at least until the Covenanters change in 1642/43) is proved by its charter as well.⁷³ The first principal was Robert Howie (1568-c.1645), one of the first covenantal theologians in Scotland who studied at Herborn, Germany for seven critical and formative years (1585-1591)⁷⁴ and whose writings show parallels with Rollock on the covenantal theme. During Howie's time covenant theology was taught at Marischal.⁷⁵

2.3.5 Fraserburgh

Outside of *nova erectio* there was another initiative for establishing a new centre for higher learning in Scotland, namely Fraserburgh (whose proposal for establishment is dated 1592). In 1597 Charles Ferme, an Edinburgh regent accepted the charge of Philorth, Fraserburgh. He became principal until his death (1600-1616) with a four-year-long interval (when he was imprisoned for his covenantal and Presbyterian views, following Rollock).⁷⁶

Ferme had three neighbouring ministers as regents and the teaching method was similar to that used in the Edinburgh and Marischal Colleges.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ R. S. Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History* (Aberdeen, 1895) pp. 118-119.

⁷¹ Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 289.

⁷² Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", p. 45.

⁷³ Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", p. 45, 47.

⁷⁴ T. McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, (Edinburgh, 1819) II. pp. 278-280.

⁷⁵ Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", p. 46.

⁷⁶ Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", pp. 48-49.

⁷⁷ McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, II. p. 287.

3 The creation of Edinburgh's Town College

3.1 Historical background of Edinburgh's Town College

In the late sixteenth century Edinburgh was a growing city with a sizable population.⁷⁸ However it did not have a university although it did have its own intellectual community. There was a growing sense of need and purpose for a formation of a formal academic institution.

3.1.1 Early initiatives

The origin of an institution of higher education in Edinburgh goes back to two significant initiatives, namely a lectureship in canon and civic law financed by the crown and Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, who bequeathed sums of money for educational purposes.

The first scheme for higher education, which might have developed into an institution of university rank, was based upon two grants created by the Regent, Mary of Guise. The first grant, dated 5th February 1556, an annual pension of £100, was offered to Master Alexander Sim [Sym], a graduate of St. Andrews, in order to teach and 'be her [Mary, Queen of Scots] lector and reader in the laws or any other sciences at our burgh of Edinburgh or where he shall be required by our said dearest mother thereto;⁷⁹ and find remedy for the lack of 'cunning' men by 'giving all other young men of fresh and quick ingynis occasion to apply their whole minds to study for like reward to be had of us in time coming' and as a result 'all liberal sciences beis freilie techit, floriss, and inress'.⁸⁰ No information is available as to where and for how many hours each week Sim was to teach, though it is suggested that his

⁷⁸ When Edinburgh was divided into parishes at the beginning of the 1590s, it was recorded that the burgh had 2,239 household with 8000 persons. J. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform. Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk*, (Edinburgh, 1989) p. 18.

⁷⁹ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. IV, No. 3144 in Horn, "The Origin of the University of Edinburgh", pp. 213-225, p. 218; A. I. Dunlop, ed., *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree, 1413-1588*, (Edinburgh, 1964) pp. 387, 390.

⁸⁰ *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. IV, No. 3144 in McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, (1856) pp. 459-460.

services would not take place in the royal palace. This is further confirmed by the burgh council's decision in the making of a lectern for Sim to 'reid in the Magdalene Chapel'.⁸¹

The second grant was made to Master Edward Henderson [Henryson], doctor of laws, to 'profess, teach and read within the burgh of Edinburgh a public lesson in the Laws and another in Greek thrice in the week except the months in tyme of wacance from Lammas to Martinmas'.⁸² The actual appointment of Henderson came on 8 June 1556 with the same amount of pension that Sim had received though on more specified conditions. As the quotation above indicates he was to read in Edinburgh three times a week and also there was a time of vacation from Lammas to Martinmas.

John Durkan suggests that there might have been a continuation of the educational policy of Mary of Guise through the employment of Master William Ramsay who received the same yearly pension of £100 as Sim and Henderson did.⁸³ The royal lectureship project was not able to survive the religious change of the 1560s, yet it clearly implied an intention to found in Edinburgh an institution that would be superior to a mere grammar school (*schola publica*). It is also clear that much attention was paid to the study of Law which is not surprising because Edinburgh, as an emerging capital of Scotland, needed more administrators and lawyers to serve the government. Furthermore, the references to 'other sciences' in the grant to Sim and the inclusion of teaching Greek in the grant to Henderson show that the arts subjects were kept in view. In addition, as D. B. Horn argues, the two royal grants represent an important step in the transfer of control of higher education from church to state.⁸⁴

The second initiative came from a dignitary of the Roman church who had a high interest in education and supported all kinds of educational schemes. Bishop

⁸¹ M. Wood, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1528-1557*, (Edinburgh, 1871) pp. 251, 319.

⁸² *Register of Privy Seal*, vol. IV, No. 3268 in Horn, "The Origin of the University of Edinburgh", p. 218; *ODNB* online, accessed on 17 November 2009.

⁸³ John Durkan, "The Royal Lectureships under Mary of Lorraine" in *The Scottish Historical Review*, 62:1 (1983) pp. 73-78.

⁸⁴ Horn, "The Origin of the University of Edinburgh", p. 220.

Reid provided for the endowment of seven posts (a provost, an archdeacon, a chantor, a chancellor, a treasurer, a subdean, and a subchantor), seven canons, thirteen chaplains and six choristers. The foundation of a grammar school and of a song school in Kirkwall can, in all probability, be ascribed to him. For canons of his chapter he organised lectures. The chancellor was to read canon law once a week. Furthermore Reid supported young men in French universities as well as bringing Giovanni Ferrerio (1502-1579), the eminent historian and humanist scholar to Kinloss.⁸⁵

The actual document of Reid's will did not survive but its content can be recovered at least in part.⁸⁶ The document was signed in Edinburgh on 6th February 1558.

The essential bequests were: 1. A sum of 800 merks to his brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Bruce of Kennet. 2. One thousand merks to his niece, Cathrine Reid. 3. Four hundred merks each to his nephew James and niece Margaret. 4. Reid left "4000 merks which he had in wadset⁸⁷ of the lands of Strathnaver when it should be recovered and other 4000 merks of his property for the purchase of the tenement with a yard and pertinent of the late Sir John Ramsey of Balmane knight on south side of Edinburgh on which a college should be built containing three schools: one for bairns to be taught grammar; the second for them as well to be taught poetry and oratory, together with a chamber for the regents, and the third for teaching civil and canon law."⁸⁸

However, there was no mention of a university in his will. Reid's intention was to make provision for young men, according to the famous Education Act of 1496, who wished to pursue literary and philosophical studies and not to found a university in Edinburgh. Why Reid decided to establish a grammar school in Edinburgh information is not clear. As Nowosilski pointed out Reid was bishop of Orkney and as such, he might have been able to found a university at Kirkwall but

⁸⁵ G. Donaldson, *Reformed By Bishops*, (Edinburgh, 1987) p. 20; and L. N. Nowosilski, *Robert Reid and his Times*, (NSL, Pontifical University of Studies of St Thomas Aquinas, Rome, 1965) p. 551.

⁸⁶ Nowosilski, *Robert Reid and his Times*, p. 536.

⁸⁷ a Scottish name for 'mortgage'.

⁸⁸ L. N. Nowosilski and I. Grimble, *Chief of Mackay*, (London, 1965) pp. 536-538.

not in a place belonging to the archdiocese of St Andrews. Furthermore he must have realised that his diocese was unable to finance a university.⁸⁹

His exceptional devotion to education was demonstrated by the fact that in his will he gave almost four times as much as the amount allotted to all his relatives together to a school (college) established in Edinburgh. Despite this generous gift, a sufficient amount of money was never available to establish the schools that Reid planned since his bequest was escheated and only a reduction of the original amount, 2,500 merks, was granted as a gift to the town of Edinburgh.⁹⁰

Therefore it is impossible to regard Bishop Reid as the founder of the Town College as it is claimed by some of the nineteenth-century historians, though he was a major benefactor.⁹¹

Bishop Reid, although a dignitary of the church, was essentially an organiser, a lawyer and a politician.⁹² Reid himself testified that what would work for the good of the church also enriched the society in which the church existed.

The significance of these early attempts to provide higher education in Edinburgh in the subsequent creation of an institute of higher learning should not be underestimated. Although these projects did not survive the initial years of the reforms of religion in Edinburgh, they indicated as well as enhanced the growing presence of the different professional communities in general and the legal profession in particular.

⁸⁹ Nowosiłski, *Robert Reid and his Times*, p. 550.

⁹⁰ Horn, "The Origin of the University of Edinburgh", p. 217; Nowosiłski, *Robert Reid and his Times*, p. 550.

⁹¹ See, for instance: A. Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1817-1830) or from the twentieth century R. K. Hannay, "The Foundation of the College of Edinburgh" in *History of the University of Edinburgh, 1883-1933*, ed. A. L. Turner, (Edinburgh, 1933) pp. 1-16. Admittedly, there are exceptions such as Francis J. Grant. In his *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, (London, 1884) Grant clearly states that 'Reid, not being Bishop of Edinburgh, would probably never think of founding a University there; such a thing would not occur to him as possible ... What he purposed to do was simply to leave money for founding one of those schools of 'Arts and Jure' contemplated by the Act of James V.', p. 167.

⁹² He was member of the College of Justice for twenty-five years and over which he had presided for the last eight years of his life. Cf. R. K. Hannay, *The College of Justice, Essays on the Institution and Development of the Court Session*, (Edinburgh, 1933). He died in France while on political mission in connection with the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Dauphin of France.

3.1.2 The civic initiative

The project of a college was in the mind of the town council from 1561 and was resurrected from time to time. The first mention of a serious interest in education, 'edefeing of hospitallis, universities, colleges and scolis' appeared in the minutes of the town council in August 1560.⁹³ In the next year on 23rd April the council recorded their opinion that rents and annuals payable to 'Papists' should be applied to more profitable purposes including the building of colleges for learning and upbringing of the youth.⁹⁴

The Act of the Privy Council dated 15th February 1562 assigned the revenues of chaplainries, prebends and friaries within the burghs to hospitals, schools and ordered the local authorities that in places where previous church buildings had not been destroyed to uphold and use them.⁹⁵ Accordingly, a series of supplications was made first to the Earl of Moray and then to the Queen concerning the poor state of education in the Edinburgh:

[...] and siklike it is nocht vnkawin to your hienes that the common ordour quhairby men attenis to serue the commoun weill of thair cuntre cumis be letteris learning and scienceis, quhilkis can nocht be obtenit bot be learning at sculis, quhilkis for the maist parte in all parties decay, sue that na regarde is had thairto and the youth thairthrow brocht to sic barbarous ignorance that lamentable it is tobe regratit;⁹⁶

The town council therefore explained to the Queen that what was required was not only 'places and rowmes bot als ressonabill livingis and stipendis, quhilkis for inhabilitie and pouirtie of the borrowis can nocht be thame be performit'.⁹⁷

⁹³ M. Wood, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1557-1571*, (Edinburgh, 1875) p. 70.

⁹⁴ *Extracts*, p. 105.

⁹⁵ Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 69.

⁹⁶ 8th April 1562 The counsale, vnderstanding the greit corruption of the youth be maister William Robertsoun, maister of the grammar scole, being ane obstinant papeist, ordains tender writings to be directit fra the said counsale to my lord James exhorting his lordship to labour at my lorde Robertis hand for granting ane gift of the office of the maisterschip to sic ane leirnit and qualifeit man as thai can find maist abill thairfore, to the effect thai may remove the said maister William fra the office foirsaid, and for vphalding and sustaining of the said maister and doctouris, as alsua of the regentis of ane college to be beigit within this burgh, and for beiging of hospitellis that it be lauborit with the Quenis grace it mycht pleis hir grace to dispone and grant to the toun the place yairdis and annuellis of the freris and altaragis of the kirk." *Extracts*, p. 122; see also *Extracts*, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁷ *Extracts*, pp. 131-132.

The Queen replied that the town council must make provisions from their own resources for the building of the hospital and school. Since Edinburgh already had a grammar school or/and a high school, (the difference between them is not clear) which had already been provided with a new building, it is reasonable to argue that the appeal of 1562 to the Queen indicates an interest in a higher educational establishment.⁹⁸

In the 1560s the town council failed to secure a site for a college although negotiations were initiated. The town council tried to reach agreement with Master William Penicuik who had the right to Kirk o' Field but the town could not get possession of the site. It was only in the late 1570s when the council attempted again to find a suitable site for a college. On 25th February 1579 three delegates, Alexander Clark, William Little and John Johnston, were appointed to meet Master Robert Pont, Provost of Trinity College, 'and entir in forther ressonyng with him tuiching the erectioun and fundatioun of the uniuerseteis in the Trinitie College, and report thair ansuer the next counsall day'.⁹⁹ Negotiations with Pont were still going on in November 'anentis the erection of ane college' and a month later two council members, Henry Nisbet and John Johnston were sent to meet Robert Pont and James Lawson to ask 'for thair counsall to be had anentis the erection of ane college of theologe'.¹⁰⁰ Yet it seems that the negotiations did not succeed. Meanwhile in April other leading members of the council were ordered 'to convene thame selues in the ministeris lugin the morn be four houris efter none for tairking of ordour anentis the founding of ane universitie'.¹⁰¹

A few observations can be made on these events of 1579. First, this time factionalism did not pervade the council to such an extent that it would prevent the members of the committee from being able to unite for a common cause. Second, it is not clear why the committee narrowed down the original plan to 'ane college of

⁹⁸ William Robertsoun is given the title: "maister of the grammar scole" cf. minutes of 8 April 1562 and large number of references to the "High School" can be found in the entries for 3 October 1562, 19 June 1566, 28 July 1568, in 1555 on the east side of the Kirk of Field Wynd, cf. *Extracts*, p. 210.

⁹⁹ Pont held other significant positions such as senator of the College of Justice as well as a minister at St Cuthberts (West Kirk) from 1574. Cf. *Fasti*, I. p. 93; *Extracts*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁰ 23 December 1579, *Extracts*, p. 136.

¹⁰¹ 29 April 1579, *Extracts*, p. 105.

theologe' while in the beginning of the year they seemed to entertain a more ambitious higher educational scheme that talked of a 'universitie' or even 'universities'. Third, the ministers of the town, by providing a meeting place for and some advice to the committee, were seemingly deeply involved in the work of the committees. It is tempting to suggest that the ministers were regarded by the council as driving forces behind a new establishment of higher learning. Or, for pragmatic reasons, they had to be consulted since the matter of dispute was a property of the old church and Pont as an influential church man was more easily approached through his fellow ministers. Pont himself was a highly qualified man, a graduate of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and was involved in church affairs from the very beginning. He was present at the first assembly, 20th December 1560, where he was one of the twenty declared to be qualified for ministry, elected five times as a moderator of the assembly. It is unclear why Pont did not support the foundation of a university in Trinity College but perhaps concern for personal loss of income was a significant issue.

In November 1581 the town council petitioned Parliament to confirm the grant of 1567 and help the foundation of a college with adequate financial assistance.¹⁰² The petition was forwarded to a committee, one member of which was Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews and chancellor of its university. Hannay finds it unlikely that Adamson would have supported the foundation of a new college. First, he would not associate himself with a project which was supported by his political and ecclesiastical opponents.¹⁰³ This seems unlikely, however, because by the time Adamson got involved in the work of the committee Lawson and his circle had been weakened in their position in the town as well as at court. Secondly, the archbishop would have been more concerned to protect the interest of his own university against a potential rival. Horn and Lynch, however, argue that a common

¹⁰² A number of grants, officially described as *fundatio regia ministerii et hospitalitatis*, were given by the Queen to burghs such as Haddington, Ayr and Edinburgh. See A. Morgan and R. K. Hannay, eds, *University of Edinburgh Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus, 1583-1858*, (Edinburgh, 1937) p. 4. These grants consisted of the annual revenue gained from altarages, chaplaincies, etc. vacant since 1561. However, the Kirk o' Field, a possible site for a college, were excluded from the royal gift.

¹⁰³ Hannay, "The Foundation of the College of Edinburgh", p. 11.

respect for learning could be a link between men of opposite views on church government.¹⁰⁴

In early April 1582 a large deputation from the town council went to Stirling to petition the king that a royal charter permitting the foundation of a college be granted.

The charter was issued on 14th April 1582 and granted the right to the burgh to found a college and actually it was a confirmation of Mary's *fundatio regia* extending the scope of her gift to include educational purposes:

...reparare sufficientes domos et loca pro receptione habitatione et tractatione professorum scholarum grammaticalium humanitatis et linguarum philosophie theologie medicine at jurium aut quarumcunque aliarum liberalium scientiarum quo declaramus nullam fore rapturam predictae motificationis.¹⁰⁵

Hannay assumed that a subsequent royal charter allocated the Kirk o' Field site to the new college and contained a proviso that if the works on the buildings there were not commenced within a year the grant should be void.¹⁰⁶

After a brief analysis of the origin and effect of the Royal charters, it can be maintained that although both charters, Mary's and James VI's (see Appendix 1), secured an important role for the church by emphasising that the magistrates and council should follow the advice given by ministers on managing the properties or, in the case of education, on appointment and admission to teach, the charter of 1582 in particular was a result of the lobbying of the town council at court.¹⁰⁷ The Presbyterian group in Edinburgh and especially Lawson did not play an important part in it or more precisely could not play a part in it, argues Lynch, even if the petition of 1581 came from the council in which Lawson may have had a strong voice.¹⁰⁸ Lawson's being out of favour at court was due to the conflict between the Kirk and the crown over the appointment to the see of Glasgow.¹⁰⁹ Both the first minister of Edinburgh and its provost, Alexander Clark, served on the General

¹⁰⁴ Horn, "The Origins of the University of Edinburgh, Part 2", p. 304; Lynch, "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ Morgan and Hannay, *University of Edinburgh Charters*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ Hannay, "The Foundation of the College of Edinburgh", p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ Hannay, "The Foundation of the College of Edinburgh", pp. 5, 12.

¹⁰⁸ Lynch, "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁹ Hannay, "The Foundation of the College of Edinburgh", p. 11.

Assembly committee that dealt with this issue.¹¹⁰ Thus Lawson almost certainly was *persona non grata* at court when the charter was obtained.

By April 1583 building operations had already started and it must have progressed quickly as in a few months later, on 16th October William Little and Henry Nisbet were ordered ‘to assemble and convene togidder vpoun Sunday nixt afternone the persouns quha wes nominatt to sett downe and devyse the ordour of teacheing with the discipline to be keipit in the College now erectit, and to se that this mater be putt to ane guid point’.¹¹¹ By this time the council had managed to secure for the new college the regent of humanities and philosophy from St Andrews, Robert Rollock.

3.2 Early influences

The rest of this chapter aims to describe the important influences in the early years of Edinburgh’s Town College which opened in 1583. The wider political background and the specific character and theology of Robert Rollock both influenced the curriculum of these early years.

3.2.1 Political situation

Any attempt to understand the complexities of the creation of Edinburgh’s Town College must identify the major political events at the national level as well as some of the local factors which were involved in the process.

The years during which the preparation for, and the actual opening of, the Town College took place saw a sequence of political events beginning with the rise

¹¹⁰ *ODNB* online, accessed on 29 November 2006.

¹¹¹ On 26th April 1583 the minutes of the town council reads as follows: “Makis and constitutes Androw Sclater, Baillie, and Daud Kinloch, baxter, maister of wark to the bigging of the wallis of the colleges to be maid at the Kirk of Field, and to tak compt of the warkmen, feyng of thame, and paying of thair owklike wedges, ilk Setterday at evin, and to mak compt thairvpoun to the guid town.” *Extracts*, p. 571.

to power of Esmé Stewart and James Stewart of Bothwellhaugh (earl of Arran) and then the fall and execution of Regent Morton in 1581.

In August 1582 in the Ruthven Raid, a group of nobles from Perthshire, Angus, Forfarshire and Fife, predominantly Protestant regions, headed by the Lord High Treasurer, William Ruthven, the Earl of Gowrie, seized the king taking him to Gowrie's castle of Huntingtower near Perth.¹¹² The anti-Catholic, pro-Presbyterians lost no time to declare their delight. John Durie, one of the Edinburgh ministers, previously exiled to England with Lawson, 'made a triumphalist return' to Edinburgh by processing with a multitude of people to St Giles singing Psalm 124.¹¹³ The General Assembly, met in Edinburgh in October, called it 'the lait actione of the Reformatione'.¹¹⁴ There were many requests on the agenda: recognition of a new policy, the dissolution of the prelacies with money going to finance the Kirk and education. The expulsion of Catholics was also called for. These expectations of the new regime proved to be futile as the Ruthven leaders, though anti-Roman Catholic and recognizing the Presbyterian system of independent centres of jurisdiction, would not approve the *Second Book of Discipline* and commit money to the church.

As the king escaped in June 1583, the Ruthven lords and their policies were overthrown and a new regime was put in place under the leadership of James Stewart, Earl of Arran. As a result a series of Acts of Parliament of May 1584, known as the Black Acts, passed which asserted the supremacy of the Crown over all estates of Scotland including the Kirk and advocated an Episcopalian church policy.

At a local level development in burgh politics was the key factor. From the outset the legislative and financial framework for the college were overseen by the town council in which political factions often prevailed but hardly ever going against its own particular interest. To illustrate this point one may compare the political allegiance of the succeeding councils with each other. Alexander Clark provost of the town between 1579 and 1584, had a distinguished career as a protestant activist yet

¹¹² A. R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy*, (Aldershot, 1998) pp. 22-23; J. A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488-1587*, (Edinburgh, 2007) pp. 310-311.

¹¹³ *ODNB* online, accessed on 1 December 2006.

¹¹⁴ *BUK*, II. p. 594.

he turned his back on many of his protestant friends after the execution of Morton in 1581. This resulted in a considerable shift within the council even to the point of securing council agreement to expel John Durie, one of the outspoken ministers of the burgh, temporarily for criticism of the court. Nonetheless factionalism and wider political issues did not prevent the council from the implementation of the college project. As Lynch succinctly summed up, ‘reform of the universities did not escape the overriding fact of burgh life in sixteenth-century Scotland - the power of localism’.¹¹⁵

3.2.2. The contribution of Robert Rollock

Rollock became the first master and regent of the Town College within a shifting sequence of political events at both national and local level. The personal rule of the young king, James VI, started at the beginning of Rollock’s career as regent then principal in Edinburgh. He witnessed the restoration of direct rule by a Scottish King with all the turmoil it brought. At the burgh level, dramatic divisions and tensions within the town council and between the council and the burgh ministers, legal and financial problems around the new establishment as well as the reforms in higher education were all issues that had to be faced by Rollock. However, by the end of the century the Town College had not only survived these hardships but emerged as a leading institution in the academic life of Scotland.

3.2.2.1 Rollock’s life

Robert Rollock has received scant attention from historians and sources for his life are limited. Apart from scattered references in the two major sources for the histories of the Kirk of Scotland by John Row and by David Calderwood and a short narrative in Craufurd’s *History of the University of Edinburgh*, the main accounts of

¹¹⁵ Lynch, “The Origins of Edinburgh’s ‘Toun College’”, p. 13.

Rollock's life are two narratives by two of his former students.¹¹⁶ The first one was written in the same year Rollock died by George Robertson then a minister in Edinburgh entitled *Vitae et Mortis D. Roberti Rolloci Scoti Narratio, scripta per Georgium Robertsonum: adjectis in eundem quorundam Epitaphiis. Edinburghi, apud Henricum Charteris. 1599.*¹¹⁷ In the subsequent years this narrative became the standard source of information on Rollock for historians which is more surprising since this narrative was followed shortly, possibly in 1604, by a more detailed biography under the title of *Vitae et Obitus D. Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, Narratio, ab Henrico Charterisio conscripta* by Henry Charteris, Rollock's successor who revised, corrected and extended Robertson's work.¹¹⁸ Both narratives were published in 1826 by the Bannatyne Club, the one by Charteris for the first time. In compiling and editing some of Rollock's works for the Woodrow Society, William M Gunn, then Classical Master at the High School of Edinburgh, included Charteris' account and supplemented it with explanatory notes.

Robert Rollock was born in 1555 as the first or second son of David Rollock (d. 1579), laird of Powis near Stirling, and Mary Livingston.¹¹⁹ After completing his

¹¹⁶ J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August 1637*, ed. D. Laing, (Edinburgh, 1842); D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland by Mr David Calderwood*, eds T. Thomson and D. Laing, 8 vols, (Edinburgh, 1842-49); and T. Craufurd, *History of the University of Edinburgh from 1580 to 1646*, (Edinburgh, 1808) pp. 43-52.

¹¹⁷ He was the son of an Edinburgh burgess then regent at Town College. He was on the Edinburgh exercise 20 June 1592; elected by the Commissioners of the General Assembly at Falkland, and admitted to the second charge at Trinity Church, North-East Quarter of Edinburgh (Town Council, 14 Jan 1595) 6 June 1597.

¹¹⁸ *De Vita et Morte Roberti Rollock*, (Bannatyne Club, 1826) pp. 33-34; reprinted and translated in *Select Works*, II, pp. lvii-lviii. Also see the list of works which drew on from Robertson's narrative in Gunn's 'Preface' to *Select Works*, I, p. vii, n. 1.

¹¹⁹ The family name is often used in the shorter form of 'Rollo', for instance his cousin's son, Andrew, 1st Lord Rollo in R. J. F. Carnon, "Recent Acquisitions by the University Library" in *University of Edinburgh Journal*, 20, No. 4, pp. 278-284. Carnon also suggests that Rollock had three brothers, David, Hercules and Thomas (p. 279), however, gives no information of his source. This seems to be confirmed by Craufurd who explicitly states that "His elder brother David transmitted the estate of Powhouse to his posteritie, his younger brother Mr Thomas Rollock, (and Advocat in the Supreme Courts), was father to Mr Hary Rollock, minister of the Kirk of Edinburgh." *History of the University of Edinburgh, 1883-1933*, ed. A. L. Turner, (Edinburgh, 1933) pp. 43-44. As for his elder brother, David, Calderwood's statement gains further support by a record of a visitation from 11 November 1586 in which his name appears as elder of St Ninian's kirk. On the contrary, in their father's will, died on 14 March 1578, a testament dative and inventory dated from 31 December 1579, it appears he had only two sons, it reads as follows: "[The testament] faithfullie maid and given up by Mr Robert, Thomas, Elizabeth, Margaret, Christiana and Barbara Rollokis, lauchfull barnes by the wife to the defunct."

studies in classics in Stirling under Thomas Buchanan¹²⁰, nephew of George Buchanan, he entered St Salvator's College, St Andrews in 1574 where his regent was John Carr.¹²¹ Rollock is said to have advanced 'so rapidly in the study of philosophy that he was equalled by few and surpassed by none of his fellow students'.¹²² He graduated in 1577 or a year later.¹²³ He was made regent in St Salvator's and as a postgraduate student he devoted himself to studying theology and came into close contact with both Andrew and James Melville by attending their classes. The former gave lectures in Divinity and James taught him Hebrew.¹²⁴ In 1580 first he was appointed an examiner in the Faculty of Arts for St Leonard's College and later in the same year a *Quaestor* to the Faculty of Arts.¹²⁵

After working in this capacity for three years, Rollock was approached in 1583 first by the Edinburgh minister James Lawson and then by the Edinburgh Town Council to take up a teaching position in the new college created in that year.

He was a prolific author and a highly esteemed biblical commentator which is clear from the printings of his works produced by presses in Scotland as well as on the Continent, in Geneva, Heidelberg and Herborn.¹²⁶

Rollock remained in Edinburgh teaching first as a master then a principal of the Town College for the rest of his life. He also fulfilled different positions in the

¹²⁰ In gratitude Rollock dedicated his *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem Commentarius Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi*, (Edinburgh, 1598) to his former teacher: "Eximiae Pietatis et Doctrinae viro, Thomae Buchanano Siresensis Ecclesiae Pastori, Robertus Rollocus, S. & G. per Christum." Interestingly, from its English translation, which was published by Robert Charteris in Edinburgh in 1606 under the title of *Lectures upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians. Preached by the Faithful Servant of God, M. Robert Rollock, sometime Minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and Rector of the Colledge of Edinburgh*, this 'Epistola Dedicatoria' is missing.

Cf. H. Charteris, "Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Robert Rollock of Scotland" in *Select Works*, I. p. lxi.

¹²¹ The name of John Carr occurs in 1574, as one of the *Procuratores Nationum* for the election of Rector in St Salvator's. Cf. *Select Works*, I. p. lxi.

¹²² *Select Works*, I. p. lxi.

¹²³ Kirk refers to the *St Andrews University Records* (pp. 175, 179, 285.) where Rollock's graduation is dated 1578 as well as to a manuscript, St Andrews University Archives, MS SS 110 E2, where he is recognised in 1577 as "Maister" and as "student" of St Salvator's College, in Kirk, "Melvillian Reform in the Scottish Universities", pp. 294.

¹²⁴ In his *Diary*, James Melville remarks that "I had the honour, of Him to whome all honour aperteines, to be the teatcher of Mr Robert Rolloc, of most worthie memorie, the Hebrew tounge, wha resorted ordinarlie to my lessone and chalmer to that effect." Melville, *Diary*, p. 86.

¹²⁵ *Select Works*, I. p. lxii.

¹²⁶ *ODNB* online, accessed on 20 June 2006, p. 2.

church, served as preacher but did not become a full minister of the town until 1598 when the church in Edinburgh was extended to eight parishes. In 1597 he was elected moderator of the General Assembly held at Dundee.¹²⁷

After graduating his first class in 1587 he married Helen Baron, a daughter to the laird of Kinnarde in Fife, from whom a daughter, Jean, was born after Rollock's death and later married to Robert Balcanquhal, graduate of the class in 1606 and minister in Tranent.¹²⁸

Rollock died on 8 or 9 February 1599. Following his death the town council assigned to his widow a pension of 100 merks (£67) for the next five years ensuing and to his daughter a sum of 1000 merks (c. £667) for her education.¹²⁹

3.2.2.2 Rollock's academic career in Edinburgh

Rollock entered into a contract with the town council on 14 September 1583¹³⁰ and took up his duties a month later. During this month the council election took place. As a result, Rollock received his appointment from a council which had been nominated by the Ruthven regime in the autumn of 1582 and on which the town's ministers had a strong influence but set to work under a new, purged town council which saw all four of the burgh's ministers, James Lawson, John Durie, Walter Balcanquhal and John Cairns, driven into exile.¹³¹ However, from exile the ministers could not influence decision making in regard to the new foundation and

¹²⁷ Melville, *Diary*, p. 415. '...[Robert Rollock] whom the King, and such as were to further his course, intended to have Moderator. He was a Godly man, but simple in the matters of the Church Government, credulous, easily led by counsel, and tutored in a manner by his old master, Mr Thomas Buchanan, who now was gained to the King's course. Many means were used to have him chosen; and the King and his followers prepared him for the purpose.' Calderwood, VIII. p. 47.

¹²⁸ Charteris writes that Rollock got married "after the dismissal of this [1587] first class" p. 68. whereas Craufurd dates their marriage to 1589. The place of her origin is not clear either, both Charteris and Craufurd suggest that her father held the title of laird of Kinnarde, Fife. Present day Kinnaird is situated in the Gowrie district in Perthshire.

¹²⁹ Craufurd, *History*, p. 50.

¹³⁰ Though it is not recorded in the minutes of the Town Council, reference is made in by Morgan and Hannay, eds, *University of Edinburgh: Charters... and Senatus*, pp. 89-91. This is confirmed by a town council record dated from 17 September 1583: "Ordanis maister Jhonn Prestoun, dene of gild, to pay the sowm of twenty pund to maister Robert Rollock, quha is to be maister and regent of the College, and that for making his expenssis to transport himself, his buikis and guidis, and vpsetting of his chalmer. *Extracts*, p. 289.

¹³¹ M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (Edinburgh, 1981) p. 157.

the link between ecclesiastical control exercised by the burgh ministers and the scheme for a college seemed to have been broken.

Rollock's selection and nomination in 1583 for the post received strong support from James Lawson,¹³² who was not well placed to advise the town council in this matter since during his earlier career he had been involved in academic life.¹³³ To secure Rollock's services for Edinburgh, Lawson took the initiative by sending him a 'most courteous letter, entreating him to undertake the duty'. To Lawson's invitation Rollock replied with 'friendly affability' therefore Lawson approached the town council 'where his influence was very great, and informed them that there was no person better qualified for the charge of the University than Rollock'. According to Charteris' account the council decided to send immediately for Rollock and two commissioners were chosen to visit Rollock in St Andrews where he was working as regent at St Salvator's College.¹³⁴

After searching for funds and the construction of its buildings, it was equally important to find teaching staff for the College. Edinburgh had not had any previous institution of this calibre, and so there were few local figures who could have been asked to lecture. It is argued, however, that Edinburgh had its own intellectual community before it had a university which was largely dominated by people from the legal profession and it is confirmed by the fact that the two royal lectureships were filled by burgh lawyers. Yet when discussion amongst the ruling elite in Edinburgh came to the point as to whom should occupy the post of the regent or professor at the College it seems that the town council opted for a less expensive solution instead of employing someone from the local legal community who would have commanded a much higher salary. Therefore, when Lawson located a candidate for the teaching post, Robert Rollock, a young scholar with some academic experience in St Andrews, it was welcomed by the town council.

¹³² *Select Works*, I. p. lxiii; Melville, *Diary*, p. 33, 52, 55, 144; *ODNB* online, accessed on 1 December 2006.

¹³³ A graduate of St Andrews, then tutor to the sons of the Countess of Crawford, to the University of Paris and then at Cambridge. In February 1569 he became regent in St Mary's College, St Andrew and in half a year sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen. Cf. and see further reference to bibliography in Kirk, "'Melvillian' reform", p. 290.

¹³⁴ *Select Works*, I. p. lxiii.

Despite the change of town council on 1 October 1583 Rollock's position as the sole candidate for the teaching post as a senior regent remained unchallenged, although he was now responsible to a different set of political leaders. To assess the extent of change in the political character of the town council is a complex matter. On the one hand, the new council members took a more conservative stand under Arran's rule and did not stand up for their ministers or save them from exile. On the other hand, the continuity in the administration of the city was retained to a certain extent by the re-election of Alexander Clark as provost, an office he had held since 1578, and William Little, Clement's brother, as bailie, was among the newly-elected bailies.¹³⁵

On 16 October Little and Henry Nisbet were required to convene those appointed by the council 'to sett downe and devyse the ordour of teaching with the discipline to be keipit in the College now erectit, and to se that this mater be putt to ane guid point'.¹³⁶ The council seemed to supervise not only the general working of the college but exercise control over the compilation of the curriculum. However, Kirk is probably right arguing that 'the town council might seek to stipulate the subjects for instruction but it was scarcely equipped to dictate to Rollock how the prescribed subjects should be taught'.¹³⁷

According to Rollock's contract with the town council he was to 'exerce the office of the regent', but possible in a broader sense than it was understood in other colleges. His duty included the 'instructioun, governament, and correctioun of ye youth and persones quhilk sall be committed to his chaarge'. The parties also agreed on the remuneration for Rollock. He was to receive £40 'as usual money of yis realme, at twa termis in the yeir, Candlemes and Lambes, be twa equall portiounes'.¹³⁸ Furthermore a clause was included in the contract for a possible increase in his salary if it were requested by Rollock and it were supported by James

¹³⁵ According to Lynch, Clark belonged to the protestant party in the 1560s. He rose continuously throughout the complex, troubled years between 1578 and 1584 to become provost of Edinburgh. As a pragmatist, he supported the Kirk as long as it did not interfere with his own or the burgh's interests.

¹³⁶ *Extracts*, p. 300.

¹³⁷ Kirk, "'Melvillian' Reform", p. 291.

¹³⁸ *Select Works*, I. p. lxiv. Also the contract can be found in Morgan and Hannay, eds, *University of Edinburgh: Charters... and Senatus*, pp. 89-91.

Lawson, John Preston, one of Edinburgh's commissaries and John Sharp, the advocate whose advice the town council would accept.

A number of points can be made concerning this contract. First, Rollock was employed as a regent and not as a professor with a specialised teaching task which demonstrates that the old teaching method of rotating regents was more acceptable to the council than employing more expensive specialists and thus applying the new teaching system advocated by Andrew Melville.

Second, it is clear that Rollock was expected to teach and take full responsibility for educational policy and discipline within the college. To that end periodical college meetings were held, usually once a week, during which passages of scripture were explained to the students and their work was individually assessed. Rollock held meetings for the regents as well, also on a weekly basis, "to consider whether any reformation or amendment of the system could be effected."¹³⁹

Third, it was also made clear that his work would be overseen by the provost, bailies and the council and there is no mention of ecclesiastical control at all.¹⁴⁰ That Lawson's name appears in the contract, however, allows one to think that the church had some role in overseeing the college even if it was secured only at a local level.

Council control over the college was further enhanced in February 1587 when the town council entrusted John Johnston, the brother of the laird of Elphinstone, 'to haif the oversicht and government of the effaires of the College, laity foundet and erectet be the guid Toun in the Kirk of Feyld, and of the place, Maisteris, and Students thairof'.¹⁴¹ From a political point of view his nomination to this post may be of some surprise because, though well established and connected in the burgh he had

¹³⁹ *Select Works*, I. p. lxx.

¹⁴⁰ "... and furder, sa lang as the said Mr Rot. Uses himselff faithfullie yrinto, according to the ruills and injunctiouns qlk sell be given unto him be the provost baillies, and counsall of the said burgh quhilkes are now pnt. or sall happen to be for the time, to the observing and keeping of the quilkeis injunctiouns in all the pairtis yrof, the said Mr Robert, be yir p-ntis, bindis and obleis." Rollock, *Works*, I. p. lxiv.

¹⁴¹ *Extracts*, p. 486; *Catalogue*, p. x.

rubbed shoulders with those supporting the Ruthven lords and was a close friend of Lawson.¹⁴²

Johnston's name appears also in the *Catalogue of the Graduates* (henceforth *Catalogue*) as the first rector of the College.¹⁴³ In St Andrews the rector embodied the corporate authority of the university and presided over its meetings as well as exercising discipline and jurisdiction over members of the university. Given the paucity of sources, it is not known as to what extent Johnston exercised the oversight over the college.

Rollock's inaugural address fell on the same day that the council's election took place, on 1 October. The next day was appointed for assembling of the students who wished to pursue studies in philosophy. Charteris speaks of a 'great multitude'¹⁴⁴ who presented themselves for the first teaching day but the exact number is not given. However, if the number of the graduates of the first class is taken into account, that is 47, Charteris' description seems to be confirmed, 'on the news that a University had been opened at Edinburgh, many young men flocked not only from the city, but also from the neighbouring country'.¹⁴⁵ The universities in both Glasgow and St Andrews, though they had survived the serious decline in the numbers of students of the 1550s and 1560s, still experienced occasional shortages of incorporated students.

In the following weeks Rollock trained the candidates in Latin, and then the students were subject to an entrance examination. Those who failed to acquire proficiency in classics were assigned for further instruction to Rollock's assistant, Duncan Nairn, who was appointed as second master of the college in November.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² He was on the town council 1578-1584 and served as an elder on the kirk session 1583-84, also he was a witness to James Lawson's testament made in London in October 1584. Lynch counts him amongst the Edinburgh radicals. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, pp. 40, 160, 163, 369-70.

¹⁴³ *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation*, (Edinburgh, 1858).

¹⁴⁴ *Select Works*, I. p. lxxv.

¹⁴⁵ *Select Works*, I. p. lxxv.

¹⁴⁶ 8 November 1583 "Agreit and consentit that maister Duncane Nairn be resauet for the present second maister in thair College, and to gif to him for his burding quhill Candilmes the swom of twenty pund, and to haif for his stipend the sowm of fourty merks yeirlie." *Extracts*, p. 305.

Students came with educational backgrounds which may explain why a special instructor in Latin had to be employed. Knowledge of Latin was an entry requirement for students to the three pre-Reformation universities and it did not change after 1560. Students were to undergo a trial in Latin competency before their matriculation. The lectures in the universities were normally in Latin and by an Act of the General Assembly of 1575 it was stated that ‘none shall be admittit in the functione of one minister within the Kirk [...] but sic as have understanding of the Latine tongue’. What is of particular interest is the goal for which Latin was to be acquired, ‘to interpret the Commentars writte in the same language, and speak congruous Latine’.¹⁴⁷ It is also intriguing to note here that it was not the local grammar schoolmaster to whom the students were entrusted, nor was he recruited from Rollock’s own students in St Salvator’s College, St Andrews.¹⁴⁸ Surprisingly, the new member of the staff came from Glasgow where he was introduced into progressive and radical innovations in teaching methods and content by Andrew Melville. The town council seemed to be confident enough to invite Nairn, a former student of Melville, and a persistent critic of Arran’s government, to join the faculty. Yet Arran’s influence was detectable within the town council when the council, in order to gain more control over the church in Edinburgh, in the same way as Arran’s regime attempted to increase control over the national church, managed to secure the right to nominate the whole of the kirk session.¹⁴⁹ However, political ambitions were

¹⁴⁷ *BUK*, I. p. 322.

¹⁴⁸ Although a new high school was built in the Blackfriars Kirkyard. 13 February 1578-79 in *Extracts*, p. 102.

¹⁴⁹ An ordinance passed by the council on 14 October 1584 imposed a system of direct election of the session by the council. ‘For establissing ane guid ordour and pollisie within the kirk and execution of the discipline thair of, hes agreitt and condiscondet to the heids sett down be the persouns nominat to that effect in manner following, to witt, the haill towne to be deuydet in foure parochins according to thair quarters as thai presentlie stand, and euerie parochin to haif thair parochie kirk according to thair quantitie, the grittest parochin to the grittest kirk, viz., St. Giles Kirk for the sowthwest quarter; the Magdalein Chaipell for the sowth eist within the ports, the New Kirk for the north west, and the Trinitie College for the north eist and the Cannogaitt heid without the port, and to this effect the said college to be incloset within the town and ane yet to be strikkin furth in the town wall at the fute of Halkerstouns Wynd to serue for a passage to the said kirk. Attour, euerie ane of thir parochie kirkis to haif thair awin particulare reidare, and euerie parochiner to cum to the prayers, communion, repentance, baptime, and marriage in his awin parochie kirk. And, last, the provest, bailyes, counsall and deykins, with avyse of the ministers, to elect furth of euerie parochin thre elders and four deaconis, quha sall convene all togidder ilk Thursday, with twa bailyeis and four of the counsall of the town, to tak ordour with the effairis belonging to thair charge, to witt, the correctioun of the maners and support of the puir. And the names of the said elders and deaconis to be gevin to the

set aside when it came to a matter of the Town College safeguarding the quality of teaching and the setting up a place of higher learning to compete with the existing ones in Scotland. Duncan Nairn, like Rollock himself, was a much-respected scholar.¹⁵⁰

An outbreak of the plague in Edinburgh forced Rollock to suspend teaching and close the college in May 1585 for nine months. By the time classes resumed in February of the following year Rollock found a new administration in charge of the city. The provost was replaced by William Little on 1 December 1585 and the radical lords as well as ministers of the burgh returned from exile. Once again Rollock found himself in a similar situation to his first arrival in 1583. His appointment was confirmed after his return in February and he was promoted to be a principal.¹⁵¹

In the end of 1585, it was enacted that both teaching staff and all the students taking a degree should subscribe what Craufurd entitled a national covenant, which is better known as the ‘King’s Confession’ or ‘Negative Confession’ of 1581, its original title was *A schort and generall confessioun of the trew and Christian religioun according to Goddis word*. It is also noted in his account that along with Rollock and Nairn John Hamilton, the minister at St Giles and John Craig, the king’s minister, who ‘had framed the draught thereof’, also signed the document. The confession of faith was overtly anti-Roman Catholic. In the light of Craig’s being admonished by the General Assembly of 1580 for failing to protest strongly enough against the Catholics in Lennox’s company, Craufurd’s note concerning Craig’s contribution to and subscription of the confession is intriguing.¹⁵²

ministers and intimat be thame to the pepill, that gif any personis haif to say aganes the saidid persouns may compeer, and his complaynt beand fund of trewth and resonabill ane vther to be electit in place of that eldare or deacon. And ordanis the haill deykins of crafts to be warnet agane Fryday nixt to gif thair consent to the present ordour. *Extracts... 1573-1589*, p. 355.

¹⁵⁰ He had obtained a bursary for seven years and had graduated in the first place in 1580. Cf. Kirk, “‘Melvillian’ Reform”, p. 292.

¹⁵¹ 9 February 1585-86 “Maid and constitute maister Robert Rollock, first and principal maister of the Townis College in the Kirk of Field, conform to the letter maid thairvpoun with the provisiouns contentit thairintill presently red in thair audience, and ordanet the samyn to be subscryuet be the provest, bailyeis and commoun clerk, with the seil of the caus to be appended thairto, and the said letter to be registrat in the charter buik.” *Extracts*, p. 449.

¹⁵² MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, p. 19; *ODNB* online, accessed on 30 October 2009.

It is not entirely clear as to whether students were to sign on their matriculation or later at the end of the academic course, on their graduation. As the title suggests it was a confession of faith rather than an oath of allegiance usually taken by students on their matriculation focusing primarily on obedience to the magistrate, allegiance to the statutes of a university with little, if any at all, doctrinal content. By agreeing the confession of faith Edinburgh students reinforced the confessional nature of the College showing similarities with the Huguenot Academies and the Genevan Academy where students were also required to subscribe the confession of faith during Calvin's lifetime.¹⁵³

The first class graduated in 1587, followed by another ten during Rollock's tenure, with 47 students of whom 15 were granted the title *minister verbi* according to the *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity and Law of the University of Edinburgh since its Foundation*.¹⁵⁴ At the end of August in the same year the town council and the presbytery agreed that Rollock should devote himself to teaching theology, now as a Professor of Divinity. In addition in the first council meeting in September Rollock's job description gained further precision by:

the desyre of the ministrie of Edinburgh, craving, that be ressoun of the learning and qualificatioun of Mr. Ro. Rollock and the good lyking the congregation of the said toun hes of him, that a commandement be geiven to him to teach everie Sounday in the morning, in the New Kirk.¹⁵⁵

The substantial growth in his work load was recognised by the town council and in November they decided to increase his yearly salary to 400 merks (£264) 'for his service as principall of the townis College and teacheing of ane class of theologie

¹⁵³ Craufurd, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, p. 29; *Catalogue*, pp. iii-vi; Maag, *Seminary or University?*, p. 52.

¹⁵⁴ Edinburgh, 1858, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ 27 August 1587 "The foresaid prouest, bailyeis and counsall, with the minister and ane number of the elders and deykins of the kirk, beand convenit, and having considerate that maister Robert Rollock, principal of the townis college, hes now compleitt ane cours of philosophie in the said College, and in respect of his lang travels tayne thairinto of before, and that is thocht to be qualefeit for the professioun of theologie, thairfore and for vther caussis moving thame, thay fand it expedient that the said maister Robert sall begyn and teache theologie in the said College, and ordanet the sam to be propenet to the presbitery that thair consultation and avyse might be had heirinto, and continewis the forther ordour to be tayne in this mater quhill this day viij dayes." *Extracts*, p. 499. Craufurd adds that he was promoted to the professorship "be the advice and concurrence of the Presbytry." Craufurd, p. 32; NAS, CH2/121/1, Edinburgh Presbytery Records, 5 September 1587.

and of publict lessouns in the said College, and for his teaching upoun the Sondayes in the morning in the Eister Kirk'.¹⁵⁶

Combining the office of a principal with that of the theology professor was not a novelty. In Glasgow John Davidson had already filled both positions between 1556 and 1574.¹⁵⁷

3.2.2.3 Rollock's ecclesiastical career

Rollock got involved at every level in the affairs of the Scottish church, from his regular preaching task in Edinburgh to being an elected moderator of the General Assembly in 1597. His appointment as a minister together with his other appointment as a professor of theology, the doctor's office within the church, which was one of the 'four ordinarie functions or offices in the kirk of God', drew him unavoidably into Kirk politics.¹⁵⁸

As early as 1582, while teaching as regent at St Andrews, he visited the weekly meetings of Stirling Presbytery. In September, before the academic year had resumed, his name appears four times in the presbytery records.¹⁵⁹ The reason for these visits is unknown.

In 1588 Rollock was elected moderator of the Edinburgh Presbytery and so he had not only teaching and regular preaching assignments but also had the duty of coordinating the work of the presbytery and dealing with other ecclesiastical matters.¹⁶⁰

In addition, his already extensive responsibilities were increased by taking an active part in the busy life of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. The province of

¹⁵⁶ *Extracts*, p. 508.

¹⁵⁷ Durkan and Kirk, *The Glasgow University*, pp. 216-17.

¹⁵⁸ *BUK*, II. pp. 491, 495; *SBD*, pp. 176-177.

¹⁵⁹ *Stirling Presb. Recs.* pp. 56-60.

¹⁶⁰ In August 1588, James Ritchie, the clerk to the general assembly, was to be asked by Robert Rollock, moderator of the presbytery, to furnish him with a list of "al and quhatsomever things [as] ar remitted fra the ... Assemblie to thame", while in August 1591, "the remittis remittit from the Generall Assemblie to this Presbiterie wer presentit and concludit to be followed furth". National Archive of Scotland [NAS], CH2/121/1, Edinburgh Presbytery Register, 20 Aug 1588, 3 Aug 1591.

Lothian centred on Edinburgh, the emerging capital. In the General Assembly of 1583 a criticism was voiced that Lothian was too populous a synod.

Rollock's name frequently appears in the synod records, which is the only document of this kind to have survived for the late sixteenth century. As a matter of fact the records open with the minutes of the assembly of 1589 held in Linlithgow where Rollock made the exhortation on I Corinthians 2:1. Since the general practice was that exhortation was given by the moderator of the previous synod meeting, or provincial assembly, in all probability Rollock had been the moderator in October 1588. It meant that both ecclesiastical courts, the Edinburgh Presbytery and the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, was in his charge as moderator.¹⁶¹ In the autumn of 1593 once again he was chosen to be the moderator of the synod, the only one out of fourteen who held the office twice between 1589 and 1596. As a high court subject only to the General Assembly, the synod exercised extensive jurisdiction over the parishes within its boundaries and over its constituting presbyteries. In the Assembly meeting a wide variety of disciplinary matters were dealt with and the court's competence extended over doctrinal issues as well. Rollock played his part both frequently serving on different committees and travelling for presbytery and parish visitations. His name was never listed among the absentee ministers which procedure concluded each assembly meeting. Absentees were noted and those unexcused were subject to a fine.¹⁶²

In October 1591 a committee was appointed including Rollock with the task of examining the preaching of Gilbert Taylor, a previous reader, the minister of Bathgate, on an assigned text and after hearing him 'to report their judgement to the assamble agane'. Little is known about the outcome of the Taylor's trial as a preacher but at the end of the same month the Edinburgh Presbytery declared him eligible for 'quhatsomever kirk God sall call, except Bathgate'.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ *Synod Recs*, p. 1.

¹⁶² *Synod Recs*, pp. 16, 20, 23, 29, 36.

¹⁶³ Gilbert Taylor's career in the church followed a similar pattern that that of his brother, William, minister of Penpont. William was the vicar of the parish church at Tynron then became an exhorter in 1568, between 1574 and 1576 he was recorded as a reader, finally as a minister in 1578. His younger brother was first recorded as reader in the 1570s, then continuous complaints were put forward by a parishioner in Bathgate. *Synod Recs*, p. 30; *Fasti*, I. pp. 193, 281, 306, 343.

A year after this synod meeting, in October 1592, the commissioner of the synod of Fife visited the assembly in Edinburgh asking the Lothian synod if it could send ministers to St Andrews because ‘a lytle dissentioun that was fallin furth amangis the brether of the Presbytery of St Androis’. The members of St Andrews Presbytery asked for the help of the Lothian synod to settle a controversy so a committee was ‘licensiate [...] to go and travel in the said mater’ and at the same time other ministers were appointed to provide pulpit supply on Sunday for their colleagues while they were away in St Andrews. George Robertson, his former student who had been exercising with Edinburgh Presbytery for a while, supplied Rollock on the Sunday.¹⁶⁴ Within ten days the committee from Edinburgh arrived at St Andrews to attend the presbytery meeting. The report of this visit concerning the subject of the controversy is rather short stating only that ‘certane godlie and reverend brethren, [...] speciallie nominat apointed, and chosen by the last synodell halden in Falkland [...] to be judges arbiteris in summ poyntes questionable amang the membris brithering of [the] presbitrie of Sanctandrois and for the erecting of the presbitrie of Cuper’.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately the minutes of the meetings before 14 October are incomplete, and there is no mention of what caused this disagreement among the members of the presbytery. Rollock travelled with three other Edinburgh ministers, Robert Bruce, David Lindsay and James Balfour, who were specifically requested by St Andrews Presbytery showing that the role of the Edinburgh ministers were of considerable importance within the national Kirk.

