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‘Dour-mongers all?’
The Experience of Worship in the Early Reformed Kirk, 1559-1617

VOLUME ONE

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Abstract of Thesis

This thesis studied the experience of worship in Scotland in the first generations after the Scottish Protestant Reformation. It was inspired by the realisation that earlier historiography had been a denominational battle-ground whose dogmatism had obscured the view of worship in the parish. Aonghus MacKechnie's phrase, 'Dour-Mongers All?' sums up the leading question; was Reformed worship as austere and colourless as its detractors and advocates suggested? Questions surrounding the key components of Reformed worship: architecture, liturgy, music and preaching have more recently been addressed with less sectarian interest, but these individual strands have tended to be studied in isolation. In terms of the experience of worship, they belong together.

Traditionally, the period 1560-1638 has been used as the period defining the first phase of the Reformed Kirk, with the National Covenant of 1638 marking the end of what could be called the experimental phase of the new dispensation. However, 1559 was chosen as the starting point to recognise the significant changes to worship that began with the "cleansing" of the churches and friaries of Perth and St Andrews in that year. The terminal date of 1617 marked King James VI's return to Scotland, during which worship at Holyrood Palace was conducted in the manner of the English court both in terms of liturgical materials, music, and the refurbishment of the Chapel Royal. This proved to be a portent of James' vision for liturgical change by statute in the Five Articles of Perth that were a significant watershed for the Kirk. Whilst it took another 20 years for the full outworking of this policy under his son Charles I, after 1617 the vibrant and complex worship culture of the Scottish Kirk that had been developed since 1559 began to be squeezed. That culture became a victim of the polemicized battle between extreme Scottish and English Reformed models advocated in the growing controversy over the relationship between Church, Crown and State within the Three Kingdoms. By 1650, an austere new psalter and worship directory had been adopted by the victors and the diversity and richness of the earlier Scottish worship culture had been lost.

The first part of the necessarily multi-disciplinary thesis explores the experience of worship by isolating its key components: church buildings and furnishings, liturgical material, and singing. It does this by analysing the surviving material culture and the written and visual documentary evidence of church buildings and interior furnishings used for worship after

1559; surveying the nature, extent and use of the liturgical material included within the Psalme Buiks, with particular focus on the Henrie Charteris edition of 1596; and exploring the development and impact of the new and popular phenomenon of metrical Psalm-singing. The second part assesses the contribution of four significant ministers: John Davidson, James Melville, William Cowper, and John Welch, examining their lives, writing and preaching and judging how their contribution enriched the experience of worship in their parishes. This evidence is used to reconstruct the experience of worship in this period and show that it was vibrant and compelling, influenced in its raw materials by much from outside Scotland but strongly developed in the diverse contexts of Scottish parishes.

Declaration

I, Martin Scott Ritchie, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 99,500 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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VOLUME TWO

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The most astounding spin-off from being around New College for longer than expected was meeting my now wife and fellow PhD candidate, Sarah Lane, in 2013. I did not bargain on gaining a wonderful wife as well as a PhD! Her loyalty has been severely tested through endless spontaneous site visits to church ruins, but at least it served as a good introduction to some of the less well known corners of this beautiful country. I dedicate this thesis to her with my love and gratitude.

Abbreviations

APGA *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland 1560 to 1618,* 3 vols with continuous pagination, ed. D. Shaw, Scottish Record Society 26, 27, 28 (Edinburgh, 2004).

ASPRC Hay, G., *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560-1843* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957).

BibCO Cowan, W., *A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland: 1556 – 1644*, Edinburgh Bibliographical Society (Edinburgh, 1913).

ADJM *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill, MDLVI-MDCX*, ed. R. Pitcairn, Wodrow Society 3 (Edinburgh, 1842).

CESNA *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, vol. 2, ed. J. Cooper, New Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1892).

CP Todd, M., *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotla*nd (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002).

EAS MacGibbon, D., and Ross, T., *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth-century*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1896-1899).

FBD *The First Book of Discipline*, ed. J.K. Cameron (Edinburgh, St Andrew Press, 1972).

FOP *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of The Sacraments &c. used in the English Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Churche of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Lekpreuik, 1564, *STC* 16577).

FES Scott, H., ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, revised edition, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1915-1961).

LI McRoberts, D., *Lost Interiors: the furnishings of Scottish churches in the later Middle Ages. The Rhind lectures, 1969-1970, edited and expanded by Stephen Mark Holmes* (Edinburgh, Aquhorthies Press, 2012).

MSF *Ecclesiastical Records: Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, MDCXI-MDCLXXXXVII*, ed. G.R. Kinloch, Abbotsford Club 8 (Edinburgh, 1837).

MSPP Duguid, T., *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice. English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks,' c. 1547-1640* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2014).

NCL New College Library, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

PKSB *The Perth Kirk Session Book 1577-1590,* ed. M. Todd, Scottish History Society, sixth series, 2 (Woodbridge, 2012).

PSAS *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

RCAHMS The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh.

RKSE *Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin 1584-1779; With a Brief Record of the Readers, Ministers and Bishops, 1567-1897* ed. W. Cramond (Elgin, Elgin Courant and Courier, 1897).

RStAKS *Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews Comprising the Proceedings of the Kirk Session and of the Court of the Superintendent of Fife Fothrik and Strathearn, 1559-1600*, 2 vols, ed. D. Hay Fleming, Scottish History Society 4 and 7 (Edinburgh, 1889-90).

SR Dawson, J.E.A., *Scotland Re-formed 1488-1587* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

SS Holmes, S.M. *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship, 1488-1590* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015).

SSSM Durkan, J. and Reid Baxter, J., *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters 1560-1633,* Scottish History Society, fifth series, 19 (Woodbridge, 2006).

STC *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd edition (revised) eds., A. W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave and K.F. Pantzer, Bibliographical Society (London, 1990).

WSCRC McMillan, W., *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638* (London, James Clarke & Company, 1931).

Original sources have been transcribed with original spelling, which in some cases varies within the same document.

INTRODUCTION

'Dour-mongers all?'[1]

The Experience of Worship in the Early Reformed Kirk, 1559-1617

Margo Todd's magisterial 2002 study, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, opened a door to new analysis of the experience of being part of the post-Reformation Scottish Church.[2] Although kirk session records had been used by many historians before her, Todd placed these at the heart of her research and ranged across the country in her search for a "bottom-up" perspective of the Scottish Reformed Kirk and its place in society. Faced with such an expansive work, one might wonder whether there was more to do in this area. However, the broad sweep of Todd's work (with its particular emphasis on the cultural impact of Discipline and Catechesis) meant that it did not have the scope to fully examine the material culture and practice of worship. Such was the legacy of "top-down" polemical historiography, rooted in the contribution of commentators such as David Calderwood and John Spottiswoode, that there remains scope to gain a greater understanding of the experience of Reformed worship, particularly during the period 1559-1617. This first phase of worship development in the Reformed Kirk has been overshadowed by the controversies in church and state of the seventeenth-century.

In parallel with a growing historiography of the "view from the pew," there has been an appreciation of the extent to which the post-1559 Kirk could be analysed through material culture in addition to textual evidence.[3] Both Eamon Duffy and Jane Dawson have

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[1] I am grateful to Aonghus MacKechnie for the apposite phrase 'dour-mongers all,' used in his article 'The Earl of Perth's Chapel of 1688 at Drummond Castle and the Roman Catholic Architecture of James VII,' *Architectural Heritage XXV* (2014), 107-132.

[2] *CP.*

[3] J.E.A Dawson, 'Patterns of worship in Reformation Scotland' in D.B. Forrester and D. Gay. eds., *Worship and Liturgy in Context: Studies and Case Studies in Theology and Practice* (London, SCM Press, 2009), 136-151; C. Marsh, 'Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640: The View from the Pew,' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 53, issue 2 (April 2002), 286-311. The image of stools may be added here to that of pews for some Scottish churches of this period.

developed ground-breaking methods of entering the thought-world of the English and Scottish churches in the sixteenth-century. This was done through analysis of the objects and iconography which were a greater part of religious life in the course of both Reformations than had been fully recognised.[4] Professor Dawson's work came at a time when the wider material and artistic culture of Scotland was subject to a reappraisal in a range of disciplines such as architecture, literature, music, and the visual arts. The narrative of the supposed dourness of Scottish culture has been overturned by early modern historians such as John Durkan, Jenny Wormald, Charles McKean, and Jamie Reid Baxter. The previously assumed backwardness and barbarity of early modern Scotland has been replaced by a developing understanding of the vibrant, sophisticated and colourful reality of the social and material world of the burghs, nobility, and the royal court.[5]

New perspectives on the worship culture of the Reformed Kirk have developed much more slowly. Challengers in the episcopalian and Roman Catholic traditions found little to admire, whilst the Kirk itself found merit in advancing a narrative of Reformed austerity in worship which elevated that which was plain and unadorned. In this strange polemical agreement, neither the advocates nor the challengers had anything to gain by revealing a more richly complex worship environment in the early Reformed Kirk. However, our understanding of its material culture, music, liturgy, and the contribution of the clergy has gradually been advanced by scholars open to looking beneath stereotypes, caricatures and polemical narratives. Whilst there has now been first class scholarly work in these areas, there has been a tendency to treat each area in isolation and to neglect the holistic nature of worship; which needs to be seen in devotional (rather than in purely literary, artistic, or political) perspective.[6]

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[4] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992); J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed 1488-1587* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2007); Professor Dawson was a pioneer in the analysis of material culture in the teaching of history, and was the recipient of a Chancellor's Teaching Award at the University of Edinburgh in 2005 <http://www.ed.ac.uk/about/people/prize-winners/chancellors-awards> and a national award for the teaching of history from the Higher Education Academy.

[5] *LI*; A. Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2013) and see further discussion in Section One.

[6] Margo Todd has recognised the holistic nature of worship, but the scope of her work did not allow an exhaustive examination of the full detail of, and relationship between, architecture, liturgy, Psalmody, and the contribution of the clergy, which were the constituent parts of Scottish Reformed worship. Likewise, John McCallum's focus was on the

This thesis aims to reassess the experience of worship by reassembling its constituent parts. It is therefore a necessarily inter-disciplinary study ranging across the areas of architecture, liturgy, music and clerical prosopography. In Section One, the use of church buildings and furnishings will be examined, highlighting the distinctive way in which both adapted medieval churches and newly built kirks were used to express a Reformed paradigm of worship. In Section Two, the development and use of the liturgical and musical materials of *The Forme of Prayers* and Psalme Buik will be explored. In section three, case studies will consider the impact on parish worship of four leading ministers: John Davidson, James Melville, William Cowper and John Welch. Their biographies, catechetical and pastoral writing, and preaching will be used to reconstruct the experience of attending worship in their parishes. This evidence will be used to demonstrate that Scottish Reformed worship in this early period was distinctive, could be far from "dour," and was significantly more sophisticated, colourful, symbol-filled, emotive, and engaging than has been fully appreciated.

Historiography of the worship of the Scottish Reformed Kirk

On Wednesday 11th May, 1559, John Knox preached a sermon in St John's, the burgh kirk of Perth, in which he used the imagery of Christ's cleansing of the Jerusalem Temple (Matthew 21: 12-17) to challenge the established Scottish church order. Although it is not clear that this was part of a single coherent strategy at this point, this sermon was preached in proximity to the Whitsun term day for property transactions, "flitting Friday." Knox's theme chimed with the "call to quit" explicit in the notices attached to the doors of friaries and churches on 1st January of the same year, which became known as "The Beggars' Summons."[7] The resultant cleansing of churches and destruction of friaries that he stirred up in Perth, and then in a more orderly fashion in St Andrews, have become iconic moments in Scottish history. They were watersheds in what is increasingly identified as a much longer, more localised, and not universally popular process of change in the Kirk.[8] This revolution that came to be described as "The Scottish Reformation" occurred in uniquely localised ways across the country, and had its roots in both Scottish appetites for reform within the Roman Catholic Kirk and in the external influences of European Protestant movements. As

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establishment of parish discipline and clergy rather than the wider scope of the experience of worship.

[7] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015), 159.

[8] Recent scholarship has continued to recognise the complex and incremental reality of "reform," e.g. J. McCallum, ed., *Scotland's Long Reformation* (Leiden, Brill, 2016).

Margo Todd has demonstrated, religious life did not change overnight.[9] Those who experienced worship had been reared in the Roman Catholic Church. Their spiritual evolution had been shaped by exposure to the doctrine and practice of Rome and it is completely unrealistic to expect this to have been immediately replaced in hearts and minds. It is in this context that the Reformed Kirk began its attempt to create something new: without the benefit of a clean slate, and without overwhelming support.

The struggles to build a new religious culture are apparent in the pages of kirk session, General Assembly, Synod, and from the 1580s onwards, Presbytery records. However, despite this clear documentary evidence of the challenges that faced those advocating a Reformed Kirk, from a very early stage its story was written with a much more triumphalist tone. Given that the consequences of religious dissent were so extreme during this period it is not surprising that John Knox, David Calderwood and John Spottiswoode's histories, and the work of historically minded diarists such as James Melville, have left us with a wealth of contemporary observation that is coloured by the ecclesiastical and political circumstances of their creation. In particular, Calderwood offered a providential view of the world in which every event or incident of the natural world was seen as linked to God's purposes for humanity and the people of the "new Israel" that he felt Scotland to be. As a reflection of a contemporary religious worldview, it is extremely valuable. As a factual reflection of events, it often needs to be filtered. Both Calderwood and Spottiswoode wrote with the hindsight of knowing how James VI's Kirk policy had worked out, each from very different perspectives. Calderwood was a minister who had endured significant censure and exile as a vociferous supporter of the presbyterian polity and challenger of royal policy. Spottiswoode was archbishop of Glasgow, later of St Andrews, and completed his history whilst in exile in England following the 1638 abolition of episcopacy. The larger questions of polity and personal experiences of both of these chroniclers dominated their narratives of Scottish church history. However, the degree to which ordinary worshipers saw things in this way has been challenged by Stephen M. Holmes. In his 2013 doctoral thesis Holmes proposed that:

> Although much recent scholarship on the Scottish Protestant Reformation has been concerned with polity and politics, for contemporaries it was worship that took centre stage, whether this was disputes about the mass

[9] For insights into reform in the Scottish Church before 1560 see *SS*, especially 52-76.

among the theologically literate, or the physical changes to churches and Sunday worship that were experienced by all Scots.[10]

Holmes was right to identify devotion and worship as the locus for the perspective of the people. This was their point of contact with the institution of the Kirk. The present historical perspective, with its expansive view of the issues of Reformation Scotland in the round, is not the same as the perspective of the average parishioner concerned with the exigencies of daily life, the threat of disease, premature death and the question of eternal damnation or salvation. It is this perspective which will be explored in this thesis by the present author, asking questions about how the material culture of the places of worship, the character of the leaders of worship, the content of worship, and the practice of Psalm-singing contributed to the experience of worship.

Crossing historiographical thresholds

The historiography of the Scottish Reformations has to be read with an awareness of the interests and biases of the authors as they sought to defend their own position in relation to their opponents. Scottish church history has been a polemical discipline, and earlier narratives have been created which were misleading at best and incorrect at worst, giving later historians a challenging task. Scholars continue to refine our understanding beyond denominational polemics.