Another case that also required attention occurred in October 1594 when a ‘debait and quiestioun’ arose between two ministers, James Gibson and John Gray over the parish of Pencaitland. The case was brought before the synod by Gibson in order to ‘stay of farder contraversie’. Having been examined by the synod Gray acknowledged he ‘had delt over uncharitable’ with his colleague. Rollock with Michael Cranston, a minister at Cramond, were appointed to deal with the quarrelling parties and settle the issue. In concluding the case both Gibson and Gray

¹⁶⁴ *Synod Recs*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁵ Presbytery meeting on 14 October 1592, “The Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews, 1586-1605, vol. 1”, p. 110.

agreed to ‘stand be thar [Rollock’s and Cranstos’s] determinatioun and conclusion in the said mater faythfullie promisit to abyde at thair sentence and decisioun without ony appellatioun and reclamatioun’.¹⁶⁶

There were, of course, less delicate and perhaps intriguing commitments Rollock had to attend. Several times he was appointed to visit parishes and inspect presbyteries. In April 1593 he was to travel to Lasswade, a parish 12 miles outside of Edinburgh ‘upon ane Saboth day and concure with Mr Georg Ramsay for ordour takin with him with his parochinaris’.¹⁶⁷ Frequent visits were paid by him to Dunbar for ‘sychting [inspecting] the book of the presbyterie of Dunbar’ because of the continuous disorder in its administration. In October 1593 he was again appointed to visit the presbytery in Dunbar now with more severe consequences in view:

assemblie finding greit negligence amangis the brether of the presbyterie of dunbar in thair exerceis and utherwayis admonischis to keip better ordour, certe feing thame that incais thair former negligence be not reparit, thair presbyterie salbe dissolved, and appointis thair brether Mr Robert Rollock [...] to visite the said presbyterie betuix and the nixt assamblie and the fairsaid brether to be reddy upon advetesment to be given to thame be Mr Robert Rollock.¹⁶⁸

Rollock got involved increasingly in Kirk politics at a national level. His reputation earned as a professor of theology, and by regular attendance at the presbytery and synod meetings paved his way to be accepted as a national church figure.

He fell in with the ecclesiastical policy of James VI and was moderator of the General Assembly held at Dundee in May 1597 which the King attended in person. According to James Melville, Rollock was elected moderator by ‘manie and grait persuasions and motives usit with the breithring’.¹⁶⁹ Although Melville wrote highly of Rollock as a ‘guid, godlie, lernit’ man he was quick to add that he was ‘fellon (extremely) simple and pusillanimie, and sa as he was easilie carried with counsall’.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ *Synod Recs*, pp. 73, 78.

¹⁶⁷ *Synod Recs*, p. 55. George Ramsay was minister there since 1581 holding the Deanery of Restalrig and the parish in Glencorse. *Fasti*, I. pp. 328-9.

¹⁶⁸ *Synod Recs*, pp. 52, 62, 82.

¹⁶⁹ *BUK*, III. p. 927; Melville, *Diary*, p. 415.

¹⁷⁰ Melville, *Diary*, p. 415.

The Assembly featured a bitter conflict over church government between the crown and the church. A commission of 14, of which Rollock was one, was set up first to manage the communication between church and king through a formal mechanism of contact. But it quickly began to function as a judicial committee of the church headed by the king. So it is little wonder that it received resounding complaints from the Melvillian party for they viewed the outcome as a step on the way to James' overthrow of Presbyterianism. Not surprisingly the Assembly was simply tagged by Calderwood as corrupt.¹⁷¹ Rollock's own position was somewhat shaken by witnessing doctors of theology being barred from presbytery and Rollock virtually "stripped himself of the right to sit in ecclesiastical judicatorie; and in order to escape from the operation of his own law, he found it necessary to take a step which violated its ostensible principle, by undertaking the additional duty of a fixed pastor of a particular congregation."¹⁷² A few months later in his farewell address to his fellow Edinburgh ministers he expressed his concern about how the covenant between church and state was a precarious and dangerous compound:

I do not indeed deny, that seeing that the wise Creator of the world has united the Church and the State with a loving and fraternal bond, I have laboured heart and soul that they should mutually assist each other that the sword of the State should not be drawn to destroy the Church, nor the Church too bitterly inveigh against the King or the State, and that no unnecessary war should be kindled.¹⁷³

4 Conclusion

The cultural quickening in the second half of the fifteenth century through to the end of the sixteenth century encouraged by the Renaissance spirit and humanist thinking as well as the increasing demand for better educated churchmen and growing need for public servants, especially in law, was detectable across Europe.

¹⁷¹ MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, pp. 79-82; Calderwood, VIII. p. 47.

¹⁷² I am grateful to Dr Mark Elliott for enabling me to read his conference paper (*Rollock on Romans*, Glasgow, June 2009) on Rollock's exegesis, p. 11.

¹⁷³ *Select Works*, I. p. lxxix.

As Protestantism became more established both on the Continent and in the British Isles, its vested interest in training its own intellectual elite, who would pursue secular as well as ecclesiastical careers, correspondingly grew. This was further enhanced through the work and support of the local powers, such as noble families, territorial princes or city councils.

As a result during the sixty years from 1558 onwards over forty colleges, academies and universities were created of which thirty two were academies and gymnasia and they especially proved an effective way of teaching theology within the system of higher education. The terms 'university', 'academy' and 'college' were often interchangeable in practice and gained precision only as time passed. In the educational programme of these new centres of higher learning in general and in their theological curriculum in particular, the teaching of classical languages, such as Greek, Hebrew and Latin gained prominence with a common emphasis on the understanding of the biblical text as the foundation of theological discourse.

Certainly, the impact of all these reforms found their way into Scotland, and to a certain measure these were responsible for the creation of a new place of higher learning in Edinburgh.¹⁷⁴ However, the most important and strongest impulse came from within Scotland more specifically from Edinburgh, from the ministers of the local parish church as well as from the intellectual elite of the burgh.

With the establishment of the Protestant faith in 1560, progress in higher education including theological instruction gained further support. The scheme for these educational reforms was set forth in the *First Book of Discipline*. As for the education of children and youth, the compilers were less concerned with reviewing the existing school system in Scotland but rather with the development of a 'comprehensive scheme for the whole country and providing for the needs of everyone capable of benefiting from education'.¹⁷⁵ As for the inherited three medieval universities, a comprehensive and detailed proposal was laid down to carry out reforms which included the radical step of assigning specific disciplines to

¹⁷⁴ Even it is argued that humanist influence reached Scotland through students studying abroad especially in Italy as early as 1450s cf. Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁵ *FBD*, p. 57.

individual colleges. It was a rather ambitious plan to accomplish and little was said about how changes should have been implemented. In addition, the ensuing political instability meant further frustration in its realization. The philological revival in the biblical languages, in Greek and Hebrew, was further enhanced by the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura* and by educational Reformers such as Andrew Melville. It was the Reformers' main concern, too, to raise the standard of training for the ministry.

The training for the ministry seemed to be contingent solely on the university reforms however the authors of the *First Book of Discipline* were already aware that ministerial training could not be left to university educators but the church should exercise control over it. This control manifested itself in the practice of 'exercise', that is the examination of ministers by the presbytery.

Nonetheless progress was slow and reforms have to be seen as processes rather than sudden changes. This is true not only of the reforms within individual universities but of the Scottish university-system as a whole.

Despite the General Assembly's efforts to gain general control over the universities, at least in theory, it is not clear if the Kirk had any intention of establishing a university in Edinburgh, especially not in the turbulent decades of the 1570s and 80s. Thus it may be further supported by the silence of the General Assembly that met in Edinburgh on the very same day as the Town College opened its doors. Therefore it would not be going too far to say that the initiative for establishing a college did not come from above but rather from the local driving forces were at play, such as civic powers intending to educate their sons in their own town, and the Presbyterian ministers of Edinburgh wishing to execute the Melvillian programme of reform for higher education.

Rollock arrived at Edinburgh's Town College, opened in October 1583, in order to take up the teaching position in the newly founded college as a regent and within four years he became a professor in theology.

He played a significant role in establishing a theological presence at the Town College. This was through his own personal interest in theological education and also

his involvement in the life of the Edinburgh Presbytery as well as the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. His own extensive preaching assignments influenced his views on the importance of the need for a place to train ministerial candidates for the church. His exegesis of Ephesians 4 may suggest that his theological position on church government and policy was anti-Episcopalian, nevertheless his position was not so radical as to forego a degree of compromise that some of his more ardent colleagues would have refused.¹⁷⁶ He was first and foremost responsible for the formation of the curriculum which reflected Ramist theology.

Though the college kept the regent system Rollock was allowed to specialise in theology from 1587 onwards and commit himself to teaching theology which marked the turning point in his career noted by one of his biographers.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ R. Rollock, *In epistolam Pauli apostolic ad Ephesios ... commentarius* (Edinburgh, 1590) pp. 133-205; and his exegesis on 4:11-13 in particular at pp. 157-169. See also J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August 1637*, ed. D. Laing, (Edinburgh, 1842) p. 419.

¹⁷⁷ *Select Works*, I. p. lxxviii.

CHAPTER 2

MINISTERIAL TRAINING AT THE TOWN COLLEGE

The aim of this chapter is to assess the content and key objectives of ministerial training at the Town College. One distinction has to be made at the outset: theological education and training for the ministry are not terms to employ interchangeably. They mutually influence each other, but the latter draws on wider resources. The curriculum itself, Rollock's own personal theological position on Christian ministry as it was articulated in his preaching, commentaries and treatises, and available library resources all came to play in shaping students understanding of ministry and even motivating them towards pursuing an ecclesiastical career. To provide a context for assessment theological instruction will be seen in a broader European context and related to the Reformed strategies of higher education and ministerial training.

1 The curriculum

The surviving records contain similar versions of the curriculum. The earliest ones came from eyewitnesses who were being educated and later taught at Edinburgh. The two accounts are the obituary of Robert Rollock written by his successor, Henry Charteris and the biography of Rollock by George Robertson, a graduate of the second class of 1588, then regent in the college.¹⁷⁸ Another description, or at least references to what was taught in the 1580s, is found in John Adamson's biography of Charles Ferme [Fairholme]. Ferme was Adamson's own regent who had studied under Rollock and had graduated with the first class in 1587. Adamson, who himself later became principal of the College (1630-47), with

¹⁷⁸ Both were published in by Bannatyne Club in Edinburgh in 1826 the work by Charteris under the title *Vitae et Obitus D. Roberti Rolloci, Scoti, Narratio*, pp. 28-57; and the other account by Robertson entitled *De Vita et Morte Roberti Rollock*, pp. 3-26. The former was reprinted and translated in *Select Works*, I. pp. lvii-lxxxvii.

Charteris and Robertson, must have had first-hand experience of the original curriculum. A nineteenth-century compilation of the curriculum was carried out by A. Grant in his *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*¹⁷⁹ which was based on a description of the examination procedure as it was in 1604 by Thomas Craufurd's *History of the University of Edinburgh from 1580-1646*¹⁸⁰, and on two other accounts, of 1598 and 1614, in the town council minutes.¹⁸¹ For the information provided by the town council minutes it must be noted that these records were more closely related to the curriculum of the local Grammar School (or High School) than to that of the College: 'Imprimis, thay think best ... that thair be foure lernet and godlie men appoynt regents to teache the grammer schole...' ¹⁸² The listing of the ancient authors was meant to be included in the curriculum of the Grammar School which had gone through careful revisions several times since 1579. These revisions reveal a general concern about the standard of teaching in the Grammar School which primarily was to prepare students for the college, 'that nane be sufferit to ascend in the schoole or pas to the College bot quha efter examinatioun are judgit worthie'.¹⁸³ Naturally, the other reason for this attention to the curriculum of the Grammar School might be that these revisions faithfully reflected the changes that were implemented in the curriculum of the College.

Nevertheless all these accounts suggest that teaching was carried out along similar lines and it is further confirmed by the description of the curriculum as it was found in the *Disciplina Academiae Edinburgenae* of 1628, the first set of existing university statutes, which also provide in essence the same version.¹⁸⁴ While Michael Lynch argues that these statutes were prepared no earlier than 1619, Craufurd's reference to the ratification of the *Disciplina* may suggest that they were used from the earliest days of the college:

This year and the next [1627 and 1628] the whole law of the Colledge were gathered together, and put in a register. The greatest part of them before this time remained in

¹⁷⁹ London, 1884, vol. I. pp. 145-149.

¹⁸⁰ Edinburgh, 1808, pp. 58-60.

¹⁸¹ *Extracts*, p. 225; *Extracts*, pp. xxix, 121.

¹⁸² *Extracts*, pp. 224-225; *Extracts*, pp. xxix, 121-122.

¹⁸³ *Extracts*, p. 122.

¹⁸⁴ Morgan, ed., *Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, pp. 54-72.

aschedule in the Principal's hands, and were yearly read (as in the time subsequent) in November, after the examination of the classes.¹⁸⁵

In reconstructing the four-year curriculum on the basis of the aforesaid sources the following picture emerges: the curriculum was divided into four classes which was essentially the retention of the old teaching system. The first or lowest class was named 'bajan' and those who attended this class were called 'freshmen'.¹⁸⁶ Since the entire course was taught in Latin, students spent most of their first year improving their skills by translating Cicero from Latin to the vernacular. They were also taught and examined in etymology, syntax and orthography. Nicolas Cleynaerts, the Flemish grammarian's Greek grammar provided the students with an introduction to the language of the New Testament and portions of Scriptures were to be translated to gain confidence in the language. Towards the end of the first year students' attention was turned to logic using *Dialecticae* by Ramus. Also the orations of Isocrates, Phocides and the first book of Hesiod were to be learned by heart. On Saturday mornings students were to attend disputations and Sunday was devoted to the catechism.¹⁸⁷

This was followed by the second class, the 'semies', that is *semi-bajans* or *semi-bachelors*. The academic year began on the 1st October and most of this month was spent by reviewing the subjects of the previous year. After the examination the students learned to compose orations in Greek on themes assigned by their regents. They used the textbook of Talon, a student and colleague of Ramus, Cassander and Athonius' *Progymnasmata*. In January students encountered more complex forms of logic in the works of the *neo*-Platonist Porphyry (*Isagoge*) and of Aristotle. They worked their way through five of the logical treatises of *Organon* by Aristotle: the *Categories*, *On the Interpretation*, *Prior Analytics*, *Topics*, *On Sophistical Refutations*. The academic year ended with the study of arithmetic. On Sunday

¹⁸⁵ Anderson, Lynch and Phillipson, *University of Edinburgh*, pp. 22-24. Craufurd account can be also read as a reference to the subtitle of the *Disciplina* (Craufurd, *History*, p. 112.): 'Disciplina Academiae Edinburgenae qua continentur professorum, praeceptorum, discipulorum, beneficiariorum, et servorum official, prout observata sunt multis retro annis.' Morgan, ed., *Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁶ For the etymology of terms 'bajan' see Grant's explanation in *The story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years*, (London, 1884) pp. 144-145.

¹⁸⁷ Morgan, ed., *Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, p. 60.

students continued the training in the catechism under the tuition of their regents (*pergit regens in Catechesi explananda*).¹⁸⁸

In the third year students were called ‘bachelors’ or ‘*determinands*’ because at the end of this year they had the option to finish their studies. They would be taught Hebrew grammar and they proceeded to read further rhetorical and dialectical analysis by various authors. Aristotle’s *Posterior Analytics* and a selection of readings of his *Ethics* and *Physics* along with a short study of the anatomy of the human body at the end of the year completed the third academic year.¹⁸⁹ As for their theological education, students studied theological common-places.

The final year consisted of those who were to be made ‘*magistri*’ therefore the name ‘*magistrands*’ was given to them.¹⁹⁰ The regent of the class led the students through another portion of Aristotle’s treatises, such as *On the Heavens* and *On the Soul* then *De Sphaera* by the thirteenth-century astronomer, Johannes de Sacrobosco and Hunter’s *Cosmographia* received attention. Similarly to the previous year students studied theological common-places concentrating on a variety of subjects of controversy to learn the method of discussing theology (*communibus locis theologicis et in maxime necessariis contraversiis exercentur*).¹⁹¹

According to Charteris’ and Adamson’s account theological education was further supplemented by the Saturday afternoon reading of Beza’s *Quaestiones* on which Rollock wrote a commentary entitled *Prolegomena in primum librum Questionum Theodori Bezae*.¹⁹² On Sunday mornings, from 7–8.30 a.m., students were to attend service and listen to the sermon of either Rollock or one of the burgh ministers. On their return to the college students were to give an account of the sermon they heard in the church.¹⁹³ After this the teaching staff gave lessons in the

¹⁸⁸ Morgan, ed., *Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, p. 61.

¹⁸⁹ Morgan, ed., *Charters, Statutes, and Acts*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁹⁰ Grant, *The story of the University*, pp. 144-146.

¹⁹¹ Morgan, ed., *Charters, Statutes and Acts*, pp. 62-63, 66; cf. *Select Works*, I. pp. lxix-lxx.

¹⁹² *Select Works*, I. p. lxxv; also this commentary appears first on the list of Rollock’s works appended to Robertson’s “Life of Rollock” in *Select Works*, I. p. lxxxix.

¹⁹³ ‘Anent the desire of the ministrie of Edinburgh, craving, that be resson of the learning and qualificatioun of Mr Rot Rollock and the good lyking that the congregation of the said toun hes of him, that a commandment be geiven to him to teach everie Sounday in the morning, in the New Kirk; qlk desyre being considerit, It is concludit, and be the haill p~brie consetit, that the said M. Rot. sall teach everie in the morning in the New Kirk as said is.’ in *Extract from the Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh*, 5 September 1587, quoted in *Select Works*, I. pp. lxxi-lxxii.

Heidelberg Catechism to the students which was first printed in Edinburgh in Latin in 1591.¹⁹⁴

In assessing the curriculum it may be right to say that it was neither a replication of the old curriculum of a medieval university nor resembled to the unreformed curriculum of Rollock's *alma mater*, St Salvator's College. There were elements in the syllabus suggesting that Melville's university reforms carried out in Glasgow did find their way into the new institution of Edinburgh. These were the emphasis on teaching Greek in the first year and introducing students to Ramist logic, then Hebrew language in the third year. These suggest that Rollock followed Melville's course reforms in Glasgow. This view is challenged by Lynch labelling the syllabus in Edinburgh to be a compromise between the unreformed St Salvator's curriculum which had substantial emphasis on the study of Aristotle with which Rollock was so familiar and some new elements of Ramist logic.¹⁹⁵ It can be argued that the debate which centres around whether education in the Town College was Aristotelian in its flavour or more supportive of Ramism may take the discussion on the curriculum to a halt.¹⁹⁶ And further to the point it oversimplifies the late sixteenth-century academic world in Scotland by recognising only two strands of thought, namely Aristotelian or Ramist, and only two parties on the stage, (radical) Melvillians and conservative Episcopalians. It is beyond any question that the most famous and most read author studied in Edinburgh was Aristotle. Almost half of his available works were assigned to students to study. It is also true that Rollock in his sermon on I Corinthians 2 attacked scholastic philosophers for having 'turned the gospel of Jesus to Aristotle'.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, the surviving *theses philosophicae* defended by the regents of the college at Edinburgh in the first 25 years after its opening are all basically commentaries on the works of Aristotle.¹⁹⁸ Yet the question is not as simple as this reading of facts might suggest. John Coffey, in his discussion

¹⁹⁴ *Select Works*, I. p. lxvi.

¹⁹⁵ Melville, *Diary*, pp. 24-25; *Select Works*, I. pp. lxv-lxvi.

¹⁹⁶ See Lynch, "Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", pp. 8-9; and Kirk, "'Melvillian' reforms", pp. 295-296; J. Kirk, "Clement Little's Edinburgh" in *Patterns of Reform*, J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1989) pp. 54-55.

¹⁹⁷ "Certaine Sermons upon Severall Places of the Epistles of Paul", (Edinburgh, 1599) in *Select Works*, I. pp. 365-366, 388; cf. p. xxx. Cf. Lynch, "Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", p. 14. n. 56.

¹⁹⁸ See Bower comments in his *History*, pp. 129-131; also John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions, The mind of Samuel Rutherford*, (Cambridge, 1997) p. 64; and the most recent and extensive study of the subject by S. J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism, Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560-1625*, (Aldershot, 2011) pp. 212-216.

of the educational background of Samuel Rutherford, who himself was a graduate of Edinburgh (1621), shares the insight of Margo Todd concerning the presence of the Aristotelian thoughts in Protestant university curricula, and succinctly points out the following:

the dominance of Aristotle in the university syllabus was not an indication of the weakness of humanism or Ramism. ... Protestants and humanists were not opposed to Aristotle as such, but only to his pagan metaphysics... They intended to strip away the layers of interpretation and commentary that obscured Aristotle, and read him again in Greek...¹⁹⁹

It has been noted that the course taught at the Town College was remarkably 'secular', especially in the light of the fact that it was created first and foremost to train future ministers.²⁰⁰ The general assumption that the ultimate purpose of all university reforms as well as creation of new colleges was to train ministers for vacant parishes considers only the ecclesiastical factor, clearly articulated in the *First Book of Discipline* and leaves aside other elements that were undoubtedly of high importance to those who created these institutions. And that was to train not only ministers but teachers, lawyers and civil servant for the rapidly developing state administration.

A further point which might be made concerning the arts course taught at Edinburgh is that the curriculum, however 'secular' it seemed to be, can be recognised as a preparation not only for further theological studies but for the ministry as well. The emphasis on both rhetorics and dialectics in the course of studies in conjunction with the utilisation of textbooks by Ramus and Talon from students' first year was due to a large extent to the Reformation understanding of the rhetorical demands of a preaching ministry. For Ramus, philosophy and pedagogy were inseparable. This implied that what was comprehensible for the human mind was teachable. The analysis of the object of enquiry into its constituent parts, from the general to the particular was to yield clarity which was one of the main goals of Ramist pedagogy. Ramus presented his analysis in a visual form usually in the form of a tree diagram or chart. Rhetorics and dialectics were helpful and constructive

¹⁹⁹ Coffey, *Politics, Religion...*, pp. 65-66; M. Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order*, (Cambridge, 1987) pp. 63-68.

²⁰⁰ Coffey, *Politics, Religion...*, p. 63.

devices in the hand of a preacher to unfold the message of the Word to the congregation.²⁰¹

The emphasis on teaching ancient languages is apparent in the curriculum. The humanist motto ‘*ad fontes*’ (back to the sources) meant that Aristotle and most importantly the Bible were to be read in their original languages. The aim of the general practice of translating Latin texts into Greek and *vica versa* for students in their second year was not exclusively to improve their knowledge in ancient languages but to increase their communication skills, with the latter playing an important part in disputation. Exegetical lectures and disputations had to be based on the Hebrew and Greek text of the Bible. As has been noted earlier, for those students in the first year whose knowledge of Latin was insufficient a supplementary language course taught by one of the regents had to be taken. The course description seems to suggest that adequate emphasis was laid on studying the Biblical languages, although perhaps not as much as Zwingli and Bullinger would have desired it. ‘First of all for a student of the divine Scriptures skill in the divine languages is necessary’ – argues Bullinger. Reformers with humanist education considered theology essentially no more than exegesis of the Bible, by which they meant a strict literal interpretation of the text as opposed to scholastic theology with its terminological rigidity.²⁰² In this respect the use of ancient languages was different in Edinburgh. Rollock in his lectures and commentaries, as shall be pointed out, was ready to discuss theology. For Greek and Latin, in line with humanism, the emphasis was more on the style rather than acquisition of the standard Medieval Latin. An extensive selection of books by ancient authors such as Homer, Isocrates, Demosthenes and Cicero demonstrates the humanist influence. At the same time,

²⁰¹ Cf. A. Nelson Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: ministers and their message in Basel, 1529-1629*, (Oxford, 2006) pp. 117-124; C. Gribben, “Robert Leighton, Edinburgh Theology and the Collapse of the Presbyterian Consensus” in *Enforcing the Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700*, eds E. Boran and C. Gribben, (Aldershot, 2006) pp. 163-164; John Morgan, *Godly Learning, Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640*, (Cambridge, 1986) pp. 106-109.

²⁰² H. Bullinger, “*Studiorum Ratio*” in *Heinrich Bullinger Werke*, ed. P. Stotz, 2 vols, (Zurich, 1987) I. p. 69. quoted by P. Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness, Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy, 1535-1575*, (Bern, 1991) p. 172; and also cf. P. Stotz, “Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) and the Ancient Languages” in *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, eds E. Campi, S. de Angelis, A-S. Goeing, A. Grafton, (Geneva, 2008) pp. 137-138; D. Bolliger, “Bullinger on Church Authority: The Transformation of the Prophetic Role in Christian Ministry in *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger, 1504-1575*, eds B. Gordon and E. Campi, (Grand Rapids, 2004) p. 161.

little is known about teaching Hebrew apart from the fact that students began their studies in it in the third year.

As for theological education, the curriculum certainly did break with its Medieval counterpart. The theology course taught in universities before the Reformation consisted of two parts. In the first place, teaching was focused on the Bible and although its authority was incontestable, in order to help the reader systematise its message, it was accompanied by a textbook. In the second place, lectures were given on the four books of the *Sentences* of the twelfth-century Paris theologian, Peter Lombard (d. 1160) which became the standard textbook²⁰³ at most of the theological faculties throughout Europe until it was replaced by Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*.²⁰⁴

Also, it appears that there was no teaching of metaphysics in Edinburgh. This is not surprising at all, for Protestant universities across the Continent were unambiguously suspicious of metaphysics because it provided a thorough philosophical grounding to Catholic dogmas such as the one on transubstantiation. This is true even if it had been reintroduced to the university curriculum by the beginning of the seventeenth century in many continental universities.

Naturally, Protestant and more specifically Reformed theology courses had their own textbooks to use. Among the Lutherans Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* of 1521 became a standard textbook for decades and until replaced by Johann Gerhard's *Loci Communes Theologici* (1622). As for Melanchthon's *Loci* the library of the Town College had a copy of the 1547 edition, printed in Basel, in their possession.

In Reformed regions Calvin's *Institutes*, first published in 1536 and its later editions were regarded as a guideline to the interpretation of Scripture. The library held a copy of the 1561 version.

Several universities and academies on the Continent witnessed a growing focus on the teaching of doctrine in theological education towards the end of the sixteenth century due to controversies with Catholics and Anabaptists. As a

²⁰³ The four books focused on central doctrinal themes that had divided the church down through the centuries: God and the Trinity (book 1), creation (book 2), the incarnation and the virtues (book 3) the sacraments and the Last Judgement (book 4). It was presented in a question-answer form. Beyond its orthodoxy its popularity was due, in large part, to the freedom in search for answers granted to the reader as Lombard did not give final solutions to difficult questions.

²⁰⁴ M. Asztalos, "The Faculty of Theology" in *A History of the University in Europe, volume 1: Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. de Ridder-Symoens, (Cambridge, 1992) pp. 412.

consequence, even within individual theological faculties there was an increase in number of professors teaching theology which, besides easing the lecturers' teaching responsibilities, also stimulated discussions and prompted disputations.²⁰⁵ In Edinburgh with a single chair in theology held by Rollock, who had the daunting task of teaching and preaching assignments as well as playing an active role in church affairs, his attention was mostly focused on specific issues that stemmed from the college's own ecclesiastical and political context. Earlier scholarship assumed that around the turn of the sixteenth century the theology of the Reformed Kirk was centred on a constant fight on two fronts. The focal point of the first one was on the question of church government, Presbyterianism contra Episcopalianism, while the second one was a more theoretical issue in its nature, fighting against an Arminian notion of grace. Both of which, it was felt, challenged the sovereignty of Christ as the sole head of the Kirk and Mediator of salvation. The theological framework in which these controversies developed was the relatively new notion of the *foedus operum* (the covenant of works).²⁰⁶ Historians were ready to point out the relationship between federal theology and politics in Scotland and to assert that federal theology was

to prove of great power in justifying men in opposing the king" and provided background for the national Covenant of 1638. More recent scholarship, however, challenged this view by stating confidently that "federal theology contributed nothing which was not there already."²⁰⁷

In 1596 Rollock published a smaller work, entitled *Quaestiones et Responsiones Aliquo de Foedere Dei: deque Sacramento quod Foederis Dei sigillum est*. The substance of this work was incorporated into his larger treatise on effectual calling appearing next year. With the publication of *A Treatise of our Effectual Calling and of Certain Common-places of Theology Contained under It*, (often referred to as *God's Effectual Calling*, in Latin *Tractatus de Vocatione efficacy*) in 1597 Rollock established himself as a proponent of federal theology

²⁰⁵ See for instance the situation in Heidelberg around 1600, and in Leiden where an even newer foundation was set up, the Staten College in 1592 to improve theological instruction and attract more students. Maag, *Seminary or University*, pp. 168-169, 178-183.

²⁰⁶ Torrance, *Scottish Theology*, p. 60.

²⁰⁷ See for detailed discussion of the subject and for bibliography Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, pp. 171-207.

presenting a mature statement of the subject.²⁰⁸ First published in Latin then it was followed by the English translation in 1603. It came out of the printing house of Robert Waldegrave, the Puritan printer who, on his move to Edinburgh published several works by Puritan authors such as William Perkins' *A Golden Chaine, A Case of Conscience* in 1592 and the *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* in 1593. One source of influence on Rollock's thinking, as has been argued convincingly, was the English Puritans.²⁰⁹ To the main text of the *Effectual Calling* two additions were attached, a 'Summary of Theology' and a treatise on the modes of God's revelation in the question-answer form of a catechism.²¹⁰ The aim of the 'Summary' was to show the place of the subject within the science of theology and the Catechism with its sixty-six questions and answers was designed to summarise the entire work and help the reader memorise the correct doctrine.

The *Effectual Calling* contains thirty-eight chapters in which Rollock sets forth his exposition of a Reformed systematic theology. In the first section (chapters 1-6) he was concerned with God's calling to salvation through the legal or natural covenant and the free covenant of grace. The next large section (chapters 7-23) was devoted to the defense of Scripture as the Word of God including a discussion of its nature as well as a long history of different translations. In the final section, from chapter 24 to 38 the characteristics of sin and the Christian virtues were explored combined with attacks on the Roman Catholic view on faith and repentance. The polemical views of the treatise were apparent from his arguments directed against his Roman Catholic opponents.²¹¹

In relating the polemical style of the treatise to ministerial training it may be suggested that polemics contributed towards shaping and developing a more definite Reformed identity for students and ministers alike.

Another set of works which clearly articulated Rollock's theology as well as might have been used in the college as his lecture notes and possible guidelines for biblical exegesis for his students were his commentaries. A typically 'Reformation'

²⁰⁸ *Select Works*, I. pp. 29-274.

²⁰⁹ A. Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought*, 2 vols, (University of Glasgow, 1988) II. p. 255.

²¹⁰ *Select Works*, I. pp. 23-28, 274-288.

²¹¹ Particularly the works of the Jesuit apologist Robert Bellarmine (for instance *De Justificatione, De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*), receives much attention from Rollock, others that are mentioned includes Albert Phigius (*Assertio hierarchiae ecclesiasticae*), Melchior Canus, Peter Canisius.

character of the curriculum taught at newly created colleges, academies and universities was the emphasis on exegetical lectures on both Testaments of the Bible. Later these were often printed in the form of commentaries on individual biblical books. The lectures contained not only exegetical and, on occasions, linguistic comments but subjects of systematic theology were frequently discussed. The strong distaste of the first generations of Reformers towards dogmatic theology was faithfully reflected in recasting the entire academic course excluding systematic theology from the teaching programme.²¹² It did not mean that doctrine was not important for them and was not any longer taught at universities. Rather, it meant that systematic theology found its way into the exegetical lectures. For the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theologians it became an accepted exegetical method to include and discuss a wide variety of subjects from the field of doctrinal theology. The predominance of dogmatic interest in the exposition of Scriptures was clearly detectable in commentaries of the day and the lectures and commentaries by Rollock are not exceptions from this.

The application of the Ramist pedagogical method (logical analysis) as a means of clear presentation of arguments was present in Rollock's commentaries in an obvious way. In his *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios* (Edinburgh, 1590, reprinted in Geneva in 1593), *In Librum Danielis Prophetiae* (Edinburgh, 1591), *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos, Commentarius analytica methodo conscriptus* (Edinburgh, 1594, reprinted in Geneva 1596); the exposition on both letters to the Thessalonians are in the same volume, *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses priorem Commentarius*, and *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Thessalonicenses posteriorem Commentarius* (Edinburgh, 1598); *In Selectos aliquot Psalmos Davidis*, (Geneva, 1599), it was translated into English by Charles Lumsden, one of the first regents at the Town College, later a minister in Duddingston.²¹³ In his translation Lumsden gave the following title to the commentary: *An Exposition upon some Select Psalmes of David, conteining great*

²¹² See, for the instance, the rejection of scholastic theology at Leiden: 'In order that the student can learn theology here, the lectures given are not upon torturers and sophists, unaccustomed to the truth [i.e. dogmatists], but on those two heavenly and divine suns, the Old Testament in Hebrew, the New Testament in Greek (...)' quoted by H. J. Jonge, "The study of the New Testament in the Dutch Universities, 1575-1700" in *History of University*, vol. 1, (Oxford, 1981) pp. 113-129; at p. 6.

²¹³ *Fasti*, I. p. 17; *Select Works*, I. p. xcii.

Store of most Excellent and Comfortable Doctrine and Instruction for all those that (under the burthen of Sinne) thirst for Communion in Christ Jesus. The reference to doctrine in the title is a clear indication of the fact that the purpose of the exposition is more than just to offer a linguistic analysis of the text but, rather the reader can expect discussions of doctrinal issues. The following three of his commentaries were published post-humously, *Commentarius ... in Epistolam Pauli ad Colossenses* (Edinburgh, 1600), *Analysis Logica in Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Galatas*, (1602, reprinted in Geneva), *Analysis Logica in Epistolam ad Hebraeos* (ed. Henry Charteris, Edinburgh, 1605).

It has been suggested that the only explicit indication of Rollock's anti-Aristotelian stance as well as his favourable attitude towards Ramism, was supported by a short passage in his sermon on I Corinthians 2. Yet, his own application of the technique of logical analysis of Scripture was apparent throughout in his commentaries.²¹⁴ All these expositions of Scripture follow the same pattern starting with a general introduction in which he outlines the context and structure of the biblical text under study. Then, a detailed analysis of the biblical passage followed verse by verse, beginning each chapter with a brief synopsis of the previous chapter. From here he proceeded with giving a short summary of the content and the chief message of the chapter under consideration. This methodological approach that goes from the general to the more specific was of a particular feature of Ramist logic. His students at Edinburgh, from the beginning, were encouraged to use this method for a more precise interpretation of the Bible. Charles Ferme, a graduate of the first class in 1587, faithfully followed his teacher's example by producing his own commentary entitled *Analysis Logica in Epistolam Apostoli ad Romanos*.²¹⁵

It has been suggested that the geographical spread of covenant theology occurred in precisely those places in which Ramist methodology took root and in this respect university reforms advocated by Melville directly prepared its reception.²¹⁶ Thus, it is right to say that the covenant theology undergirded by Ramist

²¹⁴ Lynch, "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", pp. 9-13. Also see McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, pp. 385-387; though McCrie admits Ramus influence on Rollock, still he insists that Rollock's 'understanding was not led astray by admiration of the Ramean logic', p. 387.

²¹⁵ *Analysis Logica in Epistolam Apostoli ad Romanos*, (Edinburgh, 1651, Wodrow Society, 1850).

²¹⁶ R. Letham, "The *Foedus Operum*: Some Factors Accounting for its Development" in *SCJ*, 14:4 (1983) pp. 457-467.

methodology contributed to a large extent to theological education and to an individual's training for the ministry.

One additional feature in relation to theological education may be mentioned in which Edinburgh differed from some of its continental counterparts especially from centres of higher learning in German speaking territories was that the arts syllabus included the study of theology. This was unlike Basel where students earned their bachelor's and master's degrees in the arts faculty and then obtained a comprehensive instruction in theology before they began their ecclesiastical career as ministers.²¹⁷

Each class was under the tuition of a regent who worked in a rotation system. This again was an element from the old university system, commonly used in medieval colleges. The authors of the *First Book of Discipline* and Andrew Melville alike, proposed to abolish this system and to replace it by a new method of instruction in which a specialist lector or reader had his own particular subject to teach.²¹⁸ By contrast, Edinburgh kept the regenting scheme. It was a serious drawback for Edinburgh. Unlike the Genevan Academy which had four chairs in the beginning, one of theology, which after Calvin's death even saw an increase in the number of professors sharing teaching responsibilities; one of Hebrew, one of Greek, and one of philosophy, Edinburgh could not set up individual chairs for specific disciplines. Admittedly, employing regents was much cheaper than appointing specialist readers, lectors or professors for each subject to be taught. This was related in all likelihood to the financial situation of the college which was strongly dependent on funding received from the town. The obvious consequence of the lack of specialised teaching would be that the new foundation was not recognised as more than a college of arts and philosophy. Nevertheless, it must be born in mind that the first chair established was in theology, when Rollock was appointed as a professor of Divinity.

As for the teaching method, the regent usually read the text aloud every day in its original language 'with the utmost minuteness and care' and then commented

²¹⁷ Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, p. 117.

²¹⁸ *FBD*, p. 138.

on and interpreted it.²¹⁹ This rather scholastic manner of learning again illustrates the transitional aspect of the 1580s in which Edinburgh's Town College came into being.

2 Rollock's theology of ministry

The other significant element beside the curriculum that contributed to the formation of future ministers' concept of ministry, and consequently to the formation of a distinct, new generation of clergy in Scotland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, was Rollock's own conviction about the essential role of preaching as a vehicle of Reformed faith and his understanding of the threefold office of Christian ministry.

2.1 Preaching

For sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers, preaching was the primary spiritual responsibility. The *First Book of Discipline* located preaching and teaching at the centre of the vision of godly governance of the Kirk which was to be achieved by rigorous biblical exegesis and its application to the spiritual and temporal lives of the individual. The vision was reiterated and gained further support by the *Second Book of Discipline*.²²⁰

From the beginning of his time in Edinburgh, Rollock showed a firm commitment to preaching to his students in the college each week, selecting a day 'on which to the whole assembled students, he explained some text of Scripture', and also was prepared to meet the needs of the growing capital.²²¹ He regarded his highest calling to be the 'Minister of the Evangel of Jesus Christ [at Edinburgh]' as he preferred to be called even when he was the head of the Town College as principal.²²² His delivery of sermons was often described as powerful; and his

²¹⁹ *Select Works*, I. p. lxvi.

²²⁰ *FBD*, pp. 80, 187-191; *SBD*, pp. 183-186; R. Healy, "The preaching ministry in Scotland's First Book of Discipline" in *CH*, 58 (1989) pp. 339-353.

²²¹ *Select Works*, I. p. lxx.

²²² See for example the front page of the *Certaine Sermons upon Severall Places of the Epistles of Paul*, (Edinburgh, 1599).

student and later successor, Henry Charteris, who heard him preaching on several occasions, described the effect of his preaching on the congregation with a more than glowing testimony:

on the Sabbath mornings at seven o'clock – a thing which had never been done in Edinburgh before – he began to preach and that with such mighty force of sentiment and such grave impressiveness of style, that the minds of . . . his hearers were illuminated with a heavenly light, their affections were stirred up, and they were irresistibly impelled to admire the preacher. For he not only excited the ordinary class of hearers, but affected men of learning.²²³

In seeing the crowd assembling on the streets early in the morning even before the reading and prayers began, Rollock succeeded in convincing the town council to authorise a third Sunday sermon. This episode illustrated not only a 'broad-based cult of the sermon' that existed in post-Reformation Scotland, but also his ability as a communicator to hold a congregation's attention.²²⁴ His sermons were analysed in a recent study from a communicative perspective and the conclusion has been drawn that some very effective communicative acts can be traced in his published sermons such as direct commands, exclamations, and certain rhetorical questions. It may also be assumed that other functionally effective, non-linguistic elements of communication were employed such as gestures, pauses, pace and volume even if these elements failed to be recorded. He based his sermons on careful and systematic analysis of the biblical text that required thorough preparation and delivered them with affection. The essential and almost necessarily arid Biblical expositions, which often lasted for one and a half or two hours, were frequently balanced by the powerful engagement of the preacher. As noted by Pettegree, 'congregations expected visible signs of emotions. The ability to transfer his own emotional intensity to the auditory was widely regarded as a sign of an effective preacher'.²²⁵

For Rollock, similarly to Calvin, the significance of biblical exposition could not be overemphasised:

²²³ *Select Works*, I. p. lxxii.

²²⁴ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 29-30.

²²⁵ M. Garner, "Preaching as a Communicative Event: A Discourse Analysis of Sermons by Robert Rollock (1555-1599)" in *RRR*, 9 (2007) pp. 45-70. See also A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, (Cambridge, 2005) p. 36; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 50.

Believe me it is not a thing of small importance to preach the Word: it is not the same thing as to expound the text of Plato and Aristotle, or to set forth a harangue bedaubed with the colours and allurements of rhetoric. The preaching of the Word depends on holiness, humility, and the efficacious demonstration of the Spirit. God knows how highly I have ever prized it.²²⁶

In order to understand Rollock's commitment to preaching one has to understand the importance and goal of preaching perceived by the Reformers. They were confident in the transforming power of the message they preached based on Scripture.²²⁷

Three sets of Rollock's sermons were published, all in Edinburgh. Firstly a selection of sermons on Paul's letters printed by Henry Charteris in 1599, which was supplemented by another set of sermons in 1616. All of them came from Rollock's former students who sent their collection of notes to Charteris on his request.²²⁸ A further homiletical work was published in 1616, entitled *Lectures upon the History of the Passion and Resurrection, and Ascension of the Lord Jesus Christ, Beginning at the eighteenth Chapter of the Gospel, according to S. John*. It is a series of fifty-six lectures on the passion of Christ. The notes were taken by his students while studying at college and then later collected and printed by Andrew Hart. In this series of lectures Rollock delivers expositions based on passages from the Gospel of John beginning with chapter 18 through to chapter 21. In his dealing with the text he follows the same method as Calvin in bringing the different gospel accounts on Christ's passion into harmony. In these expositions doctrinal issues come to the foreground again. The general pattern for preaching as it developed in the Reformed tradition involved a "triple schema" in which the preacher explored doctrinal lessons in the text, then investigated the arguments and counter-arguments for the particular doctrines, and finally concluded with the relevant moral application to their audience. In addressing his congregation with the sermon preached on 2 Corinthians 5:1-4 Rollock gives a lengthy introduction on human life and afflictions in the perspective of eternity, then he turns to the text itself and points to the futility of life without Christ contrasting it with the eternal glory awaiting for the saints. In conclusion he finishes with an admonition:

²²⁶ *Select Works*, II. p. 317.

²²⁷ J. T. Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition" in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, (Leiden, 2001) pp. 66-68.

²²⁸ *Select Works*, I. pp. 291-295, 453-456.

Remember then, lyfe and deith ar not maters to mow with [to be scorned withal], they ar not wordis, nay, nay. Think gravelie of them, and befoir thy saul be dislodged, luik that thou be preparit for ane better lyfe, luik that thou finde the Lord of lyfe Christ Iesus be his Spreit wirking the deith of mortalitie in thee, and the beginning of the lyfe that sall last for ever. The Lord be his Spreit wirk thir thingis in zour hartis: To quhome be all prais, glorie, and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.²²⁹

In placing Rollock into the wider context of the late sixteenth-century Protestant preaching tradition it is right to argue that his approach to preaching corresponds to those expository, plain-style, clearly structured sermons which were delivered in many parishes across Europe in general and within the community of Puritanism in particular.

2.2 The threefold ministerial office

Having noted some aspects of Rollock's practical theology which were clearly of some importance in relation to theological education and to training ministers for the Kirk, attention now must be given to one specific theological issue that was hotly debated in the Kirk and undergirded his work as a professor of theology and a churchman.

In his commentary on Ephesians dedicated to James VI, he sets forth his understanding of Christian ministry. This was his first exposition of Scriptures published which was soon followed by another edition printed in Geneva in 1593. In writing on the first section (vs 1-16) in chapter 4 Rollock unambiguously articulated his anti-Episcopal concept of ministry and church government. Before turning to the text and addressing the list of different offices listed in verse eleven – 'and he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers'²³⁰ – he gave a summary of the threefold office of the Christian ministry. Again, this is an example of Ramist expository methodology. In his view, which was in accordance with the *Second Book of Discipline*, the three essential elements of the Presbyterian ministry were: preaching and administering the sacraments, the exercise of discipline and the care for the poor. The first and most important task was allocated to ministers and doctors, the second to elders and the

²²⁹ *Select Works*, I. p. 314.

²³⁰ *Authorised King James Version*, (Oxford, 1998).

third to deacons.²³¹ For Rollock, the function of ecclesiastical governance was biblically ordained and therefore permanently necessary thus, its practice and agents are identifiable at various points in the New Testament such as I Timothy 5:17ff. concerning the office of elders. In his dealing with the actual list of offices mentioned in verse eleven he made a distinction between two sets of offices: ordinary and extraordinary. These categories were defined by the means of the call. For the extraordinary ministry the call comes immediately from Christ without the mediation of the congregation. This only existed in the time of the New Testament as well as in time of crisis during the course of history. Ordinary officers, meaning pastors and preachers, are called by ordinary means with a perpetual nature.²³²

One further point which might be made here is related to the distinction of function of the two ordinary offices. It is claimed that Rollock blurred this distinction made by the *Second Book of Discipline* where doctors were neither to preach nor administer the sacraments but their primary function was to elucidate the mystery of faith.²³³ This comment from Mullan may be challenged by arguing that the compilers of the *Second Book of Discipline* were aware of the difficulty in carrying out this functional distinction in practice. Therefore, they allowed the doctors to preach and to play an active role in charge on the condition they were ‘utherwayis ordourlie callit’.²³⁴ Illustrative of this, as has been seen, was Rollock’s intensive preaching ministry both in the College as a professor of theology and in Edinburgh parishes and beyond.

Although Rollock’s exegesis of particular texts can be criticised, it must be borne in mind that some of the criticisms are anachronistic for they are grounded in modern post-Enlightenment methods of interpretation.

In contrast to developments in Protestant ecclesiology in general, which did not necessarily look for biblical justification for their church order, theologians developing their ecclesiology along the line of the ecclesiastical ordinances of

²³¹ *Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Roberti Rolloci Scoti, Ministri Iesu Christi in Ecclesia Edinburgensi, commentarius*, (Edinburgh, 1590) discussion of 4:11-13 is at pp. 157-169; *SBD*, pp. 183-194.

²³² See further discussion of the exegetical history of Ephesian 4:11 and other related passages in Elisabeth A. McKee, *Elders and the Plural Ministry: The Role of Exegetical History Illuminating John Calvin’s Theology*, (Geneva, 1988) chapters 7 and 8.

²³³ G. D. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland, The History of an Idea, 1560-1638*, (Edinburgh, 1986) pp. 74-75.

²³⁴ *SBD*, p. 189.

Geneva felt compelled to extend biblical patterns of church government to their ecclesiology.

In summary, Rollock's preaching and his views on church governance were deeply rooted in the use of Biblical exegesis that developed in the second part of the 16th century and owed much to the use of Ramist methodology.

3 Library resources

A short discussion of library resources is inserted here. It is beyond the scope of this section of the thesis to examine the entire collection of the Town College library. The library developed from the generous donation of Clement Little, an advocate and laymen with a major interest in theology. He was also involved in the work of the General Assembly as one of the recognised advocates for the Kirk.²³⁵ Little donated his library to Edinburgh and its Kirk. On Clement Little's death in April 1580 the executor of his will, William Little, presented the library of 276 volumes to the town in the autumn of the same year. It was stored first in the ministers' lodgings then was moved to the college. Before being handed over, each volume was stamped with Little's coat of armes saying 'I am givin to Edinburgh and kirk of God be maister Clement Littil thair to remaine, 1580'. Yet, as has been noted, the students were not allowed to borrow books until the middle of the eighteenth century.²³⁶

Here, the focus will be on the collection of writings of the sixteenth-century Reformers. Nonetheless it must be stated that there were important sources which are known to be of significance in relation to the compilation of Clement Little's library. Several works of this core collection were inherited from dissolved Roman Catholic communities, for instance, from the Edinburgh Franciscans Library, the Dominicans in Edinburgh, and the Cistercian abbey at Coupar Angus. Some of the Dominican

²³⁵ *BUK*, I. pp. 35, 113. Cf. Kirk, "Clement Little's Edinburgh", pp. 44-45, 60-62.

²³⁶ Therefore the Town Council's supervisory interest was not surprising and plenty of information can be found in the minute books of the Town Council about the progress of the library. Cf. *Extracts*, pp. 175, 350; Cf. "Catalogus librorum Clemens Littill" in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, (Edinburgh, 1834) I. pp. 285-301; C. P. Finlayson and S. M. Simpson, "The History of the Library, 1580-1710" in *Edinburgh University Library, 1580-1980: A collection of historical essays*, eds J. R. Guild and A. Law, (Edinburgh, 1982) pp. 44-54; Kirk, "Clement Little's Edinburgh", pp. 16-69.

and Franciscan works came into Clement's possession through Henry Sinclair, the bibliophile of his age, bishop of Ross, altogether some forty works.²³⁷

The collection itself mostly consisted of theological works ranging from the patristic writings through Renaissance literature to several reformist Roman Catholic works and numerous Lutheran treatises. The Reformed tradition associated with the Swiss schools such as Geneva and Zurich was also represented; the writings of Calvin were certainly much in evidence. Even the not strictly theological books were connected to theology since these books dealt with ecclesiastical law or the church's jurisdiction.²³⁸

A non-comprehensive list of books in the Little Collection with a special interest in Patristic and Reformed literature included the following:²³⁹

Five volumes of Hebrew *Biblia Bombergiana*; St Justin Martyr's volume; St Cyprian's and St Basil's volumes; St Jerome (419/20) *Eusebii Hieronymi stridonensis, Opera omnia quae extant, una cum pseudepigraphis et alienis admixtis, in novem tomos digesta: sed multò quàm ante vigilantius per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum nunc postremùm emendata, locis no paucis foeliciter emedatis, et locupletatis duntaxat in scholiis* (Paris, 1546/1533?); St Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (403) *Contra octoginta haereses opus eximium: Panarium sive capsula medica appellatum et in libros quidem tres, tomos vero septem divisum* (Basileae, 1544);

Desiderius Erasmus, *Declarationes Des. Roterodami ad Censuras Lutetiae vulgatas sub nomine Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis* (Antverpiæ: apud Martinum Cæsarem, 1532);

Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci Communes theologici recens collecti et recogniti a Philipp Melanchthon* (Basel, 1547) Melanchthon's *Loci* of 1521 is widely considered the first Protestant systematic theology which became a model for later theological textbooks;

Jean Calvin, *Defensio orthodoxae fidei de sacra Trinitate, co[n]tra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serueta Hispani : vbi ostenditur haeticos iure Gladii*

²³⁷ Other books coming into Clement's possession were associated with such names as Regent Moray, and Thomas Randolph. Cf. Finlayson and Simpson, "The History of the Library, 1580-1710", p. 43; Kirk, "Clement Little's Edinburgh", pp. 60-62.

²³⁸ Kirk, "Clement Little's Edinburgh", p. 68.

²³⁹ Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 60-68.

coercendos esse, et nominatim de homine hoc tam impio iustè et meritò sumptu[m] Geneuae fuisse supplic (Genevae: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1554); his *Institutio Christianae religionis, in libros quatuor nunc primum digesta, certisque distincta capitibus: aucta etiam tam magna accessione ut propemodum opus novum haberi possit* (Genevae, 1561); his *Ioannis Caluini Epistolae et responsa: Quibus interiectae sunt insignium in ecclesia Dei virorum aliquot etiam epistolae. Eiusdem I. Caluini vita à Theodoro Beza ... accuratè descripta. Index rerum insigniorum* (Geneuae: Apud Petrum Santandream, 1575);

Theodore Beza, *Confessio Christianae fidei et eiusdem collatio cum Papisticis hæresibus* (Geneva, 1560); Zwingli, Ulrich, *Opera D. Huldrychi Zuinglii, uigilantissimi Tigurinae ecclesiae antistitis: partim quidem ab ipso Latine conscripta, partim uerò è uernaculo sermone in Latinum translata: omnia nouissime recognita, et multis adiectis, quæ hac tenus uisa non sunt* (Zürich: Christof Froscouer zuo Zurich, 1545);

Martin Bucer, *De regno Christi Jesu ...libri ii...* (Basileae, 1557); Viret, Pierre, *De origine veteris et nouæ idololatriæ libri quinque : quibus ostenditur, qua in re veteres superstitiones à nouis differant, et quæ sit earum conuenientia. Item, quæ imagines ac reliquiæ veræ aut falsæ sint: item, quis verus Mediator* (Geneva, 1552);

Johann Oecolampadius, *Epistolae doctorum viroru[m] quibus cum Eucharistiæ et Anabaptismi negotium tum alia religionis capita ... continentur ... ; and, Purgatio a Th. Bibliandro conscripta* (Basileae, 1548).

Further contributions to extend the Town College's library came mainly as donations at graduations in subsequent years they contained less theological and more classical or philosophical works, including: ²⁴⁰

Ecclesiastica historia, integram ecclesiae Christi ideam... complectens [known as *Magdeburg Centuries*] (Basel, 1560); *Psalterium Hebr[a]eum, Gr[a]ecum, Arabicu[m] et Chald[a]eu[m]: cu[m] tribus Latinis i[n]terp[re]tat[i]o[n]ibus et glossis* (Geneva: In aedibus Nicolai Iustiniani Pauli, 1516);

²⁴⁰ Finlayson and Simpson, "The History of the Library", pp. 44-45.

Demosthenes, *Demosthenois logoi, kai prooimia demegorika, kai epistolai, sun tais exegegedin* ... (Paris: apud Iacobum Dupuys, colophon: Ioannes Benenatus absolvebat, Kalendis Febr, 1570); Aristotle, *Physica* (Frankfurt, 1596); Beza's edition of the Greek New Testament (Geneva, 1582); Horantius, Franciscus, *Locorum catholicorum tum S. Scripturae tum etiam antiquorum patrum pro orthodoxa et veteri fide retinenda libri vii, etc.* (Paris, 1565); Philo, Judaeus, *Philo Judæus ... lucubrationes omnes quotquot haberi potuerunt, Latinae ex Græcis factæ per S. Gelenium: his accesserunt ... Athenagoras de mortuorum resurrectione, P. Nannio interprete, & Aeneas Gazæus de immortalitate animarum J. Vuolphio interprete* ... (Basel, 1561); Francesco Piccolomini, *Universa philosophia de moribus* (Frankfurt, 1595); Regiomontanus, Joannes, *Doctissimi uiri et mathematicarum disciplinarum eximij professoris Ioannis de Regio Monte De triangulis omnimodis libri quinque : quibus explicantur res necessariae cognitu, uolentibus ad scientiarum astronomicarum perfectionem deuenire: quae cum nusqua[m] alibi hoc tempore expositae habeantur, frustra sine harum instructione ad illam quisquam aspirarit. Accesserunt huc in calce pleraq[ue] d. Nicolai Cusani De quadratura circuli, Déq[ue] recti ac curui commensuratione: itemq[ue] Io. de Monte Regio eadem de re [elenktikà] hactenus à nemine publicata* (Nurnberg: In aedibus Io. Petrei, 1533); Aventinus, Johannes, *Annalium Boiorum libri septem Ioanne Auentino autore ... Accessit rerum et uerborum memorabilium index copiosus* (Ingolstadt: excusum Ingolstadij per Alexandrum et Samuelem Weissenhornios fratres Germanos, 1554); Ramus, Petrus, *Petrus Ramus arithmeticae libri duo, geometriae septem et viginti, ...* (Frankfurt, 1599).

The richly varied collection was highly esteemed by theologians, first of all by Robert Rollock, the first principal and by many students of the college. Despite the subsequent acquisitions the most substantial section and precious heart of the Library remained the Clement Little Collection until the important donation of 692 books and manuscripts by William Drummond between 1626 and 1636.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ Kirk, *Patterns of Reform*, p. 69.

4 Conclusion

It seems clear that Edinburgh was committed to a rigorous standard of education. The works of Aristotle, apart from ones on metaphysics, were highly used, as the content of *theses philosophicae* demonstrated. At the same time Ramist logic and dialectic methodologies were widely employed. So the debate on the distinction concerning the orientation of the curriculum whether it represented a conservative Aristotelian or a Melvillian Ramist approach is of little value, since both approaches were equally present.

Thus, it is right to argue that the college functioned primarily as a Protestant college of arts and philosophy.

Theological studies were included in the curriculum but made part of a wider set of subjects that ranged over philosophy and humanity. This may suggest that the foundation of a strictly theological college was not on the agenda any more.²⁴² It is difficult to judge to what extent it was due to the political situation, namely the increasing control of Arran's regime over the burgh and the lack of strong representation of burgh ministers in town as they were in exile even if only for a short while. Yet the members of the town council regardless of their political stance wanted to exercise control over financial matters as well as the academic life of the new foundation.²⁴³

Sufficient time was devoted to repetition, practice and disputation which were also among the features of the Melvillian curriculum. It must also be noted that focusing on orations, disputations and style of delivery in both their logic and rhetoric were employed in order to prepare future ministers.

The role of Rollock as an educator, preacher, and prolific author, and a church man unquestionably contributed to the ministerial training of his students.

²⁴² As it was, for instance, in 1579 when two council members, Henry Nisbet and John Johnston were sent to meet Robert Pont and James Lawson to ask "for their counsall to be had anaentis the erection of ane college of theologe." 23 December 1579, *Extracts*, p. 105.

²⁴³ As has been noted a number of influential Edinburgh burgesses studied at St Andrews therefore they supported a more traditional, not Melvillian, shape of education. Cf. Lynch, "The Origins of Edinburgh's 'Toun College'", p. 10.

The fact that the nucleus of the library came from a layman is highly suggestive about the intellectual climate of Edinburgh as well as indicating that Edinburgh was well-connected with the rest of the sixteenth-century Reformation world.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE TRANSITIONAL YEARS OF MINISTERIAL CAREER

1 European context and sources

One of the most significant factors that turned the Reformed ministry into a self-conscious profession, distinct from the rest of society, was the increasing level of higher education which protestant clergy with other professional groups received. Research has demonstrated, however, that the increase in the proportion of university trained ministers was a slow process and evolved over several decades. The erratic progress towards a graduate clergy resulted from several factors. In the first decades for any new protestant church the fundamental question was how to provide an adequate ministry to replace the former Roman Catholic priesthood with men of loyalty to the new church who possessed lower, if at all, academic qualifications. Also, the practical demands on the part of congregations often overrode the high educational attainments as a prerequisite for entering the ministry.

It has also been demonstrated that the increase in the number of university-trained clergy in the second half of the sixteenth century was highly significant. On the Continent in Lutheran territories, for instance, in Electoral Saxony among the first generation of ministers in the 1520s and 1530s, 20-32 per cent had gone to university; in the Palatinate towards the end of the sixteenth century the percentage of university educated clergy reached 85 per cent which was relatively high but it took well over half a century to achieve this. In the Netherlands it was not until the early seventeenth century that a graduate clergy became the standard for parish ministry. Even in England fundamental changes in the education of the clergy did not begin to have an impact until 1600.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Cf T. Kaufmann, "The Clergy and the Theological Culture of the Age: The Education of Lutheran Pastors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (p. 128.) in *The Protestant Clergy in Early Modern Europe*, eds C. S. Dixon and L. Schorn-Schütte, (Palgrave, 2003) pp. 120-136; S. Karant-

As Andrew Pettegree has observed, the length of this transitional period depended, to a large extent, on the size of the territory and the availability of suitable training institutions.²⁴⁵

Congregations both in urban areas and in the countryside surrounding a city or town with an academy or a university made good use of students as ministers. Undeniably, this practice had a number of advantages. On the one hand students gained pastoral as well as preaching experience, on the other hand students cost less for the congregation than well-established ministers with their families. The disadvantage of this system, however, was the lack of experience in leadership on the side of students and the congregations sometimes found this difficult to tolerate.

However slow and fitful the emergence of the new protestant clergy was, it had taken place by the initial years of the seventeenth century. In this long process the newly established academies and colleges had a prominent role to play.

In Scotland, too, university education of the Reformed clergy contributed to the recruitment to the ministry by replacing the first generation of ministers of the 1560s and leading to the formation of the clergy as a new elite within society. This emerging new clerical elite ceased to form an estate and 'developed into a tightly-organised single body with many professional characteristics, earning a salary controlling entry through training and examination, and self-regulation through the higher church courts'.²⁴⁶

For a long time it was generally assumed that during the 1560s a large number of parishes were destitute of Protestant ministry, however, recent scholarship has demonstrated that this was not entirely the case. Most parishes had their ministers, exhorters or readers along with varying rates of conforming pre-Reformation clergy, whose contribution to the advancement of the Reformation in Scotland must not be underestimated. Margaret Sanderson has pointed out that, even

Nunn, *Luther's Pastors. The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside*, (Philadelphia, 1979) p. 15; B. Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la réforme 1555-1619*, (Paris, 1976) p. 57; A. Pettegree, "Coming to Terms with Victory: Calvinist Church-building in Holland, 1572-1590" in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1610. A Collection of Documents*, eds A. Duke, G. Lewis and A. Pettegree (Manchester, 1992); R. O'Day, *The English Clergy*, pp. 2, 44-48, 138-143, 159-60; J. Kirk, "Recruitment", pp. 96-153.

²⁴⁵ "The clergy and the Reformation: from 'devilish priesthood' to new professional elite", p. 13. in *The reformation of the parishes. The ministry and the Reformation in town and country*, ed. A. Pettegree, (Manchester, 1993) pp. 1-21.

²⁴⁶ Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, p. 220; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 361-363.

if the lack of immediate and nationwide provision for the new ministry was obvious, was the majority were still supplied with an adequate ministry. For instance, in 1560 in Ayrshire there were 44 parishes and in 1567, 38 of the 44 parishes were filled by ministers, exhorters or readers, 16 of which had been clearly mentioned before.²⁴⁷

Thus, argues James Kirk,

the real challenge facing the reformed church was not so much a problem of recruiting ministers at the Reformation, which, on the whole, was achieved without a significant lapse in time over much of the country, but one of replacing the recruits of the early 1560's with a second generation of fully-fledged ministers, educated under the new regime and trained in the universities.²⁴⁸

A renewed emphasis on clergy's university (and theological) education provided the Kirk with further impetus to move towards the objective of a minister for each parish, set by the *Second Book of Discipline*. To achieve this goal by the end of the sixteenth century Scotland had five institutes of higher learning, three universities from the medieval period and two colleges founded after 1560, where theological education and training for the ministry was carried out.

It must be emphasised, however, that receiving instruction in theology, in the ancient languages of the Scriptures, which all formed a part of the Arts curriculum at several Protestant institutions of higher education and at Edinburgh's Town College in particular, did not necessarily mean that those becoming well versed in theology through their studies pursued a career in the church later.

The following chapter, therefore, seeks to provide a detailed analysis of Edinburgh's Town College's ministerial graduates' early career patterns first by identifying them on the basis of the college graduation list and by examining their national and family background especially in the case of those coming from clerical families.

The preservation of graduation records make it possible to establish with reasonable accuracy the number of students who earned their Arts degrees at Edinburgh's Town College from its origins. In many instances, the students graduating from the College between 1587 and 1620 are known solely by their name. Little other information about them has survived apart from perhaps a few details

²⁴⁷ C. H. Haws, "Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574" in *Scottish Record Society*, New Series 3, (1972) p. xv; Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, p. 110.

²⁴⁸ Kirk, "Recruitment...", p. 148.

such as their place of origin or later career provided by the graduation lists. Yet some graduates are better known often on account of their later career as ministers, civil servants or leaders of their communities. It may be noted that ministers are perhaps one of the most readily identifiable groups within the student community and among the professions due to the wide range of existing sources in relation to their placement, income and other ecclesiastical matters. One of the main functions of universities and colleges, after all, was to provide the vacant parishes with well-trained ministers.

The data on the graduates of the Town College from the period of 1587-1620 was compiled from two key sources. First, and by far the most important, was the *Catalogue of the Graduates*. It was published in Edinburgh in 1858 and its compilers drew on their material from *The Book of Laureations* which began with the Negative Confession of 1581 signed by Robert Rollock and Duncan Nairn then regents of the college, by John Craig, king's minister, and James Hamilton minister of the burgh for the time of the banishment from the burgh of James Lawson and Walter Balcanquhal at the end of 1585.²⁴⁹ This document contains the names of those students who actually obtained a Master of Arts degree from the college. The *Register for Matriculation*, which would list the names of the enrolled students, does not begin until 1627, thus, it falls out of the period under scrutiny. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed on the basis of comparing existing matriculation lists with graduation lists of other contemporary universities, as well as accounts from the early history of the Town College, that the numbers of matriculated students were higher than those who completed their academic course and were awarded a degree. In the list of the graduates beside the names, designations in Latin were subsequently added perhaps by some of the professors from their personal knowledge, as it is suggested in the preface to the *Catalogue*, indicating the career later taken by the graduates.²⁵⁰

The other important source of information that has been used for identifying the ministerial graduates of the college and tracing their early career was, the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (henceforth *Fasti*), which is the major printed source for the

²⁴⁹ Craufurd, *History*, p. 29.

²⁵⁰ *Catalogue*, pp. v-vi.

Reformed parish ministry in Scotland.²⁵¹ It is supplemented by Peter Bell's *Ministers of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1929: An Index to Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* which is an indispensable tool for anyone wishing to research the *Fasti*.²⁵² The *Fasti* offers a rich profusion of information and documentation, with varying accuracy. Thus, it is argued that even in its revised edition it is not a reliable work of reference in every respect and where possible data has been checked against the existing original documents.²⁵³ Nevertheless, the information, taken from Scott's *Fasti*, provides a basis to which new data may be added. Other sources against which information was checked include the synod records of Lothian and Tweeddale, and presbytery registers of St Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling.²⁵⁴

2 The identification of the ministerial graduates and their place in the student body

2.1 Identification of graduates

Before engaging in any comprehensive analysis of the ministerial graduates, it was essential to check the accuracy and reliability of the data. According to the *Catalogue*, over the period from 1587 to 1620, from the Town College 921 students graduated, of whom altogether 251 graduates at some point in their career entered the ministry as indicated by the designation of *minister verbi* beside their names. The lists include two graduates who were, beside their ministerial designation, recognised as *theologiae professor*; these were Robert Boyd (class 1595) and James Fairlie (class 1607). A further five graduates were given the title *doctor theologiae*; William

²⁵¹ First published in 1866-71 then it was brought under revision by H. Scott and republished in 1915. The supplementary volume 8 published in 1950 offers new information on the late sixteenth-century clergy which had been unknown to Scott.

²⁵² Published in Edinburgh in 2004.

²⁵³ Haws, "Scottish Parish Clergy", p. v.

²⁵⁴ NAS, Edinburgh Presbytery Minutes, CH2/121/1-2; NAS, Glasgow Presbytery Minutes, CH/2/171/1-3; Glasgow Presbytery Minutes (Transcripts) CH/2/171/31-4; Linlithgow Presbyter Minutes, CH/2/242/1; M. C. Smith, *The Presbytery of St Andrews 1586-1605. A study and Annotated Edition of The Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews, vol 1*, (University of St Andrews, 1985) unpublished Ph.D. thesis; G. R. Kinloch, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records, Selections from the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews and Cupar, MDCXLI-MDCXCVIII*, (Edinburgh, 1837); *Stirling Presb. Recs; Synod Recs.*

Craig (class 1593), Alexander Colville (class 1615), John Lothian (class 1617), George Setune (class 1618), John Cass (class 1620), of whom only Cass additionally held the designation *minister verbi*.

Professions such as medical doctors, lawyers, civil servants, merchants and others made up the remainder, including a large proportion of graduates without any further information, but no other occupation attracted as many students as did the Reformed ministry. Especially during the first decade approximately one-third of the students, whose career is known, became ministers.

In checking, however, these figures against the entries of particular ministers in the *Fasti*, as it will be seen, further precision was gained. The following survey examines the graduate lists of the 32 classes that comprise the names of students who graduated from the Town College between 1587 and 1620.

2.1.1 Without entry to the *Fasti*

First of all, there is a fairly substantial group of graduates, eighteen altogether, given the designation of *minister verbi* in the *Catalogue*, who have no entry at all in the *Fasti* according to Bell's *Index*.

<i>Year of graduation</i>	<i>Name of graduate</i> ²⁵⁵	<i>Year of graduation</i>	<i>Name of graduate</i>
1588	Richard Lownand	1603	Johannes Allan
1588	Jacobus McCullo	1604	Jacobus Hopper
1590	Patricius Grant	1605	Jacobus Fairme
1592	Joannes Aissoun	1606	Angus McKinuschie
1595	John Forsyth	1607	Philippus Nisbetus
1595	Joannes Murray	1610	Adamus Watsone
1597	Georgius Aslowan	1613	Gulielmus Rig
1597	Jacobus Cliland	1617	Jacobus Edgarus
1598	Georgius Harrate	1620	Gavinus Barclay

²⁵⁵ Spelling of the names are given as they are found in the *Catalogue*.

While it must be noted that the spelling of names found in the *Catalogue* might have been misleading or have hidden the original person and so a failure to match graduates' names to that of ministers', other explanations also can be offered. First, the most obvious explanation is that the compilers of the *Catalogue* made mistakes because, as it has earlier been indicated, the designations were added to the graduates' names from personal knowledge and these may have been erroneous. But entry into ministry was often a long process involving appearance before different church courts to be examined before admission to the ministry. Some of these graduates may have initially planned to become parish ministers and began the process of admission, but never came to the point of admission to parish ministry and so their names do not appear in the *Fasti*.

Furthermore, it must be emphasised that the identification of students, especially with names such as Livingston, Johnston, Cuningham or Ker is often difficult and the results the research yields remain highly speculative. For instance, it was impossible to identify two graduates under the name John Cunningham graduating in 1605 and 1607, both entered the ministry but the high number of ministers with this name makes an accurate identification impossible.

2.1.2 Entry to the *Fasti* without university designation

Another group of graduates whose identification proves problematic is of those who are recognised as ministers by the compilers of the *Catalogue* yet the *Fasti* does not associate them with any of the universities. Only their holding of a university degree is given or, even that is missing as it is the case of Robert Scott.

Andrew Murdo, a graduate of the first class in 1587, is most likely identical with the minister in Stobo (Presbytery of Peebles) then in Inverkip (Presbytery of Paisley) presented to the later charge of the parish 9 January 1592, on the death of John Stewart, the previous parson. His name appears twice in the *Synod Records of Lothian and Tweeddale*, first in the minutes of the October 1590 then in the April 1591 meeting, both times as being absent.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ *Fasti*, I. p. 290; VIII. p. 249; *Synod Recs*, pp. 20, 29.

Andrew Hay, graduate of the class of 1588, was probably the son of the minister Andrew Hay, minister at the parish of Renfrew (Presbytery of Paisley).²⁵⁷ On his graduation Hay took up the charge at the parish of Erskine (Presbytery of Greenock) in 1590 then he followed his elder brother, John, in the charge of Mearns (Presbytery of Paisley), who was a Glasgow graduate and moved on to succeed their father on his death in Renfrew.²⁵⁸

There are at least four possible entries for William Livingston who graduated in 1593 in Bell's *Index* to the *Fasti*. Two of them, the minister of Monyabroch (later called Kilsyth) and then of Lanark and the minister of Burntisland, are graduates of Glasgow and St Andrews whereas the ministers at Sanquhar and Kilbride are identified with an Edinburgh graduate of 1601.²⁵⁹ Only one entry for William Livingston remains as a possible Edinburgh graduate for 1593, the minister of the coastal parish of Kildonan in Sutherland. The only information on him, provided by the *Fasti*, was that he was presented by James VI on 28 December 1584 to that living which he might have held until 1602 when Walter Anderson became the parson of the parish church.²⁶⁰ Therefore, either he acquired this position in the church before embarking on his university studies in Edinburgh or, which may seem to be the more likely solution, the graduate of the class 1593 is not the same as the parson of Kildonan.

With some hesitation Robert Scott's name can also be placed in this group. He was a student of Charles Ferme graduating in 1597. In the *Catalogue* he receives two designations *minister verbi* and *prius regens*, however, the *Fasti* does not recognise him as an Edinburgh graduate stating about him only that he was a regent at the University of Glasgow and then admitted on 5 December 1604 to the collegiate charge at St Mungo's (or High Kirk), which until 1595 was the only parish of Glasgow.²⁶¹

Scott began his academic career in Edinburgh by replacing Henry Charteris as a regent when he succeeded Robert Rollock to the principal's chair. Craufurd in his

²⁵⁷ *Fasti*, III. p. 185.

²⁵⁸ *Fasti*, III. pp. 155, 192.

²⁵⁹ Bell, *Index*, p. 270; *Fasti*, III. pp. 306, 478; II. p. 235; V. p. 82. See also E. B. Livingston, *The Livingstons of Callendar and their principal cadets*, (Edinburgh, 1920) pp. 283-290.

²⁶⁰ *Fasti*, VII. p. 90.

²⁶¹ *Fasti*, III. p. 456.

History says that he was chosen to be a regent against Andrew Young who, being also an Edinburgh graduate of the class 1598, held the regency in philosophy in Aberdeen.²⁶² Scott laureated his first and only class in 1602 and in the beginning of the following year demitted his charge from the Town College because he had been called ‘to the ministeriall charge in the town of Glasgow’.²⁶³ It seems, therefore, probable that despite some uncertainty and missing information, Robert Scott of the class 1597 is the same as the Glasgow minister and rector of the University of Glasgow.

From the graduation list of the class 1598, one more name can be added to the list of those whose names cannot be identified without uncertainty, that of John Johnston. In the case of Johnston at least three entries could serve as a possible option to identify the graduate with the right minister.

The first possible entry is for the chaplain in Eyemouth (Presbytery of Chirnside) serving there in that capacity in 1597. The second entry is on the ill-fated minister of Tundergarth (Presbytery of Lochmaben) who was slain by David Armstrong in 1604. The third option for John Johnston would be the minister at Lochmaben (Presbytery of Lochmaben) succeeding William Johnston, yet it is clearly stated that he graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1584.²⁶⁴ To decide on which one is the correct match must be a guess.

In the class of 1613 John Hay is recognised by the *Catalogue* as a *minister verbi*, however, no match can be found for this not uncommon name. All the possible entries with one exception in Bell’s Index describe ministers who graduated either from Glasgow or Aberdeen. The only Edinburgh graduate named John Hay is the son of Theodore Hay, minister of Peebles, who took his first degree in 1630 then obtained a second one from Cambridge.²⁶⁵

Finally, Alexander Cuming, graduate of the class 1616, is recognised by the *Catalogue* as a minister yet within the possible time period Bell suggests only one minister without mentioning the university from which he obtained his degree.

²⁶² Craufurd, *History*, p. 52.

²⁶³ Craufurd, *History*, p. 55.

²⁶⁴ *Fasti*, II. p. 45; There is no main entry on Johnston in the *Fasti* only in the ‘corrigenda’ volume 8, p. 161; R. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1883) p. 441; *Fasti*, II. p. 213; VIII. p. 158.

²⁶⁵ *Fasti*, I. p. 286; *Catalogue*, p. 45.

Cuming was recorded as minister in 1624 in the joint parishes of Halkirk, Skinnet and Spittal (Presbytery of Caithness).²⁶⁶ Apparently he had a connection with people from Edinburgh because his son, Jasper, was apprenticed to the merchant John Kinross of Edinburgh.²⁶⁷

2.1.3 Entry to the *Catalogue* without ministerial recognition

Names of ministers who did not receive the usual title of *minister verbi* by the *Catalogue* for one reason or another appear on the graduation lists, indicating that they pursued their university studies at the Town College in Edinburgh. In the given time period, between 1587 and 1620, four more graduates can be identified with certainty.

One curious case is that of John Boyle who graduated in 1596 under George Robertson with another 23 students of whom 11 chose a career in the Kirk as ministers. The *Catalogue* does not count him amongst the ministers. However, his name appears in the *Fasti* in relation with the parish of Eckford and the second charge in the parish of Jedburgh.²⁶⁸ Boyle was blind. No information is provided whether he was blind from birth or lost his eyesight later in his life. For a blind man, who could not write, it would have been a great achievement to graduate from a university, but no record is made of him as a student, unfortunately Craufurd's entry in his *History* on the year of 1596 when Boyle graduated is particularly short and has no mention of him at all in his account.²⁶⁹

Boyle's case was brought before the General Assembly for adjudication as to whether a blind man could be allowed to carry out all the duties of a minister. The Assembly on 19th March 1600 resolved that Boyle was not permitted to exercise the pastoral office except preaching yet in the following year he was nominated for a proposed second charge at Jedburgh.²⁷⁰ His name appears again in connection with

²⁶⁶ *Fasti*, VII, p. 122.

²⁶⁷ 19 January 1648 cf. F. J. Grant, ed., "The Register of Apprentices of the City of Edinburgh, 1583-1666" in *Scottish Record Society*, vol. 28 (1906) p. 45.

²⁶⁸ *Catalogue*, p. 14; *Fasti*, II, p. 110.

²⁶⁹ See his signature in Calderwood, VI, p. 711: 'I, Mr Johne Boyle, with my hand, led by the notar underwritin [Robert Boyle], at the penne, becaus I could not write myself.'

²⁷⁰ *BUK*, III, p. 953: 'Anent the questioun, Whither a man being blind may discharge all the parts of the office of a Pastor; and in speciall anent the admissioun of Mr Johne Boyle to the ministrie of

the parish of Eckford (Presbytery of Jedburgh) where he was admitted in March 1605 and remained there for some years when he was deposed for adultery on 11 January 1610.²⁷¹

Two ministers with identical names, both called John Douglas, go unnoticed on the graduates list of class 1601 and 1603 in the *Catalogue* although both of them served as minister in well-known and fairly large congregations; furthermore one of them was from a well-known ecclesiastical family.

On graduating in the class of 1601, John Douglas may have given pulpit supply in several churches prior to settling down at the parish of Kilpatrick-in-the-Muir (Presbytery of Dumfries). It is noted of him that having ‘thir divers years bygane travellet in the function of the ministry, and willing to continue therein’. He was presented to this parish by James VI on 20th April 1610 where he remained until his death in 1641.²⁷²

That the son and heir of Archibald Douglas, the archdeacon of Glasgow and minister in Peebles, John Douglas is not recognised as a minister on the graduate list of the class of 1603, is even more surprising.²⁷³ As a minister of Peebles, Archibald played an active part in the Kirk as it is well demonstrated by his name often appearing in the *Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*.²⁷⁴ The earliest church appointment John Douglas had was at the parish of Kilbucho (Presbytery of Biggar) which he took up, possibly after the death of his father, then in 1616 he was translated to Broughton within the presbytery.²⁷⁵

Andrew Kirkton graduated in the 1617 under the regency of Andrew Young. His name as a minister also escaped the attention of the compilers of the *Catalogue*. On the death of Patrick Carmichael, another Edinburgh graduate (1597) and minister at Oxnam (Presbytery of Jedburgh), Kirkton took over the charge of the parish.²⁷⁶

Jedburgh, being blind: The Assemblie referres the ansuer of the generall questioun to the next Generall Assemblie. And as to the admissioun of the said Mr Johne, referris it to the Commissioners of the said Generall Assemblie; and in the meanetyme discharges the said Mr Johne fra vsing any part of the office of a Pastour, except the preaching of the Word.’

²⁷¹<http://www.dwalker.co.uk>, online edition of *Fasti* vol. 2, accessed on 19 November 2009.

²⁷² *Fasti*, II. p. 284; <http://www.dwalker.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk>, accessed on 15 September 2009.

²⁷³ *Fasti*, I. p. 286; D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray, eds, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae Medii Aevi ad 1619 Annum 1638*, (Edinburgh, 2003) p. 225.

²⁷⁴ See the references on the following pages: 14, 23, 38-39, 41-42, 56, 67-70, 87-88, 94.

²⁷⁵ *Fasti*, I. pp. 240, 244.

²⁷⁶ *Fasti*, II. p. 135.

2.1.4 Summary and discussion of figures

Tables below summarise the figures of student numbers, with the totals of those graduating and of those who proceeded to an ecclesiastical career for the period of 1587-1620.

year of graduation	total number of graduates	ecclesiastical career		
		<i>Catalogue</i>	identified	uncertain
1587	47	15	14 ²⁷⁷	2
1588	30	12	9	3
1589	<i>plague</i>	-	-	-
1590	13	7	6	1
1591	14	6	6	0
1592	28	11	0	1
1593	22	6	5	1
1594	20	5	5	0
1595	29	16	14	2
1596	24	11	12	0
1597	34	12	10	2
1598	32	9	7	2
1599	35	9	9	0
1600	35	10	10	0
total	363	129	115	14

In the initial years student numbers fluctuated considerably, showing a high number of graduating students in the first two years then a sharp decline in the years of the plague from the end of 1584 onwards.²⁷⁸ This was the third and last outbreak of the disease in the second half of the sixteenth century that hit the major burghs

²⁷⁷ Patrick Sands as the Principal of the University is not indicated as a minister in the *Catalogue* although he was assigned to preach in the High or Upper Tolbooth on Sundays afternoon between 1620 and 1622. Cf. *Fasti*, I. pp. 37, 44.

²⁷⁸ On the high number of graduates in the first two years, see Charteris' account. He writes of "a great multitude [...] flocked not only from the city itself, but also from the neighbouring country" to Edinburgh on the news that a university had been opened in the burgh. Cf. *Select Works*, I. p. lxxv.

including Edinburgh. ‘There died of the plague, at that time, in Edinburgh, twentie thowsand’ reported by Calderwood; the figure seems to be rather over estimated, nevertheless, it confirms the devastating effect of the disaster.²⁷⁹ In the spring of 1585, most of the students and the teaching staff left the burgh and teaching resumed only towards the end of the same year. No class was started in 1585 and consequently in 1589 there was no graduation at all and in the following two years only 13 and 14 students graduated. From 1592 to the end of the century student numbers rose to the average of 29 each year.

Table 3 The number of ministerial graduates, 1601-1620

year of graduation	total number of graduates	ecclesiastical career		
		<i>Catalogue</i>	identified	uncertain
1601	20	3	4 ²⁸⁰	0
1602	32	8	8	0
1603	23	7	7 ²⁸¹	1
1604	26	5	4	1
1605	24	8	6	2
1606	28	6	5	1
1607	28	8	6	2
<i>1608</i>	<i>plague</i>	-	-	-
1609	32	9	9	0
1610	27	7	6	1
1611	22	4	4	0
1612	24	6	6	0
1613	31	4	2	2
1614	28	5	5	0
1615	35	8	7	1
1616	28	9	7	2
1617	47	4	3 ²⁸²	2
1618	34	10	9	1
1619	33	4	4	0
1620	36	7	5	2
total	558	122	104	18

²⁷⁹ Calderwood, IV. p. 377; *Extracts*, pp. 413-414, 416-418, 421.

²⁸⁰ John Douglas, minister of Kirkpatrick-in-the-Muir, is not recorded as a minister in the *Catalogue*.

²⁸¹ John Douglas, minister in Broughton, also not indicated as a minister in the *Catalogue*.

²⁸² Andrew Kirkton is on the graduate list of the *Catalogue* but not indicated as minister.

Between 1601 and 1620, an average of 29 students graduated at the College each year. Graduates fluctuated from 20 in 1601 to 47 in 1617 with a slight increase in numbers towards the end of the given period.

The slow but steady increase in numbers of graduates, which continued in the subsequent years, shows the needs that existed in contemporary society, the demands for officials primarily on the part of the state and of the church administration.

As for the graduates' later ecclesiastical career, between 1587 and 1600 thirty five per cent of the graduates proceeded to the ministry, reaching its peak in the years of 1595 and 1596 when fifty five per cent and forty six per cent of the graduates chose a career in the Kirk. The average number of ministerial graduates studying in Edinburgh in the last seventeen years of the sixteenth century compares with an annual average of ministerial graduates of 22-25 per cent yearly in the same period in Glasgow.²⁸³

The overall expansion in numbers during the first two decades of the seventeenth century was paralleled by a growth in the number of those turning to non-ecclesiastical careers resulting in a steady decline in the numbers of those proceeding to the ministry. The thirty five per cent of the late sixteenth century dropped to a mere twenty two per cent during the period of 1601-1620, culminating in the dramatic decline of the years of 1617 and 1619 when only four graduates out of forty-seven and thirty-three chose an ecclesiastical career. Decline in the number of ministerial graduates in Edinburgh during the period of 1601-1620 rather seems to reflect the diminishing need of ministers to fill vacant parishes in Scotland in general and in the central part of the country in particular. Moreover, it seems to confirm that by the first decade of the seventeenth century the replacement of the first generation of ministers, readers and exhorters had already taken place and those parishes in undersupplied presbyteries, where the ministry of church personnel had now to be shared, could obtain their own ministers.

²⁸³ In 1582 one out of 10, then in 1583 three out of 18, in 1584 four out of 15, in 1585 five graduates out of 15 subsequently chose a career in the church and similar pattern remained for the rest of the century. Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 376.

Student numbers in general, must also be understood against a background of particular movements of population at a national level such as variations in birth rate, death, civil and external wars.

The information on the number of ministerial graduates for the period between 1560 and 1600 gleaned from the *Fasti* for the four universities, St Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh, suggests that it corresponds to the relative size of the student body in each university except for King's College in Aberdeen. St Andrews trained 53 per cent of the ministers, Glasgow 25 per cent, King's College 3.5 per cent and the Town College in Edinburgh, graduated its first class only in 1587, was responsible for an astonishing 17.5 per cent. After 1600, the figures show that in the first half of the seventeenth century St Andrews remained on top with educating 39.5 per cent of ministers in Scotland, while Edinburgh came second with 24 per cent, narrowly followed by Glasgow with 21 per cent and then by Aberdeen where 15 per cent of the ministers received their education.²⁸⁴

One obvious consequence of Edinburgh's substantial production of ministerial graduates was the competition that arose among universities. In fact, the drawing power with which Edinburgh was attracting students posed a threat to the other universities. According to Craufurd's *History*:

the three universities of St Andrew's, Glasgow, and Old-Aberdeen, by the power of the Bishops bearing some sway in the Kirk, and more in the State, did bet their [the town council's and the burgh ministers'] interprise.²⁸⁵

It was even suggested in 1616 that Edinburgh's 'power be restraint to the bernis of ther awine citie'.²⁸⁶

2.2 The national background of the graduates

Altogether fifteen students from abroad studied at Edinburgh in the period under examination whose names appear in the graduate list. Only two countries are represented, England and France. As for their later career nine of the ministerial

²⁸⁴ R. N. Smart, "Some Observations on the Provinces of the Scottish Universities, 1560-1850", in *The Scottish Tradition*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1974) pp. 91-106 at p. 93-94.

²⁸⁵ Craufurd, *History*, p. 19.

²⁸⁶ *Evidence, oral and documentary, taken by the Commissioners appointed by King George IV, for visiting the Universities of Scotland*, 4 vols, (London, 1837) III. p. 201.

graduates either returned to their home country or took up livings as ministers outside Scotland. Tracing the early career for these graduates is beyond the scope of this research.

Table 4 The graduates' country of origin, 1587-1620

year of grad.	country of origin			year of grad.	country of origin		
	Scotland	France	England		Scotland	France	England
1587	47	0	0	1604	26	0	0
1588	30	0	0	1605	24	0	0
1589	-	-	-	1606	28	0	0
1590	13	0	0	1607	28	0	0
1591	14	0	0	1608	-	-	-
1592	28	2	0	1609	32	0	0
1593	22	0	2	1610	27	0	0
1594	20	0	0	1611	22	0	0
1595	29	1	0	1612	24	0	1
1596	24	0	0	1613	31	0	0
1597	35	1	0	1614	28	1	0
1598	32	4	0	1615	35	0	0
1599	35	0	0	1616	28	0	0
1600	35	2	0	1617	47	0	0
1601	20	0	0	1618	34	0	0
1602	32	0	0	1619	33	0	0
1603	23	0	0	1620	36	0	1
				total	922	11	4

According to the *Catalogue* during the examined period eleven French students completed their academic course in Edinburgh, and two of them, Thomas Mazerius (class 1595) and Joannes Oliuarius (class 1597) the *Catalogue* suggests that on their return to France became ministers.²⁸⁷ Mazerius settled in Lusignan in western France in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, which area came to be predominantly under the control of the Huguenots in the second half of the sixteenth century, and developed good relations with Geneva receiving ministers trained in the Academy.²⁸⁸ Naturally, distinction between evidence and speculation needs to be

²⁸⁷ *Catalogue*, pp. 13-14. Spelling is given as they are found in the *Catalogue*.

²⁸⁸ Jaques Langlois, a minister trained in Geneva was sent to Poitiers by the company of pastors on the request of the French church. Cf. E. Cameron, *The European Reformation*, p. 289. n. 54; M.

made, however, it is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that in the placement of Mazarius the unfolding relationship between Edinburgh and Geneva might have had a role to play.

With one exception, all of them studied in Edinburgh before the turn of the century suggesting that as the seventeenth century continued Huguenots found sufficient educational provision within their own country. The only other nationality represented among the recorded graduates was English. In the list provided by the *Catalogue*, altogether four students in this period came from England to study in Edinburgh with the probable intention of becoming ministers as three of them, Edwardus Muschamp (class 1593), Nicolaus Spoonerius (class 1612) and Georgius Levingstone (class 1620) went into the ministry in their home country.²⁸⁹

To this group of students can be added, at least, a further five Scottish graduates, Ricardus Murray, Patricius M'Ilwyane (class 1597), Joannes Cranstone, Samuel Kello (class 1618) and Henricus Cuningham (class 1620) who also took up charges in England in the initial years of their ecclesiastical career.²⁹⁰

Perhaps Patrick M'Ilwyane was the best known to his contemporaries. He became a minister at Lesbury, Northumberland and earned a reputation in his old age with an allegedly miraculous change in his appearance as he began to grow young again. In a letter, written to William Liakus, a citizen of Antwerp, dated from Lesbury, 19 October 1657, he gave a short account of his life in which he made a reference to the extraordinary change that had taken place in his body:

it is now the third year since I had two new teeth, [...]. My sight decayed many years ago, is now, about the hundred and tenth year of my age, become clearer; hair adorns my heretofore bold skull. [...] All this is most certain and true, which I have seriously, though over hastily, confirmed to you, under the hand of Patrick Makel Wian, Minister of Lesbury.

This account is further supplemented by a visitor's report in which Thomas Atkins wrote of him: 'hearty body, very cheerful, and stoops very much. Had five

Greengrass, *The French Reformation*, (Oxford, 1987) p. 38ff; E. G. Léonard, *A History of Protestantism*, 2 vols, (London, 1967) pp. 104-109.

²⁸⁹ *Catalogue*, pp. 11, 27, 34. Spelling is given as they are found in the *Catalogue*.

²⁹⁰ *Catalogue*, pp. 14, 32-34. Spelling is given as they are found in the *Catalogue*.

children after he was eighty years of age [...]. His wife yet hardly fifty years of age'.²⁹¹

The relatively small number of foreign students represented at the Town College, in the decades following its inception, suggests that the information about a new institution with a possible commitment to Reformed theological outlook had just begun to circulate in the sphere of the Reformed world. Yet it did attract some students from abroad even if some more years were to pass until the last quarter of the seventeenth century when Edinburgh rose to internationally renowned fame.

3 Social and family background of the ministerial graduates

This chapter aims to discuss the family background of the ministerial graduates. Although a systematic survey of the social origins of the graduates is impossible because of the lack of adequate sources it is still possible to glean a pattern from the ones available.

3.1 Ministerial graduates from non-clerical background

The growth of the professions such as lawyers, surgeons, physicians, schoolmasters and ministers, marked the beginning of a new era for urban society. Similarly to lawyers, ministers were developing the characteristics of a professional caste: son followed father into the manse.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the acquisition of a good benefice or burgh charge made the parish ministry attractive to sons of lairds and the growing burgh community in the burghs. Thomas Abernethy, the laird of Glencourse, sent three of his sons to study in Edinburgh of whom two became ministers. The importance of the Abernethy family as a substantial landowner is demonstrated by the enumeration of their possessions which included lands in Edinburgh and

²⁹¹ N. Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World, or, A General History of Man*, 2 vols, (London, 1806) p. 103; first published in 1678; also cf. A. Symson, *A large description of Galloway*, (Edinburgh, 1823) pp. 47-49. [It was originally written in 1684 then revised in 1692 and first published in 1823.]; T. Fuller, *The history of the worthies of England*, (London, 1662) pp. 308-310. His name comes under the heading of 'Memorable Persons' as Machell Vivan, 'because beneficed in this County so many years, shall (by the Readers leave) pass for an *English-man*', p. 308.

Haddingtonshire (East Lothian) as well as in Dalgety, Fife. John, the first son, graduated in the first class of 1587 and entered the ministry in Jedburgh. In 1596 he was followed by his brother, Thomas, who was licensed to preach by the Edinburgh Presbytery and served as a minister in Hawick.²⁹² David Home, the younger son of John Home of Ninewells, a couple of miles west of Dundee, became a minister in Chirnside.²⁹³ Patrick Stewart, a graduate in the class of 1598, was the fifth son of James, fifth Lord of Innermeath. He became a minister at the Muckersie (Presbytery of Perth) but later he was excommunicated by the presbytery 'for papistry'.²⁹⁴

A number of burgress' sons also found parish ministry attractive. William Hogg, who graduated in 1592 and became minister at Ayton (Presbytery of Chirnside) was the son and heir of Thomas Hogg, burgress of Canongate.²⁹⁵ Thomas Ramsay and Patrick Turner, both from the class of 1595 were sons of Edinburgh burgresses.²⁹⁶ This was also true of Robert Herries, a graduate of 1602, the only son of the Edinburgh merchant burgress, William Harries, who entered the ministry in the parish of Dryfesdale.²⁹⁷ Thomas Sydserff was the eldest son of the prominent Edinburgh merchant burgress, James Sydserff.²⁹⁸ George Cleland, a graduate of 1603 became minister at Durisdeer (Presbytery of Penpont) was the son of John Cleland burgress in Edinburgh. Alexander Thomson of 1604 who went into the ministry in Tinwald (Presbytery of Dumfries) was the son of the Edinburgh apothecary, Adam Thomson, in right of whom he became burgress and guild-brother in Edinburgh.²⁹⁹

From the same social rank, but from other parts of central Scotland, came John Adamson, who became minister in North Berwick then principal in the University of Edinburgh, was the son of a prominent family in Perth. His father, James Adamson, merchant, served as dean of guild in 1600 and as Provost of Perth between 1609 and 1612.³⁰⁰ George Douglas was one of the very few students who came from the north of Scotland. His father was the provost in Elgin.

²⁹² *Fasti*, II. p. 125; II. p. 110.

²⁹³ *Fasti*, II. p. 18.

²⁹⁴ *Fasti*, IV. p. 213.

²⁹⁵ *Fasti*, II. p. 30.

²⁹⁶ *Fasti*, II. p. 264; I. p. 315.

²⁹⁷ *Fasti*, II. p. 204.

²⁹⁸ *Fasti*, VII. p. 353.

²⁹⁹ *Fasti*, II. p. 297.

³⁰⁰ T. H. Marshall, *The history of Perth, from the earliest period to the present time* (Perth, 1849) p. 489; *Fasti*, I. p. 170.

Only two of the ministerial graduates, whose family background is known, came from families with a legal background. Patrick Sharp, one of the graduates of the original class of 1587, was the son of the Sir John Sharp, an advocate in Houston north-west of Paisley. He became a minister in Strathbrock (Presbytery of Linlithgow). On leaving the Town College in 1590 Adam Bellenden, the second son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul, Lord Justice-Clerk, served as a minister first at Falkirk then bishop of Dunblane in 1615.³⁰¹

It is clear from this evidence that a significant number of ministers came from the Edinburgh burgh community which was an important element in the social structure of Edinburgh.

3.2 Ministerial graduates from the manse

A more identifiable group of ministerial candidates came from a clerical background. It is difficult to exaggerate and overestimate the social importance of the Reformers' conviction that the clergy should be married.³⁰² In the Middle Ages the clergy had been set apart by not marrying although clerical celibacy had never been perfectly observed. Parish priests and dignitaries in the church hierarchy alike frequently had concubines and illegitimate offspring were often legitimised and even accepted into the clergy. Thus, in this respect, clergy were often criticised from both within and outside the church. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, as early as 1530, believed that sexual laxity was the consequence of the binding practice of clerical celibacy since 'Wantyng of Wyffis bene cause of appetite'. Lindsay therefore,

³⁰¹ *Fasti*, I. p. 233; VII. p. 330.

³⁰² 'The Lord God has wanted three things made right before the Last Day, quotes Steven Ozment Luther from 1532, the ministry of the Word, government and marriage.' Cf. S. Ozment, *The age of reform (1250-1550): an intellectual and religious history of late Medieval and Reformation Europe*, (Yale, 1980) p. 381. The Protestant Reformers were not unique in arguing for a married clergy, of course. Erasmus consistently argued for the marriage of priests within the church. See L. Halkin, *Erasmus, a Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1994) pp. 168, 179; M. Parsons, *Reformation Marriage, the husband and wife relationship in the theology of Luther and Calvin*, (Edinburgh, 2005) pp. 1ff; M. Bucer, 'The Restoration of Lawful Ordination' (1549) in *Common Places*, ed. D. F. Wright, (Appleford, 1972) pp. 265-266.

overtly advocated clerical marriage, just as his continental counterparts did even though this was one of the most contentious issues in early modern Europe.³⁰³

Steven Ozment suggests that no institutional change brought about by the Reformation was ‘more conducive to new social alterations than the marriage of protestant clergy’. He continues, ‘The reformers argued theologically and attempted to demonstrate by their lives the superiority of a married over a celibate clergy. In doing so they extolled as few before them the virtues of marriage and family life’.³⁰⁴ There were several consequences of clerical marriage.

First, one lasting consequence of clerical marriage was the domestication of religion itself. Experiences within the family offered analogies for understanding the nature and destiny of human beings. The family was seen as a training camp for both church and state and Luther praised parenthood as the one vocation where spiritual and temporal authority came together. He portrayed parents as apostles, bishops and priests to their children.³⁰⁵

Second, seemingly the practice of clerical marriage would suggest that the ‘separateness’ that had marked the Medieval clergy off from the rest of society was set aside. Protestant ministers married like laity, yet, as evidences show, they tended to promote their sons into the ministry and marry their daughter to other of their kind and hence the ‘separateness’ was kept alive in another way. Nonetheless, it must be noted that while clergy found a married priesthood quite acceptable and quickly adopted it, the attitude of laity to clerical marriage was not unanimously positive because of the apparent danger of nepotism and spoliations of church properties.³⁰⁶ Patrick Collinson speaks even of endogamy and priestly tribalism amongst Elizabethan English clergy.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ C. Edington, “To speik of Preistis be sure it is na bourds: discussing the priesthood in pre-Reformation Scotland” pp. 37-38 in *The reformation of the parishes. The ministry and the Reformation in town and country*, ed. A. Pettegree, (Manchester, 1993) pp. 22-42.

³⁰⁴ Ozment, *The age of reform*, p. 381.

³⁰⁵ Ozment, *The age of reform*, pp. 395-396.

³⁰⁶ Especially it was apparent in England. Henry VIII himself did not like the idea thus Archbishop Cranmer, married to the niece of the Lutheran theologian Andreas Ossiander, had to keep it secret. Cf. J. Berlatsky, “Marriage and Family in a Tudor Elite: Familial Patterns of Elizabethan Bishop” in *Journal of Family History*, 3:1 (1978) p. 6. For a pre-Reformation Scottish context, see Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, pp. 17-18.

³⁰⁷ Also it has been pointed out that in Switzerland, Württemberg, the Rhineland, or Brandenburg the sons of ministers were a large proportion, sometimes an outright majority, of candidates for the ministry. In England, as it has been suggested, there were dynasties of parsons, and even bishops. Euan Cameron in his *The European Reformation*, p. 392, refers to B. Vogler, *Le Clergé protestant*

Furthermore, development of internal, family connections among clergy as a social group advanced their professional consolidation.³⁰⁸

By the 1550s in Scotland there was considerable relaxation regarding the rule of celibacy in practice. The fact that the sons of clerical incumbents became priests, practiced as notaries, were merchants and craftsmen, acted as executors, witnessed legal transactions, suggests that the offspring of the pre-Reformation clergy were accepted by the rest of society. Even succession in the clerical office was tolerated.³⁰⁹ As Protestantism was gaining ground in Scotland the clerical marriage was viewed differently. It was not only accepted but advocated by the Reformers. They envisaged the minister's family as a normal Christian family that forms an exemplary nucleus of the parish, 'who were prepared to make additional sacrifices' and 'faithfully serve the kirk of God'.³¹⁰ The minister's wife developed a significant role within the local community. The two feisty wives, Janet Guthrie and Margaret Marjoribanks, also daughters of prominent Edinburgh burgh families, companions of the two banished Edinburgh ministers, James Lawson and Walter Balcanquhal, took an active part in the protest against Arran's regime.³¹¹

A common pattern in emerging professional groups was intermarriage which then strengthened the ties across professions. This can be seen among ministerial families who formed clerical dynasties with links into the legal and medical professions which elevated them to be part of the Scottish elite.

There were several instances of whole families devoting themselves to the service of the Kirk.

3.3 Family ties among clerical ministerial graduates

The table in Appendix 4 (p. 223) gives an indication of the family ties among clerical ministerial graduates under the subsections of year of graduation, family

rhéan au siècle de la réforme, (Paris, 1976) pp. 18, 21-23; and P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford, 1982) pp. 115-117.

³⁰⁸ Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p.115.

³⁰⁹ Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, p. 132.

³¹⁰ Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, p. 132; *FBD*, p. 108. For passages on the minister's household see "The Fifth head: Concerning the Provision for the Ministers and for the Distribution of the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the Church" in *FBD*, pp. 108-114.

³¹¹ Calderwood, IV. pp. 126-141.

origin and descendents. This aids in tracing generational ties within the ministerial circle of the late sixteenth century Scotland.

On the basis of the examination of data for family ties among graduates and ministerial families compiled in Appendix 4 a few examples are given of influential clerical families who were related to the Town College.

Nathaniel Harlaw was the son of a former Canongate tailor turned protestant preacher, William Harlaw, who had been involved in the early stages of the Reformation with a record of service in the Edwardian Church of England.³¹² On his return from England in 1553 Harlaw conducted services first privately then in public. For a short spell in 1560 he was acting as a ‘minister for the tyme’ in the parish kirk of Perth and places nearby.³¹³ There is no indication when he left Perth but in December of the same year he was a member of the first General Assembly, by then as a minister of St Cuthbert’s, just outside Edinburgh. Yet he was not presented to the parish until 1573 since the previous minister in charge, Archibald Hamilton, had been in place from at least 1547. In 1574 Robert Pont was admitted as a collegiate minister to St Cuthbert’s and later succeeded him.³¹⁴

Nathaniel was born around 1567, entered the newly erected College in Edinburgh in 1583 and graduated in the first class of 1587 under Robert Rollock. He was on the exercise at St Andrews 30 October 1589. First he was called by the parishioners of Temple but a few months later, November 1590, was ordered to preach at Ormiston in the Presbytery of Dalkieth where he remained in charge until his death. His son, William, following his father’s career became a minister in England.³¹⁵

One of the most notable families that provided the Reformed Kirk with ministers, of whom many studied in Edinburgh, was the Row family. At least eight ministers from the family studied in Edinburgh’s Town College in its first fifty years.

John Row (c.1525-1580) an accomplished linguist and canon lawyer, himself a graduate of St Leonards, St Andrews (1548), one of the compilers of both the *First Book of Discipline* and the *Second Book of Discipline* had five sons who reached the

³¹² Calderwood, I. pp. 303, 333, 343; II. p. 45; Fasti, I. p. 93. *ODNB* online, accessed on 23 February 2009.

³¹³ M. Verschuur, *Politics or Religion? The Reformation in Perth 1540-1570*, (Edinburgh, 2006).

³¹⁴ *ODNB* online, accessed on 2 December 2006.

³¹⁵ *Fasti*, I. p. 340.

age to attend university. The first one studying in Edinburgh was John, the third son of the reformer, who graduated in 1590. His elder brothers, James and William, had studied at St Andrews. Once the college opened its doors in Edinburgh John started his studies there and soon he was followed by his younger brothers, Archibald (1596) and Colin (1598).