In the preface to his 1931 work, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church*, William McMillan quoted Donald Macmillan's opinion that in connection with the worship culture of the Scottish Reformed Kirk, 'to receive right guidance one has to go back to the period between the Reformation and the Aberdeen Doctors; for after the abolition of Episcopacy in 1638 until our own time the Worship of the Church presents an arid waste.'[11] These hard-hitting words encouraged William McMillan towards an exploration of the culture of early Reformed worship in Scotland before that supposed watershed. His authoritative work was a major historiographical milestone to which all subsequent research in this area is indebted. However, McMillan's decision to follow Donald Macmillan's claim that 1638 was the most significant threshold for change in the worship life of the Kirk was responsible for perpetuating a false relationship between worship and polity in the historiography of its first eighty years. There can be no doubt that after 1638, and more particularly after the

[10] S.M. Holmes, *Liturgical Interpretation and Church Reform in Renaissance Scotland, c.1488-1590* (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 2013), 22.
[11] *WSRC*, 9.

introduction of the Westminster Directory of Public Worship in Scotland in 1645 and the new Scottish Psalter in 1650, the earlier worship experience of the Scottish Reformed Kirk was lost. However, associating this with the 1638 abolition of episcopacy and by association with the introduction of presbyterian polity, established a narrative which did not correspond with the facts and added to the tense relationship between the estranged sisters of the Reformed Kirk, the Scottish Episcopal Church, and the Church of Scotland.[12]

This thesis proposes that neither 1638, nor indeed the full establishment of episcopal polity in 1610, were the most significant thresholds in the worship life of the Scottish Reformed Kirk. Instead, the year 1617 is here taken to be the decisive one in setting Scotland on a road to the austerity of post-Westminster Assembly worship. In that year, King James VI made his return to Scotland for the first time since his accession to the English crown and departure for London in 1603. During the visit, his campaign to take the Scottish Kirk towards the polity and worship life of the Church of England was given liturgical expression in worship at the Chapel Royal in Holyrood Palace. The chapel was renovated for the purpose, bringing it closer to the practice of the Chapels Royal of England. Carved and gilded statues of the Apostles were proposed, although never installed due to the strength of opinion against them, and the moderating counsel of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway. An organ was provided and the voices of the Scottish Chapel Royal were augmented by the choristers of their English counterpart. Anthems by English composer Orlando Gibbons were sung, English vestments were worn, and an altar table was set with candles. Communion was celebrated using the form of the English *Book of Common Prayer*, which directed the communicants to kneel to receive the elements from the hand of the officiating minister.[13] This was in sharp contrast to the established pattern of the Kirk since 1560, which had been to sit at table and pass the bread and wine amongst the communicants. Kneeling to receive the elements was widely held to be idolatrous as it implied an assent to the doctrine of

[12] This tension continued to cloud the historiography of Scottish Reformed worship until relatively recently, when the ecumenical movement of the late twentieth-century fostered a greater sense of common liturgical ground, rooted in the early church. This entente was given expression in the Church of Scotland's 1994 *Book of Common Order*, which shared more in common with Anglican liturgies than it did with the earliest liturgical material of the Reformed Kirk.

[13] J. Row, *The Historie of the Kirk MDLVIII-MDCXXXVII*, ed. B. Botfield, Maitland Club 57 (Edinburgh 1842), 113; W. Scot, *An Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. D. Laing, Wodrow Society 10 (Edinburgh, 1846), 246; D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols., ed. T. Thomson and D. Laing, Wodrow Society 7 (Edinburgh, 1842-9), vol. 7, 246.

transubstantiation.[14] At the St Andrews General Assembly of 1617, James attempted to take his programme further by statute, seeking the Assembly's approval of communion outside public worship, confirmation by bishops, the commemoration of a range of festival days, private baptism, and kneeling to receive the elements at the Lord's Supper. James' programme began to meet severe opposition, being only partially accepted at St Andrews, and was remitted to the next Assembly at Perth in 1618. His insistence on forcing through the Five Articles at this Assembly led to what can only by described as a pyrrhic victory. As Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit suggested, the coercive tactics used on behalf of the monarch by his leading "fixer," David Murray, First Viscount Stormont and Lord Scone, succeeded in passing the legislation but created a wave of resistance that showed that James had won the battle but was to lose the subsequent liturgical war.[15] When Charles I took the programme further following the death of his father, the finely crafted 1637 *Scottish Book of Common Prayer* proved to be a liturgical project which failed to win widespread support, despite the involvement of Scottish bishops in its creation.[16] The ensuing civil wars throughout the Three Kingdoms witnessed the ascendancy of a radical presbyterian faction which succeeded in replacing the well embedded liturgical resources, Psalmody and material culture of the Scottish Reformed Kirk, to the extent that after 1650 the first Reformed worship culture ended.

This thesis considers that 1617 was a crucial threshold in the worship culture of the Reformed Kirk as it marked the beginning of both an exceptionally contentious period of church diplomacy, and pressure to move on from the established post-1559 Scottish worship culture. In light of this, it is important to note James VI's remarkable and enthusiastic endorsement of the developing Scottish Reformed Kirk in his address to the General Assembly of 1590:

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[14] I.R. Torrance, 'A Particular Reformed piety: John Knox and the posture at communion' in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol.67, issue 4 (November 2014), 400-413.

[15] A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998), 162; *The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen from 1550 to 1650, by Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet*, ed. C. Rogers (Edinburgh, William Paterson, 1872), 114. 'Albeit an ignorant man, yet he was bold and got great business effectuated; for he was the king's commissioner when the five articles concerning divine worship were brought in at Perth.'

[16] G. Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1954), 41-59.

> In end, to please the Assemblie, he fell furth in praising God, that he was borne in suche a tyme as the tyme of the light of the Gospell, to suche a place as to be king in suche a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. "The kirk of Geneva," said he, "keepeth Pasche and Yuile; what have they for them? They have no institutioun. As for our neighbour kirk in England, it is an evill said masse in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your puritie, and to exhort the people to doe the same; and I, forsuith, so long as I bruike my life and crowne, sall mainteane the same against all deidlie, etc."[17]

It is clear that James' experiences in England after 1603 kindled in him a vision of worship that was far from his earlier ringing endorsement of Scottish practice. However, until then his speech of August 1590 was a landmark moment reflecting the degree to which the Reformed Kirk was establishing itself as the new paradigm of Scottish Christianity. This thesis will be particularly concerned with reconstructing the experience of the worship culture of the Kirk that King James had once admired.

Nineteenth-century perspectives

During the eighteenth-century, the unsettling political and religious currents associated with the various Jacobite uprisings gave the presbyterian Kirk a solidity of position as the national Church of Scotland. Other religious narratives were associated with insurrection and treason, and therefore there was little to challenge the self-narratives of the Kirk which are found in the collections of historical and biographical material accumulated by the minister Robert Wodrow (1679-1734), a substantial part of which was published by the Maitland Club in 1834 and 1848.[18] However, in the less extreme circumstances of the nineteenth-century there was an explosion of interest and polemic around the story of the early Reformed Kirk. In the early part of the century, the work of Thomas McCrie on John Knox and Andrew Melville was part of a trend towards defending the Reformed Kirk against the challenges of revival in the episcopalian and Roman Catholic communities as well as

[17] D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland,* vol. 5, 106.

[18] The re-establishment of presbyterian polity in the Church of Scotland in 1690 ended a thirty-year period of episcopal polity; R. Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, 2 vols., ed. J. Duncan, Maitland Club 33 (Glasgow, 1834-1848).

internecine presbyterian battles.[19] The fragmentation of the Church of Scotland reached a cataclysmic head in 1843 when the Free Church emerged from the substantial body of ministers and lay people who rejected the principle of patronage over the rights of congregations in the election of ministers. The need of the Free Church and Church of Scotland to assert their claims to be representative of the spirit of the early heroes of the Reformed Kirk led to the printing of significant previously unpublished manuscripts. In particular, James Melville's *Autobiography and Diary*, Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, William Scot's *Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk of Scotland*, Knox's *History* and Robert Wodrow's *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers* were potent sources of authority.[20] A scholarly edition of the 1635 Scottish Psalter, compiled by Neil Livingstone, Free Church minister at Stair, was published in 1864 and Charles Grieg McCrie, Free Church minister at Ayr, produced the comprehensive and thoughtful *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland,* arising out of the Cunningham Lectures, in 1892.[21] It is hard to overstate the importance of the antiquarian, librarian and editor, David Laing (1793-1878). His work for the Bannatyne Club encouraged the proliferation of many other Scottish historical publishing ventures such as the Maitland and Spalding clubs and the Wodrow, Spottiswoode, Scottish History, and Scottish Text Societies, which continued to publish core works highlighting perspectives and data on the history, politics, and culture of Scotland. Individual scholars such as William Cramond (1844-1907), a schoolmaster at Cullen in Banffshire, undertook extremely valuable work to transcribe kirk session records and write histories of local churches, some of which had been abandoned or rebuilt within the living memory of both authors and local communities during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. Around the same time, a renewed interest in the aesthetics of worship led to the emergence of The Church Service Society (1865) and The Aberdeen (later to become the Scottish) Ecclesiological Society (1886), both of which fostered study, commentary and publication of key sources relating to architecture and liturgy.

The quest for a richer Reformed worship culture than that which had developed after 1650 led leading figures such as George W. Sprott and James Cooper to publish manuscript

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[19] T. McCrie, *Life of John Knox* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1812); *Life of Andrew Melville,* 2 vols., (Edinburgh, 1819).

[20] *The Diary of James Melville, 1556-1601,* Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1829) and *ADJM;* W. Scot, *An Apologetical Narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation*, ed. D. Laing, Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1846); *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols, ed. D. Laing, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1864).

[21] N. Livingston, ed., *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635* (Glasgow, Maclure & MacDonald, 1864); C.G. McCrie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland Historically Treated* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1892).

material that revealed more of the earlier Scottish Reformed tradition. This phase of Reformed liturgiology was particularly influenced by competition with the resurgent Scottish Episcopal Church, which was undergoing its own worship revolution thanks to the influence of the Oxford Movement. This was identified as a major issue by Robert Lee, minister of Old Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh, who felt that the Church of Scotland was losing out to the fashionable new episcopal chapels as a result of the austerity of mid-nineteenth-century presbyterian worship.[22] The groundswell created by his writing, the new interior furnishings, music, and liturgy of his Old Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh, and the abortive attempt to bring him to trial at the General Assembly of 1867 for his liturgical practices, were instrumental in spurring a wider interest in these matters within the Church of Scotland. A splendid range of buildings was constructed for that denomination in the medieval gothic style (exemplified by Govan Old Parish Church in 1888) reflecting the way in which the nineteenth-century religious market-place influenced the development and narratives of the Kirk.

Twentieth-century perspectives

Whilst the episcopalian liturgist Francis Eeles (1876-1954) brought a renewed interest in pre-Reformation Scottish religious practice, by the early twentieth-century the emphasis of the ecclesiological movement in the Church of Scotland had shifted away from the aesthetics of the Scottish medieval church, and towards the architectural simplicity of the early church, which characterised the later years of the Scoto-Catholic movement. [23] This was seen most clearly in commissions from the architect Peter MacGregor Chalmers. His 1903-4 St Leonard's Church in Dunfermline was designed in the Romanesque style and was given a round tower reminiscent of the 11th century structure at Brechin cathedral. St Anne's in Corstorphine (1912) has been described as 'a brilliant Presbyterian essay in the Early Christian manner.'[24] Not far away, St Columba's in Blackhall (1903) and St Luke's in

[22] R. Lee, *The Reform of the Church of Scotland in Worship, Government, and Doctrine* (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1866), 44-63, for a comprehensive account of Lee's views on the Scottish Episcopal Church.
[23] F.C. Eeles, *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs Connected with the Scottish Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections XVII (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1910); S.J. Brown, 'The Scoto-Catholic Movement in Presbyterian Worship c.1850-1920,' in D.B. Forrester and D. Gay, eds., *Worship and Liturgy in Context: Studies and Case Studies in Theology and Practice* (London, SCM Press, 2009), 152-163.
[24] J. Gifford, C. McWilliam, D. Walker, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth, Penguin 1984), 525.

Comely Bank (1907-8) are of a similar Scots Romanesque style. MacGregor Chalmers' designs reflected the Scoto-Catholic move to leap-frog the inconvenient reality of the medieval Roman Catholic Scottish Church, preferring earlier Scottish and patristic models in a similar way to William Cowper's manifesto for a 'Catholicke Christian,' as distinct from a 'Catholicke Romane.'[25]

In 1931, two members of the Church Service Society, William D Maxwell and William McMillan, published major studies of the liturgy and worship life of the early Reformed Kirk which followed on from William Cowan's 1913 *A Bibliography of the Book of Common Order.*[26] Maxwell's *John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556* was a landmark study of the Lutheran and Roman Catholic roots of the material inherited by the Church of Scotland as *The Forme of Prayers*.[27] McMillan's *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638* was one of the first scholarly studies of the material culture and liturgical practice of the Reformed Kirk that was not weighed down by denominational prejudice.[28] Appearing in the run-up to the 300th anniversary of the signing of the National Covenant in 1638, these works challenged the purity narrative of those who saw the seventeenth-century Covenanters as the ultimate embodiment of the Reformed Kirk. There was another story to be told about the culture of worship in the Church of Scotland.

Alongside the interest in liturgy, in 1958 the theologian T.F. Torrance regenerated interest in the sacramental position of the mainstream early Reformed Kirk with his publication of an English language edition of Robert Bruce's 1589 Scots language sermons on the theme of the Lord's Supper.[29] Inspired by Calvin and drawing on patristic thought, these sermons revealed an intensely experiential doctrine of the eucharist, with its strong focus on the relationship between the senses and the sacraments. Bruce's sermons emphasised the tripartite Reformed concept of the Word of Scripture, the Word preached, and the Word revealed in the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. As well as its theological interest, the incarnational dimension of Bruce's theological position and the implications for the experience of worship, with a "real presence" strongly implied in the gathering of the

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[25] W. Cowper, *Seuen Dayes Conference betweene a Catholicke Christian, and a Catholicke Romane: Concerning some Controuersies of Religion* (London, John Budge, 1613, *STC* 5934).
[26] *BibCO.*
[27] W.D. Maxwell, *John Knox's Genevan Service Book, 1556: The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book used by John Knox while a Minister of the English congregation of Marian exiles at Geneva, 1556-1559* (London, Oliver and Boyd, 1931).
[28] *WSCRC.*
[29] T.F. Torrance, ed., *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper: Sermons on the Sacrament Preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh by Robert Bruce in A.D. 1589* (London, James Clarke and Co., 1958).

congregation for the Lord's Supper, were a gateway towards renewed understanding of the intensity of the experience of Reformed worship. New editions of core teaching texts such as John Craig's *Catechism* (1581) brought the confessional materials of the pre-Westminster Assembly Kirk more closely into the public eye, allowing a stronger sense of its doctrinal climate.[30]

The 400th anniversary of the Reformation Parliament in 1960 gave impetus to much commentary, but amongst the most important works were George B. Burnet's *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, 1560-1960,* which was an excellent survey work including valuable focus on the the early years after 1560, and Professor Gordon Donaldson's landmark *The Scottish Reformation*.[31] Donaldson broke new ground in the study of Scottish church history, adding to his existing contribution of research into the liturgical life of the Kirk and its entwined relationship with the religious and political history of Reformation Scotland. Donaldson's distinctive and meticulous historiography was a justified reaction against triumphalist presbyterian narratives which claimed the worshiping soul of the Church of Scotland.[32] His own episcopalian identity was surely a strong driver in his historiography, which tended to push him towards unwarranted conclusions when considering issues surrounding liturgical revision. *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* both added to our understanding of the worship culture of the early Reformed Kirk, showing the richer textures of Reformed liturgy, and confused it by emphasising a Scottish trajectory towards the 1637 *Scottish Book of Common Prayer*.[33] Donaldson's own advocacy of the liturgical life of the Scottish Episcopal Church and its *Scottish Prayer Book* of 1929 led him to look at his historical analysis of Scottish liturgical life through modern episcopalian lenses. Whilst it was true that Scots had been involved in the book's creation, discussion of liturgical texts in Section Two of this thesis will propose that Donaldson's interpretation failed to give enough weight to the power and popularity of the established worship culture prior to 1617. In addition, his focus on the eucharistic liturgy at the expense of other

[30] T.F. Torrance, *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Church* (London, James Clarke and Co. Ltd, 1959).
[31] G.B. Burnet, *The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, 1560-1960* (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1960); G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960).
[32] 1960 saw a number of publications celebrating the Scottish Reformation and the life of John Knox which were scarcely impartial, such as Elizabeth Whitley's *Plain Mr Knox* (London, Skeffington, 1960).
[33] G. Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1954).

liturgical material, and the overall setting of worship, provided a one-dimensional perspective on the Scottish worship culture.

Donaldson's work was followed by the substantial scholarship of Bryan Spinks,' *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines,* and Iain Torrance's essay *A Particular Reformed Piety*.[34] Both of these works considered the sacramental and liturgical sensitivities and divergence between the national churches of England and Scotland during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. In the area of performing repentance and fasting, Margo Todd and Nikki Macdonald have opened up new vistas on a previously underemphasised dimension of the post-Reformation Kirk, with Macdonald's 2013 thesis highlighting the substantial choreography and liturgical scripts used in *The Ordovr and doctrine of the Generall Faste*.[35] Perhaps the most significant of recent work on Scottish worship was Stephen M. Holmes' *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland*, which has shown the enduring legacy of the liturgical symbolism of the Roman Catholic Church in the Reformed Kirk.[36]

Music

The music of the Scottish Reformed Kirk has been well served by scholarly analysis, partly as a result of the renewed interest in the Psalme Buik and *The Forme of Prayers* from the nineteenth-century onwards; the period from the late twentieth-century to the present has been particularly rich. Musicologists and musicians such as Millar Patrick, Hilda Hutchison, Kenneth Elliott, John McQuaid, Warwick Edwards, James Ross, Alan Tavener, Gordon Munro, and Noel O'Regan have undertaken significant work in analysing the Thomas Wode partbooks and their place in the wider educational and religious culture.[37] Elliott was

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[34] B.D. Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland 1603-1662* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002); I. Torrance, 'A Particular Reformed Piety.'

[35] *CP*; N.M. Macdonald, *Reconciling Performance: The Drama of Discipline in Early Modern Scotland, 1560-1610* (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 2013).

[36] *SS.*

[37] M. Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1949); H. Hutchison, *The St Andrews Psalter* (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1957); K. Elliott, 'Music of the Reformed Church (1560-1650),' in K. Elliott and F. Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music* (London, BBC, 1973), 25-32; 'Some helps for young Schollers: a New Source of Early Scottish Psalmody,' in MacDonald, A.A., Lynch, M and Cowan, I.B., eds., *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 264-275; J. McQuaid, *Musicians of the Scottish Reformation*

responsible for transcribing material from the partbooks and other sources and making them available in critical editions under the *Musica Scotica* label. The 2011 *Singing the Reformation* project, led by Professor Jane Dawson and Dr Noel O'Regan, brought together the surviving partbooks from the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the United States for an exhibition and interpretative programme at the University of Edinburgh Library, raising further awareness of the value of these manuscripts as a source for Scottish early modern music and culture.[38] Tim Duguid edited the David Peebles Psalm editions contained in the *Wode Psalter*, and these are now available online as part of the *Singing the Reformation* project. In 2016 an extension to the project, coordinated by the present author, commissioned 13 arrangements of significant Psalm settings from the *Wode Psalter* and 1635 Scottish Psalter, deploying Scots language versions based on the 1596 and 1599 Scots editions of the texts originally published in the 1564 Psalme Buik.[39] Noel O'Regan recorded a CD of a number of Psalm settings with the Edinburgh University Renaissance Singers, as have Dunedin Consort and Cappella Nova. Jamie Reid Baxter, Michael Lynch, and E.Patricia Dennison's 2011 study, *Jhone Angus, Monk of Dunfermline and Scottish Reformation Music*, included a recording of the Angus settings of the canticles, sung by the vocal ensemble Sang Schule.[40] These recording projects have extended the archive of sonic evidence, enabling a recreation of the sound world of the Reformed Kirk at worship.

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with Special Reference to Crown Policy, c.1560 – c.1650 (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 1949); D.J. Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, Mercat Press, 1993); G.J. Munro, '"Sang Schwylls" and "Music Schools:" Music Education in Scotland, 1560-1650' in R.E. Murray, Jr., S. Forscher Weiss, C.J.Cyrus, eds., *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2010), 65-83; *Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500-1700*, (University of Glasgow PhD Thesis, 1999); 'The Scottish Reformation and its Consequences,' in I. Woods-Preece, *"Our awin Scottis use:" music in the Scottish Church up to 1603* (Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000).

[38] <http://www.wode.div.ed.ac.uk./index.html> [accessed 14th October 2016].

[39] See Appendix One for a project description of *Singing the Reformation 2016*.

[40] N. O' Regan, Edinburgh University Singers, *Psalms for the Regents of Scotland 1567-1578* (EURS003, 1999); Dunedin Consort/Fretwork, *The Wode Collection: 16th Century Music by Scottish, English and Continental Composers* (Linn Records CKD388, 2011); A. Tavener/Cappella Nova, *Sacred Music for Mary Queen of Scots* (GAU136, 1993); J. Reid Baxter, M. Lynch, E.P. Dennison, *Jhone Angus: Monk of Dunfermline and Scottish Reformation Music* (Dunfermline, Dunfermline Heritage Community Project, 2011).

Duguid's 2014 *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice* demonstrated the Scottish Psalter's relationship to and divergence from the English metrical Psalters.[41] Gordon Munro's thesis on the sang schules was a valuable exploration of the fall and rise of these musical establishments in the post-Reformation period. Munro's work showed the trend for burghs to invest resources in sang schules and for their singers to take part in the leading of Psalms in the local kirk.[42] John Durkan and Jamie Reid Baxter's *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters* provided an excellent chapter on the sang schules. This encyclopaedic record of evidence for individual schoolmasters across the country demonstrated the relationship between readers, precentors, and music masters, the same person often inhabiting three roles.[43]

Recent research has helped to extend our knowledge of the central place of Psalmody and singing within the worship of the Kirk and its relationship to the wider culture, showing that worship was not a hermetically sealed unit, but was instead an experience that linked to the spiritual and domestic lives of congregations beyond the walls of kirk buildings. Amongst the growing literature on this subject, Jamie Reid Baxter and Alasdair A. MacDonald's work on early modern culture in its widest sense (touching on developments in poetry, song, Psalmody and instrumental music) has given a stronger awareness of the extent to which these genres were connected as interwoven strands both within and outside of worship. Worship was not cut off from the rest of Scottish culture.[44] Chapter Two of Section Two will argue that the Scottish Psalm-singing culture was a more highly charged, popular and musically vibrant part of the experience of worship than has been fully recognised.

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[41] T. Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks,' c.1547-1640* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2014).

[42] G.J. Munro, *Scottish Church Music and Musicians.*

[43] *SSSM.*

[44] For example, the disc *Thus Spak Apollo Myne, The Songs of Alexander Montgomerie* (CDGAU249, 2002) demonstrated the connections between metrical Psalm tunes contained in the 1564 Scottish Psalter and lute songs used in domestic settings;
J. Reid Baxter, 'Elizabeth Melville, Calvinism and the Lyric Voice,' in D.J. Parkinson, ed., *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567-1625* (Leuven, Peeters, 2013), 151-172; A.A. MacDonald, 'Poetry, Politics, and Reformation Censorship in Sixteenth-Century Scotland,' in *English Studies*, 64:5 (1983) 410-421; *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A.A. MacDonald, Scottish Text Society, fifth series, 14 (Woodbridge, 2015).

Architecture

David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross' three volume survey *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* published in 1896 remains one of the core sources for evidence of the buildings of the medieval and renaissance Scottish church.[45] This is despite the clear preference of the authors for pre-Reformation Gothic and Romanesque architecture, as opposed to what they saw as "domestic" classicism. Post-Reformation features were relegated to the category of curiosity rather than being seen as fundamentally ecclesiastical and the phrase "in presbyterian times" was used pejoratively in their work.[46] It is partly as a result of their attitude that the restoration of many churches in the twentieth-century removed the accumulation of post-Reformation architectural layers, leaving a skeleton that bore no resemblance to the reailty of either the pre or post-Reformation buildings. This prompted George Hay to label those such as St John's Kirk in Perth, Paisley Abbey, and Bothwell Collegiate Church as new creations.[47] His 1957 *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches* was written as a companion volume and was a helpful corrective to MacGibbon and Ross, arising as it did out of Hay's own roots in the Reformed Kirk. His volume treated Reformed kirks on their own merits rather than benchmarking them against a perceived golden age of Scottish church architecture. Nigel Yates followed a similar path in his 2009 *Preaching Word and Sacrament: Scottish Interiors, 1560-1860*.[48] A major contribution has been made by Richard Fawcett, whose specialism in the architecture of the medieval Scottish church, although focused primarily on the pre-Reformation buildings, has frequently shed light on post-Reformation usage.[49] His St Andrews University *Corpus of Medieval Churches* database is an invaluable place to start in the analysis of the architectural genesis of any building within the archdiocese of St Andrews.[50] Hay's most direct successor in the area of Scottish church architecture was Deborah Howard, whose scholarship included a focus upon expressions of affinity with European classicism in church buildings and furnishings. Her *Scottish Architecture Reformation to Restoration, 1560-1660*, produced as part of a series in collaboration with Charles McKean, treated Scottish church architecture in its widest cultural context, thus drawing it out of a narrow narrative of

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[45] *EAS.*
[46] *Ibid.*, vol.3, 455.
[47] *ASPRC*, 25n.
[48] N. Yates, *Preaching Word and Sacrament: Scottish Interiors, 1560-1860* (London, T+T Clark, 2009).
[49] R. Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: Architecture and Furnishings* (Stroud, Tempus Publishing, 2002); *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011).
[50] <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/> [accessed 14th October 2016].

religious severity.[51] Just as McKean transformed understandings of Scottish "castles" of the early modern period in his 2001 *The Scottish Chateau*, Howard fulfilled the same mission in her studies of the fine lofts and monuments created for the Scottish nobility, which sometimes including painted ceiling decoration. Her work on the Skelmorlie Aisle at Largs, the Kinnoull Aisle at Perth, and the 1594 Stirling Chapel Royal highlighted the sophisticated design and furnishings that were commissioned for some Scottish kirks. However, Howard was limited by the use of surviving material culture, a significant issue where medieval churches had been cleared of their Reformed furnishings, had been abandoned or were demolished at a later date. This approach also limited the value of the *Buildings of Scotland* architectural survey series, which is an excellent and encyclopedic guide to the surviving material culture of the church across Scotland, but is less helpful in approaching lost buildings and interiors. Closely associated with Howard's work was the analysis of the 1594 Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle by Aonghus Mackechnie and Ian Campbell.[52] Their more extensive examination of the chapel through archaeological, textual, and surviving architectural evidence was an inspiration for the approach to be taken by the present author in Section One of this thesis, which will consider surviving material culture alongside a range of documentary evidence for the post-Reformation interiors of a number of significant churches.

Perhaps the most wide-ranging research on Scottish post-Reformation churches has been undertaken by Andrew Spicer, whose work placed the architecture of the Scottish Kirk in the fullest religious and political context in which its buildings were used, whilst keeping sight of congregational worship practice. His numerous essays, and particularly the chapter on Scotland in his *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe*, followed on from George Hay's work, but challenged him by proposing an earlier adoption of fixed seating than Hay had suggested.[53] Spicer also explored issues around the contentious subject of burial in church, and built upon the earlier work of Gordon Donaldson, who had highlighted the existence of

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[51] D. Howard, *Scottish Architecture from the Reformation to the Restoration, 1560-1660* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

[52] D. Howard, 'Reflections of Venice in Scottish Architecture' in *Architectural History*, 44 (2001), 123-135; 'The Protestant Renaissance' in *Architectural Heritage IX* (1998), 1-15; I. Campbell and A. MacKechnie, 'The 'Great Temple of Solomon at Stirling Castle' in *Architectural History*, 54 (2011), 91-118; A. MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects and their Architecture' in J. Goodare and M. Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1999), 154-169.

[53] A. Spicer, '"Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Worde:" Preaching, Pews and Reformed Worship in Scotland, 1560-1638,' in *History*, vol. 88, issue 291 (July 2003), 405-422.

"Laudian" ideas of sacred space and their associated architectural expression in Scotland in the 1630s.[54] More recently, Graham Chernoff's thesis on the relationship between brand new Reformed kirks and their local communities brought architectural theory into conversation with the disciplines of social anthropology and geography.[55]

Despite this buoyant field of exploration of the Reformed Kirk's architecture, there remains a surprising lack of interest amongst architectural historians in the reality that almost all places of worship in the period 1559-1617 were adaptations of pre-Reformation churches. There is a sense in which the converted buildings were somehow devalued because they were neither a pure expression of medieval and renaissance architecture, nor a brand new Reformed paradigm and therefore lacked a recognisable architectural language. Whilst this makes sense from within the discipline of architectural history, it does not recognise the underlying doctrinal imperatives of the Reformed Kirk which drove the manner of the conversions. The "hybrid kirks" thus created are worthy of more analysis as worship spaces rooted in ecclesiology and doctrine rather than architectural theory. A further deterrent has been the small amount of surviving material culture of buildings and furnishings that can be dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. This has also ruled out interest from architectural historians, whose dominant method has been to work with surviving built culture. Consequently, there has been a slow development of a more investigative and archaeological approach. These are the principle reasons why there has been no comprehensive attempt to recreate a picture of the lost interiors of post-Reformation kirks. It is ironic that it has seemed more possible and appealing to re-imagine the earlier Roman Catholic interiors than it has been to undertake the same exercise for the early Reformed Kirk. It is the hope of the present author that the evidence for "hybrid kirks" in Section One of this thesis will encourage more similar work to be undertaken in this area.

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[54] A. Spicer, 'The State Church: Scotland' in A. Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007), 40-105; '"Defyle not Christ's kirk with your carrion:" burial and the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland,' in B. Gordon and P. Marshall, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000); A. Spicer, 'Laudianism in Scotland? St Giles' Cathedral Edinburgh, 1633-39: a reappraisal,' in *Architectural History*, 46 (2003), 97-99; '"What kinde of house a kirk is:" conventicles, consecrations and the concept of sacred space in post-Reformation Scotland,' in W. Coster and A. Spicer, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005); G. Donaldson and C.A. Ralegh Radford, 'Post-Reformation Church at Whithorn' in *PSAS*, 85 (1950-51), 117-133.

[55] G. Chernoff, *Building the Reformed Kirk: The Cultural Use of Ecclesiastical Buildings in Scotland, 1560-1645* (University of Edinburgh PhD Thesis, 2013).