John, after working as a schoolmaster at Aberdour, late in 1592, was appointed minister of Carnock, Fife, where he remained for the rest of his life although was invited to move to richer parishes. Three of his sons also attended the College in Edinburgh. David, the eldest one on his graduation in 1616 moved to Ireland to live there for twenty five years, fifteen of which he spent as a minister. As a result of the ‘persecution and oppression of the Irishes’ he finally returned to Scotland with his family and probably attended the exercise in Edinburgh during March and April 1642 where the presbytery gathered in order to get ‘direction from the Counsell to trye suche personis as had cum from Ireland, and had gottin great skaithe [harm] thair’.³¹⁶ His father’s reaction to the trial, who attended the meetings of the presbytery in person, may suggest that its outcome did not hold much for David’s future as a minister in Scotland. As the presbytery meetings ended, John Row tried to secure some provision for his son by contacting his friends. The unfortunate outcome seems also to be confirmed by the fact that the name of David Row does not appear in the records of parish ministers. The other two sons entered the ministry in Scotland. Robert of the class of 1630 took up the charge at Abercorn, West Lothian. William, the youngest one, a graduate of 1634, after becoming an assistant to his father in Carnock during the period of 1642-43, early in 1644 after having been tried by the Cupar Presbytery, accepted the call from the church in Ceres, Fife.³¹⁷

Row’s two youngest sons Archibald and Colin also studied in Edinburgh, the former becoming the minister of the parish church at Stobo, in the Scottish Borders, the later one in St Quivox in South Ayrshire. Colin had no known heirs whereas two

³¹⁶ “Extracts from the Kirk-Session Book of Carnock” in *The history of the Kirk of Scotland*, J. Row, pp. xvii.

³¹⁷ *Fasti*, V. p. 8; I. p. 189; V. p. 131. See also “Extracts from the Kirk-Session Book of Carnock” pp. xvii-xxv.

of Archibald's sons choose a career in the church both obtaining their MA from Edinburgh in 1618 and 1629.³¹⁸

The Knox family was another prominent family well represented amongst the graduates of the Town College. In the given period at least five entries in the *Catalogue* can be identified with members from the Knox family, all related to the Reformer, of whom three entered the ministry in the Kirk. James Knox was the son of William Knox, minister of Cockpen, Midlothian, who left three sons in the ministry, the two elder ones were graduates of St Andrews, John in 1575 then minister in Melrose and William graduated in 1589 and succeeded his father on his death. When James reached the age to enter university he went on to the Town College in Edinburgh. Graduating in 1596, he became a regent there then following his brothers proceeded to the ministry by taking up the parish church at Kelso. His youngest son, Robert, also studied in Edinburgh, class of 1625, and while living in Cranstoun he was admitted to exercise with Dalkeith Presbytery in December 1631 to succeed his father in Kelso on his death two years later.³¹⁹

Another family of importance that gained prominence towards the end of the sixteenth century central Scotland was the Balcanquhall family originating from Fife. In the period under scrutiny there are four entries in the *Catalogue* for this family name. Walter Balcanquhall, a graduate of St Andrews himself, had three sons to pursue higher studies, all of them obtained their MA degrees from Edinburgh, and he had six daughters as well. Robert, the eldest son, of class 1606, married Jean Rollock who was Robert Rollock's daughter. Robert Balcanquhall became a minister at Tranent (Presbytery of Haddington) in 1614, and his son, Walter, graduate of 1634, succeeded his father.³²⁰

The second son, also Walter Balcaquhall, graduating in 1606, chose an ecclesiastical career in England, first in 1611 he served as a fellow of Pembroke College in Oxford then as a chaplain to James VI, later he became the dean of Rochester then of Durham.³²¹

³¹⁸ *Fasti*, I. p. 290; III. p. 65; IV. p. 281; II. pp. 88-89. *ODNB* online, accessed on 22 August 2011.

³¹⁹ *Fasti*, I. p. 306; II. pp. 70-71, 186.

³²⁰ *ODNB* online, accessed on 20 October 2009.

³²¹ *Fasti*, I. pp. 125-126, 396.

This evidence confirms a developing dynastic tendency among prominent clerical families. They tended to send their sons to the Town College, the same place where they had been trained.

3.3.1 Examples of clerical succession

There are several examples of sons not only entering the ministry but also succeeding their fathers' in the same parish. Of the ten known cases where this pattern continues into the third generation a few examples will be given. In many cases these sons took up the post of an assistant, in other words they were apprenticed to their fathers.

One example of father-son apprenticeship is Matthew Lichton, who graduated in the second class in 1588 and, originated from Currie where his father Adam Letham [Lichton, Leighton] had served as a minister since at least 1568. In 1590 although not being of the age required by the Act of the Provincial Assembly he was permitted to serve with his father. At the end of the following year he was admitted as a colleague and successor.³²²

Another example is William and John Aird. William Aird was a mason by trade who came to the ministry later in life. It was his wife who taught him to read English after which he went on to study Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well. His name, however, does not appear on the graduate list of the Town College which indicates he might have not finished his course of studies. It is known that there was a high dropout rate at the College in the initial years. Even so, he was called and placed in the second charge of the ministry of St Cuthbert's in 1586, which at this time was outside of the city of Edinburgh. His son, John, graduated from the Town College in 1604 and became his father's assistant and then moved to Newton in 1614 and in 1615 he went onto Newbattle.³²³

An example of several generations in the ministry is Andrew MakGhie the son of Thomas MakGhie, a minister in the East Lothian area, first in North Berwick then from 1576 in Gullane, which church in 1612 by an act of a Parliament joined the

³²² *Fasti*, I. pp. 14-15.

³²³ *Fasti*, I. pp. 100, 332, 336; W. Sime, *History of the Church and Parish of St Cuthbert, or West Kirk of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1829) pp. 23-25. *ODNB* online, accessed on 22 August 2011.

parish of Dirleton (Presbytery of Haddington).³²⁴ Thomas MakGhie had a prominent role in the governing of Haddington Presbytery. During the 1590s several times he received appointments from the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale for inspecting other presbyteries ('for the tryall of presbitereis') like that of Dalkeith, Linlithgow and Edinburgh, all within the boundaries of the synod. In other cases he was charged with settling quarrels between ministers and their parishioners; also in May 1590, he was shortlisted to be a moderator for the synod.³²⁵ He sent his son, Andrew, to study in Edinburgh who graduated in 1591 and was admitted to the charge of Gullane as an assistant to his father on 22 December 1597 and with his father's probable intention of allowing his son to succeed him. It was recorded of Thomas, the father, in the minutes of the synod held in Musselburgh in April 1595 that he acquired 'a hous to duell in in the town of Edinburgh' and was ordained not to remove from his congregation.³²⁶ However, on his father's demission in May 1599, Andrew was presented to the parish then installed in the following month and remained there for the rest of his ministry. Two of his sons chose a career in the Kirk, both graduating from Edinburgh in 1625 and 1639. His elder son, John, after a period of time working as a tutor in the family of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, succeeded him in 1639 although not immediately as John Trotter, a St Andrews' graduate, occupied the charge for a short period. His younger son, John, took on the parish church in Aberlady in 1646 which church his grandfather, Thomas MakGhie, had frequently to visit on behalf of the presbytery in order to make peace between the congregation and its minister, John Ker.³²⁷

Another example of three generations in ministry is James Brown, the son of a reader, John Brown, who held different parishes in Galloway. From 1567 he acted as a reader at the costal parish of Urr then moving north he took up the parish church in Irongray in 1574 with two other parishes in charge. His son was admitted in 1601 probably first as an assistant to his father, who died in 1607, and then as a successor. James Brown had two sons, who both became ministers, and was succeeded by his younger son, Patrick, also an Edinburgh graduate (1629). Patrick was ordained first

³²⁴ *Fasti*, I. pp. 358-359; eds K. M. Brown and others, *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, (St Andrews, 2007-2010), 1612/10/34. Accessed on 24 January 2010.

³²⁵ *Synod Recs.*, pp. 13, 17, 31, 39, 69, 75.

³²⁶ *Synod Recs.*, p. 90.

³²⁷ *Fasti*, I. pp. 359; *Synod Recs.*, pp. 73, 79, 89.

to Trailflat, (Presbytery of Dumfries) in 1638 and shortly after his father's death he moved on to take up the parish in Irongray in 1646.³²⁸

A further two examples of three generational ministers are John Bennet and David Ross. John Bennet was the only graduate who came from a clerical family in the class of 1605. He was the son of the minister in Heriot (Presbytery of Dalkeith) who also had charge of Borthwick and Stow parishes. On his graduation John became a minister in Broughton in 1608 and then he went to the parish church at Kirkurd, a few miles West of Peebles in 1616. This church, prior to the Reformation, belonged to Trinity College, Edinburgh, perhaps this explains why he was presented to the church by the Edinburgh Town Council (19 April 1616). Of the three of his surviving sons, George, entered the ministry in 1635 by taking up the charge of the parish church at Quothquan (Presbytery of Biggar).³²⁹ David Ross, from the class 1609, was also a son of the manse. His father, Robert Ross, served as minister north of Dingwall in Alness in the Highlands. Four of his five sons entered the ministry on their graduation. David, having possibly been the eldest of them and the only one studying in Edinburgh, after finishing his course at Edinburgh's Town College, returned to his closer patriarch and assumed the charge of the parish church at Logie-Easter (Presbytery of Tain).³³⁰

These examples reveal clerical succession not only in the ministry but also in parishes. In many cases the sons were apprenticed to their own fathers which practice followed a similar pattern to other professions and trades.

4 Wills and testaments of ministerial graduates from Edinburgh's Town College, 1587-1610

The extant wills and testaments provide a rich source of information on all aspects of the social and economic, on occasions, spiritual life of the ministers. The inventories record details of household equipment, tools, furniture, clothes, and

³²⁸ *Fasti*, II. p. 287; VIII. p. 176.

³²⁹ *Fasti*, I. pp. 322, 276, 257.

³³⁰ *Fasti*, VII. pp. 25, 62-63.

occasionally books.³³¹ Research for this thesis has been carried out into the wills and testaments of the ministerial graduates of Edinburgh's Town College in the hope that they would shed some light on their life as ministers in general and on factors that formed their faith, their understanding of ministerial vocation and on any other element that shaped their early career pattern. The period under consideration was chosen to provide a representative sample of documents.

During the period examined 169 students graduated from the Town College who later entered the ministry in Scotland. Out of whose 38 wills and testaments survived and can be identified with certainty.

Two types of testament exist in the sample, 'testament testamentar' and 'testament dative'.³³² If a person died leaving a will, the registered copy is called 'testament testamentar' and it is safe to regard it as a first-hand personal statement. Where a person died intestate, and where the Commissary Court appointed an executor, it is called a 'testament dative'. In this case the will was written by someone else according to the testator's spoken instructions. Writers of the Scottish testaments after 1560 were commonly persons who were associated with the church such as readers, exhorters and ministers. Among the identified testaments 17 'testament testamentar' and 21 'testament dative' were found, out of which only three do not have an inventory.

From the point of view of this thesis the most valuable information would have been references to statements of faith. Several testaments from the second half of the sixteenth century contain a confession of faith which, with some caution, may help assess the content of religious belief that was taught to the congregations. Usually they were placed in the preamble of a testament in which the testator expressed his or her faith especially in relation to the assurance of salvation, to doctrines that were peculiar to the Reformation such as the belief in the sufficiency Christ's passion, of his intercession and resurrection as well as expressing confidence

³³¹ See the extensive work on the wills and testaments of M. H. B. Sanderson, "Manse and Glabe in the Sixteenth Century", *RSCHS* (1977) pp. 81-92; M. H. B. Sanderson, "Service and Survival: The clergy in the late sixteenth-century Scotland", *RSCHS* (2006) pp. 73-96; "Surelie persuaded, Wills as Evidence of Religious Beliefs in Sixteenth-Century Scotland" in *A Kindly Place, Living in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, M. H. B. Sanderson (East Linton, 2002) pp. 155-173. Also C. Cross, "Wills as Evidence of Popular piety in the Reformation Period: Leeds and Hull, 1540-1640" in *The End of Strife: Death, Reconciliation and Expressions of Christian Spirituality*, ed. D. Loades (Edinburgh, 1984) p. 44.

³³² Cf. P. Gouldesbrough, *Formulary of old Scots legal documents*, (Edinburgh, 1985) p. 15.

in being among the elect.³³³ In the case of ministers it was hoped reference would be made in the testaments to their spiritual formation and even to the ministerial instruction they received at some point in their career. In either case a statement occurred where the person made a will ('testament testamentar'). Among the samples for this thesis there were only 17 testaments ('testament testamentar') that were produced before the minister died, in other words, it can be assumed that these were produced by the testator and reflect his own beliefs.³³⁴ Unfortunately the sample of 17 testaments proved too small a number to illustrate adequately what beliefs the Edinburgh's ministerial graduates held.

Another possible source of knowledge that might have provided some information on ministers' spiritual life and their interests in theology is their collection of books. In most cases books are not valued separately but estimated with the rest of household goods. Book titles were often missing; they were given only when the volumes were bequeathed. There are only three testaments of 39 without an inventory. For instance, Philip Hislop's (class of 1587) library was valued at 200 merks (£133 6s 8d).³³⁵ William Keir's (class of 1587) books were valued at 300 merks. David Calderwood had the most books among the sample of ministers yet titles are not given. Altogether he had eight 'kists full of books' valued at 1000 merks.³³⁶

Apart from religious beliefs there were other subjects occurring in the testaments. Financial matters: list of names were given who owed money to the ministers or from whom ministers borrowed. For instance, Alexander Casse (class 1600), the son of a portioner of Monktonhall, gives eight names in his testament who altogether owed some 3000 merks to him.³³⁷ It threw some light on the financial

³³³ See the extensive research by Sanderson, in her chapter entitled "Surelie persuaded", pp. 166-173; J. D. Alsop, "Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae" in *European Heart Journal*, 40:1 (1989) pp. 19-27; E. Duffy, "The Impact of Reform: Wills" in *The Striping of the Altars*, E. Duffy, (New Haven, 1992) pp. 504-523.

³³⁴ Sanderson points out, too, that only 25 testaments out of sample of 204 surveyed testaments carry any statement of faith. M. H. B. Sanderson, "Service and Survival", p. 95.

³³⁵ NAS, Edinburgh Commissariat, Register of Testaments [Edin. Tests.], CC8/8/29 p. 794.

³³⁶ NAS, Edin. Tests, CC8/8/65 p. 418.

³³⁷ NAS, Edin. Tests, CC15/5/3 pp. 181-185.

situation of Casse suggesting that as a minister of Polwarth for about 47 years he was well endowed when he died in 1651.³³⁸

The earliest testament dates from 1597 and belongs to Philip Heslop [Heislope] minister at Inveresk (Presb. of Dalkeith), formerly regent in the Town College.³³⁹ The latest testament was by the eldest son of an Edinburgh minister and Robert Rollock's son in law, John Balcanquell who was a minister at Tranent and Seton (Presb. of Haddington).³⁴⁰

The following tables summarise the identified wills and testaments of ministerial graduates from the Town College.

<i>Table 5 Wills and testaments of the graduates arranged by the year of graduation</i>					
Year of grad.	Name	Date of death	Year of grad.	Name	Date of death
1587	George Haistie (NAS, CC8/8/42 pp. 167-169.)	1606	1596	Gawine McCall (NAS, CC8/8/65 pp. 165-166.)	1650
	Philip Heislope (NAS, CC8/8/29 pp. 794-795.)	1597		James Mureheid (NAS, CC8/8/47 pp. 423-425.)	1613
	Williame Keir (NAS, CC8/8/46 pp. 616-621.)	1611	1597	James Ker (NAS, CC9/7/14 pp. 41-42.)	1617
	Patrick Sandis (NAS, CC8/8/58 pp. 438-439.)	1637	1598	Robert Gilmur (NAS, CC8/8/50 pp. 140-142.)	1618
	Patrik Sharpe (NAS, CC9/7/11 pp. 223-226.)	1615	1599	James Broun (NAS, CC5/6/2 pp. 258-259.)	1643
1588	John Dykis (NAS, CC20/4/9 pp. 2, 52.)	1634		Samuel Sinclair (NAS, CC15/5/3 pp. 341-348.)	1653
	Johne Forrest (NAS, CC8/8/57 pp. 161-163.)	1635	1600	Alexander Casse (NAS, CC15/5/3 pp. 181-185.)	1652
	Edward Hepburne (NAS, CC8/8/50 pp. 390-392.)	1619		John Gibbiesone (NAS, CC8/8/64 pp. 77-81.)	1648
	Peter Hewat (NAS, CC9/7/30 pp. 235-236.)	1648	1601	Williame Levingstoun (NAS, CC5/6/1 pp. 108-111.)	1625
	David Home (NAS, CC15/5/3 pp. 117-119.)	1637	1602	John Cheislie (NAS, CC14/5/4 pp. 101-104.)	1638
1590	Henrie Forrester (NAS, CC6/5/5 pp. 17-19.)	1618		John Dunlope (NAS, CC8/8/63 pp. 280-282.)	1647
	Robert Rutherford (NAS, CC8/8/49 pp. 270-271.)	1616	Thomas Sydserff (NAS, CC8/8/71 pp. 455-457.)	1663	
1591	Alexander Gattis	1606	1604	Johne Aird	1638

³³⁸ Cf. NAS, Edin. Tests, CC15/5/3 pp. 73-96. In Sanderson's sample of 204 testaments one third of the clergy borrowed and half of them served in the Reformed Kirk. On the financial struggle and survival of the clergy see "Introduction" of ed. G. Donaldson, *Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices, 1561-72*, (Edinburgh, 1949); Sanderson, "Manse and Glabe", pp. 81-92.

³³⁹ NAS, Edin. Tests, CC8/8/29 (18 January 1597).

³⁴⁰ NAS, Edin. Tests, CC8/8/71 (8 November 1664).

	(NAS, CC8/8/41 pp. 281-282.)			(NAS, CC8/8/59 pp. 46-49.)	
1593	David Calderwood (NAS, CC8/8/65 pp. 417-421.)	1651		Alexander Thomsone (NAS, CC5/6/1 p. 34.)	1624
1595	James Baillie (NAS, CC14/5/4 pp. 345-347.)	1644	1606	Robert Balcanquell (NAS, CC8/8/71 pp. 745-747.)	1664
	George Greir (NAS, CC8/8/54 pp. 716-718.)	1628	1607	Andro Balfoure (NAS, CC8/8/53 pp. 207-209.)	1625
	Johnne Kynneir (NAS, CC8/8/38 pp. 14, 18.)	1603		Alexander Douglas (NAS, CC8/8/66A pp. 241-245.)	1654
	James Watsone (NAS, CC8/8/44 pp. 87-88.)	1608	1610	James Flaming (NAS, CC8/8/66A pp. 155-158.)	1653

<i>Table 6 Wills and testaments of the graduates arranged by the date of their testaments</i>					
Date of test.	Name	Type of test.	Date of test.	Name	Type of test.
1597	Philip Heislope (1587)	TD+I	1635	John Forrest (1588)	TT+I
1603	Johnne Kynneir (1595)	TD+I	1637	David Home (1588)	TT+I
1606	Alexander Gaittis (1591)	TD+I	1637	Patrick Sandis (1587)	TD+I
1606	George Haistie (1587)	TD+I	1638	John Aird (1604)	TT+I
1608	James Watsone (1595)	TD+I	1638	John Cheislie (1602)	TT+I
1611	William Keir (1587)	TT+I	1643	James Broun (1599)	TD+I
1613	James Mureheid (1596)	TD+I	1644	James Baillie (1595)	TT+I
1615	Patrik Sharpe (1587)	TT+I	1647	John Dunlope (1602)	TD+I
1616	Robert Rutherford (1590)	TD+I	1648	John Gibbiesone (1600)	TT+I
1617	James Ker (1597)	TD+I	1648	Peter Hewat (1588)	TD
1618	Henry Forrester (1590)	TT	1650	Gawine McCall (1596)	TD+I
1618	Robert Gilmur (1598)	TD+I	1651	David Calderwood (1593)	TT+I
1619	Edward Hepburne (1588)	TD+I	1652	Alexander Casse (1600)	TT+I
1624	Alexander Thomsone (1604)	TD+I	1652 1655	William Justice (1610)	TD+I
1625	Andro Balfoure (1607)	TD+I	1653	James Fleming (1610)	TT+I
1625	William Levingstoun (1601)	TT	1653	Samuel Sinclair (1598)	TT+I
1628	George Greir (1595)	TT+I	1654	Alexander Douglas (1607)	TT+I
1634	John Dykis (1588)	TD+I	1661	John Knox (1610)	TD+I

Even if the examination carried out on the wills and testaments of the ministerial graduates of the Town College did not produce the expected results for this thesis, it highlighted the importance and wealth of information this source material can offer for research on sixteenth-century Reformation in Scotland.

Admittedly, the period of time under research (1587-1610) was too short to yield results of any significance. Books were important and highly valued by ministers, and by those who compiled the inventories, though perhaps the latter had less interest in theology and more appreciation for their market value.

CHAPTER 4

THE YEARS OF TRANSITION

This chapter investigates the years between graduation and parish ministry and examines the graduates' way into the ministry in the Kirk including those "gap-years" spent in a secular profession upon graduation.

1 'Gap-years'

In the ministers' biographical sketches, when information was available, the *Fasti* records the minister's family background, their education and then leaps forward to their admission to their first known charge. Closer scrutiny of biographical data of the graduates, however, revealed a feature of some importance to their early career pattern. A significant gap of years, from between 1 and 2 years to 10 and 15 years can be found between the year of graduation and the year in which they were inaugurated, admitted to or/and ordained to their first charge.

For instance, John Abernethy, a graduate of the first class in 1587, although he was on the exercise as early as 1588 he was admitted to the parish of Jedburgh only six years later in 1593³⁴¹; William Keir from the same class was admitted in 1595³⁴²; John Dykes from the class 1588 was inaugurated 1596³⁴³; Alexander Kinnear, class 1600, was presented to his first charge in 1608, again eight years after his graduation³⁴⁴; Alexander Douglas, class of 1607, after working as janitor for the Town College in Edinburgh was ordained in 1612. In a few cases even more than ten years passed from the year of graduation. John Duncanson, class of 1611, was elected by the town council to second charge in Dundee in 1624³⁴⁵. Robert Rutherford, class of 1590, was ordained on 14th October 1607 seventeen years after

³⁴¹ *Fasti*, II. p. 125.

³⁴² *Fasti*, I. p. 203. His first charge was the parish at Muiravonside.

³⁴³ *Fasti*, V. p. 213; Kilrenny (Presb. of St. Andrews).

³⁴⁴ *Fasti*, II. p. 63; Whitsome (Presb. of Chirnside).

³⁴⁵ *Fasti*, V. p. 319.

his graduation.³⁴⁶ Those graduates holding an academic post entered the ministry even later. Henry Charteris, graduate of the first class of 1587 then regent from 1589 beside Robert Rollock and later his successor in the principal's chair, was admitted to his first charge in April 1620³⁴⁷; James Fairlie, class of 1607, became a regent at the Town College and was admitted to South Leith as his first charge only in 1625, serving there only four years, before returning to teaching as a professor of Divinity.³⁴⁸ In later years there is no sign of any change in this practice and it is well into the middle of the seventeenth century when these 'gap-years' seem to disappear or at least diminish.

In general, it can be argued that only 15-18 per cent of the total number of 249 ministerial graduates decided to, and were given the opportunity to enter the ministry within one or two years of their graduation. For the majority of graduates it took longer to take up a charge and serve as a parish minister; it took place at some point in the period of between three and twelve years after their graduation. A small but significant segment, approximately ten per cent, came to the ministry rather late in their career, or might have worked in some capacity in the Kirk before their admission and they had to wait for more than a decade for their first charge.

In some instances graduates immediately entered the ministry but it cannot be seen as general practice. If a graduate did so it was likely that he had already served in some capacity in the Kirk before pursuing higher studies. From the class of 1592 John McCulloch had probably served already as a reader in Biggar and Robert Sinclair, from the same class, did the same in Madderty from as early as 1578 until 1594, including the years spent at the Town College in Edinburgh.³⁴⁹ Although graduating only from the second class in 1588, John Welsh distinguished himself as the first Edinburgh graduate to be admitted to parish ministry in Selkirk just one year after his graduation.³⁵⁰ Alexander Swinton, who had a short ministry in Cranshaws (Presbytery of Duns) due to his unexpectedly early death in 1595, within one year on graduating from the Town College, was presented to that parish by James VI before

³⁴⁶ *Fasti*, I. p. 6. To Corstorphine (Presb. of Edinburgh).

³⁴⁷ *Fasti*, I. p. 154. That was North Leith; see also H. Charteris, *Narrative of the Life and Death of Robert Rollock* in *Select Works*, vol. I. p. lxxi. *ODNB* online, accessed on 23 February 2009.

³⁴⁸ *Fasti*, I. pp. 165, 329.

³⁴⁹ *Fasti*, I. p. 240; IV. p. 277.

³⁵⁰ *ODNB* online, accessed on 3 March 2009.

2 June 1593. Again, within one year John Fairfoul in Dawyck, Samuel Cockburn in Kirkmichael in Banfshire, Alexander Ambrose in Newbattle and James Scott in Kirkton were accepted for parish ministry.³⁵¹

John Abernethy and Robert Sinclair both had to spend a couple of years as readers before they were fully recognised as ministers. Abernethy is recorded in that position in 1588 at Jedburgh and possibly remained there until he was admitted in August 1593. Sinclair also had to wait at least two years to be recognised as a minister of Madderty. That only a few graduates were known to be serving as readers on their graduation was due to the fact that through a series of acts the General Assembly pronounced that the reader's office was not seen as an 'ordinary office within the Kirk of God' and in 1581 the Assembly proscribed the appointment of further readers, nevertheless, the office survived well into 1590s.

2 The explanation of 'gap-years'

A number of suggestions can be offered to explain what ministerial graduates did during the years of transition. It may be noted that the examination of the transitory years is of particular interest because in modern continental Europe it was unusual to have a significant period between graduation and admission to ministry.

2.1 Lack of information

First, the most obvious explanation is that the admission to the charge mentioned in the *Fasti* does not necessarily mean that that particular parish was the ministers' first charge. In several cases it is impossible to identify the year of ordination or the year of admission to the first charge. Yet the high number of 'gap-years' may require further explanation.

³⁵¹ *Fasti*, II. p. 193; III. p. 5; II. p. 6; I. p. 291; VI. p. 367; I. pp. 32, 129.

2.2 Age issues

Second, there must have been graduates who were not regarded as old enough to exercise all the pastoral duties of a minister and assume all the responsibilities which came with the leadership that were required by the congregation as well as by the administrative courts of the Kirk. Thus, graduates at a somewhat youthful age had to find another way of making a living until they were seen mature enough, or sometimes they were allowed to work in some capacity in the church as readers or assistant ministers under the supervision of a senior minister.

The age at which students at an early modern university finished their studies depended on an assortment of factors. It was to be related to a person's social status, to the education received prior to admission to an institute of higher learning, and to a person's financial background. The social status of a university student determined, to a large extent, at what age he began his university studies. Attention has been drawn to the fact that students from high status groups usually began their studies at an earlier age than students from a lower segment of society, for wealthier students could afford a more intensive and perhaps more thorough classical training which made them better prepared to enter the university than their poorer counterparts.³⁵²

The traditional view concerning the age at which students entered the university was that they began their studies at a much younger age than is now the case. This view has been challenged by the findings of research on matriculation lists of universities both on the Continent and in Britain.³⁵³ It can be argued that, in general, university students were expected to be young men rather than just boys and graduation happened in their early twenties. The mention of married students and the requirements for taking oaths which were to be fully understood and legally binding all seem to point to a more mature age.

In Edinburgh, too, the typical age at matriculation was between 16 and 18 years, therefore graduation took place in four years, at the age of 20-22. George

³⁵² L. Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910" in *The University in Society, Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century*, vol. 1, (Princeton, 1974) pp. 3-37; pp. 29-33; Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, pp. 121-126.

³⁵³ See the short but informative discussion of this subject in 'Matriculation Ages in Sixteenth-Century Wittenberg' by O. and M. Gingerich and its 'Commentary' by J. M. Fletcher, *In History of Universities*, 1986-7, (Oxford, 1987) pp. 135-141.

Chalmers, eldest son of James Chalmers of Kynoch; Patrick Turner, the grandson of the Edinburgh merchant, Peter Turner; John Ker, the son of Andrew Ker of Faldonside and Margaret Stewart, widow of John Knox; Colin Row, the eighth son of John Row, the reformer and minister of Perth; John Adamson, son of Henry Adamson, Provost of Perth; Thomas Sydserff, the eldest son of the Edinburgh merchant, James Sydserff, all graduated between the age of 18 and 22.³⁵⁴

Congregations and fellow ministers were not always welcoming to fresh graduates wishing to enter the ministry. While they may have been academically well qualified, their abilities to lead a congregation, especially in major burghs, were not always recognised.

In restructuring the parish churches of Edinburgh in 1598, the names of new ministers were put forward by the commissioners of the General Assembly, amongst them two younger, though not fresh graduates, Peter Hewat and George Robertson. As Calderwood reports the proposition of two young ministers met much opposition on the part of the four ordinary ministers of the burgh especially that of Robert Bruce. Beside Bruce's political motivation for their refusal, suspecting the two candidates to be King's men³⁵⁵, he thought them too young to be placed 'in suche rowmes, and the people was likewise altogether unwilling to accept them'.³⁵⁶

It is, therefore, not surprising that candidates in their early twenties were not considered yet suitable for leading a congregation. Matthew Lichten, a graduate of 1588, was the son and later successor of Adam Letham [Lichten, Leighton], minister of Currie who had held this charge since 1568. In 1590 he was 'not of age' required by the Act of the Provincial Assembly but was permitted to serve with his father. He was proposed on 21 January 1591 and admitted as colleague and successor on 16 December 1591.³⁵⁷ Being under twenty five at the time of his graduation, David Rogers was to attend the exercise at Lanark and then was admitted to the parish of Dalgarnock (Presbytery of Penpont), to his first charge in 1601. William Carkettill, a

³⁵⁴ Chalmers was born in 1572 cf. *Fasti*, VI. p. 317. Turner was born in 1575 cf. *Fasti*, I. p. 315. Ker was born in 1576 cf. *Fasti*, I. p. 388. Row was baptised on 1st March 1576 cf. *Fasti*, IV. p. 229. Adamson was born in 1576 cf. *Fasti*, I. p. 170. Sydserff was born in 1581 cf. *Fasti*, VII. p. 353. *ODNB* online, accessed on 3 March 2009.

³⁵⁵ As for King's men cf. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, pp. 200-213.

³⁵⁶ Calderwood, V. p. 674. As for Bruce' fear, it was not without any ground, as Peter Hewat later received a gift of the abbacy of Crossraguel from the King in 1612 which entitled him to sit in the Parliament. *ODNB* online, accessed on 29 Sept 2009.

³⁵⁷ *Fasti*, I. pp. 14-15.

graduate of 1603, 'to quhose entrie the Presbyetrie had no eyelast [fault] saiff onlye thay thocht him over young in years' was to succeed his father at the parish of Stenton, but had to wait until 1606 when finally he was presented to the church.³⁵⁸

In April 1589 the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale passed an act regulating at what age candidates qualify for admission to the ministry.

Anent the age of persones that sall heirefter enter in the ministrie, seing sindrie of before hes bene admittit to the office and functioun of the ministrie quha be ressoun of thair young yeiris and want of experiance and judgement hes nocht bene fund able to discharge that heich and sacred vocatioun quhairunto they have bene callit, the assemblie of ane mynd hes voittit and concludit that in tyme cuming nane be admittit unto the functioun of the ministrie nor collatonat or admittit to ony benefice havand cure without they be of the adge of xxv yeiris except sick as for singular and rare qualiteis into thame salbe judgite be the generall assemblie of the kirk [...].³⁵⁹

As it appears from the text the synod set the age limit for a prospective minister at the age of twenty five in the hope that by that age he would be able to discharge his office with sufficient maturity and experience.

However, it must also be noted that other students came to Edinburgh at a more mature age than the average. Edward Hepburn graduated in 1588. According to the *Fasti* he was an admitted minister of Navar (Presbytery of Brechin) and had been presented to the chancellery of Brechin by James VI on 24 Feb 1585. The incumbent of Navar was at the same time chancellor of the diocese of Brechin. There is no evidence that Hepburn ever occupied the charge at Navar. It is recorded that from 1589 John Man and from 1591 John Lindsay served there as ministers. Before these two ministers ministry was supplied by a reader, Thomas Foullar [Fullarton], from 1567 to 1586. Curiously enough the minister of Brechin, the presbytery to which Navar belonged, was John Hepburn, one of those who was approved for the ministry by the first General Assembly in 1560. He held several sources of income in his hand and was a man of great influence. Although no reference has been made in the *Fasti* as to whether John Hepburn had any children, broader family connections can not be ruled out, thus, it would not be surprising if John Hepburn could be associated with Edward Hepburn's progress. In 1597 Edward Hepburn was admitted to the parish of Prestonkirk (Presbytery of Dunbar) where he remained until his death. The fact that he was admitted to a parish and presented to a chancellery, whose income might have

³⁵⁸ *Fasti*, II. pp. 258, 312; VIII. p. 170; I. p. 420.

³⁵⁹ *Synod Recs*, p. 7.

helped him finance his studies in Edinburgh, three years before his graduation may suggest that he began his studies at a more mature age.³⁶⁰

Similarly the case of George Douglas may also belong to the group of older students. He was born about 1566 as the son of Alexander Douglas, the Provost of the royal burgh of Elgin in Moray. In 1588 he held the living of the parish at Dallas (Presbytery of Forres) just nine miles southwest of Elgin.³⁶¹ He studied in Edinburgh and graduated in 1599 under the regency of William Craig. He was admitted to his next charge in 1601 in Cullen with Deskford also in the charge.³⁶²

Robert Sinclair, a graduate of 1592, is mentioned as reader by the *Fasti* in Tibbermuir from 1578 to 1594 which means that he studied in the Town College while holding this position. This may suggest that he might have been older than his fellow students. Furthermore this may also imply that his purpose in pursuing further studies was to study theology in order to be qualified for the ministry. John MakCullo was recorded as a reader at Biggar in 1588 in the same year he commenced his studies in Edinburgh and possibly continued in this capacity for another two years after graduating in 1592 then was admitted on 28 May 1594 to the parish of Broughton.³⁶³

The above mentioned minister, Patrick M'Ilwayne from Northumberland, in the same letter to an acquaintance in Antwerp wrote that he 'was born at Whithorn, in Galloway, in Scotland, in the year 1546, bred up in the University of Edinburgh, where I commenced Master of Arts'. He finished his studies in Edinburgh and graduated with the class of Charles Ferme in 1597 at the age of 41.³⁶⁴

James Watson, a fellow student to Robert Boyd, for whom Boyd had high respect for his deep sense of puritan spirituality, came to Edinburgh at a somewhat older age. Boyd writes of him: 'he was come to mans years before he studied philosophy, a bearded man, with beardless boyes, a rare instance of Christian

³⁶⁰ John Hepburn had a stipend derived from the treasurership of Brechin, the parsonage and vicarage of Cookston, the parsonage of Buttergill, the parsonage of Navar, the chaplainry in Finavon, the subdeanery of Brechin, the bishopric of Brechin and the abbacy of Arbroath, in Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 94; *Fasti*, I. p. 414; V. p. 398.

³⁶¹ *Fasti*, VI. pp. 282, 413.

³⁶² Originally these parishes belonged to the Presbytery of Banff. When the Presbytery of Turiff was erected many parishes from the Banff Presbytery were transferred to it and about the same time the seat of this Presbytery was removed from Banff to Cullen. *Fasti*, VI. p. 275.

³⁶³ *Fasti*, IV. p. 277; II. p. 240.

³⁶⁴ Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World*, p. 103; Symson, *A large description of Galloway*, p. 47; *Catalogue*, p. 15.

humanity [...] he was as [far] above us in piety and the sense and experience of divine things, and much more than in years.’³⁶⁵ Also it is recorded of John Ray that because he was well versed in the Humanities and was ‘well stept in age’, he was admitted to the regency in the same year he graduated.³⁶⁶

2.3 Self-determined gaps: travels abroad

The third option for explaining the ‘gap years’ is that students upon graduation went abroad to travel and visit the centres of the Reformation on the Continent, or for increased opportunities of learning and with eyes open for an academic post which was not always available for young scholars at home. Philip Hislop, a graduate of the first class then regent at the College, left to travel in Germany in the autumn of 1589 then, to be called for the second time for the regency on his return from Germany in 1591. In the meantime, he was replaced by Patrick Sands, a graduate of the College (1587). He took on Hislop’s class and remained in this capacity for about eight years. In October 1597 he accompanied Robert Ker, Lord Newbattle, Earl of Lothian (d. 1624) on his travels leaving his academic post to be filled by William Craig on Rollock’s recommendation.³⁶⁷ Thomas Sydserrff, was enrolled as a student at the University of Heidelberg in 1609 then admitted to St Giles’, Edinburgh on 30 May 1611.³⁶⁸

At the turn of the sixteenth century the two most attractive destinations for Scots were Geneva and the Huguenot academies in France. The international character often associated with Geneva, which goes back at least to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was further enhanced by Calvin himself and the opening of his Academy in 1559. Many names of Scottish students are found in the Rector’s Book, covering three centuries of students studying at the Academy.³⁶⁹ Archibald

³⁶⁵ “Life of Boyd” in *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, R. Wodrow, ed. W. J. Duncan, 2 vols, (Glasgow, 1834-35) p. 10.

³⁶⁶ Craufurd, *History*, p. 41.

³⁶⁷ Craufurd, *History*, pp. 34, 37, 39.

³⁶⁸ T. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany*, (Edinburgh, 1902, reprinted in 1973) p. 314; *Fasti*, III. p. 353.

³⁶⁹ C. le Fort, G. Revilliod and E. Fick, eds, *Le Livre du Recteur, Catalogue des Étudiants de l’Académie de Genève de 1559 à 1859*, (Genève, 1860) quoted in R. G. Philip, “Scottish Scholars at Geneva, 1559-1650, *RSCHS* 5 (1938) pp. 216-231. For a more recent and updated edition of the Le

Hunter, (Archibaldus Hunterus, philo. stud., 1589 says the inscription in the Rector's Book), was probably the student of that name who obtained his M.A. at Edinburgh in the first class of 1587. John Little (Johannes Litillus, 1618) was the son of William, merchant burgher of Edinburgh and a nephew of Clement Little, advocate, the generous benefactor of Edinburgh's Town College Library. John Little graduated in 1604 from Edinburgh and died in Geneva in July 1622. George Forester (Georgius Forresterius, Edinburgensis, 1641) studied in Edinburgh between 1635 and 1638 obtaining a Master of Arts degree and his name appeared in the records in 1641 in Geneva.³⁷⁰

With the opening of the Huguenot academies from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, an increasing number of Scots travelled to France to study or teach at the faculties of these institutions of higher learning.³⁷¹ Robert Boyd, later Principal of Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, graduated in 1595 and, left for France in 1597. He taught at Tours and visited Poitiers, La Rochelle and Bordeaux, then took up teaching positions again in Montauban where he taught philosophy and continued his study of the ancient languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and theology. In the autumn of 1604 he moved to the small village of Verteuil, situated halfway between Bordeaux and Montauban, where he was ordained as minister of the Reformed church on 9 November. From 1606 to 1614 he lived in Saumur taking a short break at the beginning of his stay visiting the publishing centres of Nürnberg and Frankfurt in Germany, Leiden and Rotterdam in Holland. In Saumur first he was noted as a minister from July 1606, and later as a doctor and professor from 1608, also he married here the daughter of a Frenchman, Anne de Maliverné. In 1615 he returned to Scotland assuming an appointment as the principal of the University of Glasgow.³⁷² William Craig, graduate of class 1593, after three and a half years of

Livre du Recteur see S. Stelling and S. Michaud, *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève*, 6 vols. (Genève, 1959-1980).

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 217-221; *Catalogue*, pp. 7, 21, 54.

³⁷¹ A. L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent*, (Edinburgh, 1956) pp. 27-28; also J. Pannier, "Scots in Saumur in the Seventeenth Century", trans. W. J. Couper, *RSCHS* 5 (1935) pp. 140-144.

³⁷² *Fasti*, III. pp. 162-163; "Life of Boyd" in Wodrow, *Collections* I. pp. 11-14; H. M. B. Reid, *Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1917); W. M. Campbell, "Robert Boyd of Trochrigg" in *RSCHS* 12 (1956), pp. 220-234. A few corrections have to be made concerning Boyd's biography in contemporary literature. He studied at and graduated from Town College in Edinburgh instead of Glasgow as suggested by Mullan in his *Scottish Puritanism*, at p. 23. The year of his graduation is 1595 and not 1594 as it is found in the *ODNB* (accessed on 3 March 2009). Cf. *Catalogue*, p. 12; 'Life of Boyd', pp. 10-11. Furthermore, his fellow student whom he helped with his

regenting at the Town College also followed the frequent custom of his time and went to France to become a colleague of Boyd at the Academy of Saumur, where he married a French lady, the sister-in-law of Mark Duncan, another Edinburgh graduate.³⁷³ Duncan studied in Edinburgh between 1597 and 1601 and was known as a doctor of medicine and principal at the Academy of Saumur. His name is included here because he was mentioned as a pastor at Bordeaux after 1608, a title he kept for the rest of his life.³⁷⁴

For Scots travelling and studying abroad was a common practice reaching back to the thirteenth century, as demonstrated by the entries for Scottish students in the matriculation lists of continental universities.³⁷⁵ In the late sixteenth century the attention of Scottish students wishing to study abroad, including many Edinburgh graduates, turned towards the Huguenot parts of France. On returning home with 'extra influences working upon them', several ministers were further strengthened in their conviction of disliking episcopacy while others, like Sydserrff, who studied in the Palatinate and not in France, accepted promotion to the bishopric of Brechin.

Moreover, Edinburgh graduates' travels and their participation in the academic world abroad show that they were well prepared for academic discussions and even to assume teaching positions. For a newly established institute of higher learning such as the Town College of Edinburgh the links with other Protestant academies and universities created by its graduates meant not only being connected into the broad academic network of the contemporary Protestant world, but also it contributed to its recognition as a place of higher education with a high reputation.

studies while in Edinburgh was called James Watson and instead of William Watson as given in Campbell's article at p. 221; cf. 'Life of Boyd', p. 10; *ODNB* online, accessed on 3 March 2009.

³⁷³ J. Pannier, "Scots in Saumur in the Seventeenth Century" in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5 (1935) p. 141.

³⁷⁴ His biographer, Marguerite Guignet, in her article she says that 'it is doubtful whether he completed his "humanities" in Scotland, as his name does not appear on the university register of St Andrews, Glasgow or Edinburgh'. It certainly does. Duncan graduated in 1601 under the regency of James Knox in 1601 and in the Catalogue he is given the designation *Doctor Medicus, Academiae Salmuriensis professor et Primarius*. Cf. W. W. D. Campbell (Marguerite Guignet), "Mark Duncan, Professor at Saumur, 1606-1640" in *RSCHS* 5 (1935) pp. 73-80. at p. 73; and *Catalogue*, p. 18.

³⁷⁵ See, for instance, W. A. McNeill, "Scottish entries in the Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis 1519 to c. 1633" in *SHR* 43 (1964) pp. 66-86.

2.4 Other professional opportunities

2.4.1 Schoolmasters

Another reason which may help explain why graduates did not immediately enter the ministry lies with the fact that those with an MA degree pursued other professions.

The most common profession for possible candidates for the ministry was some form of teaching position.

George Hastings, one of the original students of the College; John Row, minister at Carnock and the author of the *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*; John Dalzell of the class of 1610 and later minister at Prestonkirk, and James Logan from class 1616, minister in Lasswade, all began their career as schoolteachers at local grammar schools.

Hastings was first elected as Master of the High School of Edinburgh on 26 February 1588 which he held, according to Steven, for eight years. Nevertheless in 1590 he was petitioned by the parishioners of Temple (Presbytery of Dalkieth) and seems to have served as their minister between 1590 and 1595 as well as occupying the post of the schoolmaster at the Grammar School of Dalkieth in 1591 where he taught for more than a decade.³⁷⁶ John Row prior to studying for his MA degree obtained a considerable amount of experience by teaching at the parish school at Kennoway, in Fife and acting as a tutor to his nephews, the Bethunes of Balfour. On graduating in 1590 for two years he worked as a schoolmaster at Aberdour in Fife and was also a tutor to Willaim, seventh Earl of Morton.³⁷⁷

John Dalzell, graduating in 1610, was exercising with Haddington Presbytery on 8 June 1614 while working as a schoolmaster at the burgh of Prestonpans, east of Edinburgh.³⁷⁸ On his election to be Master to the High School in Edinburgh on 12

³⁷⁶ *Fasti*, I. p. 348. See also the "Appendix" in *The History of the High School of Edinburgh*, W. Steven, (Edinburgh, 1849) pp. 83, 115.

³⁷⁷ *Fasti*, V. 7-8; D. Laing, "Account of the Life of Mr John Row" in *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, John Row (Edinburgh, 1842) pp. vii-xxxviii, vii-ix; *ODNB* online, accessed on 22 August 2011.

³⁷⁸ *Fasti*, I. p. 415.

March 1617, James Logan taught the second class and remained in this capacity for three years.³⁷⁹

Others on their graduation took on private tutoring as John Row and John Ray did. It is noted of the latter that ‘having been employed in diverse private charges’, including becoming a tutor to the influential Edinburgh family of Alexander Guthrie, he then accepted a call to become a regent in Humanity at the Town College.³⁸⁰

The ambitious educational scheme of the Reformation, laid down in the *First Book of Discipline*, which proposed the erection of primary and secondary schools in every village and town, provided plenty of teaching opportunities for those holding a proper qualification for teaching. The extent to which this programme came to realisation must not be underestimated as it has been pointed out ‘a remarkable number of parishes give evidence in their session books of having met the requirements of schools’.³⁸¹ As for the development of an individual’s career pattern it also had consequences. The most talented schoolmasters, like the most capable readers and exhorters, used the job as stepping stone to the ordained ministry.³⁸²

2.4.2 Regents

Furthermore, the most able graduates had the opportunity to stay on at the Town College and work as regents. As noted earlier, teaching in the newly erected College followed the tradition of employing regents, who guided and instructed the students through their four-year long course, each of whom taught all subjects in the curriculum. Since the first class graduated in 1587, regents were recent graduates of the College who had the intention of pursuing a career as ministers in the church, thus their classes had to be taken over by a successor.

In the initial years of the College, regents came from St Andrews, not surprisingly as Rollock himself was both a graduate and then a regent of St Andrews. The exception was Duncan Nairn who studied and graduated from Glasgow under

³⁷⁹ Steven, *History*, pp. 83, 116.

³⁸⁰ Craufurd, *History*, p. 41.

³⁸¹ Kirk, “Recruitment to the ministry” in *Patterns and Reform*, pp. 96-153.

³⁸² *FBD*, pp. 129-136; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, p. 60. See also the comment in Melville’s *Diary* on the case of the schoolmaster of Montrose in 1571 at p. 23.

Melville's influence. As time went on and Edinburgh began to produce its own graduates reliance was placed on Edinburgh's own resources. During the first twenty years after the first class had graduated in 1587 the College had eighteen regents, all of whom had obtained their MA degree from Edinburgh.

The following table summarises the regents' date of appointment and lists the years of laureation.

<i>Table 7 Regents of the Town College, 1587-1620</i>		
<i>The date of appointment</i>	<i>Regent</i>	<i>The year of laureation</i>
17 September 1583	Robert Rollock	1587
8 November 1583	Duncan Nairn	not laureated
16 February 1586	Charles Lum[i]sden	not laureated
17 October 1586	Adam Colt	1588
17 October 1586	Alexander Scrimgeour	not laureated
8 November 1587	Philip Hislop	1592
17 January 1589	Charles Ferme	1593, 1597
5 October 1589	Henry Charteris	1590, 1594, 1598
5 October 1589	Patrick Sands	1591, 1595
13 November 1594	George Robertson	1596
2 November 1597	William Craig	1599
28 December 1597	John Ray	not laureated
4 January 1598	John Adamson	1600, 1604
2 June 1598	James Knox	1601, 1605
16 March 1599	Robert Scott	1602
11 December 1601	Andrew Young	1603, 1607, 1609, 1613, 1617, 1621
21 January 1603	James Reid	1606, 1610, 1614, 1618, 1622
15 June 1604	David Monro	not laureated

5 December 1606	Blase Colt	not laureated
11 November 1607	James Fairley	1611, 1615, 1619, 1623
22 July 1608	William King	1612, 1616, 1620
16 January 1611	Andrew Stevenson	not laureated
5 November 1617	Robert Burnet	not laureated

The selection of regents was carried out by open competition and disputation but this practice was not always strictly adhered to. The first disputation took place in the beginning of October 1586. Due to the departure of Charles Lumisden, who entered the ministry of the parish in Duddingston, as well as to the starting of a third class, two posts for regents opened up. According to Craufurd, after a ten-day long public dispute by 6 candidates the jury appointed by the Provost and the Town Council declared Adam Colt and Alexander Scrymgeour to be regenting in Philosophy. Colt took on Lumisden's class which entered on the third year whereas Scrymgeour began a new class.³⁸³

In October 1587 the second public disputation was held in order to select a regent in Philosophy as a successor for Rollock who was appointed to be the professor of Divinity. There were many applicants, however only the names of the four approved candidates are given by Craufurd: Charles Ferme, Philip Hislop, Henry Charteris and Patrick Sands. All had graduated just two months before in August with the first class. All four were approved with ranks: Hislop was most approved for the post and then Ferme came second.³⁸⁴ In January 1589 Charles Ferme took up the post of regency having come second for ability in the disputation although he was to begin only in the following October. By October the last two approved candidates, Charteris and Sands were put in charge. Charteris replaced Scrimgeour and Sands took on Hislop's class who left for Germany.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Craufurd, *History*, pp. 30-31. On Scrymgeour see also Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, pp. 125, 137, 167; and *Fasti*, III. p. 98.

³⁸⁴ Craufurd, *History*, p. 32; *ODNB* online, accessed on 3 March 2009.

³⁸⁵ Craufurd, *History*, p. 34.

In January 1598 candidates for the teaching post were disputing again and this time John Adamson, the son of Henry Adamson, provost of Perth was 'most approven'.³⁸⁶

The last major disputation among candidates for the regency took place in 1603 when James Reid, a graduate of class 1600, was selected to enter the College as a regent. Others were able to secure a teaching position with the support of patrons. William Craig became a regent on the recommendation of Rollock or, it is noted, of David Monro and though not selected in the 1603 disputation, he was 'much favoured by Mr William Scot of Ely, and earnestly recommended to the [Town] Council', thus, he was appointed to succeed John Adamson on his leaving teaching in the College.³⁸⁷

It is clear from Crauford's account that the turnover of regents was relatively high. They were ready to leave their jobs even during the academic year to seize the opportunity for a better living. It was due to the fact that the regent's stipend was at a more modest scale than that of other professions. The second regent of the College at the time of its opening, Duncan Nairn, was paid a mere 40 merks (£27) and even towards the end of the century regents did not earn more than 100 merks (£67) plus board while, for instance, a career in the Kirk promised substantially more. Although stipends varied considerably, those living in an urban setting were better off than their rural counterparts: a burgh minister towards the end of the sixteenth century was able claim a salary in the region of 300 merks (£200) a year.³⁸⁸ Those bearing the support of the patron of the parish were provided, beyond a reasonable salary, with other advantages like James Logan, a graduate of 1588, who, having been admitted to the parish of Eddleston in 1593, beside a stipend of 280 merks (£185), was promised to have a manse built for him and to be free from all taxation. Parishes with wealthy benefices, such as Renfrew with a stipend of 1090 merks (£720), or Paisley with 800 merks (£528), could offer even more to their incumbents. Schoolmasters in significant and long-established burgh schools, whose income largely depended on the number of students paying the fees that comprised a portion

³⁸⁶ Crauford, *History*, p. 42.

³⁸⁷ Crauford, *History*, p. 56.

³⁸⁸ The references to £s are Scottish pounds. The merk was 2/3rds of a Scottish pound.

of their stipends, had a better chance to receive a satisfactory number of students thus a more reasonable income than their colleagues at the lower end of the scale.³⁸⁹

A regent was also further motivated to find a better paid job if he wanted to establish a family or was already responsible for looking after his dependents.