The changing of the historiographical guard

The second half of the twentieth-century saw the growth of Scottish Roman Catholic historiography. The formation of the Innes Review in 1950 and David McRoberts' 1962 volume, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, were catalysts towards a corrective historiography to balance the Reformed narratives of episcopalian and presbyterian scholars, reconnecting with those such as Ninian Winzet and Bishop Leslie, who had written in defence of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland.[56] In particular, the image of the pre-1560 church as irredeemably corrupt was challenged and overturned as Scottish attempts at reform within the structures of the Roman Catholic church were recognised and highlighted. The strength of continued adherence to the spirituality and practices of the pre-Reformation church was revealed, paving the way for a more nuanced understanding of how Scottish worship made the paradigm shift from Roman Catholic to Reformed, and the extent to which some Scots continued clandestine spiritual practices. James Kirk and James Cameron countered this with a narrative of Reformed strength, providing a wealth of analysis of the links between Scotland and Europe and advancing an extremely positive estimation of the development of Protestant sympathy before 1560.[57] However, this question was to remain a battle-ground, and Kirk's 1988 *Patterns of Reform* was in tension with Professor Michael Lynch's more pragmatic 1981 *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, which analysed the religious affiliation of the residents of the burgh of Edinburgh, and provided evidence to challenge an unmodulated account of the success of the Reformed Kirk in that city.[58] Read alongside his 1994 essay, 'Preaching to the Converted,' and a 2014 University of Edinburgh lecture entitled Zealots, Professors, Atheists and Hollow Hearts: Scottish Protestantism, 1560-1600, anatomized,' his was a rather more restrained view of the success of the Reformed Kirk and a further corrective to presbyterian triumphalism.[59]

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[56] D. McRoberts, ed., *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow, Burns, 1962); N. Winzet, *Certaine tractates: together with the Book of four score three questions, and a translation of Vincentius Lirinensis,* 2 vols., ed. J.K. Hewison, Scottish Text Society, (Edinburgh, 1888-1890); J. Leslie, *The Historie of Scotland*, 2 vols., ed. E.G. Cody, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh, 1888 and 1895).

[57] J.K. Cameron, 'The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30, issue 1 (1979), 39-64; J. Kirk, 'The Religion of Early Scottish Protestants' in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643* (Oxford, Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1991), 361-412.

[58] M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1981).

[59] M. Lynch, 'Preaching to the Converted? Perspectives on the Scottish Reformation,' in MacDonald, A.A., Lynch, M and Cowan, I.B., eds., *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in*

Lynch's provocative view stood in contrast to Jenny Wormald's more positive assessment in *Court, Kirk and Community*, which highlighted the strengths and successes as well as the weaknesses of the Reformed regime.[60] However, Wormald's assertively myth-busting 2012 article 'Reformed and Godly Scotland?' included a succession of severe critiques of the discipline and worship culture of the Kirk.[61] Such over-compensation for the excesses of earlier presbyterian narratives underlines the need for continuing work to ensure balance in this area of research. Fortunately, Alex Ryrie's 2013 *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* has contributed to this by acknowledging the deeply emotional and experiential dimension of much Reformed piety in the British Isles.[62]

Jenny Wormald's groundbreaking work on the mechanisms of kin-based society and the Stewart monarchy generated a rich vein of exploration into the church policy of James VI. [63] Alan MacDonald's *The Jacobean Kirk 1567-1625* contributed to our understanding of the background and ratification of the Five Articles of Perth and the tactics of James VI.[64] MacDonald engaged with Wormald and Laura Stewart to debate the extent to which James could have been said to have been Anglicising or Anglicanising the Kirk.[65] Taken in conjunction with earlier scholarship, the full scope of the Five Articles of Perth in religious, political, and liturgical perspective is an important background to any study of the worship

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Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 301-344.

[60] J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London, Edward Arnold, 1981), 122-142.

[61] J. Wormald, 'Reformed and Godly Scotland?' in T. Devine and J. Wormald, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* <DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199563692013.0010> [accessed 10th May 2013].

[62] A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.

[63] J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1985) followed by J.E.A Dawson's 'Bonding, Religious Allegiance and Covenanting' in J. Goodare and S. Boardman, eds., *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald*, 155-172.

[64] A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk.*

[65] A.R. MacDonald, 'James VI and I, The Church of Scotland, and British Ecclesiastical Convergence,' in *The Historical Journal*, 48, issue 4 (December, 2005), 885-903; L.A.M. Stewart, 'The Political Repercussions of the Five Articles of Perth: A Reassessment of James VI and I's Religious Policies in Scotland' in *The Sixteenth-century Journal*, vol. 38, 4 (winter 2007), 1013-1036; J. Wormald, 'The Headaches of Monarchy: Kingship and the Kirk in the Early Seventeenth-century' in J. Goodare and A.A. MacDonald, eds., *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, Brill, 2008), 365-393.

culture of the early Reformed Kirk. Julian Goodare's analysis of the reigns of James VI and Charles I did not favour the Reformed clergy, and his helpful analysis of the incidents of 17th December, 1596 highlighted the uncompromising idealism that sometimes created more problems for the very Kirk that it sought to protect.[66] Whilst the means that King James used to achieve his aims for Reformed polity and worship in Scotland (as highlighted by Alan MacDonald) were highly questionable, consideration of the extremist behaviour of the ministers and the inevitable disagreement on their tactics that this created added another layer to the discussion of how congregations felt about the leadership and policy of the young Reformed Kirk.[67]

Rebuilding our understanding of the Kirk – the new historiography

Whilst the late twentieth-century historiographical tussle over the headline polity and worship disputes of the Kirk was a rich period of scholarship and debate, a revival of research into local practice has recognised the regional variations that characterised the development of the Reformed Kirk. Margaret Sanderson's *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, Ian B. Cowan's *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation*, Frank Bardgett's focus on Angus and the Mearns in *Scotland Reformed*, Michael Lynch's *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, Jane Dawson's research on St Andrews, Allan White's work on Aberdeen, John McCallum and Linda Dunbar's work on Fife, John Durkan's research on Scottish schools and schoolmasters, David Mullan's research on the lives and practice of early modern Scottish clergy, Alec Ryrie's analysis of the practice of "Protestant" piety, Mary Ann Verschur and Margo Todd's work on the burgh of Perth, and Jamie Reid Baxter's work to highlight the artistic output of poetic ministers such as James Melville, have all drilled down into the local experience of Reformed culture.[68] In terms of worship, these studies reveal that the unique circumstances

[66] J. Goodare, St*ate and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999); 'The Attempted Scottish Coup of 1596' in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland, Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, Brill, 2008), 311-336.
[67] A.R. MacDonald, 'James VI and the General Assembly, 1586-1618' in J. Goodare and M. Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000), 170-185.
[68] M. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1997); I. B. Cowan, *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation* (London, The Historical Association, 1978); F.D. Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1989); J.E.A Dawson, '"The face of ane perfyt Reformed Kyrk:" St Andrews and the early Scottish Reformation' in J. Kirk, ed., *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643. Essays in honour of James K. Cameron* (Oxford, Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1991); A. White, 'The Regent Morton's Visitation: The Reformation of Aberdeen, 1574,' in

of local places, people, and clergy created much variation in the development of the Reformed Kirk across Scotland. From the point of view of material culture, for example, Allan White's work, combined with substantial surviving documentary evidence, has proved that the Burgh Kirk of New Aberdeen showed a higher level of retention of furniture and fittings from its pre-Reformation use than did the Burgh Kirk of Edinburgh, despite Michael Lynch's demonstration that a great deal of Roman Catholic adherence continued in that burgh. Local circumstances were uniquely complex and confound any monolithic assessment of how the Scottish Reformation unfolded. James Kirk, Jane Dawson, and Donald Meek's work on the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland reminds us that Scotland was more linguistically diverse than is often assumed. There remain questions about what exactly the worship culture was like in these areas where communities were without a vernacular metrical Psalter until the late seventeenth-century and for which very little material and documentary evidence of local kirks survives.[69] Here, there are further opportunities for research by Gaelic-speaking scholars to develop a stronger sense of how the Reformed Kirk developed and whether its worship culture was as distinct from lowland Scots-speaking worship as it is today.

While Margo Todd's work focused particularly upon discipline, catechesis and worship in the home has been emphasised by Jane Dawson.[70] Allied to the singing of metrical Psalms and

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MacDonald, A.A., Lynch, M and Cowan, I.B., eds., *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 246-263; J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife, 1560-1640* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2010); L. Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church: John Winram (c1492-1582) and the example of Fife* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002); *SSSM*; A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*; M. Verschuur, *Politics or Religion? The Reformation in Perth, 1540-1570* (Edinburgh, Dunedin Academic Press, 2006); *PKSB*; J. Reid Baxter, 'James Melville and the "Reliefe of the longing soule:" A Scottish Presbyterian Song of Songs,' in *Medievalia et Humanistica 41: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 211-230.

[69] J.E.A. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,' in A. Pettigree, A. Duke, G. Lewis, eds., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. Kirk, 'The Jacobean Kirk in the Highlands, 1567-1625,' in *The Seventeenth-century in the Highlands* (Inverness, Inverness Field Club, 1986), 24-51; D.E. Meek, 'The Reformation and Gaelic Culture: Perspectives on patronage, language and literature in John Carswell's translation of *The Book of Common Order*' in J. Kirk, ed., *The Church in the Highlands* (Bristol, Scottish Church History Society, 1998), 37-62.

[70] J.E.A. Dawson, '"Hamely with God" A Scottish View on Domestic Devotion' in A. Ryrie and J. Martin, eds., *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2012).

the use of doctrinal and catechetical texts, the spiritual lives of early modern Scots has been shown to have been influenced by more than attendance at Sunday worship. Although the materials of the Psalme Buik, *The Forme of Prayers*, and catechisms were created "from above," their deployment was "bottom-up," in local congregations and households. Ian Green and Alistair Mann's work on the Scottish book trade and book usage has given us a stronger idea of the extent to which print, allied to the aural tradition, was important to the Reformed culture, even when only a minority of the population could read and write.[71]

John McCallum and Linda Dunbar's research into the provision of clergy, and the establishment of a Reformed paradigm in Fife, has been significant in challenging assumptions of the foundational importance of preaching in the Scottish Reformation. Although the major burghs were quickly supplied with ministers after 1560, the majority of parishes did not immediately obtain a dedicated minister. McCallum has shown that in Fife, this situation did not significantly change until around 1600, after which supply began to improve. He has demonstrated that the office of reader was crucial to sustaining a catechetical ministry, without preaching, and that our assumptions regarding what was successful and appealing about Reformed worship need to be challenged. Although preaching was important, and often extremely popular where a good preacher was available, the other components of Scripture reading, prayer, and singing of metrical Psalms were fundamental building blocks of the new culture, alongside the development of parish discipline. In addition, Dunbar's study of the post-1560 careers of the canons of the Augustinian Priory at St Andrews, and the deployment of many of them as readers and ministers in the new Kirk, was a reminder that the first generation of Reformed clergy were not unmodulated Calvinists. They brought with them a rich patina of theological formation, nurtured in the Roman Catholic Church. These challenges to established perceptions have continued in the work of Steven J. Reid, whose scholarship of the Scottish universities and the impact of the work of Andrew Melville have overturned crude claims concerning both the influence and impact of Melville, and the degree to which he established a new working paradigm of theological enquiry.[72] Although Melville was successful in Glasgow, Reid has shown that the situation in St Andrews was much more complex. Any notion of a Melvillian Party in the church had been demolished by Alan R. MacDonald, and the work of these scholars has laid to rest another totem of presbyterian triumphalist polemic, whilst

[71] I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000); A.J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000).

[72] S.J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560-1625* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011); S.J. Reid and R.A. Mason, eds., *Andrew Melville 1545-1622: Writings, Reception and Reputation* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013).

rediscovering the Reformed Kirk's attempt to remain loyal to, and find a place for, the godly magistracy of the Stewart monarchy within its ideological frameworks.[73] This realignment of our understanding of Reformed polity, and the place of the monarchy within it, enables fresh understandings of the role of ministers such as Patrick Galloway and William Cowper, whose attempts to conciliate extreme presbyterians and episcopalians were seen as a betrayal by some in their time. Now, however, these attempts seem to speak of loyalty to Reformed principles rather than a particular love for episcopal polity. More consideration of this theme in the period before 1625 would be helpful. The recalibration of the reputation of Andrew Melville has been followed by Jane Dawson's 2015 biography of John Knox, which presented Knox in a less partisan and more rounded way than his earlier hagiographers had. Knox remains a central figure in the early Reformed Kirk, but less straightforwardly so.

With the more assertive totems of Reformed hagiography demolished, the narrative of the Scottish Reformed Kirk may be said to be lying in ruins, the heroic figures and events now seen in a more realistic and less mythological light. However, this thesis seeks to be part of the re-constructive historiography of the Reformed Kirk, which whilst acknowledging the myth-busting historiography of the late twentieth-century, brings forward evidence of the compelling, affective, and popular elements of Reformed worship culture which emerge from case studies of congregations, clergy, and places of worship across Scotland.

[73] A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk,* 171.

SECTION ONE

THE STAGE FOR WORSHIP

I Rejoyced, when they said to me, We wil go into the house of the Lord.[74]

I did in hart rejoice
To heir the peopils voyce
In offering sa willinglie:
For let us up say they,
And in the Lordis hous pray[75]

Introduction

Surely the subject of the setting of worship in the Church of Scotland after 1559 is an open and shut case. The Kirks were cleansed of all forms of decoration, scrubbed bare of images, and subjected to a kind of cultural eclipse that left nothing but austerity. Gone were the glory days of the aesthetically pleasing gothic churches of the Scottish medieval and early renaissance, so celebrated and lamented in David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross' remarkable three volume series, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, in which every arcade, window and aumbry which survived until the late nineteenth-century was described and drawn.[76] The verse from Psalm 122 which prefaces this chapter was the inspiration for an uncompromising commentary on the concept of the temple of God, included in the editions of the Psalme Buiks produced by Vautrollier in 1587 and Schilders in 1594, 1599 and 1602:

> For when he saith we wil goe into the house of the Lord: what notable thing can we see in these words, if we do but only behold the stones, timber, gold & other ornaments of the material temple? But to goe into the house of the Lord signifieth another maner of thing: namely to come together where we

[74] Psalm 122.1, *Geneva Bible*, 1560 (Peabody, Hendrickson, 5th edition, 2012).
[75] Psalm 122.1-2, *The CL Psalmes of David in Meitir: With the forme of prayeris and administratioun of the Sacramentis &c Usit in the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Robert Smyth, 1599-1602, *STC* 16586).
[76] *EAS.*

> may have God present with us: heare his word: cal upon his holy name, and receive help & succour in our necessitie. Therefore it is a false definition of the temple which the Papistes make: that it is a house built with stones and tymber to the honour of God. [77]

This rejection of the sacredness of the fabric of a kirk and the claim that the temple of God was instead generated by the gathering of the congregation for worship, was very much in line with Reformed doctrine. The presence of God was instantiated by the assembly of the congregation to hear the Word of God in corporate worship with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, rather than the intrinsic power of the place.[78] This was a live debate, one which had driven the "cleansing" of churches at the outset of the Reformed Kirk in 1559 and continued through the early modern period.

If stone and mortar were secondary to the gathering of the congregation, what did people mean when they treated a church building as worthy of respect and orderly treatment, and as a desirable place for burial?[79] A lintel which survives on the manse of Lyne Kirk, formerly located on the church building, is inscribed with words from Psalm 93.5: 'Holynes becvms thy house O Lord.'[80] At Swinton kirk, a stone above the door inside the west porch dated 1593 urged 'Mak no delay to turn to the Lord,' and at Perth there seems to have been a relationship between good order and the place of worship, with a particular emphasis on the church building as a place of prayer. In 1605, the session there banned the pupils of the grammar school from assembling in the 'miekill kirk' outside times of worship 'becaus the kirk heretofore hes bene abusit and prophanit many wayis by the disputationis of the scholleris at fastingis ewe.' Their rationale was that this was 'express agans the word of

[77] 'Commentarie Vpon the 1. Verse of the 122 Psalme Written by the Learned Doctor M.L.' in *The CL Psalmes Of David In Meter. For the Use of the Kirk of Scotland* (London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1587, *STC* 16582 and 16583); *The CL Psalmes of David In Meter. For the Use of the Kirk of Scotland* (Middelburgh, Schilders, 1594, 1599, 1602, *STC* 16584, 16587, 16589).
[78] *Ibid*., 141.
[79] Andrew Spicer made a strong case for the continuing desire for burial in the kirk, in its various manifestations, but particularly from lairds, in his essay '"Defyle not Christ's Kirk with your carrion:" burial and the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland.'
[80] C.B. Gunn, *The Book of Lyne and Megget Church* (Peebles, Neidpath Press, 1911), 31; see Volume Two, Fig.1.

Christ affirming that the tempill sud be a hows of prayer.'[81] At St Andrews, the session register for 1599 noted that a recent visitation had criticised the state of the kirk:

> The quhilk day, the bretheren understanding that thair is gryt deformitie and abuse in the seattis of this kirk, and fault fund thairwith be the Commissionaris of the Kirk at their visitation heir; thairfoir it is ordainit that the ministeris, with sex of the sessioun and sex of the counsall, sall convene and devyse for new forme of seattis to the decoratioun of this kirk, being ane ancient and famous congregatioun.[82]

These examples seem to point to a relatively elevated view of the place of worship, and reflect the fine line that the Kirk was walking when it strove to provide suitable places of worship without encouraging congregations to apply ideas of intrinsic holiness to the church building. Andrew Spicer's work in this area has demonstrated that the more elevated view did gain some following in Scotland, particularly during the 1630s, when the ideas of Lancelot Andrewes and William Laud led to the revival of the ritual of consecration for some new church buildings, such as the parish kirk at South Queensferry.[83] There was not a monolithic Scottish Reformed approach to the nature of the place of worship. The subject of sacred space was still a matter of contention, with the acts of consecration and burial in church indicative of a lingering belief in the instrumental holiness of the sanctuary. However, the appearance of the Commentary on Psalm 122.1 indicated that this view was not unchallenged. Similarly, William Birnie's *The Blame of Kirk-Buriall* (1606) revealed that burial inside churches, both clandestine and authorized, was still an issue in the early seventeenth-century, proving the endurance of earlier ideas of the sacredness of the place of worship, even when the building had been stripped of the devotional adornments of Roman Catholicism.[84] Whilst Stephen M. Holmes was correct to state that in many places an

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[81] CH2/521/4/22.
[82] *RStAKS*, 908.
[83] A. Spicer, '"What kinde of house a kirk is:" conventicles, consecrations and the concept of sacred space in post-Reformation Scotland' in W. Coster and A. Spicer, eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[84] W. Birnie, *The Blame of Kirk-Buriall, tending to perswade Cemiteriall Civilitie* (Edinburgh, Robert Charteris, 1606, *STC* 3089); S.M. Holmes, '"Defyle not Chrysts Kirk with your Carrion." William Durandus (c.1230-96), Medieval Burial and Two Tombs in Rome and Fife' in M. Penman, ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern*

accommodation was made with kirk burial, with income-generating fees levied in some places for those of high status who wished to be buried in their local kirk, there is also evidence that the practice began to be stopped following the re-establishment of episcopal polity in 1610.[85] The records of the Synod of Fife's visitation of the Kirk of Perth on 18th April 1611, noted that 'The Kirk and fabric thairof found to be in good caice, and thairin no ordinar burial.'[86] If anything, the new polity seems to have intensified the motivation for the courts of the Kirk to enforce the ideals of the *First Book of Discipline* in relation to church buildings rather than embrace a return to the ideas of the pre-Reformation church.

Despite these ongoing debates and deeply embedded cultural practices, analysis of the church buildings and furnishings in the period 1559-1617 reveals that the tendency towards an elevated view of the place of worship did not necessarily translate into the later physical expression of the doctrine of the "beauty of holiness," advanced first by Lancelot Andrewes, then by William Laud in the Church of England, and taken up in Scotland by Archbishop Spottiswoode for his church at Dairsie, completed in 1620.[87] This was a notable exception to the general rule, and one that said more about Spottiswoode's desire to be a loyal servant of the king's developing tastes in worship, first given controversial expression in the refurbishment of the Holyrood Chapel Royal for James' return visit in 1617, than the liturgical identity of the Kirk in the period 1559-1617.[88]

Europe: proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference (Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2013); *CP*, 333-338; For an example of tension between a local Kirk Session and Burgh Council over kirk burial, see *PKSB*, 424; At Kirkwall Cathedral, Reformed worship took place in the choir, but the entire (roofed) nave was given over to burial. See J. Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Highlands and Islands* (London, Penguin, 1992), 314.

[85] *Extracts from the council register of the burgh of Aberdeen 1570-1625*, vol. 2, ed. J. Stuart, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1848), 44. It was recorded that in 1581 no burial was permitted inside St Nicholas Kirk unless a fee of thirty shillings per person was paid. However, those with inherited lairs were exempted from this fee.

[86] *MSF,* 15.

[87] K. Stevenson, 'Lancelot Andrewes at Holyrood: The 1617 Whitsun Sermon in Perspective' in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol.52, issue 04 (November 1999), 455-475; A. Spicer, 'Laudianism in Scotland?'; M. Ash, 'Dairsie and Archbishop Spottiswoode,' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19 (1977), 125-132; the desire to erect a new gallery in St Nicholas Aberdeen in 'decent and commodious forme' is perhaps indicative of the prevailing ethos. *Extracts from the council register of the burgh of Aberdeen*, vol. 2, 321.

[88] Had King James VI's church policy for Scotland been fully embraced, it is certainly possible that the model of Dairsie could have been copied elsewhere. The fact that it was not, and that Charles I's later programme of "Laudian" renovations in the Scottish cathedrals was

In this chapter, we will explore the question of the experience of worship in relation to the stage for worship - the kirks of all shapes and sizes - on which the congregation gathered in the period 1559-1617. We will explore the extent to which churches transformed for Reformed worship retained traces of Roman Catholic piety. This may have been one of the reasons why it was still necessary to make clear the Kirk line on the question of the status of the building.

In the same way that McRoberts and Holmes augumented MacGibbon and Ross' work, this thesis seeks to augment that of George Hay.[89] By means of analysis of buildings and furnishings revealed in surviving material culture, drawings, and documentary accounts, this thesis will propose that in the same way that there are lost interiors of the pre-Reformation church, there is an almost entirely lost landscape of colourful and sophisticated interiors of the early Reformed Scottish Kirk, developed during the Regencies of Moray and Morton during James VI's minority, then fostered in his majority from 1578, independent of his later liturgical agenda following his accession to the English throne in 1603.[90]

quickly reversed, demonstrated the lack of demand for the Dairsie model; J. Goodare 'Why Archbishop Spottiswoode became an Episcopalian' in *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30.4 (Autumn 2006/7), 83-103.

[89] *LI*.

[90] James Stewart, Earl of Moray, made a significant contribution to the musical resources available to the Reformed Kirk in his commissioning of the *Wode Psalter* (see Section Two, Chapter Two). Regent Morton's cultural tastes, exemplified in his development of the church, castle and gardens at Aberdour following his fall from power in 1578, have been overshadowed by his reputation as a ruthless statesman.

Chapter One

MANIFESTOS AND REALITIES

The First Book of Discipline, the manifesto of the Reformed Kirk published in 1560, stated that:

> As we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy sacraments to be rightly ministered; so can we not cease to require Idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as Abbeyes, Monkeries, Frieries, Nonries, Chappels, Chanteries, Cathedrall Churches, Chanonries, Colledges, others than presently are Parish Churches or Schooles), to be utterly suppressed in all bounds and places of this Realme (except onely Palaces, Mansions, and dwelling places adjacent thereto, with Orchards and Yards of the same), as also that idolatrie may be removed from the presence of all persons of what estate or condition that ever they be within this realm.
>
> For let your Honours assuredly be perswaded, that where idolatry is maintained, or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall God's wrath raigne, not onely upon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also the negligent sufferers, especially if God have armed their hands with power to suppresse such abhomination.
>
> By idolatry we understand, the Masse, invocation of Saints, adoration of images and the keeping and retaining of the same. And finally all honouring of God, not conteined in his holy word.[91]

However, despite the visits of the Lords of the Congregation to what were seen as key hotspots of Roman Catholic devotion, such as cathedrals, friaries and abbeys, there was no completely systematic national implementation of the vision set out in *The First Book of Discipline.* Short of a ready force of Reformed ministers empowered and willing to enforce liturgical practice, it was possible for local kirks to continue to hold onto some of the iconography of the pre-1559 Scottish Church for a considerable time. The early records of

[91] *FBD,* 94.

the General Assembly noted the ongoing quest to remove the vestiges of Roman Catholic worship, but with varying degrees of coverage and thoroughness. The minute of 25th December 1565 revealed one of the difficulties. The moderator-elect and Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, John Erskine of Dun, responded to criticism of his visitation regime by saying 'that his visitations could not be very profitable, in respect that it behoved him to lodge in time of visitation with his friends for the most part, who had most need of correction and discipline; therefore he besought the assembly to provide some other to that office.'[92] It was much easier for an outsider to challenge someone on the basis of office rather than friendship, and this kind of kin and fraternal dilemma made it very difficult for the early Kirk to enforce its programmes.[93] The local nobility had their part to play in this process. An enthusiastically Reforming patron or burgh council could bring quick and decisive change to a parish church such as that of Ayr, where there appears to have been a programme of streamlining of the interior of St John's Kirk before Easter 1559.[94] In contrast, a less committed or actively resistant noble family such as the Grays could hold on to their investment in the art and culture of the rood screen paintings at Fowlis Easter well into the seventeenth-century, despite the high profile attempts of the Synod of Fife to achieve their removal.

It could be said that these exceptions proved the rule of a more rigorously achieved cleansing of kirks. It is certainly the case that we have little evidence of the survival of altars (the most doctrinally sensitive furniture) although the altar stone at Fowlis Easter was said to be still *in situ* in 1612 when Patrick Gray of Longforgan was noted by the Presbytery of Dundee to have 'entered within the Kirk of Fowles and at the altar-stane as yet standing kneeled and maid his prayers.'[95] In another part of Angus, the collegiate church at Guthrie survived until the early 19th century, when it was demolished and rebuilt on the same site. A drawing of 1814 from the Hutton Collection showed that the old kirk was typical of small churches converted for reformed worship. It was a simple rectangle with new square-headed windows in the former east end, but with a pre-Reformation burial aisle projecting on the south side. This continued to be used by the local laird as a family seating area and

[92] *APGA*, 87.
[93] See also J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 119.
[94] M. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 90-93. This placed re-ordering of the kirk at Ayr ahead of Knox's Perth sermon of 17th June, 1559.
[95] A.B. Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter* (Dundee, Harley and Cox, 1933), 71.

tomb.[96] Remarkably, the medieval painted ceiling of the aisle was still visible to general worshipers some years before 1790, when John Constable wrote to General Hutton:

> I was once in this Church but it is long sine, there is nothing remarkable in its construction, it is a little square building with a projection in the middle towards the south opposite of the pulpit where the family sit; the roof of this aisle or projection ceiled with wood on which was painted many armorial bearings of the ffamilies connected with Guthrey, but I am told it has been white washed [so little] regard is had to antiquities.[97]

The whitewashed paintings were recorded as representing a "Doom" or "Last Judgement" scene on one side of the ceiling and a variety of scenes from Christ's Passion on the other. Unfortunately the ravages of time and whitewashing have taken their toll on this ceiling. It was removed from the aisle and survives in the National Museum of Scotland. The designs are now severely faded, but in its prime this would have being a striking example of a church ceiling painted with dramatic Christian imagery. This ceiling was visible in the parish church until the late eighteenth-century, making it a remarkable survivor in the context of a church converted for Reformed worship.[98]

Further north at Aberdeen, the reredos of St Katherine's altar remained in the south transept at St Machar's Cathedral until the Presbytery of Aberdeen ordered its removal in 1642. However, it did not completely disappear, as parts of its gilded carving were recycled in the creation of ornamental fronts for a new west end gallery.[99] At St Nicholas, the burgh kirk of New Aberdeen, the Regent Morton's visitation in 1574 discovered that the organ, choir stalls, choir screen and rood loft were still *in-situ*, with the screen and loft remaining until the building was divided into two churches in 1596, when a partition wall was

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[96] See images of Guthrie Collegiate Church in Volume Two, Figs.2-8.

[97] Letter from George Constable to Hutton, dated 1790 at Wallace Craigie, Hutton MS Volume:29.4.2.(IX), cited in T.S. Muir, *Descriptive Notices of Some of the Ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland* (London, Henry Parker, 1848), 134.

[98] M.R. Apted and W.N. Robertson 'Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter' in PSAS, vol.95, 1961-2, 262-79.

[99] D. Stevenson, *St Machar's Cathedral and the Reformation 1560-1690, Occasional Papers no.7* (Aberdeen, St Machar's Cathedral, 1981), 12.

constructed at the crossing.[100] The rood screen of Elgin Cathedral survived in the abandoned and neglected "Chanonry Kirk," continuing to be the contentious focus for clandestine devotion, until it was smashed apart for firewood by the local minister in 1640.[101] Popular mythology attributes all material destruction to the first wave of "cleansing" from 1559, but these examples show that 80-90 years later there was still enough remaining to cause offence to later generations of iconophobes. During the 1650s, much material destruction occurred at the hands of Oliver Cromwell's occupying armies, who found churches convenient places in which to billet troops and stable horses throughout their campaigns to enforce submission across Scotland. Much evidence of the aesthetic of early Reformed places of worship was lost at that time.

Financial Realities

The momentum of custom and economics meant that Reformation was negotiated locally according to the circumstances of personalities, material inheritance of kirks and the availability of finance. There were few brand new church buildings as there were already churches. The first generation of the Reformed Kirk saw little need to demolish the existing kirks and begin again, and indeed destruction of the core fabric such as windows, desks, doors, walls and ceilings was actively forbidden where a use was envisaged for a building.[102] On a practical level, the raw materials of construction and labour were expensive. The financial reality of the appropriation of the finances of the Scottish Church amongst the nobility and the crown left little ready cash for a programme of church building – an issue which similarly affected the resourcing of clergy. In any case, a place of meeting for the parish already existed in most places, and as in doctrinal terms the Kirk saw itself in continuity with the ancient Scottish church, there was no instrinsic contradiction in continuing to worship in the sanctuaries of the ancestors.[103] Indeed, it could be said that it was extremely important that the new Kirk claimed the physical territory of the old, in order

[100] A. White, 'The Regent Morton's Visitation: The Reformation of Aberdeen, 1574,' in A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I.B. Cowan, eds., *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 246-263; *Extracts from the council register of the burgh of Aberdeen,* vol.2, 135-136.

[101] *FES*, *vol. 6, Synod of Aberdeen and Moray* (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1926), 388.

[102] *FBD*, 94. 'The Third Head' noted that churches which were to be used as parish churches were to be left intact; SR, 224, noted that the Lords of the Congregation ordered the "cleansers" of Dunkeld Cathedral to leave the structural fabric and useful seating intact.