As for the later career of Edinburgh regents, most of them proceeded to the parish ministry. In 1604 it became a condition of the appointment of the regents that they were to act as readers, if it was necessary, in any of the burgh churches. This condition set by the burgh council may suggest that the office of a reader continued well into the seventeenth century. Their chief assignment was to conduct the first part of the service on Sundays whereas the minister's main duty was to deliver a sermon. Thus, it appears that the readers' main function did not change their role, especially in major parishes which could afford to employ readers along with ministers. Their role slightly differed from those readers who in the 1560s and 1570s filled vacant parishes in order to cover because of the shortage of (university) trained ministers.³⁹⁰

In the period of the first twenty years, of the twenty-three regents, seventeen chose a career in the church and only five of them, John Ray, Andrew Young, James Reid, Blasé Colt and Robert Burnet, remained in some form of teaching position or pursued other professions. John Ray, for instance, after having spent eight years as regent at the College, 'regarded as promotion to leave the college' and took charge of the High School of the burgh to remain there for the next twenty four years. It is worth noting that holding the mastership of the High School was apparently a better post than that of a regent.³⁹¹

Philip Hislop, the first Edinburgh graduate to be appointed as regent went on to become a minister at Inveresk. Henry Charteris, who spent most of his life in a teaching capacity, first as a regent, instructing three classes, then on Rollock's death as a professor of Divinity and principal of the College, in 1620 decided to take up the

³⁸⁹ Craufurd, *History*, p. 41; Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, pp. 351, 386. n. 35; *The Records of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. xxv; Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 62, 65-66. For clergy's struggle for survival see Sanderson's two articles: "Manse and Glabe in the Sixteenth Century" in *RSCHS* 19 (1977) pp. 81-92; and "Service and Survival: The clergy in late sixteenth-century Scotland" in *RSCHS* 36 (2006) pp. 73-96 at pp. 73-82.

³⁹⁰ M. Wood, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1604-1626*, (Edinburgh, 1931) p. xxviii.

³⁹¹ Steven, *History*, p. 47; *Extracts*, pp. 18, 22, 23.

parish church at (North) Leith. He was well connected in Edinburgh for his father, also Henry Charteris (died 1599), was an influential bookseller and printer in the city involved in burgh politics as well as in the public education programme of the burgh. Charteris returned to the university on 19 April 1627 as a professor of Divinity with a salary of 1000 merks (£667) and a house and died in the following year in July 1628. According to Thomas Craufurd he was ‘certainly one of the most learned men of his time, both in tongues, and in philosophy and Divinity, but he had too low thoughts of himself’.³⁹²

Charles Ferme, who saw through two classes that included students such as John Adamson, the later regent and principal of the Town College, David Calderwood, Robert Scott of Glasgow, Edward Brice, Oliver Colt and William Craig, took on pulpit supply occasionally. As early as December 1589 he was authorised to preach by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, when necessary, in the second charge of St Giles, Edinburgh. In 1596 and again in 1597 he was approached from Haddington to fill the proposed second charge at the parish, but chose to remain at the College of Edinburgh.

On 12 September 1598 he was still in Edinburgh, preaching at St Giles, but later in the same year he went to Philorth accepting the charge of the local parish church as well as the principalship of the newly erected College.³⁹³

In 1607 David Monro demitted his charge and as a result James Fairlie was appointed regent before being presented to the parish church in Restalrig and then returning again to the College in 1629 as a professor of Divinity. In the same year as Fairlie was appointed as a regent, William King also entered the College as his colleague as well as continuing his studies in law. King saw through five classes in a twenty-four-year long teaching career then entered the service of the parish church at Cramond in 1631 and where he died in the following year.³⁹⁴

³⁹² *Fasti*, I. p. 325; I. p. 154. On Charteris’ father see H. G. Aldis and others, *A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of foreign printers of English books, 1557-1640*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910) repr. (1968); A. A. MacDonald, “Early modern Scottish literature and the parameters of culture” in *The rose and the thistle: essays on the culture of late medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, eds S. Mapstone and J. Wood (1998) pp. 77-100; Craufurd, *History*, pp. 112-113.

³⁹³ Craufurd, *History*, pp. 32-33. W. L. Alexander, *Life of Charles Ferme in A Logical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans*, C. Ferme, trans. W. Skae (Edinburgh, 1850 [Latin orig. 1651]) p. xiii; *BUK*, III. p. 958.

³⁹⁴ Craufurd, *History*, pp. 66-67; *Fasti*, I. 329; I. p.10.

3 Conclusion

The early career pattern of those Edinburgh graduates who proceeded to the ministry demonstrates continuity, to some extent, with their pre-Reformation counterparts.

Priests with a university degree waiting for benefices often found employment in state administration and worked as notaries. They were not only literate but were skilled in Latin as well as in Scots or English and were regularly acting as scribes or clerks to parliamentary or burgh courts. Chaplains' meagre earnings were often supplemented by notarial work. In a similar fashion, graduates with the ambition of entering the ministry, on account of their youth or lack of work opportunities in the church, often accepted employment of all sorts, especially teaching both in private and public capacity appeared a viable option for many. However, what distinguished them from their pre-Reformation counterparts was that a university degree was increasingly essential to, and expected of, those wishing to pursue an ecclesiastical career. The importance placed on preaching, according to the protestant concept of ministry, required an educated clergy.

One further point has to be made concerning the discussion that evolved around the question of the initial purpose of the erection of Edinburgh's Town College. It is argued that a new college with an underlying emphasis on ministerial training was needed by the church to staff the vacant parishes with well educated ministers.

This position has been challenged by arguing that of the approximately forty per cent that went into the ministry, they did so at a time when there were mass vacancies in Scotland's 1100 parishes. Furthermore, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the proportion of Edinburgh graduates entering the ministry fell to one in five. Therefore, it is clear that the state needed well-educated bureaucrats in greater numbers than the new church needed clergy.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ R. D. Anderson, M. Lynch and N. Phillipson, eds, *The University of Edinburgh: an Illustrated History*, (Edinburgh, 2003) p. 4.

Two remarks may be added to this discussion. First, the debate over the progress of Reformation in Scotland in terms of the number of vacant parishes has not yet been settled.³⁹⁶

Second, discerning the primary aim of the foundation of a college on the basis of its graduates' later career pattern can be misleading. As has been pointed out, only a relatively small proportion of the graduates decided to pursue a career in the church immediately on their graduation. It is difficult to judge how many of the graduates came to study in Edinburgh with the original intention of entering the ministry. This may be assumed of those who did so within a short period of time on their graduation. But, as for a general practice, it seems that the decision-making concerning one's vocation was moulded by many factors such as family background, financial situation and undoubtedly a sense of inner vocation. In several cases, therefore, the decision was made many years after graduation sometimes as a result of opportunities arising that attracted men to the ministry.

This argument is further supported by the fact that colleges created in the late 16th century, such as the Huguenot academies in France or Marischall College in New Aberdeen, were the creation of the mutual efforts of both secular and ecclesiastical powers. Nonetheless, the sixteenth-century Protestant reformers' scheme of education did not focus exclusively on the ecclesiastical sphere of life. In their concept of vocation, the boundaries between the two spheres, secular and ecclesiastical, were not as rigidly drawn as is often assumed. Their stated goal was to carry out the production of good Christians who would also be intelligent and responsible citizens. Thus, educating and training professionals other than ministers, as has been seen earlier in the case of the Huguenot academies, was regarded as an equally important task as training a new clergy for the Protestant churches. It is well demonstrated in the words of the Dunfermline minister, David Ferguson: 'our youth ought to be nourished and maintained at schools, and there out of afterward might spring preachers, counsellors, physicians, and all other kinds of learned men that we have need of'.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Kirk, "Recruitment to the ministry" in *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 96-153; M. Lynch, "Preaching to the Converted" in *Renaissance in Scotland*, eds A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I. Cowan (Leiden, 1994) pp. 307-314.

³⁹⁷ R. O'Day, *Education and Society*, (London, 1982) p. 226.

As will be seen in the next chapter with the introduction of the practice of 'exercise' the Kirk did not entrust the actual training of ministerial candidates solely to colleges and universities.

CHAPTER 5

MINISTERIAL TRAINING OUTSIDE THE ACADEMY: THE EXERCISE

Training for the ministry in Scotland after 1560 did not rely solely on university education. The Kirk ensured that a proper examination of a candidate's preaching skills, of his knowledge of the Scriptures and doctrine would be carried out before his admission to the ministry. It took place in the exercise which developed on Continental Europe and also became an integral part of the presbytery and synod meetings in Scotland.

In this chapter the role of exercise in ministerial training will be examined. First its practice in other Protestant countries then its general features in Scotland will be discussed. The records of Stirling Presbytery will be discussed in order to throw light on the practice of the exercise. In the second part of the chapter attention will be given to the ministerial graduates of Edinburgh's Town College and their participation in the exercise.

1 The European Context

The practice of the exercise was not unique to Scotland. In other European countries on the Continent and in England it had its parallels, each country having its own particular practice. By the 1560s exercise meetings, though known under different names such as prophesying (*Prophezei*), the congregation, the colloquy or the *coetus*, had become an established practice for those who wished to pursue a clerical profession helping them in the preparation for the ministry as well as providing ministers already serving with remedies for shortcomings in practical theology with a special concern for preaching.

As early as 1525, meetings were held both in the Grossmünster and in the Fraumünster in Zurich the former under the leadership of Zwingli and at the later Oswald Myconius was in charge. The name of these gatherings was prophesying (*Prophezei*) which stems from the Greek word for ‘prophecy’. Following Zwingli’s interpretation of the biblical passage of 1 Corinthians 14: 26-33 and specifically verse 29 which reads, ‘let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge’ a daily meeting, apart from Friday and Sunday mornings, developed for the purpose of presenting participants with a thorough training in biblical exegesis. The city ministers and students from the Latin school alike were required to attend. At the centre of these meetings was the study of the Bible in the original languages with a constant comparison with the Latin and Greek text of the Vulgate and the Septuagint requiring rigorous linguistic studies. The form of these sessions followed a simple pattern: an opening prayer in Latin followed by a passage from the Vulgate. Then the text under study was read in Hebrew and was translated into Greek and Latin with philological explanations. It was followed by reading the same passage from the Septuagint and translation into Latin combined with theological comments. Finally, a sermon in German was delivered employing all the results of both philological and theological discussion by the participants. Only this concluding part of the meeting was open to the public. One of the reasons for the heavy emphasis on the philological approach to Scriptures was that Zwingli meant these meetings primarily for those ministers who had been serving as parish priests prior to the reformation of the area.

It is, therefore, of little surprise that beside its educational implications for the ministry the *Prophezei* was responsible for the production of an excessive number of sermons, Bible translations and commentaries. As these meetings became more and more institutionalised a sharp distinction developed between the more specialised, exegetical reading of Scripture (*Prophezei*) and the actual result of it, the sermons. It soon gained a reputation and was copied in other German-speaking cities such as Basel, Bern and Strasbourg.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ Cf. G. R. Potter, *Zwingli*, (Cambridge, 1976) pp. 241-246.; W. P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, (Oxford, 1986) pp. 39-40. For Zwingli possible influence on the practice of exercise in Scotland see D. Shaw, “Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation” in *RSCHS* 22

Calvin in his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541 suggested that:

it will be expedient that all ministers, in order to conserve purity and harmony of doctrine among them, shall meet together on an appointed day in the week to discuss Scripture and none shall absent himself without proper excuse.³⁹⁹

These meetings took place in Geneva on every Friday and were known as the Congregation (*congregationis coetus*). In the 1561 edition of the *Ordinances*, which probably reflects the practice in Geneva before Knox left for Scotland, a section was inserted explaining that ministers were to take turns at expounding passages from the Scriptures. It was primarily a meeting for ministers with possible lay participation.⁴⁰⁰

As for the Netherlands, a detailed study of the classis (presbytery) of Dordrecht reveals that the practice of the exercise had a profound impact on the standard of the ministerial training. In order to assist the ministers of the classis in improving their preaching skills, the classis assigned one or two of its members to deliver a sermon followed by its critique. Alongside the Scriptures, the Heidelberg Catechism often served as a guideline for sermons. Special attention was given to young ministers as a proposal was put forward in 1602 that they meet every two weeks to practise their preaching.⁴⁰¹ Thus, it is argued that ‘the first generation of ministers from 1572 to 1599 were of better calibre than has hitherto been assumed [...] The classis apparently considered a bad minister worse than a vacant parish.’⁴⁰²

(1985) pp. 135-136.; B. Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, (Manchester, 2002) pp. 232-239. Gordon refers to Martin Brecht who argued for the impact of Wittenberg on the Zurich Prophezei, suggesting a similar use of 1 Corinthians 14 (p. 257, n. 6.). P. Denis, “La prophétie dans les églises de la réforme au XVI^e siècle” in *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 72 (1977) pp. 289-316.; P. Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness, Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy, 1535-1575*, (Bern, 1991) pp. 182-184.

³⁹⁹ Hughes, *The Register of the Company of Pastors*, p. 37.

⁴⁰⁰ G. D. Henderson, “The Exercise” in *The Burning Bush. Studies in Scottish Church History*, (Edinburgh, 1957) pp. 44-45.

⁴⁰¹ J. P. Elliott, *Protestantization in the Northern Netherlands, a case study: The classis of Dordrecht, 1572-1640*, (Ann Arbor, 1994) pp. 172-174. Also see discussion on further development of *coetus* in East Friesland in the Netherlands in the 1540s in Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, pp. 23-24, 33.

⁴⁰² In the classis of Dordrecht between 1572-1599 23 per cent of the clergy attained university training (with the proviso that the education of 74 per cent of clergy cannot be identified). Between 1600 and 1619 the figures for academic education increased to 77 per cent. Elliott, *Protestantization*, p. 188. In the case of the classis of Sneek in the period of 1583-1599 50 per cent of the clergy were university trained and by 1620 all candidates had a university degree. I. Dobbe, “Requirements for Dutch

It is also indicated that the classis were the responsible bodies for not only the admission of candidates but for their training and examination and, thus, for the production of highly qualified ministers even before university training became the norm. It was easier for academically-trained students to pass the exam at the classis meetings than for those without a university background.⁴⁰³ In Emden the ministers gathered each week for a *coetus* during which two members of the classis presented theses and defended them.

One important aspect of the exercise was the examination of prospective ministers. They were expected to attend these meetings where their doctrine, eloquence, and preaching skills were assessed. One of the most popular guidelines for the examination of candidates in the second half of the sixteenth century used by the examiners was Philip Melancthon's *Examen ordinandorum* (1552). Not only in Lutheran territories but, for instance in Heidelberg or in Alkmaar, Netherlands, it became a standard work which set the level of examination.⁴⁰⁴

Cologne provided similar opportunities for candidates for the ministry 'to train and exercise', as did Colchester, Norwich, Yarmouth, Maidstone and in many market towns in England and just as it appears to be the case in Scotland.⁴⁰⁵

In England the name "exercise" was replaced by the word prophesying and it developed in two forms. The first one was practiced in the Elizabethan church in the 1580s consisting of a series of sermons delivered consecutively on the same text before a congregation then it was followed by a private conference of the ministers with the aim to discuss doctrine explained in the sermons. Ministers attending the Dedham Conference, a fraternity of ministers committed to the cause of Presbyterianism, put forward the following request:

... that he wold in some vise policy helpe to erecte some like exercise as was the prophecy for the triall and increasing of ministers giftes, and for the acquayntinge of them together in love.⁴⁰⁶

Reformed Ministers, 1570-1620" (p. 202.) in *The formation of clerical and confessional identities in early modern Europe*, W. Janse and B. Pitkin (Leiden, 2006) pp. 191-203.

⁴⁰³ Dobbe, "Requirements for Dutch Reformed Ministers", p. 202.

⁴⁰⁴ B. Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la réforme (1555-1619)*, (Paris, 1976) pp. 88-89.

⁴⁰⁵ Elliott, *Protestantization*, p. 188.

The main characteristic of the second form lay in its function - it was a congregational weekly meeting where any church member had the chance to discuss doctrine taught by the minister.⁴⁰⁷

In summary, the term 'exercise' was used with various meanings. In a general sense, it was exegetical, with varying emphasis on the usage of biblical language, and doctrinal discourse stressing correct interpretation of the Scriptures. In addition, the term was also employed for the formal meeting of ministers, candidates for the ministry and elders in which the main focus was upon testing the theological aptness and learning of ministers and students.

2 Scotland

2.1 Development in church government: Presbyteries

The creation of presbyteries was due to at least two important factors. First, the lack of institutions that would have managed and controlled church administration at regional and district levels. Since the General Assembly met no more than twice in a year and since most of its commissions were issued to groups of ministers for specific tasks such as visitation, there was no institutionalised standing committee to meet between assemblies to deal with matters arising in the Kirk. This led to inevitable difficulties, since many matters which required prompt responses did not arise conveniently to coincide with general assemblies. Therefore, a system was required to solve the problems created by the absence of a priestly hierarchy which would have provided a permanent executive to react to any problems or situations which could not be specifically foreseen by assemblies.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ P. Collinson, J. Craig and B. Usher, eds, *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church, Dedham and Bury St Edmunds, 1582-1590* (Woodbridge, 2003) p. 82

⁴⁰⁷ Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds, *Conferences and Combination Lecture*, pp. xxvi-xxxii.

⁴⁰⁸ A. R. MacDonald, *Ecclesiastical Politics in Scotland: 1586-1610*, (Edinburgh, 1995) p. 99.

The second factor was the already existing fraternal meetings of ministers (and occasionally elders), the exercise. Kirk sessions remained in place while the presbytery emerged from the weekly exercise of doctrine, involving ministers from a group of parishes gathering to expound upon and discuss scripture. The strong theological bent of the meetings may explain why the attendance of elders at presbyteries was almost unknown, except for the first few years.⁴⁰⁹

The first presbyteries were established in 1581. The General Assembly of that year (with the help of the Privy Council) set forth the plan of thirteen initial centres for establishing presbyteries comprising 266 parishes. The presbyteries were the following: Ayr, Chirnside, Dunbar, Dunfermline, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Haddington, Irvine, Linlithgow, Perth, St Andrews, Stirling.⁴¹⁰ They received royal approval.⁴¹¹ However, the General Assembly's support for the Ruthven regime had coincided with the introduction of presbyteries and so, when the regime fell in 1583 to be replaced by the faction which it had removed in 1582, the presbyteries were swept away. For almost 2 years no presbyteries met, the last known meeting was that of the Presbytery of Stirling on 19 May 1584. The first recorded meeting after the fall of the Arran regime was held by the Presbytery of Edinburgh on 19 April 1586.⁴¹²

The function of the presbytery was to carry out the examination, ordination and admission of ministers, the supervision and visitation of parishes, the execution of ordinances made in the higher courts such as synods and general assemblies, the licensing of marriage contracts and to deal with issues of church discipline.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ *SBD*, pp. 102, 230-231; M. Lynch, *Scotland*, p. 230; Henderson, "The Exercise" in *The Burning Bush*, p.13ff.

⁴¹⁰ A. Peterkin, *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1889) pp. 214-218.

⁴¹¹ MacDonald, *Ecclesiastical Politics*, p. 184.

⁴¹² MacDonald, *Ecclesiastical Politics*, pp. 184-185.

⁴¹³ *SBD*, pp. 179-180, 185-6, 194, 196-202, 223-224; Calderwood, VIII. pp. 35-36.

2.2 The exercise

Since the Reformation, groups of ministers from between ten and twenty parishes in a region had met regularly for the ‘exercise’ in which they studied a portion of Scripture, discussed doctrine and underwent mutual self-examination. These weekly meetings had been prescribed in the *First Book of Discipline* where a full chapter was devoted to ‘Prophecyng or Interpreting of the Scriptures’.⁴¹⁴ Ministers, readers and those who were considered suitable candidates for the ministry were encouraged to attend. Originally the exercises were intended primarily for the public so that people would benefit by the instruction given in these meetings:

To the end that the Kirk of God may have a tryall of mens knowledge, judgements, graces and utterances... it is more expedient that in every towne where Schools and repaire of learned men are, there be in one certaine day every week appointed to that exercise which S. Paul calls prophecyng;... This exercise is a thing most necessarie for the Kirk of God this day of Scotland. For therby, as said is shall the Kirk have judgement, knowledge of the graces, gifts and utterances of every man within their body. ... and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his minde and knowledge to the comfort and consolation of the Kirk.⁴¹⁵

In the *First Book of Discipline* the purpose of the exercise was that those who attended the meetings ‘either may learn or else others may learn by them’. Readers and exhorters were expected to increase the ‘knowledge of letteris’. Together with ministers they were required to travel up to ten miles to attend and participate in the exercise.⁴¹⁶ For readers attending these meetings was of high importance because an enduring debate and reasoning had been going on in the General Assembly concerning the office of reader. Many in the assembly regarded this office as dangerous for the Kirk on account of the adequate ministerial training of the office holders. In 1580 the General Assembly concluded that

⁴¹⁴ *FBD*, pp. 187-191.

⁴¹⁵ *FBD*, pp. 188-189.

⁴¹⁶ L. J. Dunbar, “Synods and Superintendence: John Winram and Fife, 1561-1572” (pp. 101-102.) in *RSCHS*, 27 (1997) pp. 97-125; *FBD* reads “Readers... within sixe miles must concurre”, cf. *FBD*, p. 190.

That thair office is no ordinar office within the Kirk of God and because some of the brether movit the question, Whither, in respect of thair necessitie and circumstance of tyme, they could be sufferit to continue, the disputation heirof was remittit to the morne.⁴¹⁷

Furthermore new trials for all readers were put in order, if they were readers longer than two years. In cases where they were found not fit for ministry then they should be deposed and, they were not to be given any beneficies. The reference to Readers in the Records is obvious evidence that Readers were employed by local churches to fulfil ministerial duties.⁴¹⁸

None of the existing manuscript-registers begin until the 1580s and little is known about the early practice of the exercises.⁴¹⁹ However, from the references to them in the minutes of the General Assembly, it is evident that difficulties were encountered in maintaining them and ministers were reported as failing to attend the exercises. In June 1565 complaints were brought before the General Assembly that two ministers serving in rural areas do not attend ‘the exercise and prophecying’ in Linlithgow. In 1576 the General Assembly enacted that ‘all ministers and Reidars within aught myles or utherwayes at the good discetioun of the Visitor sall resort to the place of Exercise ilk day of Exercise’.⁴²⁰ These complaints demonstrate that unlike the contemporary English exercises or ‘prophesying’, or the congregations of English exiles at Frankfurt and Geneva where ordinary members could attend these meetings in Scotland, a much narrower body, without any significant lay participation, met at these gatherings.⁴²¹

Two further general points about the exercise deserve mentioning. First, as an institution the exercise did not attain national coverage. Its sporadic appearance required a more systematic organisation which came to be realised in the formation of presbyteries. Second, presbyteries, while absorbing the functions of the exercise,

⁴¹⁷ *BUK*, II. p. 455.

⁴¹⁸ *BUK*, II. pp. 456-457. Obviously Readers continued in their office, for example the General Assembly in 1597 prohibited Readers from baptising and celebrating marriages, unless specific permission was granted to them.

⁴¹⁹ *FBD*, p. 191.

⁴²⁰ *BUK*, I. pp. 57, 366.

⁴²¹ Unlike the contemporary English exercises or “prophesying” which had higher lay participation. Cf. P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, (Oxford, 1967) p. 195; Henderson, “The Exercise”, pp. 44ff, 57.

secured a place for holding the exercise which thus became an integral part of the procedures of the presbyteries as the records of the inaugural meeting of Stirling Presbytery reveal.⁴²² Usually the presbytery meetings began with the exercise, once over, the ministers and teachers joined up with other members of the presbytery which then got down to the daily procedures and business of the constituent parishes.

Undoubtedly, wherever an exercise was observed vigorously it provided the beginnings of something very similar to a presbytery. As early as 1562 the weekly exercise was set up in St Andrews and all masters and students in the three colleges were required to be present by a statute of the University.⁴²³ At the Assembly of July 1579, the ministers of Lothian pronounced that in places where an exercise was in existence ‘the exercise may be judged a presbytery’. In the following year at the Assembly the ‘Presbyterie of Sanct Andrews’ was mentioned as well as the ‘bretheren of the exercise of Edinburgh’ and they were given authority over disciplining ministers which was a definite sign of the recognition of the exercise as an executive body.⁴²⁴ Nonetheless, not every exercise received the recognition of a presbytery. Although Andrew Graham, bishop of the diocese of Dunblane, was present as a commissioner from the Assembly at the erection of Stirling Presbytery, he refused to become a member of the newly created presbytery for as it was argued ‘we haif a presbytery of our awin erectit of a lang tyme past in Dunblane [...] our exerceis haldin and keipit and the materis of our kirk intreattid’. Graham’s desire for a recognised presbytery was manifested at the Assembly, held in Edinburgh in October 1581, when a request was put forward to erect a presbytery not only in Stirling but in Dunblane as well. The very existence of the exercise in Dunblane before the erection of Stirling Presbytery is further confirmed by a clear statement

⁴²² ‘The bretherein ordains the execeis to be kept ilk Tysday at ix houris and the bell to rigne befor the hour ane rassonablle spaice.’, *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 2, 42.

⁴²³ It is dated 7th January 1562. Dunlop, *Acta Facultatis*, p. 416.

⁴²⁴ *BUK*, II. pp. 439, 459, 465. For a broader context and background of the Reformation in St Andrews see J. E. Dawson, “The Face of Ane Perfyte Reformed Kyrk: St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation” in *Humanism and Reform: the Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400–1643: essays in honour of James K. Cameron*, ed. J. Kirk, (Oxford, 1991) pp. 413–435.; for the origin of the idea of the exercise see Henderson, “The Exercise”; for its development on the Continent see G. S. Sunshine, “Reformed Theology and the Origins of Synodical Polity: Calvin, Beza and Gallican Confession” in *Later Calvinism, International Perspectives, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, vol. xxii, ed. W. F. Graham, (1994) pp. 141–158.

about Duncan Nevin, the schoolmaster at Dunblane, that ‘he hes made it [the exercise] befoir in Dunblane’.⁴²⁵

2.2.1 The practice of exercise in Stirling Presbytery

The examination of particular cases in one of the presbyteries in central Scotland will permit further precision with regard to the general usage of the exercise; therefore, attention will be given here to Stirling Presbytery. The earliest surviving and the most easily accessible source of information as to the practice of the exercise is provided by the *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581-1587* (the *Records* hereafter).

The Presbytery of Stirling was one of the original courts erected by the General Assembly of April 1581 and its *Records* will be used to establish the main features of the exercise and to gain insight into its function in the Scottish context, as the most important examination of prospective ministers as well as an ‘in-service’ training of the practicing ministers, with occasional references made to the Registers of Presbytery of St Andrews and Glasgow.

2.2.1.1 The participants in the exercises

It seems clear from the Stirling *Records* that the basic functions of the exercise, the interpretation of Scriptures and discussion of doctrine, were practised by ministers apart from a few exceptions such as schoolmasters and commissaries. Three groups of participants can be identified, thus, three types of exercise seem to have been developed in the initial years of the 1580s.

First, there were those parish ministers who were constituent members of the presbytery. Presbytery meetings took place on a weekly basis and to begin with, the exercise was usually attended by a smaller circle of members. These meetings were often referred to as ‘publict exercise’ in contrast to the exercise or trials that had been

⁴²⁵ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 3, 18, 59; *BUK*, II. p. 524.

set aside for possible candidates for the ministry. As the *Stirling Presbytery Records* reveal, the ministers set the task for themselves to offer scriptural exegesis on an assigned text in the form of a sermon to each other. Usually consecutive passages from Scripture were read and explained. Once the sermon was heard another minister undertook to make some practical observations on the first speaker's exposition. Often candidates for the ministry supplied the second speaker. In Stirling the members of the Presbytery agreed to draw up a 'catalog of the brethir of the exerceis and ordur to be observit by thame in follwing uthir in exerceis' then a list of names of ministers and readers are given.⁴²⁶ This way the participants had a better chance to prepare their sermon and the moderator could organise a replacement in case anything unexpected happened.

Second, the next group of participants who took an active part in the exercise were those practising ministers and readers against whom charges of heresy and alleged misconduct of life were brought by their colleagues or members of their congregation. Often these examinations were called 'trials' by which one's understanding of doctrine and competence in preaching was meant.

William Scott, reader first in Callendar then in Kilmachog, was assigned the task of making the exercise on the last part of the chapter 28 in Matthew. He was given almost two months to prepare for the exercise. The examiners gathered in 'the minister of Strivilingis chalmir' and found the sermon 'sound and thairfor continewis him, as of befoir, to exhort unto his flok and minister baptisme quhill thai tak farder tryell of him'.⁴²⁷

Andrew Graham, bishop of Dunblane, had to undergo examination 'to the effect the brethrein may juge on his doctrine'. The assigned text on which the examination was carried out came from Ephesians 1, 13-15. His doctrine was considered 'sound and proffitabll' with the admonishment that he should exercise himself 'mair diligentlie in tyme cuming nor he did befoir'.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. 22.

⁴²⁷ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 68, 87.

⁴²⁸ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. 69.

These individuals were examined on particular passages of Scripture. In most cases one or two examinations satisfied the presbytery. Other times the exercisers were required to appear before the presbytery several times. One outstanding case was that of Patrick Layng, reader in Clackmannan. In November 1581 he was granted a testimonial of his suitability for the ministry because:

he hes bein tryit bayth be the brethir of the exerceis of Dumfarming as David Fargusonis testimoniall gevin thairupon beris, and also be us bayth in execeis and publict doctrein and fund able to proffeit the Kirk of God be his doctrein.

Layng attended the exercises regularly. Between 6 February and 25 September in 1582 having been present at 21 exercises, for some reason, however, he missed the meetings in October and November and as a result he was admonished at a meeting in December. Next year, in February, the first time since his last appearance at an exercise in September, he explained why he could not attend the exercises. As a good presbyterian he gave three reasons for his absence which were all to do with his financial situation. He told the presbytery the he had ‘bot ane small stepend of ane reader’ which covered neither travel nor living expenses. Since his ‘kirk and dwelling was five myll distant fra this toun [Stirling]’ he could not afford attending meetings because of the lack of both money and time. His next two excuses were that ‘he hade tint [lost] his schulle’ through which he got a good part of his living and furthermore he had ‘tint ane offeice of ane court clark, thruch the quhilk he hade commoditie to leiv upone’. Apparently the struggle for survival was not a problem with which only Layng had to face therefore his excuses were readily accepted and he was ordered not to miss the following meetings.⁴²⁹ From 1583 onwards Patrick Layng’s ministry occupied the presbytery’s attention and although there was no problem with his absence from meetings, from time to time he had to undergo examinations ‘gif he usit his offeice in the kirk sufficientlie and gif he was upright in his lyf and conversatioun nor nocht’. In 1586 he was at the exercise and was required to demonstrate the soundness of his doctrine of justification by

⁴²⁹ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 12, 90-91.

delivering a sermon on Romans 5. The consensus was that his doctrine was acceptable therefore he was admitted to teach 'in the publict exerceis', in other words to preach before the whole of the presbytery, 'quhen he selbe commandit as for ane farther tryell of his habilitie to continew a pastur in the kirk'. This trial was followed by a series of exercises he had to attend and demonstrate his fitness for the ministry. The last recorded exercise took place on 24 October 1587 in which he preached on Matthew 18, 10-15. Again his doctrine was

fund aggreing with the annalgie of faith bot nocht swa sufficient as is requisite to be teichit by ane pastur in the kirk, and thairfor the bretherin as yit continewis him undir farther tryell.⁴³⁰

The case of Layng suggests that in the course of his examination the level of requirements was gradually raised in order to attain that standard which would satisfy the presbytery. Furthermore, the knowledge of doctrine was only one aspect of the requirements, communication skills were also considered essential for parish ministry.

Finally, the exercise meetings had an important role to play in examining candidates for the ministry especially those who were recent graduates of one of the universities. The General Assembly, met in April 1582 in St Andrews, ordained the presbyteries to try and examine those who desired to enter the ministry 'and such as they find qualified, to provyde them to kirks'.⁴³¹

James Kirk has noted that only in Stirling was evidence found before 1584 for the practice of examining and admitting suitably qualified ministers to parish churches. The earlier routine of examination had been undertaken by visitors commissioned by the assembly.⁴³² In Stirling, both in the examination and gradually in the admission of candidates to the ministry, the presbytery had a significant role to play.

⁴³⁰ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 100, 232, 292.

⁴³¹ *BUK*, II. p. 570; *BUK*, I. p. 357.

⁴³² *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. xix.

Between 1581 and 1587 only four recent university graduates were undertaking the exercise in Stirling, all four having studied at St Andrews.

Andrew Murdo, who graduated in 1582, made his first exercise with Stirling Presbytery on 24 December 1583; it was followed by another nine appearances before the members of the presbytery. The last record of him as ‘an brother of exerceis’ is dated 19 May 1584 when the records were interrupted due to the passing of the ‘Black Acts’ in 1584. The next time his name appears in the presbytery records is in February 1587 with the designation of a minister.⁴³³ Despite the lack of a record of his actual exercise, one may assume that the examination went smoothly and without any unnecessary complications. The first charge he took up was at Kippen in March 1588 at the parishioners’ request. Here, as in most cases it was the duty of the commissioner appointed by the presbytery to conduct the admission of Murdo as an ordinary pastor at Kippen which took place immediately after the sermon by getting a consent from the congregation by ‘uphauling of thair handis’ as well as getting a promise from Murdo that he accepted the office and would be a true and faithful pastor of the flock.⁴³⁴

Henry Livingston, who graduated in 1583, appeared on the exercise for the first time on 18 June 1587 almost four years after he had ended his studies at St Andrews. His name was put forward with two other candidates by two of the commissioners for the examination to see if one of them was suitable for the charge of St Ninians which had become vacant due to the death of the minister, Patrick Gillespie. In the following three months Livingston had to undertake five examinations, which, compared with previous exercises seems to be only a few, and by the middle of October he was inaugurated as minister of St Ninians. The way in which Livingston’s exercise was conducted throws light on the pattern of examination undertaken by an able candidate.

He was first heard at what one may call a candidate trial where he was examined in the form of an exercise and, once he had satisfied the examiners, he was

⁴³³ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 191, 218, 239.

⁴³⁴ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, p. 309; *Fasti*, IV. p. 350; III. p. 206.

admitted to teach in a public exercise and ‘to ad in the second place upone the ordinar text’. The next stage was to take the place of the first speaker at a public exercise which was followed by one more step further up ‘to teiche publictlie in the pulpet of Sterling [...] in forme of publict doctrein with applicationis’. This was repeated twice. Finally, the congregation was provided with the opportunity to hear their possible minister.⁴³⁵

The most significant factor, perhaps, in this process of examination is that once the examiners were satisfied the candidate was assigned a new task that had to be presented at a higher level as well as being heard by a different and probably wider circle of examiners and more importantly a more critical audience, by the parishioners themselves.

William Patone, graduated in 1585, was often mentioned among the ‘brethir of exerceis’ but the account of his actual examination was not given. The only reference to it was when he had decided to leave Stirling Presbytery because of ‘na kirk sutand him that hes ony ressonablle stipend’ and to find a vacant church he was given by the presbytery a ‘testimonial of his habilitie to entir in the ministrie’.⁴³⁶

Another exerciser was Andrew Kirk, son of Andrew Kirk, a reader at Muckhart, who graduated from St Andrews in 1585. His name was brought to the attention of the presbytery by his father:

The samin day compeirit Andro Kirk, reder at the kirk of Muckert, and declairit that he hade ane yung mane to his sone callit Mr Andro Kirk, quha is reder presentlie at the kirk of Dysert, and is myndit to exerceis his talent in the ministrie gif he salbe fund qualefeit and meit thairto, and thairfor is willein to offer him self to ane tryell of the brethrein of this presbytery.⁴³⁷

As the elder Kirk’s words reveal his son had been functioning as a reader in the parish of Dysart although the *Fasti* does not know about this. Certainly he had some time available to develop his skills as a reader, since he graduated in the

⁴³⁵ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 268, 269, 272, 275; *Fast*, IV. p. 313.

⁴³⁶ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 225-226, 228-229, 232-233, 236, 238-239, 243-245.

⁴³⁷ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 287-288.

summer of 1585 and his father presented him to the presbytery two years later, on 10 October 1587.

What is also intriguing about this little episode is that neither of the parishes at which both of them had been serving as readers belonged to the Presbytery of Stirling. In the case of Muckhart it is difficult to decide to which presbytery it belonged, it might then have been part of the Presbytery of Auchterarder if that existed at this stage.⁴³⁸ As for Dysart, according to the decision made by the General Assembly in 1581, it belonged to the Presbytery of Dunfermline⁴³⁹ The most likely explanation was that the exercise functioned in Stirling and probably did not yet in the Presbytery of Dunfermline.

Kirk was examined in a similar fashion to Henry Livingston and was to go through the different stages of the exercise, perhaps with less success. Having been admitted to prophesy in the first place on 9 January 1587/88, 'Kirk's doctrine was found sound and so was ordained to attend the exercise and to preach therein each month, at least, until the brethren were further resolved'. Three months later he petitioned the presbytery if he could exercise himself in churches instead of at the presbytery meetings for 'he is nocht in use of langage and memorie to utter his doctrein to the proffeit of the auditor'. The presbytery granted him the licence to preach for five or six weeks in the parishes of Muckhart and Dollar.⁴⁴⁰

There were other participants in the exercise who appeared only once such as, James Dundas and John Millar. Further information on their success or failure is not provided, they might have given up on becoming a minister and found another job or, as another possibility, they exercised somewhere else.

⁴³⁸ According to the *Fasti* Muckhart disjoined on 2 October 1632 from the Presbytery of Auchterarder which had certainly been in existence since 1593. In April 1581 the General Assembly had under consideration a proposal to create a presbytery with a seat in Crieff for this district. Yet in 1593 the court sat in Dunblane which had long aspired for a long time to become a centre for a presbytery. In the same year the Assembly ordered it to be removed to Auchterarder. *Fasti*, V. p. 67; IV. p. 257; *BUK*, III. p. 814.

⁴³⁹ This presbytery came into existence not long after the Assembly had decided since a volume of the Register of the Presbytery, covering the period from 20 July 1582 to July 1662, was known to exist even if this copy is no longer extant. Cf. *Fasti*, V. p. 1.

⁴⁴⁰ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 306, 308-309.

2.2.1.2 Attendance

In Stirling the exercise took place every week usually on Tuesday mornings beginning at 9 o'clock although for winter it changed to 10 o'clock 'in respect of the shortness of the day'. Trials of ministers and candidates for the ministry, however, sometimes commenced at the beginning of the second session at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.⁴⁴¹ The public exercise, held in the morning, was always undertaken by two exercisers. The first one was to deliver an exegetical sermon on an assigned passage of Scripture and the second was to "add in", as they said. Sometimes the second exerciser's place was taken by a prospective minister.⁴⁴²

To ensure attendance, the presbytery decided that each Tuesday would be set aside for the exercise and presbytery meetings because ministers 'excused their absence sumtyme be baptezine of bairnis and examining of their congregatioun befor the ministratioun of the Lord supper', therefore by the universal consent of the brethren it has been laid down that 'na minister fra this furth upon the ordinar day of exerceis, viz., ilk Twysday ministrant baptime, marriage nor exame ony of his congregatioun nor use na uthir kind of exerceis'.⁴⁴³ Since the absence of ministers provided a recurring subject matter of discussion at presbytery meetings it can be assumed that the presbytery were devoted to enforcing this enactment on its members.

Reference to the problem of attendance and the Assembly's regulating efforts has been made in passing. Yet the problem of being absent from exercise meetings did not cease but remained a constant difficulty in the years to come. To find a remedy for this problem in January 1582 the members of Presbytery of Stirling agreed that 'ony minister or brouthur of exerceis be absent fra the elderschip the day of exerceis sall pay for the first fault twa schillingis, second fault dubillit and the third

⁴⁴¹ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 61, 88, 291.

⁴⁴² For instance: *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 248, 253, 267, 269, 294, 295, 296.

⁴⁴³ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, p. 99.

fault trepleit'. Readers were given more generous treatment by fining them only 12 pence (1 shilling) for the first time and so forth.⁴⁴⁴ After the decision to impose fines on absent ministers had been made, the presbytery tried to enforce this act.⁴⁴⁵ In December 1582 because of 'the lang and frequent absence of the brethrein eftir following fra the exerceis and elderschip' the presbytery summoned five of its members under the pain of disobedience to the acts of the General Assembly. Yet only one person, William Stirling, a reader, turned up to be interrogated a month later. His excuse for his absence was very simple, he had fallen and hurt his leg 'quhilk excuse the brethrein fand ressonable'.⁴⁴⁶

The list of members, who subscribed to this order, reveal that the decision was made almost exclusively by ministers and elders were not expected to join this part of the presbytery meetings.⁴⁴⁷

Schoolmasters form an exception as they were requested to attend exercise meetings. They were regarded as doctors holding a teaching office and this was very much in line with the concept laid down in the *Second Book of Discipline*.⁴⁴⁸ In November 1581 Duncan Niven, reader and schoolmaster at Dunblane was required 'to adjone him self to the Presbytery of Stirling ... and conform to the act of the generall assemblee'. A few weeks later he was further encouraged to attend the exercise, too, 'because he is a teacher of the youthe'. Perhaps, as a result of the negotiations between the ministers of Stirling and Dunblane as to whether Dunblane ministers were to join Stirling Presbytery, in September 1582 Niven was granted '*ex gratia* ... that he sall nocht be astrict to convey ilk day of exerceis with the brethrein bot only on the dayis that it fall him to mak the exerceis'. Alexander Yule, the Stirling schoolmaster and one of the most faithful participants of presbytery meetings, was given the designation of 'an brothur of exerceis' well over a hundred times in the presbytery records to distinguish him from the rest of the elders who

⁴⁴⁴ Since a labourer in Edinburgh in 1580 could earn about 4 pence a day, the fine seems to be some loss of money for the readers and ministers alike. Cf. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, p. xiii; for further details on wages and prices in late sixteenth-century Scotland see p. xiii. n. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 21-23.

⁴⁴⁶ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 66, 75.

⁴⁴⁷ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 21, 23.

⁴⁴⁸ *SBD*, pp. 187-190.

attended the presbytery meetings. John Brown, schoolmaster at Strageith, attended the exercise only once although his name often appears in the records.⁴⁴⁹

2.2.1.3 Content

The usual treatment of biblical passages was to go through one book after another in the Bible. At the beginning of 1582 Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians was under scrutiny and when it was 'endit [...] the epistill to the Gallathianis salbe intreattit nixt' and again a few months later 'the bretherein hes thocht gude and ordeinit that the epistill of Paul wrettin to the Ephesianis be teichit in the exerceis immediatelie eftir' the letter to the Galatians.⁴⁵⁰ The first type of exercise with which presbytery meeting began especially adhered to this practice. For those who were on the exercise either to be tried for soundness of their doctrine or to be examined for entering the ministry, short passages, usually 3 or 4 verses of Scripture were assigned. The texts came exclusively from the New Testament, of some 33 passages noted in the *Records*. The Gospels in general (21 times) and Matthew in particular (14 times) appear to have been the most commonly used. Luke's gospel did not get mentioned at all whereas all the texts from the gospel according to John came from chapter 3. The remaining 12 New Testament passages were from Paul's letters to the Romans, Ephesians and from his first letter to Timothy, and finally from the letter to the Hebrews. One point of significance which might be made here is that these texts almost exclusively focus on the fundamental doctrines of the Protestant understanding of Christian theology such as the doctrine of salvation and faith, justification, the person and work of Christ and further more on Christian discipleship, vocation and perseverance.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ For Niven, 28 November then 19 December 1581 in *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 15, 18, 59; and as for the mentioned Act of the General Assembly of 1581 cf. *BUK*, II. pp. 522-547; for Yule, he was given the title of 'brother of exerceis' for the first time on 15 January 1583, *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. 77; for Brown, the only time he was exercising took place on 9 May 1587, *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. 253.

⁴⁵⁰ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 33, 63.

⁴⁵¹ Texts include (some of them are employed twice or more): Matthew 10,15; 10,27-30; 12,1-5, 5-9, 32-41; 18,1-7, 7-12, 10-15; 20,28-30, 28, 16-20; Mark 1,4-7; 8, 34-35; John 3,1-6, 14-16, 16-18, 18-; Romans 5,1-2, 8,1-4; Ephesians 1,13-15; 3,20-4,4; 1Timothy 4,12-15; Hebrew 5,5-; 10,19-24, 28-32; 11,1-4.

The ultimate purpose of the exercise was to improve the standard of preaching and biblical and doctrinal knowledge. One way of reaching this goal, beside the ongoing practice of exercise, was that members of the presbytery were to share the text on which they had been preaching on Sundays and also give an account of the available commentaries and other theological works they had used to prepare their sermons. The *Records* give a snapshot of the sermons delivered from the pulpits of Stirling Presbytery at a presbytery meeting in February 1582. Robert Montgomery, minister in Stirling and later Archbishop of Glasgow, said he had been preaching on the book of Genesis in his congregation, Andrew Young, minister of Dunblane had just begun a series on the harmony of the gospels and had been teaching the catechism as well on Sundays. Patrick Gillespie, minister at St Ninians, had taken his texts from the first letter of John, Alexander Fargy, minister of Logie Wallach, had chosen to preach on passages from Mark and Robert Menteith, minister at Alva, from the Acts of the Apostles. This high variety of biblical texts demonstrates that a common lectionary had not been followed and ministers were free to make their own preaching plan in the early 1580s in the Presbytery of Stirling.⁴⁵²

It was a general practice for preachers in the last decades of the sixteenth century within the Reformed ministry that they included discussions of doctrinal issues into their sermons. In his handbook on preaching entitled *De formandis concionibus sacris*, [*On the Practice of Preaching*] (1577), Andreas Hyperius (1511-1564) suggested that preachers after careful reading of the Biblical passage should draw out basic doctrines of the Christian faith in order to encourage, admonish and counsel their audience.⁴⁵³

Apparently doctrinal issues were also raised and views of theologians from the Continent were discussed during the exercise. For both discussions and preparing sermons Bible commentaries and theological treatises were indispensable tools in ministers' hands as well as a rich source of Reformed theology even though, as the

⁴⁵² *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. 25.

⁴⁵³ Ford, "Preaching in the Reformed Tradition", pp. 70-76.

following names of theologians reveal, Lutheran theology was also well represented in ministers' libraries. The above list of sermons was supplemented by another list that comprised names of theologians whose works had been in the possession of ministers. Andrew Young had commentaries by Calvin, Beza and 'Gualteir on Louk' (Rodolph Gualter, 1519-1586, a theologian in Zürich). Patrick Gillespie had commentaries by the same authors, Alexander Fargy had commentaries as well as by Calvin, and also by Marlorot (Augustin Marlorat, 1506-1562, a French theologian) as well as Musculus (Wolfgang Musculus, 1497-1563, a theologian in Bern). Robert Mentieth had books by Brentius (Johann Brentz, 1499-1570, a Lutheran theologian from Württemberg).⁴⁵⁴ At another presbytery meeting in a couple weeks time William Stirling, minister of Aberfoyle and his namesake, then reader at Port of Menteith, were asked what text they had taught and what commentaries they had used. Both of them answered they taught 'the artickillis of the belief, his commentar Calveinis Institutionis' the latter adding 'the commandementtis' as a requirement for learning and besides Calvin's works, the Institutions of 'Petir Verott' (Pierre Viret, 1511-1571, Swiss theologian).⁴⁵⁵ That lists of available theological books were compiled is not surprising. As early as June 1562, the General Assembly had ordered the superintendents 'to take account what bookes every minister has in store in the tyme of their visitation, and how the said minister, and every one of them does profite from tyme to tyme in reading and studying the samein'.⁴⁵⁶

When Thomas Cranstoun, minister of Tranent died in 1569, as his testament reveals, he had on loan from other ministers 'ane volume of Johnne Colvyne upone the lesser prophettis and utheris twa lyttill volumes' and 'Musculus upone Mathew and upone Johnne', while he in turn had lent to them 'ane volume of Harie Bullinger aganis the Anabaptists' and 'Johne Calvyne upone the Actis of the Apostiles and other examples from the testaments if necessary.'⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, p. 25.

⁴⁵⁵ *Stirling Presb. Recs*, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁵⁶ *BUK*, I. p. 15.

⁴⁵⁷ I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation*, (New York, 1962) pp. 203-204. For further details on books, see the findings of Sanderson's research on ministers' testaments in Sanderson, "Service and Survival", pp. 93-95.

It may be noted that in the case of the Presbytery of St Andrews the university lecturers and professors occasionally visited the presbytery meetings in order to discuss theology and assist with doctrinal oversight. There are existing *theses theologicae* which shed light on the content of the course material taught at St Andrews. The focus of these theses was on central topics of Calvinist theology such as justification by faith alone, predestination, election, reprobation, etc. It is fair to assume that similar subjects were explored in presbytery meetings.⁴⁵⁸

The language in which the exposition was required to be delivered was usually English. In a few instances, however, there were references to the use of Latin, such as at the exercise of Hew Myles or Andrew Kirk, nonetheless both of them were then ordered to ‘teiche privallie in the samin forme in Ingillis langage’.⁴⁵⁹

2.2.2 Edinburgh Presbytery and ministerial graduates of the Town College

Having noted the main features of the exercise based on presbytery records, attention now must move to Edinburgh as an emerging capital, its presbytery and its relationship with the recently erected the Town College.

2.2.2.1 The Edinburgh Presbytery and its role within the Kirk

Since the early 1560s the ministers of Edinburgh, especially John Knox, had a special organising role for the Kirk as a whole. It was Knox’s task to call General Assembly *pro re nata* (according to need) and in the following decade this task was handed over to the growing number of ministers.⁴⁶⁰ This system was probably used because these ministers, being in almost constant contact with the course of national

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Smith, *St Andrews Presbytery Records*, pp. 13-14; R. G. Cant, “The St Andrews University theses, 1579-1747” in *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* (1941) pp. 105-150.

⁴⁵⁹ *Stirling Presb. Recs.*, pp. 283, 292.

⁴⁶⁰ *BUK*, I. pp. 38-39, 64; II. p. 570; Shaw, *The General Assemblies*, chapter 17.

and international politics, would be best placed to judge when assemblies were necessary.

It is, thus, not surprising that the Presbytery of Edinburgh gradually became more and more involved in ecclesiastical politics. Since the Presbytery of Edinburgh met weekly, of all the presbyteries it was best placed to keep in touch with the doings of central government and furthermore the king's ministers were deemed to be members of the presbytery.⁴⁶¹

Although other presbyteries were commissioned by General Assemblies to carry out specific tasks, none received commissions as often or in such large numbers as did Edinburgh. Virtually no General Assembly passed without the Presbytery of Edinburgh being commissioned to carry out a task which related to matters or people beyond its bounds.⁴⁶² As a consequence of the fact that the Presbytery of Edinburgh was given such a central role, its national status was ensured and it was seen as pre-eminent among presbyteries.⁴⁶³

2.2.2.2 The selection and examination of candidates for ordination and admission to parish ministry

The *Stirling Presbytery Records* are silent as to any university student attending the exercise. It has been noted earlier that Robert Rollock visited the Presbytery in Stirling four times before his move to Edinburgh. Apart from these references there is no evidence that Stirling would have had any connection with universities in terms of receiving graduates to its exercise in the period of which Records exist from the 1580s. It appears that the Presbyteries of Glasgow, St Andrews and Aberdeen were the most important centres for exercising their existing universities.

⁴⁶¹ MacDonald, *Ecclesiastical Politics*, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁶² MacDonald provides ample evidences for this cf. MacDonald, *Ecclesiastical Politics*, pp. 101-107.

⁴⁶³ For instance MacDonald in his thesis refers to the following case: 'in October 1590, the minister of the French church in London, writing on behalf of the church of Geneva, which was faced with external pressure and was in dire need of money, looked to Edinburgh as a route into Scottish support'. MacDonald, *Ecclesiastical Politics*, p. 100.

By the opening of the Town College in Edinburgh the practice of exercise within Edinburgh Presbytery gained fresh impetus. It offered a similar opportunity in the form of the exercise for additional education in theology for its members as well as for those graduates hoping to go into the ministry.

In Edinburgh, like in Stirling, the presbytery met on a weekly basis and the exercise was used as a means for maintaining doctrinal oversight amongst ministers as well as for examining would-be entrants for the ministry. These candidates with other ministers from the presbytery appeared on the exercise for two weeks, for the first time they were to 'eik' (this terminology was also used in Glasgow, meaning 'add in')⁴⁶⁴ that is to elaborate and comment on the doctrine of the principal exerciser. For the second time they were to become the principal exerciser themselves. The Presbytery of Edinburgh had a prominent role within the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale of which it was one of the constituting presbyteries.⁴⁶⁵

In April 1592 the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale was approached by the parishioners of Eddleston for provision for a minister, however, instead of dealing with the request, the synod decided to forward the parishioners' request to the Edinburgh Presbytery. They were entrusted with the task of presenting a qualified minister in case the patron of the congregation failed to do so.⁴⁶⁶

In Edinburgh the Town College and the presbytery worked together from the outset.