[103] W. Cowper, *Seuen Dayes Conference Betweene a Catholicke Christian and a Catholicke*, Day 2, 'Concerning the Antiquity of the Church of Scotland.'

to assert its claim to the "title deeds" of Scottish Christianity. In the case of collegiate churches established by the nobility for the saying of masses for the souls of their families, there was a direct kin-based affinity with the place of worship, and therefore a reluctance to abandon or defile places which contained the mortal remains of their families. It is remarkable that almost all of the collegiate churches which were associated with parish worship, as well as the celebration of masses for the benefit of the patron, continued as Reformed kirks. Conspicuous exceptions were the churches at Roslin and Seton, which had mainly functioned as private chapels. Had these been necessary for parish worship, no doubt they too would have been adapted accordingly. It is remarkable that the impressive pilgrimage churches of Tain, Ladykirk, and Whitekirk escaped with their basic fabric relatively unscathed, all being converted for Reformed worship, unlike the collegiate church at Restalrig, which along with friaries was one of the few specific targets for immediate destruction in the first wave of the post-1559 Kirk.[104]

Despite the context of local variation, in the 'Ninth Head' of *The First Book of Discipline*, the Kirk attempted to ensure that a minimum standard of repair and furnishing was made clear:

> Least that the word of God and ministration of the Sacraments by unseemlinesse of the place come in contempt, of necessity it is that the Kirk and place where the people ought publickly to convene be with expedition repaired with dores, windowes, thack, and with such preparation within as appertaineth as well to the Magestie of God, as unto the ease and commodity of the people. And because we know the slouthfulnesse of men in this behalfe and in all other, which may not redound to their private commoditie, strait charge and commandement must be given, that within ane certaine day the reparation must be begun and within another day to be affixed by your Honours, that it may be finished. Penalties and sums of mony must be injoyned, and without pardon taken from the contemners. The reparation would be according to the ability and number of Kirks. Every Kirk must have dores, close windowes of glasse, thack able to withhold raine, a bell to

[104] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox*, 207. The order to demolish the Collegiate Church at Restalrig seems to have had a particularly focused and vindictive purpose. John Sinclair, the Dean, had been an advocate of reform but chose to remain loyal to the Roman Catholic Church; see Volume Two for images of Tain (Figs.16-22), Ladykirk (Figs.9-11), and Whitekirk (Figs.12-14).

> convocate the people together, a pulpet, a basen for baptizing and tables for ministration of the Lords Supper. In greater Kirks and where the congregation is great in number, must reparation be made within the Kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people.[105]

The need to make such basic requirements clear was a reflection of the variable state of churches of this period. Both before and after 1560, keeping kirks wind and watertight was an ongoing struggle, as both local and regional records testify.[106] However, as the strife of the civil wars in the 1560s and early 1570s gave way to a more settled period of development following the elevation of the Earl of Morton to the Regency, matters improved significantly. The coming to majority of the young King James VI was a significant factor in steadying the worship and material culture of the Kirk. It was in this period that the King began to act as an advocate and patron for the Kirk. In the case of Greenock, a Royal Charter was given to establish a new parish church in 1591, spearheaded by the local landowner, John Schaw. This resulted in a new church building in 1592, albeit recycling stones from pre-Reformation churches in the area. The Charter made clear the motivations and aims of the project:

> Being movit wt the ernest zeill and grite affection our louit Johnne schaw of grenok hes ay had to goddis glorie and propagatioun of the trew religioun sen the first professing of the same within our realm And that he continewing in the godlie mynd and gude intentioun upon sindrie ressounable considerationis moving him of conscience and reuerence he beiris to goddis Name Is willing not only on his awin coist to Erect and big ane parroche kirk vpon his awin heritage bot also to appoint and designne mans and gaird to the samyn wt the haul profitte and comoditie he hes of teind belonging to the kirk for the help and supporte of the sustentatioun of ane minister thairat Sua that the puir pepill duelling vpoun his lands and heritage qlkis ar all fischers and of a ressounable

[105] *FBD*, 202-203.

[106] For example, the 1586 records of the visitation of the Diocese of Dunblane and other churches noted that the kirk at Dollar was at 'verie evill point bathe within and without' and that there were problems with a leaking cupola at Kincardine. *Visitation of the Diocese of Dunblane and other churches, 1586-1589*, ed. J. Kirk, Scottish Record Society, new series 11 (Edinburgh, 1984), 19 and 35.

> nowmer duelland four myles fra thair parroche kirk and having ane greit river to pas over to the samyn May haif ane ease in winter seasoun and better comoditie to goddis s[er]uice on the sabboth day….[107]

The resultant building of 1592 was a good example of the impact that a local laird in sympathy with the Reformed Kirk could make. It was a simple and elegant T-plan structure, typical of the first new kirks, with a strongly vernacular flavour. In due course it was enhanced by two burial aisles, one of which was for Schaw and his family.[108]

Economic, social and political stability meant that luxuries such as decoration of churches became more possible. The late sixteenth-century saw the development of what could be called the aesthetic of the Jacobean kirk building, which in turn was tied to the aesthetic of Jacobean worship in Scotland. In light of James' programme to reform Scottish worship in the mould of the Church of England after his accession to the English throne in 1603, it perhaps seems contradictory to use the phrase "Jacobean worship." It may be proposed that James had always intended to take the Scottish church in a different direction to what had developed after 1559. However, this is to anticipate later developments. Prior to 1603, the youthful King James was a stout defender and advocate of the doctrine and practice of the Scottish Kirk, which had been strengthened during the Regency of the Earl of Morton (1573-8).[109] Admittedly, this relationship was sorely tested in the developing struggle for authority between Kirk and King as James entered his twenties. However, it was under his early advocacy that the worship and liturgy of the Kirk developed in such a distinctive way that to effect major change later in his reign led to a crisis in parish, Kirk and state. Even James' loyal bishops of the post-1610 polity were conscious that what he proposed in the Five Articles of Perth was in tension with the by then established regime of the Kirk.[110]

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[107] D. Weir, *History of the Town of Greenock* (original text 1829, reprinted Paisley, The Grian Press, 2004), 16; W. Auld, *Greenock and its Early Social Environment* (Greenock, James McKelvie and Sons Ltd, 1907), 16; Details of the discovery of recycled carved stonework found in the building can be found at <http://www.lylekirk.org/owk%20web2/Page3.html> [accessed 16th October 2016]; For an analysis of a similar new-build project of 1582 at Kemback in Fife see G. Chernoff, *Building the Reformed Kirk*, 112.

[108] See images of Greenock West Kirk in Volume Two, Figs.23-25.

[109] *SR*, 283-301.

[110] W. Scot, *An Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk of Scotland*, 246; C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Grampian Club, 1882), cxxiii.

The 1594 Chapel Royal at Stirling

The project to rebuild the Chapel Royal at Stirling for the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594 was a direct Royal commission, and important evidence which demonstrates the worship paradigm of the early Reformed Kirk. It was designed and constructed with a high degree of architectural sophistication, with its proportions based on the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, and with an overt agenda to assert James' Solomonic credentials with this association. However, it was not the prototype for the Holyrood Chapel Royal when it was refurbished for James' return visit to Scotland in 1617. That was to be influenced by the later preference of the English Royal Court for Andrewesian/Laudian liturgical style.[111] Prior to its remodelling and further embellishment in 1633, the Stirling chapel had a simple rectangular plan, painted decoration and Royal iconography on the upper walls and east wall, a ceiling painted blue (with the addition of flowers and gilding) and some kind of partition or screen separating the west end of the chapel from the rest of it. There are few surviving examples of wall painting in the Reformed Kirk which date from before 1600, but the Chapel Royal at Stirling lets us see the roots of the later ceiling and wall decoration that survive from the 1630s in the Skelmorlie aisle at Largs, St Mary's Church at Grandtully and the Chapel Royal at Falkland Palace. Their fusion of classical, Biblical and heraldic imagery lay in the self-consciously fashioned aesthetic of the Scottish Reformed Kirk and its Stewart "Godly Magistrates,"seen developing at Stirling in the 1590s.[112]

Tapestry carpets and wall hangings adorned the floors and walls of the area within the partition. Campbell and MacKechnie's description of the Chapel, based upon contemporary accounts of the 1594 baptism by William Fowler (a writer, courtier and Secretary to Queen Anne) recreated the scene of a simple rectangular space divided into three sections which corresponded to the three courts of the Jerusalem Temple. Interestingly, the plan comparison of the Chapel Royal and Solomon's Temple in Campbell and MacKechnie's work showed that the area comparable to the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem did not correspond with the hierarchy of the use of the chapel at Stirling. The King's seat was not at the west end, but was instead in the eastern section, which corresponded to the location of a medieval high altar.[113] Whilst there may be some association with the importance of the east end and

[111] C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, cxxii.

[112] See Section Two, Chapter One, 134-135, for a discussion of the inclusion of the Stewart dynasty in the kalendar of the 1596 Henrie Charteris Psalme Buik.

[113] I. Campbell and A. MacKechnie, 'The Great Temple of Solomon,' 106.

the symbolism of the sun rising in the east, it is curious that James did not maximise the image of sitting in the area at the west end, whose proportions corresponded to the holy of holies in the Temple, thereby emphasising his self image as the new King Solomon. Instead, a raised platform at the east end contained a typically symbolic seating arrangement for King James in the north east corner, flanked on his right hand by the French Ambassador and on his left by the English representative of Elizabeth I. Around them, representatives of Denmark, Mecklenburg, Brunswick and Ambassadors of the Estates were located. In the larger central area there was seating for the assembled nobility of Scotland and the focus was upon a centrally located pulpit either on the south or north side. This was a typical location for a pulpit in a Reformed Kirk, and it would seem more likely that given its central part in the proceedings, the pulpit would be centrally located on the windowless north wall, rather than shoe-horned between two of the south windows to the east of the main entrance, as it came to be by 1719:[114]

> In the middest of the Chappell Royall within the partition, where the Kings Maiestie, the Ambassadors, and Prince with his conuoy were placed, there was a newe pulpit erected: The same was richely hung with cloth of Gold: All the pauement within this partition, was Prince-like laide with fine tapestrie.
>
> Under the Pulpit was another deske, wherein sate in the middest, M. Dauid Cuninghame, Bishop of Abirdene, M. Dauid Lindesay, Minister of Leyth and Iohn Duncanson, one of the ordinary ministers to the Kings Maiestie: Before whome was set a table, couered with yealowe veluote.[115]

The central location of the pulpit, the setting up of a table to receive the baptismal vessels and ducal crown, and the use of this arrangement for the baptismal action, was typical of the practice of the early Reformed Kirk. The table was located in the space commonly reserved for setting up the tables for the Lord's Supper. There was no communion table at the east end – the current "altar" in this location is not representative of the usage of the chapel when it was built.

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[114] *Ibid*., 102, for a reproduction of the 1719 plan of the chapel drawn by Thomas Moore.
[115] *The Works of William Fowler Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of James VI,* ed. H.W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society, third series, 7 (Edinburgh, 1936), 180.

A screen of timber separated the central area from a raised western platform. This area is the subject of some debate and has been suggested as a seating area for Queen Anne. However, it is possible that it was used by less socially eminent guests, as Fowler stated that 'Without the partition, were ornate fourmes, all covered with greene, whereupon were placed the Gentlemen of England, Denmarke, Almaine, Flanders, and Scotland.'[116] As he went on to describe the proceedings, the prominence of preaching was notable, with a sermon from Patrick Galloway (a minister of the king's household) on Genesis 21, an address from the bishop of Aberdeen on the sacrament of Baptism in Scots then Latin, and a Latin oration in praise of Prince Henry. The focus of the baptism ceremony around the pulpit was striking:

> And as all men wer thus competentlie placed, and vniversall silence made, entered M. Patrik Galloway, one of his Maiesties ordinarie Preachers into the Pulpite, who learnedlie and godlie, entreated vpon the text of the 21 of Genesis. Which being done, the Bishop of Aberdene, stood vp in his seate, and taught vpon the Sacrament of Baptisme, firste, in the vulgare tongue, and next in the Latine, to the end, all men might generallie vnderstand. This done, the Provost, and Prebends of the Chappell Royall, did sing the 21 Psalme of Dauid, according to the art of Musique, to the great delectation of the noble Auditorie. Then they proceeded to the action. The King arose, and came towards the Pulpit. The Ambassadours followed in their order. The Barons that carried the Pale aboue the Prince, mooued towards the Pulpit: The Duke of Lennox, receaued the Prince from the Countesse of Mar, and deliuered him to the hands of the Erll of Sussex, Ambassadour for England: Where he was named by all their consents, Frederik Henrie, Henrie Frederik, and so baptised, In the Name of the Father, Sonnne, and holie Ghost, by the said names.[117]

This was a thoroughly Reformed occasion which contrasted significantly with the Roman Catholic rites conducted at James' own baptism at Stirling in 1566.[118]

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[116] *Ibid*., 182.

[117] *Ibid*., 182.

[118] M. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566,' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol.LXIX, 1, no.187 (April 1990), 1-21.

The construction and furnishing of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, with the active participation of the Reformed Kirk, reveals that an enrichment of Reformed liturgy was a feature of the 1590s at court level. But can it be said that this enrichment was also found at parish level? Despite the colourful and deeply symbolic nature of the royal commission of the Chapel Royal at Stirling and its furnishing for the 1594 baptism, at parish level the crown was not actively engaged in the the upkeep and development of parish churches in this period, despite petitions from the General Assembly such as that for the repair of Dunfermline Abbey, and Dunblane and Glasgow cathedrals in February 1588.[119] Repair and development happened in most cases at a local level, with the expenses falling upon local benefice-holders and congregations. It is to this local level that we now turn as we attempt to draw conclusions from examples of local kirks, considering how they may have related to the ideals expressed in the design and use of James VI's model chapel at Stirling.

Maintaining and developing kirks

The task of assessing the architectural evidence of Scottish churches is rather like trying to work with a palimpsest. Virtually no converted or new-build churches have survived in the condition in which they existed in the period 1559-1617. We have to examine the surviving fabric for signs of earlier building works and layouts, seek out written accounts, and cite rare drawings which capture earlier periods of the building and were made before the trend for either complete replacement or romantic medievalising "restoration" of the later nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. Interior drawings are even rarer than exterior views, making the task of assessing the experience of being at worship particularly challenging.

The small size of the medieval kirks often led to piecemeal extension and adaptation to increase seating capacity as populations rose and the Reformed programme started to yield larger attendances at worship in the more settled times of the later sixteenth-century.[120] The addition of lofts, fixed seating and burial aisles containing seating for the local benefice holder frequently included carved and coloured timberwork with heraldic devices and

[119] *APGA*, 833.

[120] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, ed. G.S. Pryde, Scottish History Society, third series, 28 (Edinburgh, 1937), 186-212, for evidence that at St John's Kirk in Ayr an extensive programme of construction of new galleries was underway during the 1590s.

largely non-figurative imagery. However, these complex additions were not enough to deal with the relatively poor basic construction of the older buildings and it is telling that these aisles often survived the eighteenth and nineteenth-century replacement of the body of the kirk.[121] Maintenance, or the lack of it, was a frequent issue in the visitations of the Diocese of Dunblane, such as in the case of Muthill, where the session were urged to 'tak ordur for reparation off thair kirk, quhilk is alluterly decayit in thak and ruff all hail except the queir.'[122] At least in this case, the choir was being maintained by the local benefice-holder, who commonly had responsibility for this area of larger kirks. At Aberuthven, the situation was reversed, the visitors noticing that 'The kirk is at gud point except the thak off the queir sumquhat revin.'[123] However, in some places significant improvements were made in tandem with new ministerial appointments. In the case of Bothkennar, the visitation of 12th August, 1586 included discussion of possible union of the parish with nearby Falkirk or Airth but it was decided to retain the separate parish due to the difficulty of crossing over unbridged ravines on the south bank of the Forth estuary in wet weather. The minute noted, 'And as concerning thair kirk qhilk presentlie is rewin in thak and ruf thai promis to repair the sam wuth all expedition swa a minister be granttit unto tham upone conditions foirsaidis.'[124] The planting of a minister (William Cowper) was contingent upon a commitment from the congregation and benefice-holder to provide a building appropriate for the conduct of worship. The congregation appear to have done their part, as two years later the visitation noted that:

> The part off the kirk appertenyng to the paroche is weill reparit within and without newlie thekit, ane stipill off tymmer erectit, hevin ane bell thairin, wythin ane new pulpit and settis for the pepill. The persones part apertening to the nunrie of [blank] and to their factur, the lard of Cowdonknowis, is ruing for falt off reparing.[125]

[121] In addition, the families buried in the aisles had an interest in maintaining them as "mortuary chapels" and many survive intact, such as those at Guthrie and Kinfauns parish kirks.
[122] *Visitation of the Diocese of Dunblane*, ed. J. Kirk, 45.
[123] *Ibid*., 48.
[124] *Ibid*., 8.
[125] *Ibid*., 84.

Here we see that even within a church where good progress was made, with an orderly building containing seating for the congregation, there were still difficulties in achieving the complete consolidation of the fabric, which in some cases may have compromised the integrity, decorative order and comfort of the rest of the kirk. This was certainly the case at Jedburgh Abbey, where the structural deterioration of the crossing tower (under which the Reformed congregation met for over 100 years following the end of Roman Catholic worship) threatened its collapse in the mid-seventeenth-century, eventually leading to the creation of a new place of worship in the west end of the nave between 1668-71.[126] A more dramatic situation occurred at St Machar's Cathedral in Aberdeen. The Earl of Moray had organised the stripping of the lead from the spire and the removal of the bells in 1568 to raise revenue to pay troops during the civil war and this led to the eventual collapse of the timber steeple. In its stead, a saddle-back roof was constructed on the tower, but ongoing structural issues led the entire crossing tower to collapse in 1688, taking the surviving transepts and all of the lofts and seating in this area with it.[127] However, until then the cathedral had continued to be used for worship with significant survivals of pre-Reformation decoration and the introduction of new seating arrangements. In the case of Elgin, the cathedral had been abandoned in favour of the church of St Giles in the High Street. This substantial building was a cruciform medieval gothic church, which included a central crossing tower. This basic format, with internal seating adaptations, remained until 1679 when the rotten roof timbers of the nave collapsed under the weight of its stone slabs. The choir, tower and transepts survived and the nave was rebuilt, resulting in a splendid galleried interior with a magnificent pulpit of 1684 (which survives in Elgin's St Columba's Church) and lofts and pews for the various craft guilds and burgh hierarchy.[128]

These examples indicate that we cannot make any sweeping assumptions about the environment of worship during this period. Local maintenance factors had as significant a part to play in the aesthetics and comfort of kirks as theoretical ideals.

[126] K. Cruft, J. Dunbar, R. Fawcett, eds., *The Buildings of Scotland, Borders* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006), 406.
[127] J. Sharples, D.W. Walker, M. Woodworth, *The Buildings of Scotland, Aberdeenshire South and Aberdeen* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015), 175; See Volume Two, Figs.248-9 for images of the cathedral with central tower extant.
[128] H.B. Mackintosh, *Elgin Past and Present* (Elgin, J.D. Yeadon, 1914), 201; See Volume Two, Figs.26-30 for images of St Giles Kirk, Elgin.

A new paradigm for the use of Reformed Places of Worship

The survival of significant decorated structural items within churches built for Roman Catholic worship and the celebration of The Mass would seem to point in the direction of "survival Catholicism" in the hearts of congregations, patrons and clergy, or at the very least, continuities between the old Kirk and new Kirk. It seems self-evident that there would be continuities. The Scottish Churches before and after 1560 were both Christian Churches, using broadly the same Scriptural resources, albeit with new limitations on the Apocrypha and with the new repertoire of vernacular versions of Bible, Cathechism and Psalme Buik. Despite contentions over the interpretation and celebration of the sacraments and the critical issue of papal jurisdiction, the Scottish Reformed Kirk saw itself as very much in continuity with the faith tradition. This was not a "new faith" as some have been inclined to say, but was rather a new perspective on an old tradition, albeit one which stressed its return to the roots of Christianity rather than claims to innovation.[129] This enabled a significant number of priests to consider it possible to seek to become readers and ministers in the Reformed Kirk.[130]

The way that the worship space was used by the Scottish Reformed Kirk was extremely symbolic of the way that this shift in relationship to the Christian tradition was worked out in timber and stone. The crucial change lay in the physical re-orientation of worship from an east-end focus on the high altar in the choir, to a north-south or south-north axis gathered around a pulpit, sometimes also including a reading desk, located in the centre of one of these walls.[131] It was virtually unknown for the focus to remain on the east end, and

[129] John Craig's 1581 *Catechism* took pains to assert the Reformed Kirk's place in the Catholic (universal) Church and therefore its inheritance of the leading theologians of the early church.

[130] L. Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church: John Winram (c1492-1582) and the example of Fife* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), Appendix A; M. Dilworth, 'Canons Regular and the Reformation,' in A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and Cowan, I.B., eds, *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 164-182; C.H. Hawes, *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574,* Scottish Record Society, third series, 3 (Edinburgh, 1972).

[131] The late sixteenth-century pulpit from Holy Trinity Parish Church, St Andrews, which is a composite pulpit and reading desk, has been preserved in St Salvator's College Chapel in the same town. See Volume Two, Fig.31.

indeed in some cases, such as at Midcalder Kirk, the new layouts involved the congregation sitting in a westward orientation on top of the site of the former high altar with their focus on a pulpit at the west end.[132] This fundamental change brought an intimate physical relationship between officiant and congregation, which was often gathered around him on three sides. No doubt this arrangement worked better in some places than others. In a kirk such as Muthill, where the relatively narrow nave contained an arcade and aisles, some of the congregation would have found themselves unable to see and perhaps hear due to being placed behind a pillar. In the case of Dysart, the old kirk was described by George Muirhead in 1792 as 'dark, the side walls low, and the incumbrance of the pillars, etc., so many that it is difficult to make the voice reach it.[133] By contrast, the arcaded nave at Crail was relatively tall and wide, facilitating the construction of lofts in the upper part of the arcades whilst also enabling a significant amount of floorspace for seating in the centre of the nave.[134] Once such floor capacity became inadequate, then lofts were inserted above, sometimes with a second level as in the case of the old kirk of Dumbarton described prior to its demolition in 1810:

> The pulpit stood on the south side of the building, or in the nave of the edifice, and immediately to the front of it, to the north, was the gallery of Mr Campbell of Stonefield (he, as proprietor of the Levenside estate, was the principle heritor of the parish), as well as that of the Magistrates and Town Council. The galleries to the west of the pulpit belonged in property to, and were occupied chiefly by, the members of the four incorporated trades of the burgh. The incorporation of shoemakers held in property and occupied the sittings which were nearly under these galleries. To the east of the pulpit was the gallery for the accommodation of the officers and infantry soldiers of the Castle, generally termed the Soldiers' Loft, and the gallery for the Dean of Guild Court and the guild brethren. These were overtopped by another small gallery, which ascended to nearly the roof of the church. This gallery, from its commanding a view of the whole congregation, and being chiefly occupied by single ladies, was ludicrously denominated the "Hen Bank." [135]

[132] See Volume Two, Figs.32-33 for images of Midcalder Kirk.
[133] A.S. Cunningham, *Dysart: Past and Present* (Kirkcaldy, James Burt, 1912), 15.
[134] See Volume Two, Figs.34-49 for images of Crail Kirk.
[135] See Volume Two, Figs.50-51 for images of Dumbarton Old Kirk; D. Macleod, *Dumbarton Ancient and Modern* (Dumbarton, Bennett and Thomson, 1893), IV.

In so far as we can say that a template was developed for Reformed churches, this model of a rotated axis with congregation gathered around a pulpit on the north or south side of the building (in many places with the addition of galleries or lofts on one or two levels) was the most common until the fashion for "restoration" to the pre-Reformation west-east axis during the later nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. This new relationship was more than simply practical. The Word contained in the reader's service and the preaching of the minister's service had to be heard. The common two-tier pulpit arrangement, with reader's desk located below the higher pulpit for the minister, was a visual reminder of the Word preached, even if no minister was available.[136] Just as important was the sacramental Word, and the new layout chimed well with the Reformed stress on the Lord's Supper as an intimate corporate celebration. In the Reformed mind, the preached and sacramental Word of Baptism and the Lord's Supper could not be separated, and this was why the pulpit was centrally located, with a bracket attached to support the baptismal bowl and a flexible area for the setting up of the temporary "buirds" [boards] of the Lord's Supper. Fundamental to this doctrine of the Word was the body of Christ, the members of the Church. This body had to be seen, and every member of the congregation was to be in a close physical relationship as a reminder of the Kirk's corporate nature. Sacraments were to be public, 'not ordained to be used in private corners,' and therefore the layout of kirks was to reflect the corporate nature of all public worship.[137] It was this practically and doctrinally established layout that was to gradually become embellished in the decades after 1559.

Deployment of the Choir

Larger pre-Reformation kirks, and some smaller ones, were commonly two cell spaces, with a nave and choir divided by a rood screen. The congregation assembled in the nave and the clergy and choristers led worship in the choir area. The choir no longer fulfilled any necessary liturgical function and therefore this area was deployed according to local circumstances. In some cases, such as at St Mary's Haddington and South Leith, the choir

[136] In *The Reformation in Fife*, John McCallum demonstrated that in Fife a weekly sermon was extremely unusual until after 1600 due to the small number of parishes with their own dedicated minister.
[137] *FOP,* 'Order of Baptism,' 62.

had been severely damaged during periods of conflict.[138] However, where the choir survived intact in the larger burgh kirks such as Perth, Crail and Culross Abbey, there is documentary evidence that they were used for communion, whilst in St. Nicholas Aberdeen and Holy Trinity St Andrews, there were communion 'yles' which may have been other parts of the building.[139] Communicants were seated around the linen covered communion tables in as many "sittings" as were necessary.[140] Whilst the action of the communion was happening, the other part of the church was used for a parallel service of reading, prayers and Psalm-singing led by the reader. In the case of Elgin, the arrangement was the other way around, with the communion taking place in the former nave, and the service with the reader in the former choir. In 1600 it was decided that as it was 'Communion next Sunday and theirfoir all strangeris admoneishit not to preishe to the kirk. It is appointing that the maister of the Grammar Scole occupe reading and singing of psalms in the queir and a desk to be tain out of the kirk thairinto.'[141] In 1602, it was noted that parallel teaching would happen in the choir on the communion Sunday following, led by Mr Samuell Cokburn, so this seems to have become an established pattern.[142]

In Elgin a particularly strict line was taken to ensure that the space for the communion tables was not usurped by the increasing demand to construct permanent desks. In 1617 it was noted that the session 'Ordeins that all the seatis in the kirk be draun in and nocht to imped the entress to the kirk flower [floor] for deskis, nather that they pas the boundis of daskis.'[143] This was still an issue in 1642, when the Skinners' petitioned the session for 'a foot broad before the Skiners dask for their qyues [wives] to sit on quhilk sould be bund wp with cleiks or else taken away in tym of the communion.'[144] Later still in 1698 the practice was continuing, with six new pews granted on the condition that they 'be removed at the

[138] R.K. Marshall, *Ruin and Restoration: St Mary's Church, Haddington*, (East Lothian Council Library Service, 2001), 13-20; S. Mowat, *The Port of Leith: Its History and Its People* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2003), 203.
[139] *ASPRC*, 179; *WSRC*, 242; *RStAKS*, 863.
[140] The second Reformed communion at St Giles, Edinburgh was referred to in the Dean of Guild accounts of 1561-2, where arrangements for taking "tablis" and "furmes" from the Magdalen Chapel to the burgh kirk for the Lords Supper were noted. *The Burgh Accounts of Edinburgh*, ed. R. Adam, Scottish Burgh Record Society, 33, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1899), 'Dean of Guild's Accounts, 1552-67,' 158.
[141] *RKSE*, 65.
[142] *Ibid.*, 92.
[143] *Ibid.*, 153.
[144] *Ibid.*, 239.

time of the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and not to be fixed again until the action be fully over….'[145] Elgin showed a typical and striking degree of continuity in the priority given to keeping space free for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, reinforcing Margo Todd's point that despite its infrequent celebration, the Supper was an extremely important sacramental action that the session did not want to be compromised by other more proprietorial interests.[146]

At Dunfermline, where the choir was in a poor structural condition and fell out of use soon after 1560, Webster noted that:

> The Communion was celebrated in the 'Communion yle' which extended along the east of the church and was entered by two doors, one on the north and the other on the south. In 1648, when a new north entrance to the church was made, the 'little stane walls' at the sides of these doors were taken down and timber erections substituted.
>
> A wall corresponding to these stretched along the front of the 'yle' to separate it from the 'bodie of the kirk,' and of such a height as not to interfere with the congregation there seeing the Communion service. The 'yle' was thus an enclosure of fenced space (hence 'fencing the tables'), from which, on Communion occasions, all who had not the session's passport were strictly excluded.[147]

Dunfermline was an excellent example of an original local solution to a need for a dedicated space to set up the tables for the Lord's Supper, which did not involve the medieval choir.[148]

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[145] *Ibid.*, 318.
[146] *CP*, 84-126.
[147] J.M. Webster, *Dunfermline Abbey* (Dunfermline, Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, 1948), 235.
[148] Andrew Spicer also noted the arrangement at Old St Peter's Kirk in Thurso, where the adoption of the former choir by the Sinclairs of Forss led to the provision of a separate communion aisle. A. Spicer, '"Defyle not Christ's kirk with your carrion:" burial and the

Where the choir was used as a communion aisle, the rationale seems to have been a pragamatic use of flexible space for the setting up of the tables. However, it seems unreasonable to expect that the congregation of a kirk such as Perth in the first generation after 1559 would not have made any association between the former liturgical activity of the choir and the current practice of setting up the tables there, if only to the extent of a heightened sense of the special nature of the action. On a basic level, the moving of the action of the communion into a concentrated area of the building, with only a portion of the overall congregation sitting at table at each sitting, and passing the bread and cups one to the other, would have brought a degree of intimacy and sense of occasion to the Lord's Supper, whilst reinforcing the doctrinal emphasis on communion as a domestic meal amongst friends rather than an efficacious sacrifice carried out at a distance at the east end.[149]

In many churches the responsibility for maintaining the choir lay with the benefice-holder, and so after 1560 their perceived rights and liability for the upkeep of this area led them to either screen off the choir as a burial aisle, or develop it as an area for their own private use, sometimes combining a laird's loft with a place of family burial below. Sometimes, as in the case of Guthrie, the laird's aisle had been a chantry chapel associated with saying masses for the patronal family. These tended to be close to the high altar, as at Guthrie, where the aisle was originally adjacent to the east end, but became central to the building when it was extended eastwards in the late fifteenth century.[150] This central location made much more sense when the axis of a kirk was altered to focus on a pulpit situated on the south or north long walls. The transeptal aisles at Abdie, Forgan and Newburn in Fife are good examples. At Forgan, a magnificent arch of 1600, constructed with finely dressed ashlar stone, framed the

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development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland,' 160; see also D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol.5, 189.

[149] See the rubric at the end of the Lord's Supper liturgy in *FOP,* 92, which was designed to emphasise that the Lord's Supper was not the Mass; J.E.A Dawson, 'Scotland and the example of Geneva,' in *Theology in Scotland*, vol. 16, no.2, (2009), 55-73. Dawson noted that sitting at table was a liturgical action developed in the English-Speaking congregation at Geneva and did not derive from Calvin's use. It became ubiquitous in Scotland; See also, I.B. Torrance, 'A Particular Reformed Piety'.