After graduating his first class in 1587, Robert Rollock was promoted to be a professor of Divinity by the town council on the advice and agreement of the presbytery.⁴⁶⁷

A year later, in 1588, Rollock was elected to be the moderator of the presbytery and so was in charge not only of the teaching in the Town College with regular preaching assignments in the town, but also of coordinating the work of the

⁴⁶⁴ For instance on 24 October 1592 'Ordenit to mak the exercise Mr Blaise Lavrie, To eik thairto Mr Johnne Bell in cadder' in NAS, *Register of Presbytery of Glasgow*, CH2/171/1 p. 1.

⁴⁶⁵ See the visitations and 'tryalls' of the Edinburgh presbytery in October 1594 and in April 1595. *Synod Recs.*, pp. 80, 85.

⁴⁶⁶ *Synod Recs.*, pp. 42, 55.

⁴⁶⁷ *Extracts*, p. 499; Craufurd, *History*, V. p. 32.

presbytery and dealing with other ecclesiastical matters.⁴⁶⁸ In November 1597 Rollock was approached by the presbytery to help recruit candidates for the ministry by suggesting names of recent graduates of the Town College who would be talented enough and, thus, be considered for undertaking the exercise at presbytery meetings, and later would serve as a minister either in Edinburgh or within the boundaries of the presbytery. The date for requesting these names from Rollock is an intriguing one for it falls between two important dates for Edinburgh.

At the end of the previous year all four Edinburgh ministers, Balcanquhal, Balfour, Watson and Robert Bruce, had had to leave the town for a period because of their involvement in a tumult in St Giles'.⁴⁶⁹ Even if they were allowed to return in the town, their position as ministers was on shaky ground. In other words, they were likely to be replaced by new ministers. The other date is 1598 when the king authorised the town council's decision concerning the division of the Burgh of Edinburgh into four ecclesiastical quarters following the civil administration areas, which had been under negotiation since 1584.⁴⁷⁰ As the king's authorisation took effect, eight ministers, two for each quarter, were admitted.

A week later on the presbytery's request Rollock presented a list of 'names of the masteris of the colledge' as a source of potential ministers to fill vacant charges. This list of 'young men ...wer given up be Mr Ro[bert] Rollock' consisted of 28 names of which one is crossed out and impossible to identify.

The names were as follow: Mr Robert Rollock, Mr Charlis Pharum (1587), Mr Henrie Charteris (1587), Mr Georg Robe[rt]soun (1588), Mr William Craig (1593), Mr William Arthure (1592), Mr James Thomsoun (1592), Mr James Donaldsoun (1594), Mr Georg Greir (1595), Mr Patrick Turnet (1595), Mr Richard Dicksoun (1596), Robert Stewart, Mr Daid Calderwood (1593), Mr Thomas Bannatyne (1594), Mr Richard Merchinstoune (1595), Mr James Knox (1596), Mr William Hart, Mr Daid Fotheringhame (1596), Mr Tho[ma]s Abirnethy (1596), Mr Adam Wallace, Mr James Mureheid (1596), Tho[m]as Watson, Mr John Kerr

⁴⁶⁸ See the relevant section on Rollock in chapter 1 (pp. 38-45).

⁴⁶⁹ Calderwood, V. p. 510.

⁴⁷⁰ 14 October 1584, *Extracts*, p. 355.

(1596), Mr Patrik Carmichael (1597), Mr William Clark (1595), Mr James Frenche (1593), Mr W[illia]m Da[l]zell (1597).⁴⁷¹

The list can be taken as a *testimonium*, for candidates for the ministry. The usage of *testimonium* was a widespread practice on the Continent issued for those graduates willing to enter the ministry. They were expected to present a testimonial, as a proof of both their Reformed way of life and an examination passed at University, with the signature of the professor of theology or the regent on it as it appears to be the case in the universities of Leiden, Franeker, Groningen and Strasbourg.⁴⁷²

The names on the list appear in a random fashion and do not follow any particular order. Most likely as Rollock had been gathering information on his former students, although only a week passed between the request of the presbytery and Rollock's presentation of the list, names of former students he thought suitable for the ministry were continuously added to the list. Hence a group of possible candidates for the ministry were not only educated at the Town College in Edinburgh, but also further trained and examined in the weekly exercise of the presbytery.

Only two of the names, that of Robert Stewart and of Adam Wallace, appear impossible to identify as Edinburgh graduates. Since Wallace was recognised as a 'master' whereas Stewart was not, he had probably studied at one of the other universities. They might have come to Rollock's view through his involvement in ecclesiastical business and he had found them suitable for the ministry.

Furthermore, four students: the aforementioned two as well as William Heart and Thomas Watson, both graduated in 1597, seem not to have pursued a clerical career within the Kirk. William Hart became a medical doctor according to the Catalogue.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 p. 213.

⁴⁷² Dobbe, "Requirements for Dutch Reformed Ministers", pp. 196-197; Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, p. 88.

⁴⁷³ *Catalogue*, p. 14.

From the classes of the first four years 31 graduates entered the ministry and apart from the four regents none of them were mentioned on Rollock's list, in other words according to the Principal's judgement there were no other candidates available at the time of compilation of the list. It may indicate that those who felt called to and wished to continue their life in the ministry had relatively quickly found a charge for themselves.

Most of the names came from the classes of 1595 and 1596, ten altogether and only four from the most recent class that had graduated in the summer of 1597 and included twelve graduates who would become late ministers. That Rollock put forward only four names from the last class, Patrick Carmichael, William Dalzell, William Heart and Thomas Watson, out of whom only two, Carmichael and Dalzell entered the ministry, may indicate that on graduation it was very unlikely that a graduate would have considered parish ministry as a possible career.

Interestingly, Rollock's name opens the list as if he himself would have been considered as a possible candidate for a vacant charge or simply it can be taken as reference to his own commitment to preaching which he had actually practiced since his arrival in Edinburgh. The only recognisable order or pattern in the list is that Rollock's name is followed by four of his regents, Charles Ferme, Henry Charteris, George Robertson, and William Craig and only the name of his fifth regent, Patrick Sands, was not put forward. Philip Hislop who was also Rollock's student as well as a regent at the college, had already served as a minister in Inveresk, East Lothian in 1595 and died in the following year. Sands later succeeded Henry Charteris on his resignation in 1620 to the principal's chair of the university in Edinburgh and was also appointed by the town council to provide pulpit supply in Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh on Sundays afternoon.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁴ *Fasti*, I. p. 44. 20 March 1620. 'Forsamekle as Mr Henrie Charterous, principal of the Colledge of this burgh hes maid intmatioun to the Counsell that he is of intioun to apply him self to the calling of the ministrie and to serve the church of God in that calling as finding him self thairto callit be particular warrand of his awin conscience and that since he is not able to underly the charge of thecolledge and the uther joyntlie to gidder thairfoir he is to dimitt the place and office he hes of thame of the government of the said Colledge in thair handis as patrones thairoff...', pp. 205-206. [Patrick Sandis is elected principal] p. 206. [Andrew Ramsay, one of the Town's ministers, is elected professor of Divinity, Mr Andrew Young, eldest of the regents, is elected professor of mathematics, and Mr James Reid, next regent, professor of metaphysics] cf. n. 1. See Bower (*The History*, I. pp.

The other four regents all went into the ministry in some capacity. Ferme took the charge of Philorth in the North, Charteris succeeded Rollock as the principal of the Town College then in 1620 accepted a call from the congregation of North Leith.

The third regent, George Robertson, a graduate of the second class in 1588, fulfilled the position of a regent for only three years, laureated his class in 1596. Craufurd notes of him that he, 'the Regent of the 9th class, was the first that published the Theses in print'. Candidates for the degree of Master of Arts were to defend their thesis in public disputations and usually they were printed before graduation.⁴⁷⁵

In the following June, while remaining in his teaching position, he was elected by the commissioners of the General Assembly as a minister for Falkland in Fife, however it was considered informal so he was readmitted on 18th April 1598.⁴⁷⁶ Between the two admissions to the charge in Falkland his name was put forward in November by Rollock to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Probably as a consequence in the following January James VI and the commissioners of the General Assembly agreed that Robertson should be one of the four ministers to be newly appointed to the four ordinary ministers of Edinburgh. The three others were Robert Rollock, John Hall, minister of Leith who had recently been transferred from Colinton to Leith, and Peter Hewat who, like Robertson, was a graduate of the second class and his name would be associated with several charges in and around Edinburgh.⁴⁷⁷ As Calderwood reports the proposition of the two young ministers met considerable opposition on the part of the four ordinary ministers of the town, especially that of Robert Bruce. Bruce thought them too young to be placed 'in suche rowmes, and the people was likewise altogether unwilling to accept them'.⁴⁷⁸ Robertson remained in the parish until his early death in 1604.

140-144.) pointing out that Mr Patrick Sands was not a minister, he notes that for the first time the offices of principal and of professor of theology were separated. Craufurd, *History*, p. 90 shows that 'Sandis was a brother-in-law of David Aikinheid, Dean of Gild, who planned his appointment'.

Extracts, p. 206.

⁴⁷⁵ Craufurd, *History*, p. 38.

⁴⁷⁶ *Fasti*, I. p. 131.

⁴⁷⁷ R. Wodrow, "Life of Rev. Robert Bruce" (p. 61.) in *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce with Collections for his Life by Robert Wodrow*, ed. W. Cunningham (Edinburgh, 1843); *Fasti*, I. p. 2. For Hewat see *Fasti*, I. pp. 2, 37, 44, 63, 64.

⁴⁷⁸ Calderwood, V. p. 674.

It is possible that Robertson was reluctant to leave the capital and to take up a charge in a rural and a less prestigious parish with perhaps an uncertain stipend. This was not unusual at all. The difficulty in attracting young ministers from the safe and supportive urban parishes to rural charges, where poorer circumstances and the slow and painstaking process of the Reformation awaited a minister, has been noted in the case of St Andrews.⁴⁷⁹

William Craig, was the son of John Craig, former king's minister, a post he had held from 1579 with John Duncanson, whose name appears amongst the Edinburgh ministers listed on the same folio where Rollock's list is found. Craig graduated in 1593 and became a regent on Rollock's recommendation to replace Patrick Sands who accompanied Lord Newbattle on his travels.⁴⁸⁰ Later Craig became professor of theology at Saumur in France.

The fact that the list begins with the academic staff of the Town College may suggest that holding a ministerial position in the Kirk was highly esteemed and it offered an amenable career choice for regents despite the possibility of leaving Edinburgh, a safe and intellectually satisfying environment.

Furthermore, almost all the regents were recommended by Rollock as candidates for the ministry and this may shed some light on the character of the newly erected college during its first fifteen years as to whether it functioned as a Divinity school or Liberal Arts college. Naturally, it was both, but perhaps with more interest in divinity than has often been recognised.⁴⁸¹

As for the rest of the students named on Rollock's list, only six took up their first charge within the bounds of the Presbytery of Edinburgh though at least another three were exercising at the weekly meetings of the Edinburgh Presbytery. William Arthur and James Thomson, both from the class of 1592, were on the list. Arthur was admitted to Corstorphine on 8 June 1599 and at a visitation in October by the presbytery a complaint was made that he was 'overleirnit a man for thame'. It was found 'Mr Will. edifiet them, but that he suld be mair plain to the people in

⁴⁷⁹ Dawson, "The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk", pp. 413-435.

⁴⁸⁰ Craufurd, *History*, p. 39.

⁴⁸¹ See the opposite view in Lynch, "The origins", pp. 3-14.

deliverie’, though ‘he was honest in lyf, and careful in discharging his dewtie’.

Arthur remained there for the next eight years when he was transferred to the second charge of St Cuthbert’s, Edinburgh.⁴⁸² James Thomson had already been called to and elected by the parish at Colinton but for some reason was admitted only a year after his election on 14 July 1598.⁴⁸³

George Greir of the class of 1595, was authorised to teach in the New Kirk of Edinburgh by the town council on 18th December 1599 and in the same year he was also sought by the Aberdeen city council to become one of their minsters, but he declined.⁴⁸⁴ On 18 August 1607 the Synod of Lothian and Tweedale met in Dalkeith, and as the moderator of the previous Assembly he was to make the exhortation in which he vehemently argued against episcopacy using Beza’s *Ad Tractationem de Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus*, claiming that ‘a constant moderator was the first steppe to the Popedome’.

In his will and testament Greir left his library to his only known son, George: ‘for I craive nocht my buikis to be sauld till it be seine quhither he wil be an scholler or nocht’.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² *Fasti*, I. p. 6.

⁴⁸³ *Fasti*, I. p. 2.

⁴⁸⁴ *Fasti*, I. p. 374: The entry of 12th July 1599 of the Register of Aberdeen City reads as follow: ‘The said day, the prouest, baillies, and counsall ordains Daud Fergusson, thesaurer, to deburse and pay to Mr. George Greir, minister, the soume of fourtie poundis money, for macking of his expenssis in cumming to this towne from Edinburgh, at the desire of the consall, to the effect the inhabitantis of this burght might hear his doctrine, and for macking of his expenssis bak agane to Edinburgh, quhilk salbe allowit to the said thessaurer in his comptis; and lykvayes ordains Mr Peter Blackburne, minister, to be rememberit for the interteneing of the said Mr. George this ten or xii. dayes past in the said Mr Peteris hous.’

13th July 1599, ‘the haill toun being laucfullie warnit to this day, [...] it was exponit to thame be Alexr. Rutherford, prouest, that at the desire of the counsall, and be consent of his maiestie, and aduyse of the commisssionaris of the general kirk, Maister George Greir is cum to this burght, and is hard be preching and teching in the pulpit to the congregatioun, for a tryall of his qualeficioun, to have occupeit the emptie roume of the ministrie of this burght, be the transportatioun of Mr. Robert Howye to Dundie, and seing that they had heard him teach, desyrit of the towne, convenit as said is, to voit and gif thair advyse gif the counsall sall deale with the said Mr. George to accept the said office upon his gud will, favour, and lyking of this congragatioun, quhilk thay all in ane voce, but anyoppositioun, grantit that the counsall suld deall with him for his transportatioun to this burght, and provisioun of his moyen and stipend incace of his acceptatioun, and as the counsall did and agreit with him thairanent, they obleist thame to vnderly and fulfil the same, and to pay sic stipend to him as the consall suld appoint incace of thair agriememnt with him, and in sic forme and maner as suld be set doun and devysit be thame.’

⁴⁸⁵ Calderwood, VI. pp. 672-673; Beza’s work, published in Geneva in 1592, was a chapter-by-chapter refutation of Richard Hooker’s friend and one of the translators of the AV/KJV, Adrian

Richard Dickson of the class of 1596 was authorised to preach on 27 March 1599 at St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh probably as an assistant to Robert Pont. The compiler of his biography in the *Fasti* notes that he was admitted to this charge by the imposition of hands which provoked opposition from Pont. He was presented to the parish by James VI on 16th April 1607.⁴⁸⁶

David Forthringham, a classmate of Dickson, was authorized to preach in St Cuthbert's by the presbytery on 23 May 1598, but was not appointed to any charges in Edinburgh. Three years later, on 30 July 1601, he was presented by James VI to the parish of Moffat (Presbytery of Lochmaben).⁴⁸⁷

The last graduate to take a charge in the Presbytery of Edinburgh was James Murehead. He studied under the regency of George Robertson and by the end of 1596, the year of his graduation, he had already married twice, which may suggest that he was more mature of age. After his name was put forward by Rollock in November 1597 he was authorised to preach in the North-West Quarter in Edinburgh on 21st December 1598 and the following autumn received a call from the newly erected parish church of North Leith. The church had come into being a couple of weeks before Murehead was called to the charge. On 4 September 1599 Edinburgh Presbytery proposed to erect a new parish church in Leith and on 19 September Murehead was admitted to be a minister of the church, even if the ratification of the parish by different church courts and Parliament took some years, (it was ratified by General Assembly only in November 1602, and confirmed or legally established by Parliament on 9 July 1606). One of his sisters, Agnes, married Michael Cranstoun, a minister in Cramond, with whom he was on the group of six ministers elected by the synod to seek an audience with James VI and raise certain matters concerning Presbyterian church government and the stipend of the ministers. The meeting took place the beginning of April 1603 when the King was on his way to London to be crowned as king of England. On 1 July 1606 a protest against the introduction of

(Hadrian) Saravia's *De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus*, (1590); NAS, *Edin. Tests*, CC8/8/54 pp. 717-718.

⁴⁸⁶ *Fasti*, I. pp. 95, 211.

⁴⁸⁷ *Fasti*, II. p. 655.

Episcopacy to the church was signed by a number of Scots ministers. James Murehead was the only member of Edinburgh Presbytery to sign that protest.⁴⁸⁸

Others from Rollock's list were exercising in Edinburgh or, at least received approval for preaching by the presbytery, but did not get a parish within the bounds of the Edinburgh Presbytery. Thomas Abernethy, brother of John Abernethy, minister in Jedburgh, was authorised to preach on 31 December 1600 and in the following spring was admitted to the charge in Durisdeer (Presbytery of Penpont) where he did not remain for long as having demoted on the advice of the presbytery 'for his weill and the weill of the kirk', then in the same year, in 1601, he was transferred to Hawick (Presbytery of Jedburgh).⁴⁸⁹

William Dalzell was also on the exercise in Edinburgh to become a minister in Balmaghie (Presbytery of Kirkcudbright) in June 1605.⁴⁹⁰

The most notable amongst those exercisers who finally continued as a minister in another presbytery was David Calderwood whose life before his ministry at Crailing in Roxburghshire was little known until recently. Calderwood graduated in 1593 and almost eleven years elapsed before undertaking his first charge as a minister. Careful scrutiny of presbytery records, however, reveals that he had been a regular attendee of the exercise in at least two of the presbyteries, Edinburgh and Peebles. In his informative article, Allan R MacDonald provides ample evidence to demonstrate this point.⁴⁹¹ Calderwood appeared for the first time on the exercise in Edinburgh in May 1595, almost two years after his graduation and then his name disappears for a while to reappear again on Rollock's list in November 1597.⁴⁹² From the following May until 15 April 1601, he regularly attended the weekly exercise in Edinburgh.⁴⁹³ Possible candidates for ministry from Rollock's list were probably

⁴⁸⁸ *Fasti*, I. p. 154; Calderwood, VI. p. 491; 'Anent the supplicatioun givin in be the north Paroch of Leith, ... Presbitrie of Edinburgh hes erectit the said north Paroch of Leith... quhilk is also approvyn be the Synodall of Lawthiane; The Assemblie ratifies and approves the erectioun forsaid in all points.' *BUK*, III. p. 1003; Calderwood, VI. pp. 222, 491.

⁴⁸⁹ *Fasti*, II, p. 672; Calderwood, VI. pp. 101, 312, 391.

⁴⁹⁰ Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 p. 289.

⁴⁹¹ A. R. MacDonald, "David Calderwood: the not so hidden years, 1590-1604" in *SHR*, 54 (1995) pp. 70-71.

⁴⁹² NAS, Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 pp. 127-128.

⁴⁹³ NAS, Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 pp. 232, 233, 266, 268, 306, 307, 326, 338, 340.

well known in presbyteries outside Edinburgh so, it is not surprising that Calderwood was approached by the Presbytery of Peebles while still attending the exercises in Edinburgh to become a minister of the parish of Traquair. Negotiations lasted a year between Calderwood and the presbytery and met with no success. Calderwood did not attend when invited to preach before the congregation in the summer to get both people's and the laird's approval; the latter being responsible for a substantial part of the minister's salary. On 4 September, he offered an explanation of his failure to appear by blaming the bad weather, a murder in the parish and the absence of the laird. He also requested a written contract from the congregation to be signed by the laird guaranteeing his stipend which was finally arranged. Though no hindrance remained in Calderwood's way to prevent him from taking up the charge, he failed to do so.⁴⁹⁴

Again in the case of Calderwood, it seems, that for him to leave Edinburgh, where all the major battles between the Kirk and the State took place, for a rural parish far away from the capital where the central authority of both State and Kirk was less tangible and he might be more exposed to pressure from local lairds, would not have seemed to him a desirable option.

From the class of 1594 two names appear on the list. Thomas Bannatyne became a minister in Castleton (Presbytery of Langholm) in 1607 and for his admission to the charge both Edinburgh and Linlithgow presbyteries gave testimonials. James Donaldson was admitted to Dunrod (Presbytery of Kirkcudbright)⁴⁹⁵

Other students who had already made the exercise but not included on the list were: Nathaniel Harlaw, Patrick Shaw, Robert Hunter, William Dalzell, and Hew M'Ghie. For example, Nathaniel Harlaw had already made the exercise with the Presbytery of St Andrews in the autumn of 1589. The presbytery '...permittis Nathaniel Harlaw to be upon thair weklie exercises'. In the following year he

⁴⁹⁴ MacDonal, "David Calderwood", pp. 71-73.

⁴⁹⁵ *Fasti*, II. p. 230; II. p. 416.

appeared four times in the exercise: 24 January, 15 April, 30 April, and 21 May. The record for 15 April reads:

The quhilk day ordains Nathaniel Harlaw to fallow furth the text assignit to him of befor in the 3 of Jhonis evangel the day aucht dayis at tua houris efternone in the New Colledge scholis.⁴⁹⁶

And for 21 May 1590, which was his last appearance:

Ordanis Nathaniell Harlaw to studie to Calvinis catechisme and to give ane compt of the questionis and answeris thair of being, and for him places of scripture and resson[is] to conform the said answeris as he salbe requyrit the first day of Agust.⁴⁹⁷

It is clear from the evidence that his biblical and doctrinal knowledge was examined. The process used to exercise Harlaw was to have him preach from John 3, which was a common text used to exercise, and to read Calvin catechism. In spite of this his name does not appear in the minutes of the St Andrews Presbytery as a minister. He became a minister of Ormiston in Dalkeith in 1591.

Patrick Shaw was exercising with the Edinburgh Presbytery in July 1593 and was admitted to Greenock in the Presbytery of Paisley in the following November.⁴⁹⁸ Robert Hunter was exercising in Edinburgh in August 1595 and entered the ministry at Kirkbride in the Presbytery of Dumfries.⁴⁹⁹ Both graduates were licensed by Edinburgh Presbytery but took up charges somewhere else. This was indicative of the key role the Edinburgh Presbytery played in admitting ministers to their charges even if they moved outside of the oversight of the authorising presbytery.

On 19 June 1599, William Dalzell, was on the exercise in Edinburgh. The text given for his examination was Romans 8.⁵⁰⁰ He became minister in Balmaghie in June 1605.

⁴⁹⁶ M. C. Smith, *The Presbytery of St Andrews, 1586-1605: a Study and Annotated Edition of the Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews*, vol. 1, (St Andrews, 1986) pp. 31, 43.

⁴⁹⁷ Smith, *Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews*, p. 50.

⁴⁹⁸ Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 p. 30; *Fasti*, II. p. 194.

⁴⁹⁹ Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 pp.138-139.

⁵⁰⁰ Edinburgh Presbytery, CH2/121/2 p. 289; *Fasti*, II. p. 391.

Hew M'Ghie followed Dalzell in this charge in 1615. Previously he had been exercising with the Presbytery of Linlithgow. His examination was from the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5, 29, another common text for exercise.⁵⁰¹

3 Conclusion

It is clear from the practice of exercise by the Presbytery of Stirling that preaching was seen as the chief duty of a minister and the presbytery as a newly erected court acted as an agent with responsibility to safeguard the Reformed vision of doctrinal purity as well as the maintenance of uniformity in doctrine.

That the task of preaching and its examination were given priority in presbytery meetings in the form of exercise had other obvious consequences. It increased educational standards among ministers and, to a far lesser extent, among the laity, among those who had been privileged to be admitted to the exercise meetings.

Those ministers, readers and exhorters, who had had no opportunity to obtain a university degree, benefited most from this 'in-service' training. But even those holding a Master of Arts degree from one of the universities this programme of further education was useful because it aimed at filling the gaps in their theological education, especially in homiletics: the writing and delivery of sermons.

Nevertheless, despite the continuing emphasis on the need for theological training, from the 1560s onwards in staffing the parishes, adherence to the new Protestant faith often outweighed a man's educational background. For the second generation of ministers after the Reformation the presbyteries and the exercise within it had a leading role in providing training.

Another aspect of the practice of exercise was to discover emerging talents and people with special gifts for church ministry in general and preaching in particular.

⁵⁰¹ Linlithgow Presbytery, CH2/242/1 pp. 110-111.

The exercise was widely employed by Edinburgh Presbytery, too, to examine candidates for the ministry and to provide the ministers within its boundaries with further theological training as well as an opportunity for those most learned ministers to present the standards which were to be required. Unlike Stirling, Edinburgh had an institute of higher education which developed strong links with the presbytery. The presbytery saw the newly erected college as a possible source for ministers to staff the vacant parishes in Edinburgh and in its vicinity. In addition, the fact that the capital did not have to rely on other institutions but was able to depend on its own production of ministerial candidates must have brought some degree of satisfaction to the people in Edinburgh.

Robert Rollock, the theology professor and principal of the Town College, had a vital role in this. By seeking Rollock's advice on possible candidates for the ministry it appears that a formal postgraduate link was created between the Town College and the presbytery. Rollock's personal involvement in the process of selecting able students from the college community for examination in the exercise and then for parish ministry may well demonstrate his concern for the development of his students' career. Furthermore, this was important for the college because it raised the profile and authority of the Town College as a place for ministerial training. Rollock and the college acted as a match-making agent between graduates and the kirk. This had a formative influence on the future ministerial profile of the presbytery as well as on the candidates' career patterns.

CHAPTER 6

DISSEMINATION OF THE MINISTERIAL GRADUATES

This chapter explores the geographical dissemination of the Edinburgh graduates who entered the ministry in the Kirk throughout Scotland from 1587 to 1620. Only their first charge following their graduation will be considered in order to identify those particular areas in central Scotland that were predominantly supplied with ministers trained in Edinburgh's Town College.

In the period under study the great majority of the students who studied in Edinburgh's Town College, were drawn from Lowland Scotland, from Dumfries in the South-west to Fife and Perthshire and particularly from the Edinburgh area.⁵⁰² Unfortunately, no matriculation list that would contain any data regarding the students' place of origin survived. Nor does the *Catalogue* provide any information on which the regional distribution of their origin could be assessed. However, it has been suggested, in the case of Glasgow graduates, that those who entered the ministry tended to remain as ministers within the region they came from, namely in the South-west of the country.⁵⁰³ A similar distribution pattern can possibly be applied to Edinburgh graduates as well. This tendency is confirmed by the examination of the geographical dissemination of the ministerial graduates.

Table 8 provides information on the ministerial graduates' first charge. A few preliminary remarks are offered as an explanation.

Graduates are placed in order according to the year in which they graduated. Within one class the names are in alphabetical order. If the identification of graduates or the location of their first charge is uncertain that is indicated. In addition to the name of the first parish church to which they were admitted the presbytery in

⁵⁰² Anderson, Lynch and Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh*, p. 31; Horn, *A Short History*, p. 31. See also Charteris comment on the first class in 1583, 'many young men flocked not only from the city itself, but also from the neighbouring country'. *Select Works*, p. lxxv.

⁵⁰³ Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow*, p. 377.

which the parish was located is also provided. The size and the geographical boundaries of presbyteries have often been changed by disjoining from or allocating parishes to other presbyteries. Thus for consistency and for the purpose of possible further examination, the parishes are located in the presbyteries they are given in the *Fasti*.

<i>Table 8 The ministerial graduates' first charge</i>				
	<i>Name</i>	<i>Year of graduation</i>	<i>Parish of the first charge</i>	<i>Presbytery of</i>
	John Abernethy	1587	Jedburgh	Jedburgh
	Henry Charteris	1587	(North) Leith	Edinburgh
	Patrick Davidson	1578	Auchterarder	Auchterarder
	John Douglas	1587	Longformachus	Duns
	Nathaniel Harlaw	1587	Ormiston	Dalkeith
	George Hastings	1587	Temple	Dalkeith
	James Hastings	1587	Clerkington (part of Temple)	Dalkieth
	John Hepburne	1587	Glenholm	Biggar
	Philip Hislop	1587	Musselburgh	Dalkeith
	William Johnston	1587	Lochmaben	Lochmaben
	William Keir	1587	Muiravonside	Linlithgow
	John Ker	1587	uncertain	--
	Andrew Murdo	1587	Stobo	Peebles
	Charles Ferme	1587	Fraserburgh	Deer
	Patrick Sands	1587	Old Greyfriars	Edinburgh
	Patrick Shairp	1587	Strathbrock	Linlithgow
	Henry Sterling [Stirling]	1587	Edzell	Brechin
	John Dykes	1588	Kilrenny	St Andrews
	John Forrest	1588	Prestonkirk	Dunbar
	Andrew Hay	1588	unidentified	--
	Edward Hepburn	1588	Pretonkirk	Dunbar
	Peter Hewat	1588	St Giles, Edinburgh	Edinburgh

	David Home	1588	Chirnside	Chirnside
	James Logan	1588	South Leith	Edinburgh
	Richard Lownand	1588	unidentified	--
	Matthew Lichton	1588	Currie	Edinburgh
	James McCullo	1588	unidentified	--
	George Robertson	1588	Trinity, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	John Welsh	1588	Selkirk	Selkirk
	Adam Belenden	1590	Falkirk	Linlithgow
	Henry Forrester	1590	Larbert	Stirling
	Patrick Grant	1590	Abernethy & Kincardine-on-Spey	Abernethy
	John Johnston	1590	Nisbet	Jedburgh
	Geroge Redpath	1590	Ellem (Longformachus)	Duns
	John Row	1590	Carnock	Fife
	Robert Rutherford	1590	Corstorphine	Edinburgh
	Alexander Gattis	1591	Polwarth	Duns
	James Hunter	1591	Borthwick	Dalkeith
	James Lauder	1591	Stenton	Dunbar
	Andrew Makghie	1591	Dirleton	Haddington
	Patrick Shaw	1591	Greenock	Paisley
	Patrick Urquhart	1591	Langnewton	Jedburgh
	John Aissoun	1592	unidentified	--
	William Arthur	1592	Corstorphine	Edinburgh
	George Chalmers	1592	Huntly	Strathbogie
	William Hogg	1592	Lindean (Galashiels)	Selkirk
	Robert Hunter	1592	Kirkbride (Traquair)	Dumfries later Penpont
	James Lauder	1592	Avoch	Chanonry
	John Makcullo	1592	Broughton	Biggar
	William Oustane [Austin]	1592	Penpont	Dumfries
	Robert Sinclair	1592	Tibbermore (Tibbermuir)	Perth
	Alexander Swinton	1592	Cranshaws	Duns
	James Thomson	1592	Colinton	Edinburgh

	Edward Bryce	1593	Bothkennar	Stirling
	David Calderwood	1593	Crailing	Jedburgh
	William Craig	1593	in France	--
	James French	1593	Penicuick	Dalkeith
	William Livingston	1593	uncertain	--
	Edward Muschamp	1593	in England	--
	Isaac Paterson	1593	Anwoth or Avonwaith	Kirkcudbright
	Thomas Bannatyne	1594	Castleton	Langholm
	James Donaldson	1594	Dunrod	Kirkcudbright
	John Gordon	1594	Crimond	Deer
	Abraham Henryson [Henderson]	1594	Borgue	Kirkcudbright
	John Monteath	1594	Comrie	Auchterarder
	William Ainslie	1595	Oxnam	Jedburgh
	James Baillie	1595	Shotts (Calderhead)	Hamilton
	Robert Boyd	1595	Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	William Clerk	1595	Cavers	Jedburgh
	Andrew Douglas	1595	Southdean	Jedburgh
	John Forsyth	1595	unidentified	--
	George Grier	1595	New Kirk, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	John Kinnear	1595	Creich	Cupar
	Thomas Mazerius	1595	in France	--
	Richard Merchiston	1595	Edzell	Brechin
	John Murray	1595	unidentified	--
	Thomas Ramsay	1595	Edinburgh	--
	Thomas Ross	1595	Cargill	Dunkeld
	Joseph Tennent	1595	Traquair (formerly Kirkbride)	Peebles
	Patrick Turner	1595	Borthwick	Dalkeith
	James Watson	1595	Cranstoun	Dalkeith
	Thomas Abernethy	1596	Durisdeer	Penpont
	John Boyle	1596	Jedburgh	Jedburgh

	Patrick Carcettill	1596	Soutra (Fala)	Dalkeith
	Richard Dickson	1596	St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	David Fotheringham	1596	St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	John Ker	1596	Prestonpans	Haddington
	Alexander Keith	1596	Uphall, formerly Strathbrock	Linlithgow
	James Knox	1596	Kelso, Maxwell, and St James's, Roxburgh	Kelso
	John Makbirnie	1596	Crail	St Andrews
	Gavin Makcall	1596	Peebles	Peebles
	James Murhead	1596	(North)Leith	Edinburgh
	Archibald Row	1596	Drumelzier	Peebles
	John Adamson	1597	North Berwick	Haddington
	George Aslowan	1597	unidentified	--
	Patrick Carmichael	1597	Soutra	Dalkeith
	James Cliland	1597	unidentified	--
	Oliver Colt	1597	Holyroodhouse [Canongate] Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	William Dalzell	1597	Balmaghie	Kirkcudbright
	John Fairfoul	1597	Dawyck	Peebles
	James Ker	1597	Coylton	Ayr
	Patrick M'llwyane	1597	in England	--
	Richard Murray	1597	in England	--
	John Oliuarius	1597	in France	--
	Robert Scott	1597	Glasgow	Glasgow
	Robert Gilmour	1598	Calder-Comitis (Mid-Calder)	Linlithgow
	Alexander Greig	1598	Drumelzier	Peebles
	George Harrate	1598	unidentified	--
	James Inglis	1598	Dailly or Dalmakerran	Ayr
	James Johnston	1598	unidentified	--
	John Madder [Mather]	1598	Minto	Jedburgh

	John Merchell [Mercer]	1598	Brechin	Brechin
	Colin Row	1598	Drumelzier	Peebles
	Patrick Stewart	1598	Muckersie	Perth
	James Baxter	1599	uncertain	--
	James Brown	1599	Kirkpatrick-Irongray	Dumfries
	George Douglas	1599	Dallas	Forres
	George Douglas	1599	Hobkirk [Hopekirk]	Jedburgh
	Archibald Gibson	1599	Dunscore	Dumfries
	Andrew Hamilton	1599	Kilbarchan	Paisley
	David Rogers	1599	Dalgarnock	Penpont
	James Scott	1599	Yarrow	Selkirk
	Samuel Sinclair	1599	Langton	Duns
	Thomas Bell	1600	Middlebie	Annan
	James Bishop	1600	Inverness	Inverness
	Alexander Cass	1600	Polwarth	Duns
	Samuel Cockburn	1600	Kirkmichael	Abernethy
	Patrick Crichton	1600	Ruthven	Meigle
	Patrick Dunbar	1600	Duffus and Unthank	Elgin
	John Gibson	1600	Slamannan (originally part of Falkirk)	Linlithgow
	Alexander Kinnear	1600	Whithsom and Hilton	Chirnside
	Peter Primrose	1600	Parton	Kirkcudbright
	Patrick Tulloch	1600	in England	--
	David Courtney	1601	Stichill and Hume	Kelso
	John Douglas	1601	Kirkpatrick-Durham (Dorand) formerly Kilpatrick-in-the- Muir	Dumfries
	Simon Johnston	1601	Annan	Annan
	William Livingston	1601	Sanquhar and Kilbride or Kirkbride	Penpont
	John Chieslie (Chisley)	1602	Quothquan	Biggar

	John Douglas	1602	army chaplain	--
	John Dunlop	1602	Ratho	Edinburgh
	Robert Herries	1602	Dryfesdale	Lochmaben
	John Mitchell	1602	Tingwall, Whiteness and Weisdale	Lerwick
	David Monro	1602	uncertain	--
	Alexander Sommervill	1602	Dolphinton	Biggar
	Thomas Sydserff	1602	St Giles, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	John Allan	1603	unidentified	--
	William Carkettill	1603	Stenton	Dunbar
	George Cleland	1603	Durisddeer	Penpont
	William Clogie	1603	Elgin	Elgin
	John Douglas	1603	Kilbucho	Biggar
	Patrick Hamilton	1603	Innerwick	Dunbar
	Hector Rae	1603	Nisbet	Jedburgh
	James Seyton	1603	Denny	Stirling
	John Aird	1604	St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh	Edinburgh
	James Hall	1604	Ballantrae	Ayr
	James Hopper	1604	unidentified	--
	Alexander Thomson	1604	Tinwald (and Trailflat)	Dumfries
	David Wood	1604	Trailflat	Dumfries
	Alexander Ambrose	1605	Newbattle	Dalkieth
	John Benet	1605	Broughton	Biggar
	John Cunningham	1605	unidentified	--
	James Fairme	1605	unidentified	--
	James Mitchelson	1605	Hassendean	Jedburgh
	Robert Muir	1605	Stirling	Stirling
	William Somerville	1605	Dunsyre	Biggar
	John Young	1605	Glenholm	Biggar
	Robert Balcanquall	1606	Tranent and Seton	Haddington
	Donald Clark	1606	Lochalsh	Lochcarron

	Farquhar Mackenzie	1606	Gairloch	Lochcarron
	Angus McKinuschie	1606	unidentified	--
	William Weir	1606	Southdean	Jedburgh
	Andrew Balfour	1607	Kirknewton	Linlithgow
	Eleazer Borthwick	1607	in Sweeden	--
	John Cunningham	1607	uncertain	--
	Alexander Douglas	1607	Whittingehame	Dunbar
	James Fairlie	1607	South Leith	Edinburgh
	William King	1607	Cramond	Edinburgh
	Philip Nisbet	1607	unidentified	--
	Adam Scott	1607	Minto	Jedburgh
	Walter Balcanquall	1609	Tranent and Seton	Haddington
	John Bell	1609	Percetoun	Irvine
	James Burnet[t]	1609	Lauder	Earlston
	David Gudlatt [Gudlad]	1609	Ecclesmachan [Inchmachan]	Linlithgow
	John Lauder	1609	Tynninghame	Dunbar
	David Ross	1609	Logie-Easter	Tain
	Henry Shaw	1609	Logie Wallach	Dunblane
	William Scott	1609	Coylton	Ayr
	Andrew Stevenson	1609	Dunbar	Dunbar
	Francis Collace	1610	Chanelkirk	Earlston
	John Dalzell	1610	Prestonkirk	Dunbar
	James Fleming	1610	Bothan (Yester)	Haddington
	William Justice	1610	Gargunnoch	Stirling
	John Knox	1610	Carrington, form. Primrose	Dalkeith
	John Nimmo	1610	Thorthorwald	Dumfries
	Adam Watson	1610	unidentified	--
	John Balcanquall	1611	unidentified	--
	Thomas Chalmer[s]	1611	Kirkpatrick-Fleming	Annan
	John Duncanson	1611	Dundee, 2 nd charge	Dundee
	John Logan	1611	Soutra & Fala	Dalkeith

	Thomas Cock	1612	Lady	The North Isles
	Francis Hepburn	1612	Coldstram	Chirnside
	Christopher Knowes	1612	Spott	Dunbar
	Murdoch Mackenzie	1612	Dingwall	Dingwall
	James Ross	1612	Livingston	Linlithgow
	Nicolas Spoonerius	1612	in England	--
	John Hay	1613	uncertain	--
	William Jameson	1613	Langnewton	Jedburgh
	James Mowbray	1613	Carmunnock	Glasgow
	William Rig	1613	unidentified	--
	William Bennet	1614	Ancrum	Jedburgh
	John Hall	1614	Dunbarney	Perth
	Alexander Hamilton	1614	Monigaff	Wigtown
	Hew M'Ghie	1614	Balmaghie	Kirkcudbright
	William Patersoun	1614	Sorbie	Wigtown
	James Hannay	1615	Kilmaurs	Irvine
	John Clapperton	1615	Ednam	Kelso
	Andrew Keir	1615	Carriden	Linlithgow
	John McMilland	1615	Sanquhar	Penpont
	John Peebles	1615	Kinneil	Linlithgow
	James Peirsoune	1615	Dunblane and Kilbride	Dunblane
	Walter Scott	1615	Kirkton	Jedburgh
	Alexander Cuming	1616	uncertain	--
	Francis Liddle	1616	Harray and Birsay	Cairston
	James Logan	1616	Smailholm	
	Adam Penman	1616	Cockpen	Dalkeith
	David Row	1616	in Ireland	--
	William Row	1616	Forgandenny	Perth
	John Sinclair	1616	Spott	Dunbar
	George Sydserff	1616	Cockburnspath	Dunbar
	Nicol Whyte	1616	Dunrossness	Lerwick

	James Edgar	1617	unidentified	--
	Andrew Kirkton	1617	Oxnam	Jedburgh
	Alexander Livingston	1617	Carmichael	Lanark
	John Lothyane	1617	unidentified	--
	John Maitland	1617	Eddleston	Peebles
	William Rigg	1617	Meathie	Forfar
	George Craufurd	1618	West Kilbride	Irvine
	John Haitlie [Haitie]	1618	Wamphray	Lochmaben
	John Cranstone	1618	in England	--
	John Hamilton	1618	uncertain	--
	Samuel Kello	1618	in England	--
	John Oswald	1618	Montrose	Brechin
	Alexander Robertson	1618	Inchture & Rossie	Dundee
	James Row	1618	Muthill	Auchterarder
	George Setoune	1618	uncertain	--
	Thomas Swinton	1618	Abbey St Bathans	Duns
	Robert Elliot	1619	Kilbucho	Biggar
	John Hamilton	1619	West Linton	Peebles
	Jasper Hume	1619	Duddingston	Edinburgh
	John Mackmath	1619	Simprin	Chirnside
	Gavin Barclay	1620	unidentified	--
	John Cass	1620	unidentified	--
	Henry Cunningham	1620	in England	--
	Humphrey Hude [Hood]	1620	Thorthorwald	Dumfries
	George Livingston	1620	in England	--
	William Scott	1620	Strichen	Deer
	Edward Wright	1620	Clackmannan	--

As indicated in the table approximately two hundred graduates have been identified whose first charge can be located on the basis of data provided by the *Fasti*. The three presbyteries that attracted the most graduates who wanted to enter

the ministry were Edinburgh, Dalkeith and Jedburgh. The former two belonged to the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale which in the period of 1587-1620 attracted the most students, altogether more than seventy, just over one-third of the identified graduates. Twenty two graduates, eleven per cent, of the total ministerial graduate-body were admitted to their first charge in the presbytery of Edinburgh and fourteen per cent in the presbytery of Dalkeith.

The Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale from 1589 to 1596 consisted of the presbyteries of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Haddington, Dunbar and Peebles. The four presbyteries of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Haddington and Dunbar were all part of the same sheriffdom of Edinburgh whereas Linlithgow and Peebles presbyteries belonged to their own respective shires. The last synod meeting recorded for the period was held in Peebles on 27 April 1596. The record of the meeting ended with the list of the names of all the incorporated ministers for the six presbyteries. Eighty-five ministers in total were serving in six presbyteries. Of these ministers twelve or thirteen were already Edinburgh graduates.⁵⁰⁴ On the one hand it seems to be a high proportion considering that parishes in Edinburgh and in its vicinity were able to attract ministers more easily than their counterparts in the North. Thus, it was more difficult for graduates to obtain available charges. On the other hand by 1596 just over two hundred students had graduated from the Town College of whom approximately 70 became ministers at some point in their career.

The high figures in admission, eighteen graduates altogether, for the presbytery of Jedburgh, may be of some surprise especially if it is compared with presbyteries within Lothian such as Haddington presbytery which attracted only 3 ministers during this period. The figures for Jedburgh seem to suggest a significant shortage of ministers and it is confirmed by examining the records of the individual parishes forming the Jedburgh presbytery in the *Fasti*. In several churches readers supplied the ministry well into the 1590s. Bedrule, Cavers, Nisbet, Eckford, Minto were all served by readers.⁵⁰⁵ In Hownam a reader, Andrew Hoppringle [Pringle]

⁵⁰⁴ *Synod Recs.*, pp. 102-103.

⁵⁰⁵ *Fasti*, I. pp. 102, 104, 109, 131.

looked after the parochial duties. The first minister, Andrew Douglas, who was admitted to the charge, was an Edinburgh graduate of the class of 1599.⁵⁰⁶ Oxnam was in charge of James Ainslie since 1574 then in charge of William Ainslie, who was most likely his son. Ainslie, after completing his academic course in Edinburgh, became the minister of the parish in 1599.⁵⁰⁷ John Longlands in Wilton served as a reader until 1585 then the first known minister of the parish was William Clerk also an Edinburgh graduate.⁵⁰⁸

It is clear, therefore, that Jedburgh presbytery saw the newly founded college in Edinburgh as a supply of ministers. Glasgow was remote from Jedburgh, almost ninety miles, whereas Edinburgh was far more accessible, within a distance of not more than fifty miles. In the late sixteenth century factors such as distance for travel and opportunities for forging closer links such as commercial, political or ecclesiastical ones, with the capital did matter for people. Thus sending their sons to Edinburgh and receiving ministers trained in Edinburgh appeared to be a desirable solution for many.

In contrast, presbyteries with centres of higher education hardly drew on the pool of graduates educated by Edinburgh's Town College; instead they advanced their own graduates. In the first 30 years following the foundation of the Town College only two graduates entered the ministry in the Presbytery of St Andrews and only one graduate served his first charge in Cupar presbytery. John Dykes, from the second class, which graduated in 1588, became minister at Kilrenny and a colleague of James Melville.⁵⁰⁹ The other student who was admitted to his first charge in the Presbytery of St Andrews was John MacBirnie.⁵¹⁰ Also Nathaniel Harlaw, the son of William Harlaw, the minister at the parish church of St Cuthbert's, just outside of Edinburgh, who graduated in 1587, is recorded in the presbytery register of St Andrews. As seen in the previous chapter, he was exercising in St Andrews.

⁵⁰⁶ *Fasti*, I. p. 122.

⁵⁰⁷ *Fasti*, I. p. 134.

⁵⁰⁸ *Fasti*, I. p. 142.

⁵⁰⁹ *Fasti*, V. p. 213; Melville, *Diary*, p. 331.

⁵¹⁰ *Fasti*, V. p. 195; VI. p. 14.

However, for unknown reasons, he did not take up any of the charges in that presbytery instead he became a minister at Ormiston in Dalkeith Presbytery.⁵¹¹

Glasgow presbytery was a similar case. Having a university from 1451 Glasgow and parishes in the surrounding area preferred to employ ministers with a degree from Glasgow University. Until 1620 only two graduates of Edinburgh entered the ministry in Glasgow presbytery as their first charge. Robert Scott of 1597 was appointed to the collegiate charge of Glasgow parish (1604).⁵¹² James Mowbray, the son of a portioner from Dalmeny, a village few miles west of Edinburgh, became minister at Carmunnock.⁵¹³

If graduates from the South sought to remain in the region of their origin it was also true of those who came from the Highlands. Although they were very few in numbers, they usually returned to the North. In the Presbytery of Deer John Gordon, a graduate of 1594 became minister in Crimond where he had a manse and glebe designated.⁵¹⁴ David Ross was brought up in Alness, ten miles north of Dingwall, where his father, Robert Ross, was the minister. He then, on graduating, returned to the Highlands taking up the church at Logie Easter.⁵¹⁵

In conclusion, the above data shows that candidates for the ministry were likely to return to their native area after graduation. Even though there were candidates from the north who returned there, Edinburgh's Town College tended to train candidates for central Scotland in general, and for the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in particular.

⁵¹¹ *Fasti*, I. p. 340.

⁵¹² *Fasti*, III. p. 456.

⁵¹³ *Fasti*, III. p. 378.

⁵¹⁴ *Fasti*, VI. p. 212.

⁵¹⁵ *Fasti*, VII. pp. 25, 62.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This conclusion endeavours to shed light on the interesting transitional period in the late sixteenth century when the coexistence of academic education and practical ecclesiastical training shaped the future clergy for the new Kirk in Scotland.

For Protestant Reformers education was highly important for the society as a whole. It can be recognised in their wide-ranging works from Luther's 'Sermon on Keeping Children in School' to the *Studiorum Ratio* by Heinrich Bullinger as well as by their activity as teachers and as founders of institutions of learning.⁵¹⁶ This motivation primarily sprang from the high appreciation of Scripture and the conviction that every single member of society should be exposed to the transforming power of God's Word. This initiative often met with political support especially at a local level. Establishments, therefore, were created to raise the standard of education within society. In particular, colleges, academies and universities were founded to train 'godly' minded citizens and ministers for the developing state administration as well as for staffing vacant parishes.

The other cultural source that led to the renewed interest in higher education was humanism with its distinct attention to ancient languages and culture. The outcome of humanist education was further enhanced, specified and applied by the leading thinkers of religious groups (both Catholics and Protestants). In the second half of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century over forty colleges, academies and universities, both Catholics and Protestants, were created across Europe and the British Isles.

Among protestant centres of higher learning the Academy in Geneva, founded in 1559, gained prominence and several academies and colleges were structured along similar lines to the approach to higher education taken by Calvin and followed the pattern of the Genevan Academy. To find similarities in the creation of late sixteenth-century Protestant institutes of higher learning is hardly

⁵¹⁶ H. T. Lehman and J. Pelikan, eds, *Luther's Works*, 55 vols, (St Louis, Missouri and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1955-86) vol. 46. (1967) pp. 209-258.

surprising since they all came into existence in a context of similar changes within European higher education. However, too much emphasis on seeking similarities in the development of the higher education in Geneva and Edinburgh can lead to the danger of searching for uniformity but disregarding the unique features of their local circumstances - both socio-political and ecclesiastical.

The founding of the Town College in Edinburgh took place in the broader context of a general cultural as well as religious change and particularly within the Protestant Reformation happening throughout in sixteenth-century Europe.

The college opened its gates in October 1583. There had been two prior unsuccessful initiatives to furnish the emerging capital of Scotland with a place of higher learning, nevertheless, even these aborted attempts reflect the cultural receptiveness of the Edinburgh elite.

On the suggestion of the burgh minister, James Lawson, the town council invited the ambitious and gifted young scholar, Robert Rollock, to head the college. He was not only the first principal of the Town College but a passionate preacher and a church leader actively involved in ecclesiastical politics. This was a rare quality among academic teaching staff. For instance, Ursinus (1534-83) who was responsible for the training of prospective ministers in Rhineland Palatinate in Germany was himself never ordained nor he fulfilled any official position within the church.

Through Rollock's double role as a professor of theology and a leading figure in the church the Town College and the Kirk were closely identified. As a consequence of this he was in a key position to influence the next generation of future ministers. The educational programme of the newly established college reflects his own academic background as well as his openness to embrace the innovative educational programme of the day by Andrew Melville. The curriculum developed by Rollock showed the characteristics of a liberal arts course, with its emphasis on studying ancient languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as well as the works of ancient writers, including Aristotle and Cicero. Also space was given to subjects like Anatomy, Arithmetics and Geography. The appointment of Rollock as a Professor of Divinity was a clear indication that theology was indeed an integral part of the curriculum. This was very much in line with the teaching syllabus of Calvin's

Academy in Geneva and the Huguenot colleges in France, whereas other continental universities (e.g. Basel and Wittenberg) offered students two separate courses with different emphases, the first one being an arts course while the second one was specifically in theology.

Teaching liberal arts in Edinburgh - ancient languages, Rhetoric and Dialectics - was not an end in itself. They were taught with the ultimate aim in mind that the students would be able to develop skills that can be used in a variety of ways in the church: Biblical languages to understand the original text of the Bible to aid the exegesis of biblical passages, Rhetoric to prepare the way for eloquence which was crucial and indeed, highly expected in delivering sermons; and Dialectics in order to develop effective argumentations in disputation. All this was undergirded by the Ramist methodology which sought to aid interpretation through the system of classification. In this respect the arts curriculum as a whole can be regarded as a general preparation for ministry. It also had a unifying result within the clerical body – the succeeding years in the Town College were provided with the same educational content.

Due to these factors there was a clearly visible difference between the arts curriculum that offered much help to ministerial graduates in their preparation for practical ministry, and the syllabus their medieval counterparts had been offered.

Students' attendance at church services on Sundays was strictly observed by the college staff in Edinburgh. On returning to college from church students were expected to give accounts of the sermons they heard and to discuss and analyse them according to the rules of classical Rhetoric. It was important in their understanding of doctrine and may also have contributed to their spiritual formation. It could strengthen personal commitment to doctrinal standards, which were clearly laid out in the Negative Confession of 1581 which had to be signed by all the students upon entering college. But above all, it was fundamental for future ministers to see models of sermons in which biblical exegesis was carried out using Ramist methodology in the fashion of logical analysis in order to develop skill in preaching. The importance of this was highlighted by the lack of formal training in Homiletics at the College.

Comparing the four places of higher education in Scotland in the last forty years of the sixteenth century, Edinburgh provided nearly twenty per cent of clergy

holding a degree. This was an exceptional achievement concerning the fact that Edinburgh only graduated its first class in 1587. Undeniably, the growing capital had a large part to play in this result. Citizens appreciated the provision of educational opportunities on a higher level in their own locality. The stability of academic life due to the relatively small size of the Faculty and the unique role that Rollock exercised on the different levels of church governance also made the Town College a desirable place to study.

Other intriguing statistics show that in the first decade of the establishment on average thirty-five per cent of all the graduates decided to pursue a career in ecclesiastical ministry. The reason behind this high proportion could be explained by the relative financial stability of the clergy, which made pursuing a career in this field an attractive option.

It has frequently been assumed that the college in Edinburgh was a seminary with the ultimate goal of teaching theology and training ministers to fill the vacant churches across Scotland.⁵¹⁷ Obviously this purpose was on the agenda in Edinburgh, especially supported by its local ministers, most importantly among them the successor of John Knox at St Giles, James Lawson. However, at a local level for many such as Clement Little and other members of the town council the chief motivating force for establishing a place of higher learning in the growing burgh was to improve local educational options by adding a new college to the existing school system.

Although the plan of the burgh ministers for setting up a theological college in the strict sense did not come to fruition, nevertheless the arts college was able to produce a high number of ministers.

At the same time, the education of future ministers had only begun in the world of academia, at the Town College. Their ministerial training continued in diverse ways.

It is often overlooked that in addition to academic education and other types of in-service ministerial training other factors, such as family background,

⁵¹⁷ For instance, Whytock seems to take this position and Margo Todd even refers to the Town College as the 'Edinburgh seminary'. Cf. Whytock, "An Educated Clergy", pp. 39-42; and M. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, pp. 25-26. n. 6.

experience in other professions, travels, etc., also played some part, albeit to a lesser extent.

Due to the scarcity of evidence on the social and family background of ministerial graduates it is difficult to come to an established conclusion on the influence their place of origin had on their professional formation. Nevertheless, the social group on which most recorded data exists during the post-Reformation period is the group of people in a clerical vocation. These records confirm that the first four decades following 1560 the number of ministerial trainees coming from clerical families was low due to the marriage of clergy only becoming legal after the Reformation. However, families like the Rows, the Knoxes of Cockpen, the MakGhies, the Browns of Kirkpatrick and the prestigious Edinburgh Balcanquhalls all had at least three generations in clerical ministry. The documentation on these families supports the findings of other researchers which indicates the development of dynastic tendencies in the Kirk. It maybe fair to assume that the support, both financial and moral, these influential clerical families provided contributed significantly to the confirmation of the newly established College as a reputable place of higher learning.

The other factor in the professional formation of prospective ministers can be found in the years between their graduation and the admission to their first ministerial charge.

There were a growing number of professional options available for fresh graduates in the last few decades of the sixteenth century. State administration in the emerging capital offered a wide variety of career choices. The Kirk envisaged a nationwide educational programme, put forth in the *First of Book of Discipline*, which contained the development of a school system at every level of education within society. This also opened up new job opportunities for graduates as school-teachers, private tutors, or college lecturers. It is notable that some former students who had excelled in their studies were subsequently offered lecturing positions at the Town College, their own *alma mater*. Apart from Duncan Nairn, the first regent of the college, all the others, in the period under consideration, were Edinburgh graduates. This again suggests that the Faculty consisted of those likeminded people

who came from the same educational background and therefore they shared the same convictions concerning teaching methods and academic standards.

Another intriguing fact about the regent system is that of the twenty-three regents during the first two decades in the college history, seventeen chose a subsequent career in the church. The high turnover among the regents indicates that their work was not rewarded financially in an adequate way. It is of little surprise that the drawing power of other emerging professions was strong enough to distract many from pursuing an academic career.

Travel experience included accompanying wealthy families as tutors, while others wished to continue further studies at continental universities: Robert Boyd travelled widely on the Continent teaching in a number of academies in France, Philip Hislop accompanied the Earl of Lothian on his travels in Germany and Thomas Sydserff studied in Heidelberg to name a few Town College graduates who chose to discover the academic world outside Scotland. Another attractive destination for Edinburgh graduates was Geneva as the *Le Livre du Rector* reveals a whole list of names of students from the Town College.

Those who studied or even lectured at universities abroad were able to provide a significant contribution to the academic life of colleges in Geneva, the Huguenot colleges in France and at the universities in the Netherlands. On their return they used their expertise gained abroad as well as importing new ideas to their respective places of ministry. In the world of academia travel meant closer ties were formed among the centres of Reformed higher learning across Europe and as a result, the Town College was successfully connected to the circle of its continental counterparts.

These career detours are understandable if one looks at the relatively young age at which students graduated: in Edinburgh this was between 20 and 22. From a ministerial point of view age did matter in the church, both to church authorities and to congregations. For practical reasons congregations were likely to prefer candidates with more life experience and maturity. It was a widely held notion that a young person in his early twenties was unsuitable for fulfilling a leadership position in the church. This view was enforced by an act issued by the Synod of Lothian and

Tweeddale in 1589 which did not permit anyone under the age of twenty five to take up a charge.

Ministerial graduates' early career development reflects some aspects of the changing patterns of an ecclesiastical career in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Scotland. It included a general requirement for standardised academic training for Reformed clergy, the appearance of transitional years between graduation and ministerial service and the setting of a higher age limit for entrance to ministry.

Attention is now turned to the non-academic training, the exercise that existed for more than a century in Scotland. Prior to its Scottish practice, the exercise had been widely used on the Continent and introduced by the Zurich Reformers, Zwingli and his circle. Its function varied from country to country. In Zurich more emphasis was laid on the continuing training of ministers in biblical exegesis with the attendance of high profile, gifted linguists such as Bullinger or Peter Martyr. Where academic staff was not available, ministers relied on their own resources and usually the exercise turned towards more practical issues in ministry, such as preaching. Another aspect for the exercise was that it played an important role in the admission procedure to the first ministerial charge.

In Scotland the need for the provision of educated ministers had been emphasised from the earliest days of the Reformation and articulated in the *First Book of Discipline*. Formal university education was expected to provide the basis from which this ideal should be realised at a rapidly increasing pace. It appears that a huge effort was made to ensure that those who were in the ministry received not only tight control over both their personal lives and that of their families but also help in their continuing education. This might also be seen as a possible source of motivation for the continuation of one's ministry. It was the combination of the pastoral and disciplinary duties of oversight and the instructional purpose which made the exercise a vitally important tool in the hands of presbyteries in the late sixteenth-century Kirk. The training programme, the examination and the continuous emphasis on preaching all contributed towards the development of a corps of confessionally, and more importantly, ethically aware ministers. This was the fundamental aim of the disciplinary efforts made by the Kirk.

In comparison with the practice of the exercise in Geneva where the company of pastors invited students as occasional preachers in the neighbouring villages, the practice in Edinburgh was different. The Principal of the Town College and the leadership of the Edinburgh Presbytery appeared to be more reluctant to employ students in ministry. For Geneva this achieved two goals: first, it provided the students with adequate practice in preaching, thereby supplementing the academic ministerial training. Second, it assisted the neighbouring churches in staffing their pulpits.

In Edinburgh it appears that students did not take part in the exercise and certainly did not function as occasional preachers. When Edinburgh Presbytery approached Rollock asking him to provide names for potential candidates for the exercise he drew up a list containing exclusively former graduates instead of college students. This indicates that for Rollock the exercise was held in such high regard that young students were not qualified to stand for it.

By the widespread practice of the exercise the Kirk expressed its claim over the recruitment and admission to the ministry alike and by doing so rejected the monopoly universities had concerning examinations. It is clear that within central Scotland theological institutions were not the last word in ministerial education. The exercise became the standard practice for presbyteries to admit ministerial candidates. Through the exercise Edinburgh Presbytery gained further prominence which was undergirded by the presence of the newly erected the Town College.

In Scotland the examination for the ministry, in its full range, that is from the private examination at an exercise meeting to public preaching from the pulpit of a vacant church, was the last hurdle prospective ministers had to overcome before being admitted to their charges.

The very practice of exercise also indicates that the protestant clergy remained a constant subject of criticism and reform even if these were not very harsh and scornful critiques but more constructive ones from their fellow colleagues than their pre-1560 counterparts had received.

The twofold training contributed towards the development of a clear distinction between formal training taking place at the Academy and individual, personal qualities. Certainly, if a congregation was asked the latter was found to be

the more decisive factor in selecting someone for the pulpit. Nevertheless, the ecclesiastical control of higher church courts preferred not to leave the decision-making entirely in the hands of parishioners, but set the standard for the ministry by a thorough series of examinations, called the exercise.

Despite this increasing emphasis on education, there remained a considerable gap between expectations and reality. Progress towards a university-trained clergy was slow. It took several decades for any new Protestant church to provide the sufficient numbers of ministers, whatever modest training they obtained, to replace the former Catholic clergy. The length of this transition depended, to a large extent, on the size of the territory, the availability of Protestant training institutions and on a number of other factors, such as the questionable stability of the religious settlement until well after 1560, which hindered recruitment to the ministry. Moreover tensions between patronage and lay control also contributed to the complexity of recruitment. Patrons did not always support those who were accepted by the local church or church authorities.

The education of the Reformed clergy both in the academic world and in the Kirk itself had a crucial role to play in their formation as a self-aware group of professionals. Both strands functioned in their development as a 'path toward a profession' to use the terminology of Luise Schorn-Schütte.⁵¹⁸

Since a large majority of ministerial graduates did remain in central Scotland for their first charge, the membership of these presbyteries gradually changed from a heterogenic to a more homogeneous ministerial body with a similar educational background. This fostered theological discussion and it contributed to the development of Reformed identity.

How did the clergy survive the Reformation? As we have seen the clergy not only survived but was strengthened by the powerful impact of new forms of ministerial training: at the universities and in the Kirk.

⁵¹⁸ See her extensive studies into social history and development of clerical profession in her "Priest, Preacher, Pastor: Research on Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe" in *Central European History*, 33 (2000) pp. 1-39; "The Christian Clergy in the Early Modern Holy Roman Empire: A Comparative Social Study" in *SCJ* 29 (1998) pp. 717-731; and also the essays in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, eds C. S. Dixon and L. Schorn-Schütte, (Palgrave, 2003).

APPENDIX 1

Charters and statutes

Source: Alexander Morgan and Robert K. Hannay, eds, *University of Edinburgh: Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus, 1583-1858*, (Edinburgh, 1937).

Charter by Queen Mary, 13th March 1566-1567

Maria dei gratia Regina Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem: Sciatis quia nos impensius munus nostrum erga divinum servitium perpendentes et pro ardenti zelo quem ob intertenendam policiam at equabilem ordinem inter subditos nostros precipue vero infra burgum nostrum de Edinburgh preservandum habemus considerantes itaque nos ex officio teneri munus erga deum complecti debere cujus providentia regimini hujus regni preponimur sicque nobis ex officio incumbere omni honesto modo pro ministris verbi dei providere et quo hospitalia pauperibus mutilatis et miseris personis orphanis at parentibus destitutis infantibus infra dictum nostrum burgum preserventur post nostram perfectam etatem cum avisamento dominorum secreti consilii nostri dedimus concessimus disposuimus ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris pro perpetuo confirmavimus necnon tenore presentium damus concedimus disponimus et pro nobis et nostris successoribus pro perpetuo confirmamus predilectis nostris preposito ballivis consulibus et communitati dicti nostri burgi de Edinburgh et ipsorum successoribus in perpetuum omnes at singulas terras tenementa domos edificia ecclesias capellas hortos pomeria croftas annuos redditus fructus devoria proficua emolumenta firmas elemozinas *lie daill silver*⁵¹⁹ obitus et anniversaria quecunque que quovismodo pertinuerunt aut pertinere dinoscuntur ad quascunque capellanas alteragia prebendarias in quacunque ecclesia capella aut collegio infra libertatem dicti nostri burgi de Edinburgh fundata

⁵¹⁹ „Daill” or dole silver was money left to collegiate churches, to be divided among the officiating clergy who performed commemorative services on the anniversary of the death of the testator.

seu fundatas per quemcunque patronum in quarum possessione capellani et prebendarii earundem perprius fuerant ubicunque prefate domus tenementa edificia pomeria horti annui redditus anniversaria fructus proventus et emolumenta jacent aut prius levata fuerunt respective cum maneriis locis pomeriis terris annuis redditibus emolumentis at devoriis quibuscunque que fratribus dominicalibus seu predicatoribus et minoribus seu franciscanis dicti nostri burgi de Edinburgh perprius pertinuerunt, unacum omnibus et singulis terris domibus tenementisque jacentibus infra dictum nostrum burgum et libertatem ejusdem cum omnibus annuis redditibus de quacunque domo terris aut tenemento infra dictum nostrum burgum levandis datis fundatis et donatis quibuscunque capellaniis alteragiis ecclesiis mortuariis aut anniversariis ubicunque sunt infra regnum nostrum ac etiam cum omnibus et singulis annuis redditibus et aliis devoriis solitis aut que per quamcunque ecclesiam extra dictum nostrum burgum a preposito aut ballivis ejusdem de communi reddito ejusdem pro suffragiis celebrandis demandari poterint⁵²⁰ cum pertinentiis: Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas prefatas terras tenementa domos edificia pomeria hortos croftas annous redditus fructus devoria proficua emolumenta firmas elemozinas obitus anniversaria ecclesias capellas fratrum loca hortos cum pertinentiis prefatis preposito ballivis consulibus et communitati et eorum successoribus de nobis et successoribus notris in perpetuum prout eadem jacent in longitudine et latitudine in domibus edificiis muris muremiis⁵²¹ lignis lapide et calce cum libero introitu et exitu etc. ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus proficuis et asiamentis ac justis suis pertinentiis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam sub terra quam supra terram ad predictas terras tenementa domos edificia pomeria hortos croftas annous redditus fructus devoria et alia prescripta cum pertinentiis spectantibus seu juste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace absque revocatione aut contradictione quacunque: CUM POTESTATE memoratis preposito ballivis consulibus et communitati et ipsorum successoribus per seipsos et ipsorum collectores quos constituent prefatos annous redditus fructus devoria proficua emolumenta quecunque levandi et recipiendi ubicunque perprius levata fuerant, prefatas terras et tenementa locandi et removendi loca diruta extruendi et reparandi eademque in hospitalia aut alios similes

⁵²⁰ Usual in Scottish charter Latin for „potuerint”.

⁵²¹ A corrup form of *meremium*: timber.

usus legitimos prout ipsis cum avisamento ministrorum et seniorum dicti nostri burgi videbitur reducendi et applicandi adeo libere in omnibus sicuti prefati prebendarii capellani et fratres prescripti eisdem perprius gaudere easdemque possidere potuissent: memorati autem prepositus ballivi consules et eorum successores tenebuntur et astricti erunt ministros lectores et alia ecclesiastica onera prefatis annuis redditibus proficuis et devoriis secundum valorem et quantitatem earundem sustinere locaque et edificia reparanda in hospitalitatem et alios usus prescriptos applicare: CONSIDERANTES itaque quanta fraude ingens numerus dictorum prebendariorum capellanorum et fratrum prescriptorum qui post alterationem religionis terras annous redditus et emolumenta ipsorum capellanis prebendis at aliis locis respective perprius mortificata disposuerunt alienarunt at in manibus quorundam particularium virorum extradonarunt ac etiam quod plerique legii nostri quarundam terrarum tenementorum et annourum reddituum per ipsorum predecessores mortificatorum jus sibi acclamarunt per brevia capelle nostre aut alias sasinas tanquam heredes sourum predecessorum (qui easdem ecclesie perprius dotarunt) recuperarunt quod evenit partim negligentia officiariorum dicti nostri burgi et partim collusione dictorum prebendariorum capellanorum et fratrum prescriptorum quocirca cum avisamento prescripto omnes et singulas hujusmodi alienationes dispositiones at sasinas quibus primum propositum et animus fundatorum infringitur alteratur et variatur diducendo easdem in particulares usus ad effectum quod eedem in usus suprascriptos concertari poterint per presentes rescindimus et annullamus: quamquidem hanc nostram declarationem volumus tanti esse roboris et efficacie ac si persone que easdem dispositiones obtinuerunt particulariter citate essent ipsarumque infeofamenta absque ulteriori processu rescinderentur: ac etiam cum avisamento prescripto unimus et incorporamus omnes et singulas terras tenementa domos edificia ecclesias cimiteria capellas pomeria hortos croftas annous redditus fructus devorias proficua emolumenta firmas elemozinas obitus anniversaria fratrum loca hortos eorendum cum suis pertinentiis in unum corpus imposterum appellandum fundatio nostra ministerii et hospitalitatis de Edinburgh: VOLUMUS etiam quod unica sasina per prefatos prepositum et ballivos aut ipsorum aliquem dicti ministerii et hospitalitatis nomine apud pretorium dicti nostri burgi semel accepta tam sufficiens erit sasina perpetuo in futurum ac si eadem super particulares terras ad dictos

capellanos prebendarios fratres pertinentes aut ipsis in prefatos annos redditus anniversaria firmas proficua et devoria prescripta debitas (*sc debite*) sumeretur non obstante locorum distantia: preterea per presentes nolumus capellanos prebendarios et fratres (qui ante dictam alterationem provisi erant) per hoc presens nostrum infeofamentum prejudicari sed reservamus illis usum dictorum fructuum et devoriarum durante eorum vita tantum: PRECIPiendo itaque nostrorum computorum rotulatoribus presentibus et futuris ipsorum collectoribus factoribus et aliis quorum interest in genere necnon in specie quod ne quis eorum recipere aut levare presumat dictos fructus particulariter suprascriptos pro quovis tempore preterito seu futuro neve impediunt aut impedimentum ullum faciant memoratis preposito ballivis consulibus communitati at ipsorum successoribus in pacificia possessione eorundem, requirendo et ordinando etiam dominos sessionis nostre quatenus literas in omnibus quatour formis ad instantiam dictorum prepositi ballivorum consulum communitatis et ipsorum successorum ad effectum suprascriptum dirigant, necnon precipiendo quibuscunque intromissoribus cum dictis fructibus quatenus ipsis de eisdem prompte intendant pareant et gratam solutionem faciant. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus; TESTIBUS reverendissimo in Christo patre Johanne archiepiscopo Sanctiandree etc. dilectis nostris consanguineis Georgio comite de Huntlie domino Gordoun et Badyenacht cancellario nostro, Jacobo comite de Boithuill domino Haillis Creichtoun et Liddisdaiill regni nostri magno admirallo, dilectis nostris familiaribus consiliariis Richardo Maitland de Lethingtoun nostri secreti sigilli custode, Jacobo Balfoure de Pettindreich nostrorum rotulorum registri ac consilii clerico, et Johanne Bellenden de Auchnoule nostre justiciarie clerico equitibus auratis, Apud Edinburgh decimo tertio die mensis Martii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo sexto et regni nostri vicesimo quinto.

Charter of confirmation and Novodamus by King James VI,

14th April 1582

Jacobus dei gratia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem: SCIATIS nos cum avisamento et consensu dominorum nostri secreti consilii quandam cartam et infeofamentum per nostram charissimam matrem pro tempore regni nostri reginam post suam perfectam etatem cum avisamento et consensu dominorum ejus secreti consilii factam datam et concessam dilectis nostris preposito ballivis consulibus et communitati burgi nostri de Edinburgh et eorum successoribus super donatione dispositione et confirmatione omnium et singularum terrarum tenementorum domorum edificiorum ecclesiarum capellaniarum hortorum pomeriorum croftarum annourum reddituum fructuum devoriarum proficuorum emolumentorum firmarum elemozinarum *lie daill sylver* obitum et anniversariorum quorumcunque que quovismodo pertinuerunt aut pertinere dinoscuntur ad quascunque capellanas alteragia prebendas in quacunque ecclesia capella aut collegio infra libertatem dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh fundata seu fundanda per quemcunque patronum in quarum possessione capellani et prebendarii earundem perprius fuerant ubicunque prefate domus tenementa edificia pomaria horti annui redditus anniversaria fructus proventus et emolumenta jacent aut prius levata fuerunt respective cum maneriebus locis hortis pomariis terris annuis redditibus emolumentis et devoriis quibuscunque que fratribus dominicalibus seu predicatoribus et minoribus seu franciscanis dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh perprius pertinuerunt unacum omnibus et singulis terris domibus tenementis et hortis jacentibus infra dictum nostrum burgum et libertatem ejusdem cum omnibus annuis redditibus de quacunque domo terris aut tenemento infra dictum nostrum burgum levandis quibuscunque capellaniis alteragiis ecclesiis mortuariis aut anniversariis ubicunque sunt infra regnum nostrum donatis dotatis et fundatis ac etiam cum omnibus et singulis annuis redditibus et aliis devoriis solitis aut que per quamcunque ecclesiam extra dictum nostrum burgum a perposito aut ballivis ejusdem de communi redditu ejusdem pro suffragiis celebrandis demandari poterint cum pertinentiis ac de omnibus aliis privilegiis libertatibus et facultatibus in carta et infeofamento donationis et dispositionis predictis desuper confectis ad longum specificatis et contentis tenendis

de dicta charissima nostra matre et successoribus suis de mandato nostro visam lectam inspectam et diligenter examinatum sanam integram non rasam non cancellatam nec in aliqua sui parte suspectam ad plenum intellexisse sub hac forma:

[Here follows the preceding Charter of Queen Mary.]

Quamquidem cartam et infeofamentum in omnibus suis punctis et articulis conditionibus et modis ac circumstantiis suis quibuscunque in omnibus et per omnia forma pariter et effectu ut premissum est approbamus ratificamus ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris pro perpetuo confirmamus: INSUPER nos cum avisamento predicto pro diversis rationabilibus causis bonis et considerationibus nos moventibus de novo tenore presentium damus concedimus et disponimus prefatis preposito ballivis consulibus et communitati dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh et eorum successoribus omnes et singulas prenomatas terras tenementa domos edificia annous redditus capellas loca hortos pomaria croftas census firmas proficua emolumenta et alia respective et particulariter superius specificata per ipsos in perpetuum applicanda in sustentationem ministerii pauperum auxilium reparationem scholarum propagationem literarum et scientiarum pro eorum et successorum suorum arbitrio úti eis magis utile videbitur, quibus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris plenariam ac liberam committimus potestatem quoscunque alios annous redditus annua proficua quecunque tam extra quam intra dictum nostrum burgum que in posterum per quoscunque bono zelo ac libertate (*sic liberalitate*) sua motos ad alimentum ministrorum evangelii auxilium pauperum ac sustentationem gymnasiorum pro instaurandis scientiis et doctrina donari at dotari contigerint acceptandi, qua etiam terras annous redditus et proficua suprascripta perprius donata et fundata ac in posterum donanda et fundanda ut premissum est nos pro nobis et successoribus nostris nunc prout extunc et tunc prout exnunc confirmamus ratificamus et admortizamus ac easdem adeo libere mortificamus sicuti alique terre redditus tenementa et possessiones ecclesie ullo tempore precedenti mortificate fuerunt: PRETEREA nos pro nobis et successoribus nostris ratificamus approbamus et confirmamus renunciationem et dimissionem per familiarem servitorem nostrum Joannem Gib factam de omnibus jure et titulo que ipse virtute nostre donationis pretendere potuit ad preposituram ecclesie beate Marie de Campis (vulgo *lie Kirk of Feild*) cum fructibus terris possessionibus redditibus et devoriis ejusdem preteritis

presentibus et futuris in favorem dicti prepositi ballivorum consulum et communitatis pro seipsis et eorum successoribus ac nomine et ex parte ministerii et pauperum: ac quia intra privilegia et libertatem dicti nostri burgi nunc diversa extant vasta et spatiosa loca que preposito prebendariis sacerdotibus et fratribus tempore preterito pertinuerunt maxime apta et commoda pro constructione domorum et edificiorum ubi professores bonarum scientiarum et literarum ac studentes earundem remanere et suam diuturnam exercitationem habere poterint ultra et preter alia loca convenientia pro hospitalitate, ideo nos enixe cupientes ut in honorem dei et commune bonum nostri regni literatura indies augeatur volumus et concedimus quod licebit prefatis preposito consulibus et eorum successoribus edificare et reparare sufficientes domos et loca pro receptione habitatione et tractatione professorum scholarum grammaticalium humanitatis et linguarum philosophie theologie medicine et jurium aut quarumcunque aliarum liberalium scientiarum quo declaramus nullam fore rapturam predictae mortificationis; ac etiam prefati prepositus ballivi et consules ac eorum successores cum avisamento tamen eorum ministrorum pro perpetuo in posterum plenam habebunt libertatem personas ad dictas professiones edocendas maxime idoneas uti magis convenientur poterint elegendi cum potestate imponendi et removendi ipsos sicuti expediverit; Ac inhibendo omnibus aliis ne dictas scientias intra dicti nostri burgi libertatem profiteantur aut doceant nisi per prefatos prepositum ballivos et consules eorumque successores admissi fuerint: proviso quod presentes nullatenus prejudicabunt nec actoribus nec reis nec aliis interesse habentibus in ejectione et causa prosequuta penes decimas garbales de Dumberny Potie et Moncreif ad capellanos ecclesie beati Egidii de Edinburgh pertinentes neque juri patronatus ejusdem sed quod utrique parti et omnibus interesse habentibus usque ad finalem exitum et decisionem in hujusmodi ut congruit prosequi et defendere liceat presentibus aut quibuscunque in eisdem contentis non obstantibus: proviso etiam quod ministri deservientes apud dictas ecclesias pro presenti et in futurum sustentabuntur de promptioribus fructibus earundem secundum ordinem desuper sumptum seu sumendum. IN CUJUS REI testimonium huic presenti carte nostre confirmationis magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus; TESTIBUS predilectis nostris consanguineis et consiliariis Esmo Lennocie duce comite de Dernlie domino Tarboltoun Dalkeith et Aubigny etc. magno regni nostri camerario, Colino Argadie

comite domino Campbell et Lorne etc. cancellario ac justiciario nostro generali,
reverendissimo ac venerabili in Christo patribus Patricio Sanctiandree archiepiscopo,
Roberto commendatario monasterii nostri de Dunfermeling nostro secretario, dilectis
nostris familiaribus et consiliariis Alexandro Hay nostrorum rotulorum registri ac
consilii clerico, Lodovico Bellenden de Auchnoule milite nostre justiciarie clerico,
Roberto Scott nostre cancellarie direttore et magistro Thoma Buquhannane de Ybert
nostri secreti sigilli custode, apud castrum nostrum de Striviling decimo quarto die
mensis Aprilis anno domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo secundo regnique
nostri anno decimo quinto.

APPENDIX 2

The contract between Robert Rollock and the Town Council of Edinburgh

Source: *University of Edinburgh Charters, Statutes, and Acts of The Town Council and the Senatus, 1583-1858*, eds A. Morgan and R. K. Hannay, (Edinburgh, 1937) pp. 89-91. Also it is included in *Select Works of Robert Rollock*, 2 vols, ed. William M. Gunn, (Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1844-1849) I., p. lxiv.

Contract mad betwixt the towne and Mr Rober Rollok, Maister of the Townes Colledge, 14th September 1583.

At Edinburgh, the fourtene day of September, the zeir of God I m. V c. fourscoir thrie yeires. It is appointit, aggreit, and finallie contractit, betwixt the provost, baillies, and counsall of the burgh Edinburgh, upon that ane pt and Mr Rot. Rollock, for the present ane of the regentis of Sanct Salvatoris Colledge, situate within the citie of Sanct Audrois, upon that uyr pt in manr, forme, and effect as after followes: That is to say, the said Maister Robert sail entre to the Colledge newly foundit w*in the said burgh for instructioun of the youth, and professing of guidleirning, as the erectioun and foundation beirs, the fourtene day of October next to cum, but furder delay, and sail exerce the office of the regent of the said Colledge, in instructioun, government, and correctioun of ye youth and persones quhilk sail be committed to his chairge, dureing the spaice of ane yeir immediatelie following his said etrie, and furder, sa lang as the said Mr Ro*. uses himselff faithfullie yrinto, according to the ruills and injunctiouns qlk sail be given unto him be the provost, baillies, and counsall of the said burgh, quhilkes are now pnt. or sail happen to be for the time, to the observing and keipeing of the quhilkeis injunctiouns in all the pairtis yrof, the said Mr Robert, be yir p~ntis, bindis and obleis him ; for the qlkeis causes, the said provost, baillies, and counsill, bindis and oblesis yame anfl yr succes- sores

thankfullie to content and pay to ye said Mr Rot. the soume of fortie pundis usual money of yis realme, at twa termis in the yeir, Candlemes and Lambes, be twa equall portiounes, and sail susteine him and ane servand in yr ordinar expenses, honestlie as effeirs. Attour the said Mr Rt. sail repare and haif for his laboures to be takin in instructing everie bairne repairing to the said Colledge yeirlie, as followes : To witt, fra ye bairnes inhabitants of the said burgh, fortie schillings, and fra ye bairnes of uyeris, nocht inhabitants yairin, three pundis or mair, as ye bairnes parentia please to bestow of yr liberalise ; and furder, in cais, at the end and expiring of ye said zeir, ye said Mr Robert find himself not sufficientlie satisfeit be his said yeirlie fie and casualties, that he, upon his awin guid discretioun, declair that he has rea sonable cause to meane and compleane upon that behalf, the mater being proponit be the said Mr Robert to Master James Lowson, minister, Jo n Prestoun, ane of the commisseriss, and Jcft Schairp, advocate, the said provost, baillies, and counsall, and yair successores, sail follow yr determinatioun and advyse to be given yairin, quhat sail be augmentit for ye said Mr Rotis stipend the zeir foirsaid ; providing alwayes yat ye said augmentatioun exceed not the sum of fortie merkes ; and further, the said provost, baillies, and counsall obleiss yame and yr successores, yat as it sail happen yr said Colledge in policie and leirning to encreis, that the said Mr Ro*., upon his guid merite, sail be advancit to the maist honorable roume yat sail be vaik yairin, or to the ylk ony new Regent sail be providit, he being als qualifiet as ony uyr therfoir ; and hereto baith the saidis pairties faythfullie binds and obleisiss yamsselfes to uyris, and, for ye mair securitie, they are content, and consentis that thir pntis be actit and registrat in the buikis of the Commissers of Edinburgh, and decernit to have ye strenth of yair decretit and executorialles of horning and poinding, the ane but pre judice of the uyr, at the pleasure of the pairtie pas yairupon, and to yat effect baith the said pairties makes, constitutes, and ordaines, &c.

... and ilk ane of thame ther procuratouris conjunctlie and severallie in uberiori constitutionis forma promittendo de rato. In witness heirof baith the saidis pairties hes subscrivit this present contract with thair handis, day, yeir, and place foirsaidis befor thir witness &c. et sic subscribitur Maister Robert Rollok ane of the regentis of Sanct Salvatoris Colledge for the present.

APPENDIX 3

List of graduates in alphabetical order

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of graduation</i>	<i>Designation</i>
Abernathie, Thomas	28 July 1596	minister verbi
Abernethie, Joannes	22 July 1620	Doctor Medicinae
Abernethy, Adamus	7 August 1594	
Abernethy, Johne	1587	minister verbi
Abircrumby, Robertu	29 July 1598	
Abircrummy, Robertus	31 July 1613	
Achesonius, Joannes	(ultimo) June 1606	
Achesoun, Archibaldus	30 July 1601	Secretarius Regius
Adamsone, Gulielmus	1 August 1588	
Adamsone, Joannes	30 July 1597	minister verbi, et Primarius Academiae
Adamsone, Joannes	31 July 1613	
Adamsone, Robertus	29 July 1603	
Adamsone, Willelmus	12 August 1593	
Adamsoun, Henricus	22 July 1615	
Adinstoune, Daud	22 July 1620	
Ahannay, Jacobus	22 July 1615	minister verbi
Aikenheid, Thomas	30 June 1617	judex in foro ecclesiastico
Aikinheid, Georgius	1588 August	apostata
Aikinheid, Jacobus	30 June 1617	advocatus
Ainslie, Gulielmus	10 August 1595	minister verbi
Aird, Jacobus	22 February 1602	
Aird, Joannes	28 May 1604	minister verbi
Aissoun, Joannes	12 August 1592	minister verbi
Alexander, Robertus	ultimo June 1606	
Allan, Johannes	29 July 1603	minister verbi
Ambrosius, Alexander	27 July 1605	minister verbi
Andersonne, Joannes	25 July 1618	advocatus
Andersonne, Robertus	10 August 1595	
Andersonne, Thomas	1587	
Andersonus, Adamus	28 July 1599	
Andro, Alexander	29 July 1600	
Annand, Jacobus	28 May 1604	
Argerius, Honorius	29 July 1598	

Argerius, Johannes	29 July 1598	hic juvenis optimus obiit in Gallia, statim a laurea, submersus natando
Arnott, Robertus	24 July 1619	
Arthur, Gulielmus	12 August 1592	minister verbi
Aslowan, Georgius	30 July 1597	minister verbi
Auchmoutius, Florentius	7 August 1594	
Baillie, Jacobus	10 August 1595	minister verbi
Bailzie, Jacobus	28 July 1610	
Balcanquall, Joannes	27 July 1611	minister verbi
Balcanquall, Samuell	30 July 1614	
Balcanquall, Walterus	27 July 1609	minister verbi
Balcanquell, Robertus	30 June 1606	minister verbi
Baldoynus, J.	30 July 1597	
Baldoynus, Petrus	29 July 1598	
Baldoynus, Stephanus	29 July 1598	
Balfour, Andreas	25 July 1607	minister verbi
Balfour, Philippus	31 July 1613	
Balfoure, Jacobus	29 July 1598	
Balfourius, Guilielmus	28 July 1599	
Ballenden, Gulielmus	22 July 1620	
Bannatyne, Adamus	27 July 1609	
Bannatyne, Jacobus	25 July 1618	tribunus militum in Gallia
Bannatyne, James	1587 class 1	a Newhall, judex in foro supremo
Bannatyne, Lodovicus	29 July 1603	
Bannatyne, Thomas	25 July 1618	
Bannatyne, Thomas	28 July 1610	
Bannatynus, Nicolaus	12 August 1592	
Bannatynus, Thomas	7 August 1594	
Barclay, Alexander	25 July 1607	
Barclay, Gauinus	30 July 1601	
Barclay, Gavinus	22 July 1620	minister verbi
Barclay, Georgius	28 July 1610	
Bardin, Joannes	29 July 1600	Xanctoniensis
Bauman, Georgius	12 August 1592	
Baxter, Jacobus	28 July 1599	minister verbi
Bell, Joannes	27 July 1609	minister verbi
Bell, Thomas	29 July 1600	minister verbi
Bellenden, Adamus	1 August 1588	minister verbi
Bellenden, Valterus	12 August 1593	
Bennet, Robertus	27 July 1609	
Bennett, Gulielmus	30 July 1614	minister verbi

Bennett, Joannes	27 July 1605	minister verbi
Beusolis, Jacobus	27 July 1616	
Billie, Jacobus	28 May 1604	
Bischof, Jacobus	29 July 1600	minister verbi
Blaw, Jacobus	12 August 1592	
Blinsell, Eduardus	25 July 1607	
Blyth, Alexander	7 August 1594	
Boig, Joannes	24 July 1619	
Bonnerin, Gabriel	12 August 1592	
Borthuick, Eleazer	25 July 1607	minister verbi
Borthuick, Michael	22 February 1602	
Boustoune, Hugo	25 July 1612	
Bowy, Guilielmus	12 August 1593	
Boyd, Robertus	7 August 1594	advocatus
Boyd, Robertus	10 August 1595	minister verbi, professor theologiae, Primarius Academiae primum ⁵²²
Boyd, Thomas	10 August 1595	
Boyde, Jacobus	7 August 159	
Boyes, Daud	1588 August	
Boyll, Joannes	28 July 1596	
Broun, Jacobus	28 July 1599	minister verbi
Broun, Jacobus	28 May 1604	
Broune, Daud	30 June 1617	
Broune, Jacobus	25 July 1618	
Broune, Johne	25 July 1618	
Broune, Patricius	7 August 1594	
Broune, Patricius	30 June 1617	
Broune, Robertus	22 July 1615	
Brown, Jacobus	30 July 1597	
Brown, Robertus	30 July 1597	
Bruce, Adamus	29 July 1600	
Bruce, Alexander	22 July 1615	
Bruce, Andreas	27 July 1616	
Bruce, Daud	31 July 1613	
Bruce, Joannes	27 July 1616	
Bruce, Patricius	30 July 1614	
Bruce, Robertus	25 July 1607	
Bruce, Thomas	27 July 1605	
Brussius, Jacobus	24 July 1619	
Bryce, Eduardus	12 August 1593	minister verbi

⁵²² minister verbi in Gallia, postea professor theologiae et Primarius Academiae primum Glasguensis, dein Edinburgenae

Brydane, Joannes	27 July 1611	
Burne, Jacobus	31 July 1613	
Burnet, George	1587 class 1	
Burnet, Jacobus	27 July 1609 class 21	minister verbi
Burnet, Robertus	27 July 1609 class 21	jurisconsultus
Calderuod, Daudid	12 August 1593 class 6	minister verbi
Campbell, Donaldus	12 August 1592 class 5	eques baronetus ab Ardnamurchan
Campbell, Guilielmus	22 February 1602	
Campbell, Guilielmus	29 July 1603 class 16	
Campbell, Gulielmus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Campbell, Jacobus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Campbell, Joannes	27 July 1616 class 28	Lauduni Comes, et magnus Scotiae Cancellarius
Cant, Joannes	25 July 1607 class 20	
Carkettill, Gullielmus	29 July 1603 class 16	minister verbi
Carkettill, Patricius	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Carmichaell, Patricius	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Carmichell, Robertus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Carraill, Matthaeus	30 July 1601 class 14	
Cass, Alexander	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Cass, Joannes	22 July 1620 class 32	minister verbi, Doctor Theologiae
Cass, Robertus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Cathcart, Hugo	22 July 1615 class 27	
Chalmer, Georgius	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Chalmer, Thomas	27 July 1611 class 23	minister verbi
Chalmeris, Jacobus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Chalmers, Jacobus	29 July 1600 class 13	
Charteris, Henricus	1587 class 1	minister verbi, Primarius, prius Regens
Cheislie, Joannes	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Clanie (Clunie), Johannes	1587 class 1	
Clappertoun, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	minister verbi
Clayhillis, Archybaldu	22 July 1615 class 27	
Clerk, Donaldus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	minister verbi
Clerk, Guilielmus	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Cliland, Georgius	29 July 1603 class 16	minister verbi
Cliland, Jacobus	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Cloggie, Guilielmus	29 July 1603 class 16	minister verbi

Cok, Thomas	25 July 1612 class 24	minister verbi
Cokburne, Christopherus	12 August 1592 class 5	
Cokburne, Gulielmus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Cokburne, Jacobus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Cokburne, Johannes	12 August 1592 class 5	
Cokburne, Ricardus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Cokburne, Samuel	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Coldoun, Jacobus	10 August 1595 class 8	
Coless, Franciscus	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Colless, Thomas	30 June 1617 class 29	
Colt, Adam	27 July 1616 class 28	
Colt, Daudid	25 July 1612 class 24	
Colt, Oliuarius	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Colte, Blasius	29 July 1603 class 16	Regens
Coluill, Alexander	30 July 1597 class 10	questor rerum capitalium
Coluill, Gulielmus	25 July 1612 class 24	
Coluille, Alexander	22 July 1615 class 27	SS. Theologiae Doctor
Corsanus, Joannes	31 July 1613 class 25	
Courtie, Daudid	30 July 1601 class 14	minister verbi
Craig, Adame	1587 class 1	
Craig, Gulielmus	12 August 1593 class 6	Doctor Theologiae, prius Regens
Craig, Johannes	22 February 1602	
Craig, Ludouicus	30 July 1597 class 10	praetor in foro supremo
Craig, Robertus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Craig, Wiliame	1587 class 1	
Craige, Georgius	7 August 1594 class 7	
Cranstone, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi in Anglia
Cranstone, Thomas	22 July 1620 class 32	
Cranstonus, Johannes	30 June 1617 class 29	
Craufurd, Jacobus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Crawfuirid, Matheus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Crawfurde, George	25 July 1618 class 30	verbi minister
Creiche, Andreas	22 July 1620 class 32	
Creichtoun, Daudid	28 May 1604 class 17	
Crichtonius, Patricius	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Crichtoun, Jacobus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Crychtoun, Patricius	10 August 1595 class 8	
Cummyng, Alexander	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi

Cunigame, Jacobus	22 February 1602	
Cuningham, Henricus	22 July 1620 class 32	minister verbi in Anglia
Cuninghame, Robertus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Cunninghame, Johannes	29 July 1598 class 11	
Cunninghame, Robertus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Cunynghame, William	1587 class 1	
Cunyngame, Joannes	25 July 1607 class 20	minister verbi
Cunynghame, Cuthbertus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Cunynghame, Joannes	27 July 1605 class 18	minister verbi
Cunynghame, Joannes	27 July 1609 class 21	
Cunynghame, Robertus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Daliell, Jacobus	29 July 1603 class 16	
Daliell, Johannes	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Dalzell, Guilielmus	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Dalzell, Jacobus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Dalzell, Johannes	1588 August class 2	
Dauidsone, Patricius	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Dauidsone, Patricius	29 July 1603 class 16	
Dauidsone, Thomas	1587 class 1	
Dempster, Franciscus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Dempster, Joannes	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Denistoun, Joannes	30 July 1601 class 14	
Dick, Gwalterus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Dickesoun, Jacobus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Dickisoun, Gulielmus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Dickson, Richardus	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Donaldsone, Jacobus	7 August 1594 class 7	minister verbi
Donaldsone, Patricius	1587 class 1	
Dougall, Jacobus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Douglas, Archibaldus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Douglas, Gulielmus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Douglas, Hugo	22 February 1602	
Douglas, Joannes	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Douglas, Johannes	30 July 1601 class 14	
Douglas, Richardus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Douglas, Robertus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Douglase, Georgius	24 July 1619 class 31	
Douglass, Robetrus	30 July 1597 class 10	
Douglassius, Jacobus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Dowgall, Georgius	31 July 1613 class 25	
Dowglas, Alexander	25 July 1607 class 20	minister verbi
Dowglas, Andreas	10 August 1595 class	minister verbi

	8	
Dowglas, Joannes	29 July 1603 class 16	
Dowglass, Georgius	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Dowglass, Georgius	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Drummond, Guilielmus	27 July 1605 class 18	Hauthorndenus, poeta eximius
Drummond, Joannes	1587 class 1	
Drummond, Josephus	22 February 1602	
du Bouchet, Theodorus	29 July 1600 class 13	
Dubouchet, Joachimus	29 July 1600 class 13	
Duglassius, Joannes	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Dumbar, Joannes	28 May 1604 class 17	medicus
Dunbar, Daudid	12 August 1593 class 6	
Dunbar, Gulielmus	12 August 1593 class 6	
Dunbar, Gullielmus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Dunbar, Patricius	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Dunbar, Patricius	22 July 1615 class 27	
Duncansone, Gulielmus	7 August 1594 class 7	
Duncansoun, Marcus	30 July 1601 class 14	Doctor Medicus, Academiae Salmuriensis professor at Primarius
Dundas, Georgius	22 February 1602	
Dundas, Georgius	25 July 1607 class 20	
Dundas, Jacobus	27 July 1605 class 18	
Dunkesoun, Joannes	27 July 1611 class 23	minister verbi
Dunlop, Alexander	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Dunlop, Joannes	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Dunlope, Johannes	27 July 1609 class 21	
Dykis, Allexander	12 August 1592 class 5	
Dykis, Johannes	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Edgar, Georgius	30 July 1614 class 26	
Edgarus, Jacobus	30 June 1617 class 29	minister verbi
Edmestone, Patricius	30 July 1597 class 10	
Edmestoune, Johannes	7 August 1594 class 7	
Eistoune, Jacobus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Eistoune, James	1587 class 1	
Eistouus, Jacobus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Eleis, Alexander	28 July 1599 class 12	
Eliot, Gilbertus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Eliotus, Robertus	24 July 1619 class 31	minister verbi

Elphingstone, Georgius	1588 August class 2	
Erle of Gowrye, Johne	12 August 1593 class 6	
Ewein, Daud	29 July 1598 class 11	
Fairfoull, Jacobus	22 February 1602	
Fairfoull, Joannes	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Fairlie, Alexander	30 July 1597 class 10	
Fairlie, Gulielmus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Fairlie, Jacobus	25 July 1607 class 20	Regens, theologiae professor at verbi minister
Fairlie, Joannes	25 July 1607 class 20	
Fairlie, Patricius	30 June 1617 class 29	
Fairlie, Robertus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Fairme, Jacobus	27 July 1605 class 18	minister verbi
Falconar, Daud	30 June 1617 class 29	judex in foror ecclesiastico
Farker, Johannes	1587 class 1	
Farquhardus, Robertus	28 July 1599 class 12	poeta
Fentoun, Joannes	28 July 1599 class 12	
Fergusson, Joannes	28 July 1610 class 22	
Fischer, Alexander	22 July 1615 class 27	
Fischer, Jacobus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Flimyng, Jacobus	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Forbes, Gualtes	10 August 1595 class 8	
Forest, Johannes	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Forester, Henricus	1 August 1588 class 3	minister verbi
Foresterius, Joannes	24 July 1619 class 31	
Forquar, Gulielmus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Forquardus, Joannes	27 July 1605 class 18	
Forrest, Alexander	22 July 1620 class 32	
Forrest, Patricius	1588 August class 2	
Forrett, Gulielmus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Forsyth, John	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Foster, Robertus	29 July 1600 class 13	
Fotheringhame, Daud	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Fouler, Alexander	31 July 1613 class 25	
Foulerius, Joannes	25 July 1612 class 24	
Foulis, R.	12 August 1592 class 5	
Foulis, Thomas	30 July 1597 class 10	
Foulis, Thomas	29 July 1600 class 13	
Fraser, Georgius	22 July 1615 class 27	

Fraser, Jacobus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Fraser, Samuel	22 July 1615 class 27	
Frenche, Jacobus	12 August 1593 class 6	minister verbi
Gairdne, Adamus	1587 class 1	
Gaittis, alexander	12 August 1591 class 4	minister verbi
Galbraith, Franciscus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Galbraith, Thomas	27 July 1609 class 21	
Gall, Jacobus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Galloway, Joannes	25 July 1612 class 24	
Geddes, Carolus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Gibbisoun, Joannes	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Gibson, Alexander	22 July 1615 class 27	archiota regius
Gibson, Johannes	30 July 1614 class 26	
Gibsonius, Archibaldus	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Gibsoun, Archibaldus	1 August 1588 class 3	
Gibsoun, Philippus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Gilbert, Eleazarus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Gilbert, Thomas	7 August 1594 class 7	
Gilbertus, Thomas	25 July 1612 class 24	
Gilmure, Robertus	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Gordoun, Johne	7 August 1594 class 7	minister verbi
Gosselinus, Petrus	30 July 1614 class 26	Diepensis
Gothrie, Patricius	30 July 1597 class 10	
Gourlay, Daud	30 June 1617 class 29	
Gourlayus, Robertus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Graeme, Jacobus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Grahame, Patricius	29 July 1603 class 16	
Grant, Patricius	1 August 1588 class 3	minister verbi
Gray, Gilbertus	12 August 1592 class 5	praeco verbi
Gray, Johannes	22 February 1602	
Gray, Thomas	29 July 1598 class 11	
Grayus, Samuell	24 July 1619 class 31	advocatus
Greg, Alexander	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Greir, Georgius	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Greir, Johannes	22 July 1615 class 27	
Guidhart, Robertus	12 August 1591 class 4	
Guidlatt, Daud	27 July 1609 class 21	minister verbi
Guilielmus Rynd,	12 August 1593 class	

Guilielmus	6	
Guthre, Alexander	27 July 1609 class 21	scriba civitatis Edimburgensis
Guthre, Daud	27 July 1611 class 23	
Gybsone, Alexander	1588 August class 2	a Durie, iudex in foro supremo
Haig, Guilielmus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Hairt, Gulielmus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Hairt, Jacobus	30 July 1597 class 10	
Haitlie, Jacobus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Haitlie, John	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi
Haius, Jacobus	22 February 1602	
Haliday, Jacobus	29 July 1603 class 16	Commissarius Drumfrisiensis
Haliday, Johannes	28 July 1599 class 12	baro a Tilibole
Hall, Gulielmus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Hall, Jacobus	28 May 1604 class 17	minister verbi
Hall, Johne	30 July 1614 class 26	minister verbi
Halyburtoone, Andreas	30 June 1617 class 29	
Hamiltoun, Alexander	30 July 1614 class 26	minister verbi
Hamiltoun, Andreas	29 July 1600 class 13	iudex in foro supremo
Hamiltoun, Patricius	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	Eques auratus a Preston
Hamiltoune, Jacobus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Hamiltoune, Joannes	22 February 1602	
Hammeltoune, Georgius	10 August 1595 class 8	
Hammiltone, Gullielmus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Hammiltonus, Johannes	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi
Hammiltoun, Andreas	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Hammiltoune, Alexander	28 July 1610 class 22	
Hammiltoune, Andreas	24 July 1619 class 31	
Hammiltoune, Johannes	24 July 1619 class 31	minister verbi
Hammiltoune, Patricius	29 July 1603 class 16	minister verbi
Hammyltoun, Jacobus	10 August 1595 class 8	
Hammyltoun, Jacobus	29 July 1598 class 11	
Hamylytoun, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Harlaw, Jacobus	12 August 1592 class 5	
Harlaw, Nathaniell	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Harrate, Georgius	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Hart, Gulielmus	30 July 1597 class 10	D. Medicus, Academiae Rupellensis Praefectus

Hart, Jacobus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Hart, Robertus	30 June 1617 class 29	jurisconsultus
Hay, Alexander	1588 August class 2	
Hay, Alexander	27 July 1611 class 23	
Hay, Alexander	31 July 1613 class 25	
Hay, Andreas	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Hay, Franciscus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Hay, Georgius	30 June 1617 class 29	
Hay, Gulielmus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Hay, Joannes	28 May 1604 class 17	
Hay, Johannes	31 July 1613 class 25	minister verbi
Hay, Ninianus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Hay, Patricius	29 July 1600 class 13	medicus
Hayius, Jacobus	12 August 1592 class 5	
Haystingis, James	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Haystynge, George	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Hayus, Jacobus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Hayus, Johannes	7 August 1594 class 7	archiota Regius
Heird, Galterus	30 July 1597 class 10	apostata
Hendersoun, Johannes	28 July 1599 class 12	
Henre, Johannes	1588 August class 2	
Henrie, Guilielmus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Henriesone, Eduardus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Henryson, Alexander	30 July 1614 class 26	
Henrysone, Johannes	27 July 1605 class 18	
Henrysone, Patricius	28 May 1604 class 17	
Henrysone, Robertus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Henrysoun, Abrahamus	7 August 1594 class 7	minister verbi
Hepburne Jacobus	12 August 1592 class 5	
Hepburne, Adamus	22 July 1620 class 32	Senator in Foro Supremo
Hepburne, Eduardus	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Hepburne, Joannes	31 July 1613 class 25	
Hepburne, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	
Hepburne, Johne	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Hepburne, Robertus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Hepburnus, Franciscus	25 July 1612 class 24	minister verbi
Hereis, Robertus	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Heriot, Daud	27 July 1616 class 28	jurisconsultus
Herreis, Georgius	25 July 1607 class 20	
Herysone, Thomas	27 July 1605 class 18	
Heslope, Philipp	1587 class 1	minister verbi, prius

		Regens
Hewatt, Petrus	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Hog, Gulielmus	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Hoge, Gulielmus	22 July 1620 class 32	advocatus
Home, Androw	1587 class 1	
Home, Daniel	12 August 1591 class 4	
Home, Georgius	29 July 1598 class 11	
Home, Georgius	30 June 1617 class 29	
Home, Guilielmus	10 August 1595 class 8	
Home, Joannes	12 August 1593 class 6	
Home, Joannes	30 July 1597 class 10	
Home, Patrik	1587 class 1	
Home, Robertus	30 July 1597 class 10	
Hood, Onuphrius	22 July 1620 class 32	minister verbi
Hoome de Polwart, Patricius	22 July 1620 class 32	
Hoome, Patricius	24 July 1619 class 31	
Hoome, Robert	25 July 1618 class 30	
Hope, David	28 July 1599 class 12	
Hope, Gulielmus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Hoppaeus, Thomas	12 August 1592 class 5	Advocatus Regius
Hopper, Jacobus	28 May 1604 class 17	minister verbi
Houme, Daudid	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Houme, Johne	1587 class 1	
Humeus, Georgius	25 July 1618 class 30	
Humius, Gaspar	24 July 1619 class 31	minister verbi
Huntar, Archibaldus	1587 class 1	
Huntar, Gulielmus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Huntar, Jacobus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Huntarus, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Hunter, Robertus	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Hunter, Thomas	22 July 1620 class 32	
Inglis, Alexander	29 July 1600 class 13	
Inglis, Daudid	1588 August class 2	
Inglis, Jacobus	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Inglis, Jacobus	28 July 1610 class 22	apostata
Inglis, Samuel	27 July 1611 class 23	
Inglise, Samuell	24 July 1619 class 31	

Ironsyde, Joannes	25 July 1612 class 24	
Jacobus Huntar, Jacobus	12 August 1591 class 4	minister verbi
Jacobus, Hislope	12 August 1591 class 4	
Jaksoun, Joannes	29 July 1600 class 13	
Jamesone, Gulielmus	31 July 1613 class 25	minister verbi
Jhonstoun, Jacobus	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Jhonstoun, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	
Jhonstoune, Thomas	28 July 1599 class 12	
Johnestone, Adamus	1588 August class 2	
Johnestonus,Georgius	29 July 1600 class 13	
Johnestoune, Georgius	30 June 1617 class 29	
Johnestoune, Robertus	1587 class 1	Doctor utriusque Juris
Johnestoune, Wilielme	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Johnnestoune, Thomas	27 July 1616 class 28	
Johnstonus, Samuell	30 June 1617 class 29	a Sheens
Johnstonus, Simon	30 July 1601 class 14	minister verbi
Johnstoun, Joannes	1 August 1588 class 3	minister verbi
Johnstoun, Joannes	30 July 1601 class 14	
Johnstoune, Allexander	24 July 1619 class 31	
Johnstoune, Gulielmus	1587 class 1	apostata
Johnstoune, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	
Joly, Joannes (Joannes Gellius in the printed Thesis)	30 July 1601 class 14	Doctor Medicinae
Junius. Georgius	30 June 1617 class 29	
Justice, Gavinus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Justice, Gulielmus	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Kae, Adamus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Kar, Robertus	12 August 1592 class 5	
Kay, Arthurus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Kay, Gulielmus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Keir, Andreas	22 July 1615 class 27	minister verbi
Keir, Ludovicus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Keir, Williame	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Kello, Samuel	25 July 1618 class 30	verbi minister in Anglia
Kene, Richardus	10 August 1595 class 8	
Kenloquhy, Petrus	12 August 1593 class 6	
Kennedy, Joannes	25 July 1612 class 24	
Ker, Guilielmus	31 July 1613 class 25	

Ker, Gulielmus	28 July 1610 class 22	omitis Rosburgii haeres:obiit in Gallias adolescens
Ker, Jacobus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Ker, Jacobus	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Ker, Jacobus	28 July 1610 class 22	Regens Leonardinus Andreapoli
Ker, Johannes	1587 class 1	
Ker, Marcus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Ker, Robert , Neubotell		Comes Lothianae
Ker, Thomas	25 July 1607 class 20	
Kerr, Johannes	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Kerus, Joannes	30 July 1601 class 14	
Keyth, Alexander	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Killochius, Patricius	25 July 1612 class 24	jurisconsultus
King, Clement	1587 class 1	doctor medicus
King, Daud	1587 class 1	apostata
King, Gulielmus	25 July 1607 class 20	Regens, et minister verbi
King, Henricus	12 August 1593 class 6	
King, Jacobus	28 July 1599 class 12	advocatus
Kinkaid, Alexander	30 July 1601 class 14	Doctor Medicinae
Kinross, Robertus	27 July 1605 class 18	
Kirktoone, Andreas	30 June 1617 class 29	
Kirkwood, Georgius	22 July 1620 class 32	
Kirkwod, Robertus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Knowes Christopherus	25 July 1612 class 24	minister verbi
Knox, Jacobus	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi, prius Regens
Knox, Jacobus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Knox, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Knox, Joannes	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Kyncaid, Gulielmus	12 August 1593 class 6	
Kynneir, Alexander	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Kynnier, Joannes	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Lamb, Georgius	30 July 1614 class 26	
Lauder, Georgius	22 July 1620 class 32	
Lauder, Jacobus	12 August 1591 class 4	minister verbi
Lauder, Joannes	27 July 1609 class 21	minister verbi
Lauder, Ludovicus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Lauder, Ricardus	30 July 1614 class 26	dominus baro ab Halton

Lauderus, Jacobus	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Laurie, Georgius	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Lausone, Guilielmus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Lausone, Jacobus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Lausoune, Jacobus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Lausounius, Alexander	29 July 1600 class 13	
Lauteus, Jacobus	30 July 1601 class 14	advocatus
Lautie, Daud	1587 class 1	
Lautie, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Law, Archibaldus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Lawsone, Georgius	30 July 1614 class 26	
Lawsone, Joannes	30 July 1614 class 26	
Lawtie, Hugo	10 August 1595 class 8	
Lermonthius, Robertus	25 July 1612 class 24	
Leslie, Joannes	30 July 1614 class 26	
Levingstoun, Guilielmus	30 July 1601 class 14	minister verbi
Levingstoun, Gulielmus	12 August 1593 class 6	minister verbi
Levingstoune, Alexander	30 June 1617 class 29	minister verbi
Levingstoune, Georgius	22 July 1620 class 32	minister Anglus
Levingstoune, Joannes	31 July 1613 class 25	
Levingstoune, Robertus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Liddell, Franciscus	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Littil, Gulielmus	28 July 1599 class 12	a Libberton
Littiljohnne, Hadrianus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Little, Johannes	28 May 1604 class 17	
Livingstoune, Alexander	31 July 1613 class 25	
Livingtonus, Patricius	29 July 1603 class 16	
Lockhartus, Gulielmus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Lockie, Jacobus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Logan, Andreas	28 May 1604 class 17	
Logane, Jacobus	22 February 1602	
Logane, Jacobus	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Logane, Joannes	27 July 1611 class 23	minister verbi
Logane, Robertus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Logane, Jacobus	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Louthyane, Joannes	30 June 1617 class 29	Doctor Theologiae
Lownand, Richard	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Lummisden, Robertus	22 July 1620 class 32	

Lychtoun, Matheus	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Lylle, Patricius	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Lyndeaae, Joannes	10 August 1595 class 8	
Lyndesius, Jacobus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Lyntoun, Alexander	24 July 1619 class 31	
Lyntoun, Jacobus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Macatnay, Robertus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Mackenzie, Alexander	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Mackenzie, Gulielmus	22 July 1615 class 27	
Mackenzie, Murdochus	25 July 1612 class 24	minister verbi
Mackmath, Joannes	24 July 1619 class 31	minister verbi
Mader, Jacobus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Mader, Johannes	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Maetellanus, Joannes	30 June 1617 class 29	minister verbi
Mair, Christopherus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Makbirnie, Joannes	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Makcal, Ninianus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Makcall, Gavinus	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Makcullo, Johannes	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Makdouall, Gulielmus	25 July 1612 class 24	
Makghie, Gulielmus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Makgie, Hugo	30 July 1614 class 26	minister verbi
Makgill, Johannes	22 February 1602	
Makgill, Samuel	27 July 1616 class 28	
Makmath, Alexander	30 July 1597 class 10	
Makmath, Jacobus	12 August 1593 class 6	
Makwre, gulielmus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Marjoribankis, Georgius	29 July 1603 class 16	
Marschell, Johannes	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Marschell, Thomas	22 July 1620 class 32	
Mathiesoun, Johannes	12 August 1591 class 4	
Mauchenye, Jacobus (Jacobus Mauchanus)	30 July 1601 class 14	
Maurisonus Alexander	29 July 1598 class 11	judex in foro supremo
Mawer, Walterus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Maxuallius, Jacobus	29 July 1600 class 13	

Maxwell, Gulielmus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Mazerius, Thomas	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi ad Lusignan
McClellane, Robertus	22 July 1620 class 32	
McCullo, Jacobus	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
McGhe, Andrea	12 August 1591 class 4	minister verbi
McGill, Jacobus	22 July 1620 class 32	
McKenze, Colinus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
McKenze, Ferquardus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	minister verbi
McKinuschie, Angusius	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	minister verbi
McMilland, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	minister verbi
Megott, Jacobus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Menteath, Johannes	7 August 1594 class 7	minister verbi
Menteith, Thomas	30 July 1597 class 10	
Menzes, jacobus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Merchell, Joannes	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Merchinstoune, Richard	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Merschell, Edward	1587 class 1	
M'Gowchane, Joannes	1588 August class 2	
Michaelson, Joannes	28 July 1610 class 22	
Michelhillius, Joannes	29 July 1600 class 13	
Michell, Alexander	28 July 1599 class 12	
Michelson, Jacobus	27 July 1605 class 18	minister verbi
Millar, Andreas	22 July 1615 class 27	
Millar, Josephus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Milne, Robertus	28 May 1604 class 17	
M'Ilwyane, Patricius	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi, ad iiom aetatis annum vixit
Mitchell, Joannes	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Monro, Daud	22 February 1602	minister verbi, prius Regens
Monro, Georgius	22 February 1602	
Monro, Robertus	27 July 1609 class 21	tribunus militum
Monteithe, Alexander	29 July 1600 class 13	
Monteithe, Hercules	31 July 1613 class 25	
Montethe, Jacobus	27 July 1605 class 18	
Moore, Robertus	27 July 1605 class 18	minister verbi
Morus, Thomas]	29 July 1600 class 13	

Moubray, Jacobus	31 July 1613 class 25	minister verbi
Moubray, Valterus	1588 August class 2	
Mowat, Gilbertus	30 July 1601 class 14	
Muirhead, Jacobus	22 February 1602	
Muirheid, Arthurus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Muirheid, Gulielmus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Muirheid, Jacobus	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Muirheid, Jacobus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Muirheid, Joannes	22 July 1620 class 32	
Murdisone, Johne	1587 class 1	
Murdoe, Androu	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Murheid, Johannes	30 July 1601 class 14	
Murray, Fredericus	25 July 1618 class 30	
Murray, Joannes	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Murray, Joannes	27 July 1611 class 23	
Murray, Ricardus	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi in Anglia, postae baro a Cocpoole
Murray, Robertus	1 August 1588 class 3	
Muschampp, Edwardus	12 August 1593 class 6	minister verbi
Name	Date of entry/Class	Designation
Napeir, Gulielmus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Neilsoune, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	
Nepair, Robertus	25 July 1612 class 24	baro a kilcreugh
Neper, Gulielmus	7 August 1594 class 7	a Wright's Houses
Newen, Jacobus	30 July 1597 class 10	
Nicoll, George	24 July 1619 class 31	
Nicoll, Jacobus	12 August 1592 class 5	
Nicolson, Thomas	27 July 1605 class 18	jurisconsultus, baro a Carnok
Nicolson, Jacobus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Nicolson, Robertus	27 July 1609 class 21	judex in foro ecclesiastico
Nicolson, Johannes	22 February 1602	baro a Polton, et Eques
Nimok, Johannes	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Nisbett, Thomas	27 July 1605 class 18	
Nisbetus, Philippus	25 July 1607 class 20	minister verbi
Nisbit, Patricius	22 February 1602	judex in foro supremo
Nisbitt, James	27 July 1605 class 18	
Ogellus, Gulielmus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Ogilbie, Archibaldus	12 August 1591 class 4	
Ogill, Henricus	30 June 1617 class 29	

Ogiluy, Alexander	25 July 1612 class 24	
Ogiluy, Johannes	29 July 1600 class 13	
Ogrie, Jacobus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Oliphant, Gulielmus	27 July 1609 class 21	juriscincultus
Oliphant, Joannes	31 July 1613 class 25	
Oliphantus, Joannes	25 July 1612 class 24	jurisconsultus
Oliphantus, Laurentius	30 June 1617 class 29	jurisconsultus
Oliuarius, Joannes	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi
Olyphant, Jacobus	29 July 1603 class 16	judex in foro supremo
Olyphant, Joannes	22 February 1602	
Oswaldus, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi
Oustaeus, Gulielmus	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Pacock, Alexander	31 July 1613 class 25	
Paip, Johannes	30 July 1614 class 26	
Paipus, Robertus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Park Thomas	30 June 1617 class 29	
Park, Robertus	29 July 1603 class 16	
Patersone, Isaac	12 August 1593 class 6	minister verbi
Patersone, Joannes	29 July 1598 class 11	
Patersone, Joannes	30 June 1617 class 29	
Patersoun, Gulielmus	30 July 1614 class 26	minister verbi
Patersoune, Alexander	12 August 1591 class 4	
Pebles, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	minister verbi
Peirsoune, Adamus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Peirsoune, Alexander	27 July 1605 class 18	judex in foro supremo
Peirsoune, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	minister verbi
Penman, Adamus	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Penstoun, Gulielmus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Pharne (or Pharum), Charles	1587 class 1	minister verbi, prius Regens
Plataeus, Daniel	12 August 1592 class 5	
Porteous, Jacobus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Porteus, Georgius	28 July 1610 class 22	
Prestonus, Georgius	30 June 1617 class 29	
Prestoun, Jacobus	29 July 1598 class 11	
Prestoune, Archibaldus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Pringill, Allexander	30 June 1617 class 29	
Prymrois, David	22 February 1602	jurisconsultus
Prymrois, Gilbertus	22 July 1615 class 27	scriba Sanctoris Senatus regii

Prymroiss, Jacobus	25 July 1612 class 24	
Prymrose, Petrus	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Pursall, Robertus	27 July 1605 class 18	
Quhentyne, Robertus	1587 class 1	
Quhyit, Gulielmus	12 August 1591 class 4	
Quhytlaw, Gilbertus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Quhytlaw, Robertus	29 July 1600 class 13	medicus
Rainbowe, Thomas	12 August 1593 class 6	
Raith, Jacobus	28 July 1596 class 9	ab Edmundston
Ramsay, Alexander	31 July 1613 class 25	
Ramsay, Colinus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Ramsay, Nigellus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Ramsay, Thomas	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Ramsaye, Simon	25 July 1607 class 20	
Ratray, Jacobus	30 July 1601 class 14	
Ray, Hector	29 July 1600 class 13	
Ray, Hector	29 July 1603 class 16	minister verbi
Ray, Joannes	30 July 1597 class 10	moderator Scholae Edimburgensis
Reid, Jacobus	29 July 1600 class 13	Regens
Reidpeth, Georgius	1 August 1588 class 3	minister verbi
Richie, Jacobus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Riddell, Thomas	28 July 1596 class 9	
Riddik, Georgius	30 July 1614 class 26	apostata
Rig, Gulielmus	31 July 1613 class 25	minister verbi
Rig, Joannes	30 July 1614 class 26	
Rige, Gulielmus	30 June 1617 class 29	minister verbi
Robertsone, Alexander	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi
Robertsone, Johannes	28 July 1596 class 9	apostata
Robertsonus, Gulielmus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Robertsoune, Georgius	1588 August class 2	minister verbi, prius Regens
Robertsoune, Jacobus	1588 August class 2	
Robesoune, Patricius	1588 August class 2	
Robisonus, Jacobus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Rogerus, Daud	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Rollocus, Thomas	27 July 1609 class 21	
Rollokus, Jacobus	27 July 1605 class 18	
Ross, Daud	27 July 1609 class 21	minister verbi
Ross, Joannes	24 July 1619 class 31	
Ross, Thomas	10 August 1595 class	minister verbi

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Rosse, Jacobus	25 July 1612 class 24	minister verbi
Rosse, Joannes	25 July 1612 class 24	
Row, Archibaldus	28 July 1596 class 9	minister verbi
Row, Coinus	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Row, Daud	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Row, Gulielmus	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Row, Jacobus	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi
Row, Joannes	1 August 1588 class 3	minister verbi
Row, Patricius	28 July 1596 class 9	
Russell, Andreas	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Russellus, Joannes	28 July 1599 class 12	advocatus
Rutherfurd, Joannes	12 August 1591 class 4	
Rutherfurd, Robertus	1 August 1588 class 3	minister verbi
Ruthven, Alexander	29 July 1598 class 11	Comitis Goriae
Sandelandis, Gulielmus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Sandelandis, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	
Sandilandis, Jacobus	1588 August class 2	advocatus, commissarius Aberdonensis
Sandilandis, Joannes	28 May 1604 class 17	jurisconsultus
Sandilandis, Patricius	27 July 1609 class 21	
Sandis, Patrik	1587 class 1	Primarius, prius Regens
Schairp, Johannes	7 August 1594 class 7	
Schairpe, Georgius	29 July 1600 class 13	Medicus Regius
Schairpe, Guiliemus	29 July 1603 class 16	
Schairpe, Joannes	1 August 1588 class 3	ab Houstoun
Schairpe, Patricius	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Scharp, Alexander	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Scharpe, Alexander	29 July 1598 class 11	
Scharpe, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	
Schaw, Georgius	27 July 1609 class 21	
Schaw, Gulielmus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Schaw, Henricus	27 July 1609 class 21	minister verbi
Schaw, Jacobus	27 July 1605 class 18	
Schaw, Jacobus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Schaw, Joannes	27 July 1609 class 21	
Schaw, Patricius	12 August 1591 class 4	minister verbi
Schonear, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	Doctor Medicus
Scot, Henricus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Scott, Gulielmus	28 May 1604 class 17	medicus

Scott, Gulielmus	27 July 1609 class 21	minister verbi
Scott, Gulielmus	30 June 1617 class 29	judex in foro supremo
Scott, Gulielmus	22 July 1620 class 32	minister verbi
Scott, Jacobus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Scott, Jacobus	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Scott, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	minister verbi
Scott, Joannes	22 February 1602	
Scott, Joannes	24 July 1619 class 31	
Scott, Michael	24 July 1619 class 31	
Scott, Robertus	10 August 1595 class 8	
Scott, Robertus	30 July 1597 class 10	minister verbi, prius Regens
Scott, Robertus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Scott, Jacobus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Scotus, Adamus	25 July 1607 class 20	minister verbi
Segaitt, Alexander	1587 class 1	
Segatus, Thomas	1588 August class 2	
Semple, Andreas	30 July 1614 class 26	
Setone, Alexander	24 July 1619 class 31	
Setoune, George	25 July 1618 class 30	Theologiae Doctor
Setoune, Robertus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Seytoun, Jacobus	29 July 1603 class 16	minister verbi
Seytoun, Henricus	12 August 1593 class 6	
Shaftow, Thomas	22 July 1615 class 27	
Sinclair, Samuel	28 July 1599 class 12	minister verbi
Sinclair, Oliverius	7 August 1594 class 7	
Sinclair, Thomas	25 July 1618 class 30	
Sinclar, Johannes	25 July 1607 class 20	
Sinclar, Johannes	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Sinclarus, Henricus	29 July 1600 class 13	
Sinclarus, Robertus	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Skaithmowre, Jacobus	22 July 1615 class 27	apostata
Skeldie, Archibaldus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Skene, Alexander	27 July 1605 class 18	
Skene, Gulielmus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Skene, Jacobus	29 July 1598 class 11	judicum Praeses in foro supremo
Skene, Joannes	30 July 1601 class 14	a libellis supplicibus in foro supremo
Smyth, Jacobus	1 August 1588 class 3	

Smythe, Robertus	27 July 1616 class 28	advocatus
Somervall, Guilielmus	27 July 1605 class 18	minister verbi
Somervell, Alexander	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Somervell, Joannes	24 July 1619 class 31	
Somervill, Jacobus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Sommerweill, Bartholomeus	22 July 1620 class 32	benefactor Academiae munificentissimus
Spens, Archibaldus	28 May 1604 class 17	
Spoonerius, Nicolaus	25 July 1612 class 24	minister verbi
Stanhope, David	27 July 1611 class 23	
Starquhane, Robertus	28 July 1596 class 9	
Sterling, Walterus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Steuart, Alexander	28 May 1604 class 17	
Steuart, Hericus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Steuart, Joannes	30 July 1601 class 14	
Steuart, Ludovicus	28 May 1604 class 17	jurisconsultus
Stevin, Robert	29 July 1598 class 11	
Stevinsoun, Andreas	27 July 1609 class 21	Regens, et minister verbi
Stewart, Alexander	22 February 1602	
Stewart, Guilielmus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Stewart, Joannes	22 July 1615 class 27	Comes Traquarius, quaestor regius at legatus
Stewart, Patricius	29 July 1598 class 11	minister verbi
Stewart, Thomas	1587 class 1	apostata
Stiruiling, Hary	1587 class 1	minister verbi
Striuiling, Daudid	1587 class 1	
Striuiling, Guilielmus	22 February 1602	
Striuiling, Henricus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Svyntoune, Thomas	25 July 1618 class 30	minister verbi
Swyntoun, Alexander	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Sydseffe, Georgius	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Sydserfe, Gulielmus	27 July 1611 class 23	
Sydserfe, Jacobus	27 July 1611 class 23	baro a Roughlaw
Sydserfe, Joannes	31 July 1613 class 25	
Sydserffe, Thomas	22 February 1602	minister verbi
Symsone, Andreas	25 July 1618 class 30	
Symsone, Joannes	22 February 1602	
Tailzeour, Johannes	22 July 1615 class 27	
Tailzoure, Richardus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Tennent, Josephus	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Tennent, Patricius	10 August 1595 class 8	

Tennent, Thomas	1588 August class 2	
Thomson, Alexander	28 May 1604 class 17	minister verbi
Thomsonus, Jacobus	12 August 1592 class 5	minister verbi
Thomsoune, Gulielmus	25 July 1607 class 20	doctor medicus
Todhunter, Thomas	1587 class 1	
Trotter, Robertus	22 July 1620 class 32	advocatus
Tulloche, Patricius	29 July 1600 class 13	minister verbi
Turnbull, Gulielmus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Turnett, Patricius	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi
Uduart, Nathaniel	1 August 1588 class 3	
Urquhart, Robertus	24 July 1619 class 31	
Vallace Jacobus	28 July 1599 class 12	
Vatsone, Joannes	27 July 1611 class 23	
Vaus, Alexander	30 June 1617 class 29	
Vaus, Joannes	27 July 1611 class 23	
Veiche, Fredericus	22 July 1620 class 32	
Veiche, Joannes	29 July 1600 class 13	apostate
Vernerus, Joannes	30 June 1617 class 29	
Vetche, Daud	27 July 1616 class 28	
Vischart, Jacobus	29 July 1598 class 11	
Vischart, Joannes	29 July 1598 class 11	baro a Pitterow
Vrquhart, Patricius	12 August 1591 class 4	minister verbi
Walkar, Joannes	29 July 1598 class 11	
Wallace, Gulielmus	28 July 1610 class 22	
Wallace, Jacobus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Wardlaw, Daud	1588 August class 2	
Wardlaw, Gulielmus	27 July 1616 class 28	
Wardlaw, Henricus	25 July 1612 class 24	baro a Pittrevie
Wardlaw, Joannes	30 July 1597 class 10	
Wardlaw, Joannes	30 June 1617 class 29	
Wardlaw, Johannes	7 August 1594 class 7	
Wardlow, Thomas	12 August 1593 class 6	
Wardropus, Daud	30 June 1617 class 29	
Watson, Jacobus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Watson, Adamus	28 July 1610 class 22	minister verbi
Watson, Archibaldus	30 June 1617 class 29	
Watson, Gulielmus	25 July 1612 class 24	
Watson, James	10 August 1595 class 8	minister verbi

Watsoune, Thomas	30 July 1597 class 10	
Wauchop, Fridericus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Waws, Jacobus	27 July 1609 class 21	
Weir, Guilielmus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	minister verbi
Weir, Gulielmus	30 July 1614 class 26	
Weir, Joannes	25 July 1618 class 30	
Weir, Rodolphus	30? (ultimo) June 1606 class 19	
Welandis (Welandus), Johannes	1587 class 1	
Welandus, Robertus	31 July 1613 class 25	
Welsche, Johannes	1588 August class 2	minister verbi
Whyte, Nicolaus	27 July 1616 class 28	minister verbi
Wild, Simon	29 July 1603 class 16	
Will, David	24 July 1619 class 31	
Winrame, Robertus	25 July 1607 class 20	
Wod, Daud	28 May 1604 class 17	minister verbi
Wright, Edwardus	22 July 1620 class 32	minister verbi: (et Academiae Glasguensis Primarius)
Young, Hendry	29 July 1598 class 11	
Young, Joannes	27 July 1605 class 18	minister verbi
Young, Joannes	31 July 1613 class 25	
Young, Thomas	29 July 1603 class 16	
Younge, Andreas	29 July 1598 class 11	Regens
Yule, Guilielmus	30 July 1597 class 10	

APPENDIX 4

The ministerial families

The following abbreviations are employed in the table:

d = daughter

s = son

min = minister

w = wife

Ministers are written in bold in the table.

Data was collected from *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*.

<i>Ministerial families</i>				
<i>No.</i>	<i>Year of grad.</i>	<i>Graduate</i>	<i>Family of origin</i>	<i>Descendents</i>
1.	1587	John Abernethy	Thomas Abernethy of Glencorse and Jean Straiton	w: 1st Alison Home s: John, Andrew d: Margaret w: 2 nd Isabella s: William , min. of Thurso d: Anna, Agnes, Barbara, Elizabeth, Katherine
2.	1587	Henry Charteris	eldest son of Henry Charteris, King's printer	w: 1 st unknown d: Margaret w: 2 nd Agnes Mason s: Henry, William d: Isobel, Catherine, Agnes, Rachel w: 3 rd Janet Bell s: John , min. of Currie, eldest son and heir; Thomas d: Jean, Elizabeth, Cathrine
3.	1587	Patrick Davidson		w: Marion Mercer
4.	1587	John Douglas	son of William Douglas of Wittingham and Elizabeth Maitland	married s: Robert

5.	1587	Nathaniel Harlaw	son of William Harlaw , min. of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh	w: Margaret Porteous s: William , min. in England
6.	1587	George Hastings		w: Helen Wauchope s: Henry, William d: Margaret, Bessie, Gerwka
7.	1587	James Hastings		no information
9.	1587	John Hepburne		no information
10.	1587	Philip Hislop		w: Sara Weir s: Richard
11.	1587	William Johnston		murdered
12.	1587	William Keir		w: Janet Ker s: Andrew , min. in Carriden; Robert d: Elizabeth
13.	1587	Charles Ferme		married d: Agnes
14.	1587	Patrick Sands		w: Marion Aikinhead no heir known of
15.	1587	Patrick Shairp	son of Sir John Shairp of Houston, advocate	w: Jean Gudlad d: Agnes
16.	1587	Henry Sterling [Stirling]		w: Margaret Hepburn s: John, James, and others
17.	1588	John Dykes		w: d. of John Durie. min of Montrose d: Isabel, Helen
18.	1588	John Forrest		w: Elizabeth Stevenson
19.	1588	Edward Hepburn	son of Edward Hepburn. of Smeaton, second son of Sir Patrick H. of Waughton; adm. min. of Navar and Chancellor of the Diocese of Brechin	w: Agnes Ramsay s: Christopher, Knowes , min. in Coldingham, William, Robert d: Marion, an unknown daughter, Margaret
20.	1588	Peter Hewat		w: Isobel Smail s: John William d: Margaret, Liliias, Margaret, Jean, Elspeth, Janet, Elizabeth or Elspeth
21.	1588	David Home	younger son of John Home of Ninewells	w: Magdalen Auchencraw
22.	1588	James Logan	brother of Andrew Logan of Coitfield	w: Katherine Clephane s: Robert, Archibald

23.	1588	Matthew Lichten	son of Adam Letham [Lichten, Leighton] min. of Currie	w: 1 st Isobel Matheson w: 2 nd Janet Aird s: Henry, Adam, James, William, Ronald d: Helen, Martha
24.	1588	George Robertson	son of Patrick Robertson, burghess of Edinburgh	w: Margaret Pringle d: Bessie, Katherine
25.	1588	John Welsh	son of John Welch. of Colliston, parish of Dunscore, Dumfriesshire and Marion Grier	w: Elizabeth Knox (d of John Knox) s: John, William; Josias , min. of Temple-patrick, Ireland; Nathaniel, Lucy
26.	1590	Adam Belenden	second son of Sir John Belenden of Auchinoul, Lord Justice-Clerk and Barbara, daughter of Sir Hew Kennedy of Girvan Mains and brother of Sir Lewis Belenden who succeeded his father as Lord Justice-Clerk in 1578	w: Jean Abercromby s: Robert, William, Alexander, Adam; David , min. of Kincardine; O'Neil, John d: Elizabeth, Jean, Margaret
27.	1590	Henry Forrester	eldest son of Andrew Forrester , min. of Kippen	w: Helen Gillespie s: James, John, Henry d: Margaret, Marjorie
28.	1590	Patrick Grant		w: 1 st : Margaret Hay s: John w: 2 nd : Barbara s: Thomas d: Catherine
29.	1590	John Johnston		married s: William
30.	1590	Geroge Redpath		no information
31.	1590	John Row	younger son of John Row , min. of Perth	w: Grizel Ferguson s: John , principal in Aberdeen; Robert , min. of Abercorn; William , min. of Ceres d: Katherine, Elizabeth, Margaret
32.	1590	Robert Rutherford		w: Christian Dick d: Katherine, Isobel, Margaret, Agnes
33.	1591	Alexander Gaittis	son of Patrick Gaittis min. of Duns	no information

34.	1591	James Hunter		w: Marion Aikman s: Alexander, George
35.	1591	James Lauder		no information
36.	1591	Andrew Makghie succeeded his father	son of Thomas Makghie , min. of Dirleton (formerly Gullane)	w: Alison Lauder s: John , min. of Dirleton his successor; Andrew , min. in Aberlady d: Isobel, Helen, Margaret, Elizabeth, Kathrine
37.	1591	Patrick Shaw Selkirk	son of John Shaw and grandson of Sir James Shaw of Sauchie	married s: John , min., succeeded his father; Adam, James d: Marion, Grizel, an unknown daughter
38.	1591	Patrick Urquhart		perhaps s: James , min., succeeded his father
39.	1592	William Arthur		w: Jane Stewart s: William, James, John, Thomas d: Rachel, Mariot, Margaret, Jean, Helen, Elizabeth
40.	1592	George Chalmers	eldest son of James C. Kynoch and his cousin Janet Chalmers	w: Marion Lawson s: John , min. of Gartly (A 1623) Alexander; George , min. of Rhynie (A 1632); William d: Anna, Jean, Isobel, Elspet, Margaret
41.	1592	William Hogg	son and heir of Thomas Hogg, burgess of Canongate, Edinburgh	married s: William, James
42.	1592	Robert Hunter		w: Margaret Hamilton d: Helen
43.	1592	James Lauder, Avoch		married s: William , min., succeeded his father; James
44.	1592	John Makcullo		no information
45.	1592	William Oustane [Austin]		w: Elizabeth Crawford s: William; Samuel , min. of Penpont succeeded his father (E. 1624) [probably he was, too, succeeded by his son, Samuel Austin]
46.	1592	Robert Sinclair		no information

47.	1592	Alexander Swinton	probably son of John Swinton, sixteenth of Swinton	w: Katherine Gray s: John d: Helen, Jean, an unknown d
48.	1592	James Thomson		w: Helen Leyis [Lees] no information
49.	1593	Edward Bryce		married s: Robert and three others
50.	1593	David Calderwood		unmarried
51.	1593	William Craig		w: sister of Mark Duncan's wife
52.	1593	James French		w: Margaret Spens s: Richard, David
53.	1593	William Livingston		no information
54.	1593	Edward Muschamp		no information
55.	1593	Isaac Paterson		a nephew served heir
56.	1594	Thomas Bannatyne		no information
57.	1594	James Donaldson		probably married
58.	1594	John Gordon	second son of Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir, and Anne, daugh. of Alexander Forbes of Pitsligo	no information
59.	1594	Abraham Henryson [Henderson]	Abraham Henryson [Henderson] of Tanielaggie, parish of Kirkcowan	w: Rosina M'Clellan s: William, Laurence, Nathaniel
60.	1594	John Monteath	John Monteath, brother of James Monteath in Perth	no information
61.	1595	William Ainslie		no information
62.	1595	James Baillie		w: 1 st Marion English s: John, Robert d: Abigail, Jean w: 2 nd Jean Leverance s: Gavin, David d: Marion, Margaret, Janet
63.	1595	Robert Boyd		w: Anna Malvirne s: Robert, John d: Anne, Margaret, Janet
64.	1595	William Clerk		married s: Andrew, William

65.	1595	Andrew Douglas		no information
66.	1595	George Grier		three wives s: George to whom he left his library d: Agnes
67.	1595	John Kinnear		no information
68.	1595	Richard Merchiston		married s: David , min. of Ormiston; Thomas
69.	1595	Thomas Ramsay	son and heir of Thomas Ramsay, maltman, burgess of Canongate, and nephew of Andrew Scott, wright, Leith	w: Margaret Brown s: William, Adam, Robert, Thomas, George d: Marion, Margaret, , Agnes w: 2 nd Elizabeth Johnston
70.	1595	Thomas Ross	third son of John Ross of Craigie and Agnes Hepburn	executed
71.	1595	Joseph Tennent		no information
72.	1595	Patrick Turner	son of Patrick Turner, who was son of Peter Turner, merchant, Edinburgh	w: 1 st Marjory Denniston s: John w: 2 nd Margaret Law s: Sir James Archibald , min. of Old Kirk, Edinburgh d: Jean, Margaret, Anna, Mary, Liliias
73.	1595	James Watson		married
74.	1596	Thomas Abernethy	Thomas Abernethy, son of Thomas Abernethy of Glencorse and Jean Straiton, was brother of John Abernethy, minister of Jedburgh	w: Beatrix Criche Daniel Abernethy, his nephew, was served heir
75.	1596	John Boyle		no information
76.	1596	Patrick Carcettill	son of Patrick Carcettill of Markle	w: Elizabeth Greig s: John (settled in Poland)
77.	1596	Richard Dickson		w: 1 st Bessie Panton s: John, James, Robert, Richard, John d: Marion, Margaret w: 2 nd Elizabeth Hamilton
78.	1596	David Fotheringham		w: Margaret Ker had issue

79.	1596	John Ker, Prestonpans	son of Andrew Ker of Faldonside, a cadet of the house of Roxburghe, and Margaret Stewart, widow of John Knox	w: Barbara Johnston s: Andrew; Robert , min., succeeded his father (E 1629)
80.	1596	Alexander Keith, Uphall		w: Jean Gudlad, widow of his predecessor (Patrick Shairp) s: Robert; Alexander , min., succeeded his father (E 1634) d: Jean
81.	1596	James Knox, Kelso	son of William Knox , min. of Cockpen, was probably grandnephew of the reformer, and nephew of Paul Knox, min. of Kelso in 1574	w: Martha Borthwick s: Robert , min., succeeded his father (E 1625); James, William, Alexander d: Marthe, Elizabeth, Agnes, Jean
82.	1596	John Makbirnie		w: married an unknown d
83.	1596	Gavin Makcall		w: Anna Murray
84.	1596	James Murhead		w: 1 st Paterson w: 2 nd Janet Dennistoun no children his sisters were his executrices
85.	1596	Archibald Row	seventh son of John Row , the reformer, min. of Perth	married s: James , min. of Muthil (E 1618); John, Archibald; Samuel , min. of Sprouston (E 1629) d: Margaret
86.	1597	John Adamson	son of Henry Adamson, Provost of Perth	w: Marion Auchmoutie s: David, Marie
87.	1597	Patrick Carmichael		w: Elspeth Borthwick s: David
88.	1597	Oliver Colt	eldest son of Oliver Colt, advocate and brother of Adam Colt, min. of Inveresk	w: Helen Kellie s: William, Robert
89.	1597	William Dalzell		no information
90.	1597	John Fairfoul		w: Margaret Scott s: John

91.	1597	James Ker	Cousin of Robert Boyd of Troching	w: Janet Fergushill s: James, George d: Jean
92.	1597	Patrick M'llwyane		married five children
93.	1597	Robert Scott		w: 1 st Esther Fleming w: 2 nd Agnes Hamilton s: Robert, James, Laurence, William d: Margaret, Lillias
94.	1598	Robert Gilmour		w:: Marie Cleland s: James, John, Robert
95.	1598	Alexander Greig	son of Thomas Greig , min. of North Brewick	w: 1 st Agnes s: William, Alexander, Thomas, d: Janet and an unknown d w: 2 nd Lilius Geddes
96.	1598	James Inglis	brother of John Inglis, glover, Edinburgh	w: Dorothy Stewart
97.	1598	John Madder [Mather]	son of William Madder of Langtown	his widow was in poverty
98.	1598	John Merchell [Mercer]		w: Marjory Smith
99.	1598	Colin Row	eighth son of John Row , min. of Perth	no heir
100.	1598	Patrick Stewart	Patrick Stewart, fifth son of James, fifth Lord Innermeath, and Helen, daugh. of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy, and brother to John, Earl of Atholl	no information
101.	1599	James Brown, Kirkpatrick-Irongray	son of John Brown , reader at Urr then in Kirkpatrick-Irongray	w: 1 st Katherine Mill s: Robert , min. of Kirkbean (St Andrews 1615) d: Anna w: 2 nd Beatrix Fruid s: Patrick , min. succeeded his father (E 1629); Adam , min of Kirkpatrick-Durham (E 1629)

102.	1599	George Douglas, Cullen		w: 1 st unknown s: Alexander w: 2 nd Jean Stewart s: George d: Elizabeth, Marie
103.	1599	George Douglas		no information
104.	1599	Archibald Gibson		no information
105.	1599	Andrew Hamilton	son of Hamilton of Millhouse, parish of Kilbride	w: 1 st Elizabeth Boyd w: 2 nd Katherine Thomson s: Gavin, Alexander
106.	1599	David Rogers		w: Barbara Johnston
107.	1599	James Scott		married s: William
108.	1599	Samuel Sinclair		w: Maria Turnbull s: John, Robert
109.	1600	Thomas Bell		married s: William
110.	1600	James Bishop Inverness		w: 1 st name unknown s: Robert an unknown young d w: 2 nd Christian D. s: Robert, James d: Margaret, Janet, Mary
111.	1600	Alexander Cass	son of William Cass, portioner of Monktonhall, and uncle of Robert Carson, min. of Newton	w: Helen Hume d: Agnes
112.	1600	Samuel Cockburn		married s: Andrew d: Helen
113.	1600	Patrick Crichton	son of Alexander Crichton of Naughton	w: Isobel Rattray d: Margaret
114.	1600	Patrick Dunbar		w: Elspet Douglas s: Patrick d: Sidera, Elspet, Janet, Annas

115.	1600	John Gibson		w: 1 st Agnes Abercrombie w: 2 nd Margaret Peebles w: 3 rd Marie Dundas w: 4 th Christian Craufurd w: 5 th Elspeth Sandilands s: Robert , min. of Queensferry (E 1627) d: Margaret, Anna
116.	1600	Alexander Kinnear		w: Nicolas Edington s: James, John d: Margaret
117.	1600	Peter Primrose	son of Peter Primrose , min., of Mauchline	w: Janet Durie s: Hew, William, Robert
118.	1600	Patrick Tulloch	son of Robert Tulloch of Tannachie (Aberdeenshire)	w: 1 st unknown d: Mary, Ursula w: 2 nd Barbara Anderson s: Christian d: Margaret, Magdalene, Agnes, Catherine
119.	1601	David Courtney		w: Margaret M'Call s: John , min of Bolton; Francis; Thomas , min of Mertoun (E 1636) d: Sarah, Elizabeth (married her father's successor)
120.	1601	John Douglas Kirkpatrick-Durham		no information
121.	1601	Simon Johnston Annan		married s: Enoch d: Hester, Elizabeth
122.	1601	William Livingston Sanquhar and Kilbride	son of Isobel, sister of John Wilkie of Foulden	w: Barbara Logan s: William
123.	1602	John Chieslie [Chisley]	of Kersewell, son of John Chieslie, farmer in the parish	w: Elizabeth Carmichael s: Sir John, Walter, Samuel d: Janet
124.	1602	John Douglas	son of John Douglas of Parkhead	no information
125.	1602	John Dunlop		w: Elizabeth Black s: John , min of East Calder (G 1536); Alexander, William; Ludovic , min. of Skene d: Elizabeth, Lucy, Barbara, Alison, Katherine

126.	1602	Robert Herries Dryfesdale	only son of William Herries, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, and Katharine Banks	w: Janet Mackison s: William, Robert d: Margaret
127.	1602	John Mitchell	son of James Mitchell of Bandedeath, Stirlingshire	w: Margaret Forrester s: John, Andrew
128.	1602	Alexander Sommervill		w: 1 st Elizabeth Cunningham s: James, John d: Agnes, Jean w: 2 nd Margaret Cuckburn s: William d: Lillas, Margaret w: 3 rd Margaret Tweedie
129.	1602	Thomas Sydserff	eldest son of James Sydserff, merchant, Edinburgh (of the Ruchlaw family)	w: Rachel Byres s: John, Sir Thomas, Alexander d: Margaret, Elspeth, Agnes, Marion
130.	1603	William Carkettill Stenton	Patrick Carkettill , min. of Stenton	no information
131.	1603	George Cleland	son of John Cleland, burgess of Edinburgh	w: 1 st Christian Ballagan w: 2 nd Barbara Logan s: Robert, John , min. of Stow (E 1633); George , min. of Durisdeer (E 1637)
132.	1603	William Clogie		w: married s: Alexander, William d: Margaret
133.	1603	John Douglas Broughton (Biggar)	son of Archibald Douglas , archdeacon of Glasgow	w: Margaret Douglas s: William, James
134.	1603	Patrick Hamilton Innerwick (Dunbar)	son of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington	w: Elspeth Glen s: Archibald, Alexander, James d: Elizabeth
135.	1603	Hector Rae	son of Hector Rae, merchant burgess of Edinburgh	w: Margaret Rutherford
136.	1603	James Seyton	son of Robert Seyton, vicar of Logie (Wallach)	w: Jean Cousland s: James, Alexander, Walter

137.	1604	John Aird, Newbattle (Dalkeith)	son of William Aird , min. of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh	w: Sarah Donaldson s: William, James, Robert
138.	1604	James Hall		married
139.	1604	Alexander Thomson	son of Adam Thomson, apothecary, in right of whom he entered burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh	w: Margaret Ker s: Adam, John, Edward, Alexander, Robert d: Sarah
140.	1605	Alexander Ambrose, Newbattle (Dalkeith)		w: Helen Ramsay d: Elizabeth
141.	1605	John Bennet, Kirkurd (Peebles)	son of John Benett , min. of Heriot (Dalkieth)	married s: George , min. of Quothquan, St Ninians; John, James
142.	1605	James Mitchelson Yester (Haddington)	brother of John Mitchelson of Midlothian	w: Eupham Borthwick s: John, William, James d: Margaret
143.	1605	Robert Muir		married s: John
144.	1605	William Somerville, Dunsrye (Biggar)	brother of Alexander Ssomerville. of Plaine	w: Lilius Johnston s: Robert
145.	1605	John Young Glenholm (Biggar)		no information
146.	1606	Robert Balcanquhall, Tarnet, (Haddington)	eldest son of Walter Balcanquhall , min. of Trinity Parish, Edinburgh	w: 1 st Jean Rollock (RR's d.) s: Walter , min. succeeded his father; Robert; George , preacher w: 2 nd Isobel Baron d: Margaret, Jean
147.	1606	Donald Clark		w: d of John Mackenzie s: Christian d: Rorie
148.	1606	William Weir	nephew of John Weir, indweller in Edinburgh	married s: James d: Margaret

149.	1607	Andrew Balfour, Kirknewton (Edinburgh)	son of James Balfour , min. of St Giles, Edinburgh; nephew of James Melvill	married s: James, Andrew, John d: Elizabeth
150.	1607	Eleazer Borthwick	Eleazer Borthwick of Chester and Brunton, son of Alexander B. of Nether Leny	w: Elizabeth Hamilton s: William, James
151.	1607	Alexander Douglas		w: 1 st Agnes Messer s: William, Archibald w: 2 nd Janet Paterson s: James d: Helen, Agnes
152.	1607	James Fairlie		w: 1 st Agnes Rankin s: Robert d: Janet, Margaret, Mary, Barbara w: 2 nd Bessie Nicoll s: James
153.	1607	William King		w: 1 st d. of Alexander King w: 2 nd Margaret Casse s: William d: Jean w: 3rd Margaret Couper s: William, Alexander d: Margaret, Isobel Marie
154.	1607	Adam Scott	son of Walter Scott, merchant burghess of Edinburgh	no information
155.	1609	Walter Balcanquall	eldest son of Robert Balcanquhall , min. of the Tranent and Seton (P.o.Haddington)	no information
156.	1609	John Bell		married s: John , min., succeeded his father (G 1632)
157.	1609	James Burnet[t]	second son of William Burnet of parish of Manor, and Margaret Stuart of Shillinglaw, parish of Traquair	w: Katherine Dundas s: Alexander , D.D. Archbishop of St Andrews (E 1633); John, Robert, James
158.	1609	David Gudlatt [Gudlad]		w: Margaret Dalyell

159.	1609	John Lauder	son of John Lauder, bailie of Tynninghame and Alison Caldclaith [Caldcleuch]	w: Elizabeth Haitlie s: John , min. of West Calder Alexander, James d: Agnes
160.	1609	David Ross	son of Robert Ross of Kinloch, min. of Alness	w: 1 st Margaret Morrison s: Robert , min of Tain; Andrew d: Margaret, Ellen w: 2 nd Janet Lemlair
161.	1609	Henry Shaw	second son of George Shaw of Knockhill, parish of Lecropt, and Katherine, daugh. of James Kinross of Kippenross	w: Marion Monteith s: John; George , min of Logie Wallach, his successor
162.	1609	William Scott		no information
163.	1609	Andrew Stevenson	born 29 Oct 1588 - 13 dec 1664	w: 1 st AgnesCathkin s: James, Alexander, Thomas, Archibald d: Janet, Agnes, Isobel w: 2 nd Bethia Cathkin
164.	1610	Francis Collace	brother to Mr Thomas Collace	w: Marion Muirhead d: Agnes
165.	1610	John Dalzell		w: 1 st Elizabeth Young s: William, Robert, Andrew, Thomas, two unknown s an unknown d w: 2 nd Margaret Melvill
166.	1610	James Fleming	son of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant, Edinburgh	w: 1 st unknown w: 2 nd Jean Livingston s: Robert , min.Cambuslang (E 1649), an unknown s also min., John, James, Alexander, Christian d: Jean
167.	1610	William Justice	son of James Justice, notary public	w: Jean Ker

168.	1610	John Knox	son of William Knox (1569-1623), min. of Cockpen (1592-1623), P.o.Dalkeith; <i>Common Places in Theology</i> W. Knox was the son of William K., merchant, Preston and a nephew of John K. the Reformer	w: Isobel Douglas s: John , min., succeeded his father
169.	1610	John Nimmo		no information
170.	1611	Thomas Chalmer[s]		married s: James
171.	1611	John Duncanson		no information
172.	1611	John Logan		no information
173.	1612	Thomas Cock succeeded his father	son of James Cock , min. of Lady or Lady Kirk of Sanday, of a family of that name residing at Rinnaclet in the parish	w: Janet Andrew s: John, Edward, Patrick d: Jemima, Jean
174.	1612	Francis Hepburn	Francis Hepburn, son of Francis H. and Margaret Cockburn	married s: Thomas
175.	1612	Christopher Knowes	Christopher Knowes of Swynwood, eldest son of Christopher Knowes	w: 1 st Marion Hepburn d: Anna, Alison, Margaret w: 2 nd Agnes Mawer s: Patrick, Christopher
176.	1612	Murdoch Mackenzie		w: Annabel Mackenzie s: Alexander, William d: Elizabeth
177.	1612	James Ross		w: Elizabeth Ker s: James d: Agnes, Elizabeth
178.	1613	William Jameson		married s: John , min of Eccles, (StA 1637)
179.	1613	James Mowbray	Son of Robert Mowbray, portioner	w: Elizabeth Hamilton
180.	1614	William Benet		w: Margaret Elliott s: William

181.	1614	John Hall	Probably son of John Hall , min. of St Giles, Edinburgh	w: married d. of Andrew Gray s: John, Andrew
182.	1614	Alexander Hamilton		w: Margaret Henderson s: William, Thomas
183.	1614	Hew M'Ghie	Son of James M'Ghie, Maybole	w: Janet Gordon s: Hew, Alexander d: Agnes
184.	1614	William Patersoun	only son of John Patersoun, merchant burghess of Edinburgh	w: Janet Kinloch
185.	1615	James Hannay [Ahannay]	son of John Hannay, baile and burghess in the Canongate	w: Isobel Brown s: John, William, James, George d: Magdalen, Marthe, Marion
186.	1615	John Clapperton	Son of John Clapperton., min. of Lennel (Coldstream)	w: Jean Stirling s: John , min. of Yarrow (E 1642); George
187.	1615	Andrew Keir	Son of William Keir , min. of Ecclesmachan	w: 1 st Christina Bell w: 2 nd Eupham Primrose s: Andrew, William, George, Christian, Robert d: Janet, Marion, Elizabeth
188.	1615	John McMilland		w: Janet M'Culloch s: John d: Elizabeth
189.	1615	John Peebles		no information
190.	1615	James Peirsoune	son of Alexander Peirsoune, merchant burghess of Edinburgh	w: Jean Drummond s: James, David, Alexander d: Jean
191.	1615	James Scott	son of Walter Scott, Catslack	w: Margaret Maxwell s: James
192.	1616	Alexander Cuming		married s: Jasper
193.	1616	Francis Liddle	younger son of John Liddle of Halkerston	w: Isobel Sinclair s: George, Thomas d: Margaret
194.	1616	James Logan		w: Margaret Maxwell s: John , min. in Ireland d: Margaret
195.	1616	Adam Penman	son of William Penman, min of Crichton	married s: George, Mark

196.	1616	William Row	son of William Row , min. of Forgandenny	married s: William, Thomas, John, Robert
197.	1616	John Sinclair		w: Marion Stewart s: Archibald; Robert , min., succeeded his father (E 1656)
198.	1616	George Sydserrf	George Sydserrf[f] fourth son of William S. of Ruchlaw and Eupham, daugh of William Hay of Bara (Hays of Linplum)	w: Margaret Hamilton, s: Archibald, John, William, Alexander d: Euphan
199.	1616	Nicol Whyte		w: Euphan Craston s: William, James, John d: Katherine, Barbara, Isabel, Euphan
200.	1617	Andrew Kirkton		w: Elizabeth Knox s: John, Thomas
201.	1617	John Maitland	probably of the Lauderdale family	no information
202.	1617	William Rigg	son of John Rigg, min. of Dunnichen	w: Margaret Campbell (d. of Colin C. min in Dundee) s: John , min. of Strathmiglo (StA 1646); William , min. of Lundie (StA 1648); Thomas d: Margaret, Elizabeth, Agnes, Liliass
203.	1618	George Craufurd	eldest son of Andrew Craufurd and Marion Cathcart	w: Margaret Montgomerie s: Robert, William d: Jean, Mary, an unknown d
204.	1618	John Haitlie [Haitie]		w: Alison Stewart d: Margaret
205.	1618	John Hamilton		married d: Barbara
206.	1618	John Oswald	Son of Archibald Oswald , min. of Pencaitland	w: 1 st Katherine Forbes, d of min of Delft w: 2 nd Dorothea Gray s: Richard, Robert, William d: Marion
207.	1618	Alexander Robertson		no information
208.	1618	James Row	son of Archibald Row , min. of Perth	w: Margaret Stirling s: William d: Margaret, and six other ds
209.	1618	Thomas Swinton		w: probably Isabella Dunbar

210.	1619	Robert Elliot		w: Helen Makghie, d of min of Dirleton s: Robert , min, succeeded his father; Cornelius
211.	1619	John Hamilton		no information
212.	1619	Jasper Hume		w: Margaret Livingston, survived him and married to C Lumsden, his successor
213.	1619	John Mackmath		no information
214.	1620	Humphrey Hude [Hood]		w: Margaret Carlyle s: Hadnee, James, William d: Agnes, Elizabeth
215.	1620	William Scott		w: Isobel Chalmers
216.	1620	Edward Wright	son of William Wright, merchant	w: Margaret Brown s: James, Edward

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