[150] *Corpus of Medieval Churches*, Guthrie Collegiate Church <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158972> [accessed 18/08/16]

loft, and one can imagine an impressive display of carved timber beneath in the laird's pew.[151] At the kirk of Fordyce in Banffshire, the Fordyce presbytery record of May 12th 1630 was a good demonstration of the process of constructing special seating for local lairds, that had been occurring since 1559:

> Petition by James, L.[ord] Deskfurd requiring ane competent place to build ane Loft within the Kirk of Fordyce for his L. better accommodation, ease, and repairing ot the said Kirk to heir God's word, and his Ladie their children and familie. The presb[ytery], found this petitione most reasonable, and that his L., as chief parochiner, suld be preferrit to the most commodious place wt.in the Kirk, and so much the rather for his L. zeal and good affection to Religioune, and theirfor past to the South Syd of the said Kirk, and their appointed ane place above the queir durre, and above the set and desk of Patrik Hay of Arbebothe, and ordained ane durre to be stricken out above the samine in the wall and ane loft to be built above the samine in lenth and bread[th] at his L. pleasure."[152]

During our period, the practice of embellishing these lofts began in a modest way, in tune with the early climate of caution regarding decoration of kirks in the first flush of reforming zeal, but developed with increasing pace as the Kirk came to occupy a relatively settled status.[153] The 1602 loft at Cullen and the Earl of Dunfermline's loft at St Bridget's Kirk at Dalgety Bay, described in 1834 as 'one of the small galleries' associated with the laird's striking and expensively appointed extension to the small church in 1610, said to have been 'rudely emblazoned [with] the heraldric arms of the Earl of Dunfermline,' seem chaste in comparison to the Stormont Pew of 1616. [154] This was constructed for David Murray, Lord

[151] There were early examples of transeptal family aisles at Banff (1590), Kirkcudbright (1597), Kinfauns (1598), and Ballantrae (1605), all of which contained sculptural monuments to their local benefice holder. See Volume Two, Figs.52-62; For examples of transeptal Laird's lofts at Abdie, Forgan, Newburn see Section Two, Figs.64-70.
[152] W. Cramond, *The Church and Churchyard of Fordyce* (Banff, Banffshire Journal, 1886), 16.
[153] The effect of the changing polity of bishops and presbyteries through the period seems to have been less important to the development of local church buildings than its prominence in debate between polemicists of either the period or in later historiography would imply.
[154] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland: Fifeshire*, vol. 9 (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1834-45), 191.

Scone, in Scone Old Kirk and now survives in the parish church of New Scone. There were clear parallels between the design of this magnificent piece of furniture and the 1634 Forbes loft at Pitsligo. The apex of the timber loft tradition could be said to be the Crawford loft at Kilbirnie Kirk of 1703-8 whilst transitional lofts, such as that at Bowden Kirk (1661) demonstrate their development. [155] The foundation of the Scottish laird's loft tradition can be seen to have been laid in our period.

As well as the display of hierarchy, the prominent position of lofts, usually directly opposite the preacher, with the congregation gathered around the loft as well as the pulpit, seemed to assert both the social status of the laird, and their idealised position as Godly magistrate, supporting the well-being of the Kirk but also called to focus on the Word. Laird's lofts were significantly present in the experience of worship, lending both beauty and symbolic resonance to the experience of the congregation.

Continuities and survivals

Despite the best efforts of the Lords of the Congregation, the streamlining of parish churches, collegiate churches, cathedrals and abbeys that continued to be used for parish worship did not completely remove the iconography of Roman Catholic piety. Whilst altars were removed fairly swiftly, other items of furniture remained. Perhaps the most intriguing survivals are the sacrament houses and aumbries found across Scotland, but with particularly elaborate manifestations in Fife, Angus and Aberdeenshire. Sacrament houses were used to hold the hosts consecrated in the mass and were a focus of eucharistic devotion tied to the *Corpus Christi* devotional trend of the late medieval and renaissance church. [156] They were located close to the high altar, usually on the north wall of the choir. A niche with lockable doors enclosed the hosts whilst carved stone decoration and surrounding wall paintings created a visible expression of the doctrine of transubstantiation.[157] The sacrament house was designed to contain what Roman Catholic doctrine held to be the sacramental body of Christ, as testified by the inscription on the very fine specimen at Deskford which proclaims 'Ego sum panis vivus qui de ceo descendi: qui

[155] See Volume Two, Fig.63 for an image of the Stormont loft at Scone; Fig.68-69 for the Forbes loft at Pistligo; Fig.71 for the Crawford Loft at Kilbirnie; Fig.72 for the loft at Bowden Kirk.

[156] *SS*, 125-136; D. McRoberts, 'Scottish Sacrament Houses,' in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 15.3 (1965) 33-56.

[157] See images of sacrament houses in Volume Two, Figs.73-81.

manducaverit ex hoc pane vivet in aeternum: Johans, sesto et cetera' (I am the living bread who has come down from heaven; whoever eats this bread will live forever: John 6 etcetera) and 'os meum es et caro mea' (you are my bone and my flesh). Stephen M. Holmes has pointed out that the choice of these texts indicated a whole-hearted embracing of Aquinas' understanding of the eating of the whole body of Christ in the sacrament of the Mass.[158] These items of liturgical furniture were likely to have been particularly offensive to Reformed attitudes to communion, and one of the items of idolatry mentioned in *The First Book of Discipline*. Whilst surrounding wall paintings were easily whitewashed and obscured, many elaborately carved stone aumbries were not initially removed and their survival (when adjacent altars were destroyed) was a conundrum of the post-Reformation Kirk. Part of the answer to this survival lies in the specific local contexts in which elaborate sacrament houses were constructed. Deskford, Cullen, Kintore, Kinkell and Fowlis Easter are amongst the best which survive and in each case were located in collegiate churches, constructed for the purpose of celebrating masses for the benefit of the souls of the benefice-holder and their family, or in the case of Kinkell and Kintore in association with the particularly influential Rector, Alexander Gordon, Canon of Aberdeen Cathedral and in effect a rural Dean of a group of Donside parishes. This patronal investment in high quality stone carving seems to have ensured their survival. In the case of Fowlis Easter, we have detailed evidence from the minutes of the Synod of Fife that the survival of the rood screen paintings, altar and sacrament house were tied to the religious outlook of the local benefice-holders, the Grays.[159] Patrick, the Fourth Lord Gray was broadly aligned with the Reformation, later wavering in his support between the Queen's and King's parties during the civil war of the later 1560s and 70's. His grandson, the sixth Lord, was the infamous Master of Gray, sent to intercede with Queen Elizabeth on Mary Queen of Scots' behalf in 1580. He signed the Confession of Faith with about forty others in 1580, but on 20th October that year was listed in the minutes of the General Assembly as one of the 'sundry apostates [who] have returned into the country and are spread in divers provinces, as in Angus and other parts.'[160] The seventh Lord appears to have been no more sympathetic to the Reformed church. The records of the Synod of Fife show that the order of 6th May 1612 for the 'paintrie quhilk is upon the pulpit and ruid laft, being monuments of idolatrie, salbe obliterate be laying it over with grein colour' was resisted for at least another four years.[161]

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[158] *SS*, 129 and Volume Two Figs.74-78 for images of the Deskford sacrament house.
[159] See images of the Fowlis Easter rood screen paintings and sacrament house in Volume Two, Figs.80-85.
[160] A.B. Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter* (Dundee, Harley & Cox, 1933), 22; *APGA*, 549.
[161] *MSF,* 48-49, 53, 56, 58-59, 72, 75, 80, 81-82.

It is unclear exactly when the paintings were covered over, but they were recorded as being visible in 1746, having been whitewashed earlier.[162] Resistance to the church "cleansing" programme may well have been assisted in this case by clergy who were unable to challenge the laird or were lukewarm on the subject. It is significant that the first Reformed minister of Fowlis Easter, Nicolas Spittall (1563-1574), had been a Canon of the Priory of St Andrews, and was therefore a conforming priest of the old order.[163] Thereafter, a reader was in post, followed by the famously flexible minister Patrick Galloway from 1576-1581.[164] None of these clergy seem likely challengers to the laird, and must have been prepared to conduct Reformed worship with such an unusually rich backdrop. Admittedly, the chancel of Fowlis Easter appears to have been converted into a burial area for the Grays. The paintings were applied to its screen and therefore located behind the congregation, whose focus was now on a pulpit at the west end of the building, rather than on the paintings as a liturgical centre-piece.[165] However, the Fowlis Easter example is extremely important to an assessment of the experience of worship, because it demonstrated that a powerful local laird and his kin could resist the censures and will of the Kirk, leading to a specific micro-climate of worship.

The degree of survival of sacrament houses and aumbries may point to an element of lingering devotion to the concept of transubstantiation, which dissuaded iconoclastic destruction in the short term.[166] Certainly, enthusiastic participation in *Corpus Christi* plays in Perth, to the consternation of the kirk session, continued in the immediate decades after 1560, where the session minutes record repeated attempts to stop the practice.[167] On the other hand, indifference may also have contributed to their survival. Logan's account of the church at Kintore prior to its demolition in 1819 reveals that the sacrament house was still visible, located in its original position in the north wall of the chancel, but that the subsequent construction of galleries had half obscured it. The re-orientation of the church had led it to be placed behind most of the parishioners, who now faced a pulpit on the south wall.[168] At Kintore, the words 'Jesus Maria' were carved on the lintel above the

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[162] J. Stuart, *Historical Sketches of the Church and Parish of Fowlis Easter* (Dundee, 1865), 63.
[163] *FES, Vol. 5, Synods of Fife, and of Angus and Mearns*, 351; Conforming clergy were vetted for suitability to function as Reformed clergy, but this was not a guarantee of doctrinal conformity.
[164] *Ibid*., 357.
[165] A.B. Dalgetty, *History of the Church of Foulis Easter*, 44-45.
[166] See D. McRoberts, 'Scottish Sacrament Houses,' 43, for a good map showing the distribution of surviving sacrament houses in east Scotland.
[167] *PKSB*, 72.
[168] *Logan's Collections,* ed. J. Cruickshank, Third Spalding Club, 11 (Aberdeen 1941), 138.

aumbry, but at some point 'Maria' was chiselled out. A blank panel is likely to have contained further text, as in the examples at Deskford and Fowlis Easter. However, the sculptural group of angels holding a monstrance topped with a mitre-like cover and a crucifix did not suffer the same damage. The carving still showed traces of gilding in 1819 and the discovery of a concealed sacrament house in the church at Clatt in 1779, 'ornamented with painting in colours of vermillion, azure and gold leaf, very bright and fresh,' is further evidence that these beautifully carved fittings were striking even when placed in a corner.[169] The sacrament house was still present, but apparently as a curiosity drained of its former doctrinal power. Where they remained visible, they invariably suffered a common fate in re-ordered kirks. They were beautiful items potentially triggering the clandestine devotional memory of parishioners, but relegated to the margins of the Reformed worship environment. In the case of Kintore, the sacrament house was reduced to the indignity of providing a home for the old jougs and a portion of a weather vane at the time of Logan's visit.[170]

Fowlis Easter Collegiate Church was unique for the quantity of paintings which survived from the rood screen. In most cases, survivals were smaller items, but which still possessed symbolic resonance. Five Wounds of Christ imagery had been a significant part of popular piety in the Scottish church and it is remarkable to stand at the west door of St Mary's kirk in Haddington and see the Five Wounds imagery surviving there in such a prominent place.[171] At Fordyce, a Five Wounds image was still in place on a desk in 1649, when its removal was ordered by the Synod of Aberdeen as part of a broader iconophobic campaign:

> It is ordained that all the superstitious monument wtin the kirks off the province be presentlie demolished after the ministers ther

[169] D. McRoberts, 'Scottish Sacrament Houses,' 50.
[170] *Logan's Collections*, ed. J. Cruickshank, 138.
[171] See Volume Two Fig.86 for an image of the Haddington Five Wounds carving; Recent work by Lauren Murdoch (doctoral candidate, New College, University of Edinburgh), has shown that Five Wounds imagery was not restricted to Roman Catholic practice and seems to have been continued in Reformed piety, as shown in the painted ceiling at Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen. This chamber had been thought to be a clandestine Roman Catholic Chapel, but the adherence of the family which created it has been shown to be decidedly Protestant. L. Murdoch, 'The Five Wounds of Christ: from atonement to contemplation' (unpublished paper given at the *Articulate* Postgraduate Conference at New College, University of Edinburgh, in 2015).

> returning home from this Assembly, and in particular that heart w[i]t[h] arrows and crosses in Fordyce.[172]

On 27th March 1650, 'Mr David Abercrombie reportit that the superstitious monument on the gudman of Muraik's desk in Fordyce was taken away.'[173]

In some places, statuary was able to survive for a considerable time. In the Highlands and Islands, monumental sculpture remained visible on high crosses and tombs, such as at St Clement's church, Rodel, on the Isle of Harris. However, such imagery also persisted in Lowland areas. The extraordinary Ruthwell Cross, a 5.2m high piece of stone sculpture richly carved with 8th century Christian imagery, is recorded as having stood inside the parish church until 1642 when it was broken up as part of the second wave of iconoclasm. Happily, it was preserved in the clay floor of the church and has been reassembled.[174] At St Machar's Aberdeen, a statue of the Virgin Mary and child was located on one of the pillars at the crossing until 1640.[175] At St Giles, Elgin, a statue of the patron saint similarly adorned a niche at the main door, remaining on the building until the church was finally demolished in 1826.[176] At Linlithgow, a much weathered stone statue of St Michael slaying the dragon is still situated on the south west side of the parish kirk in full view of the main entrance porch, whilst at Melrose Abbey, where part of the choir was used for worship until 1810, many statues survived around the ruins until a further round of iconoclasm in 1649.[177] In discreet rural locations, no doubt other items survived for a long time after 1559, including funeral monuments to prominent clergy and parishioners. Often taking the form of recumbent effigies and located in surviving choirs, these were spectacular structures that added beauty and often colour to the worship space in a large number of local churches. Many survive amidst overgrown ruins. This tradition was carried on after 1559 as local landowners continued to construct beautiful tombs and memorial tablets for themselves and their families. The leadership of the Reformed Kirk led by example. George Buchanan composed a funeral epitaph to adorn the monumental brass to Alexander Cockburn of

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[172] W. Cramond, *The Presbytery of Fordyce* (Banff, Banffshire Journal, 1885), 20.
[173] W. Cramond, *The Church and Churchyard of Fordyc*e, 28.
[174] J. Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Highland* (London, Penguin, 1992), plate 17 and 623-625. J.E.A Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland;' G. Stell, *Dumfries and Galloway* (Edinburgh, The Stationery Office Limited, 1996), 159-160.
[175] J. Spalding, *Memorialls of The Trubles in Scotland and England, A.D. 1624 - A.D. 1645*, ed. J. Stuart, Spalding Club, vol. 1 (Aberdeen, 1850), 313.
[176] H.B. Mackintosh, *Elgin Past and Present*, 202.
[177] *EAS*, vol. 2, 347.

Ormiston (d.1570), originally located above an arched tomb recess in the choir of St Giles' parish kirk at Ormiston, and in similar style to that erected not long afterwards in St Giles' in Edinburgh to commemorate the assassinated Regent Moray.[178] Although initial funerary displays were relatively modest, by 1616 the splendid Menzies monument at the tiny Weem Parish Church in Perthshire had revived the pre-Reformation tradition and reflected a new confidence in the place of funerary monuments in the Kirk at the end of our period. Whilst not embracing the full repertoire of pre-Reformation motifs, this monument contains a fusion of classical and gothic style, elaborate figurative decoration featuring two large statues representing "Faith" and "Charity," and a figure with outstretched arms over the canopy of the tomb, which MacGibbon and Ross reckoned was a representation of God the Father.[179] Such a spectacular display in a small church would have made a powerful impact when offset against the relative plainness of the rest of the structure. Although the full flowering of this tradition in the Skelmorlie Aisle at Largs, with its incredible setting of painted ceiling and two-storey tomb loft, had not yet occurred, the signals of this development were emerging.

As Alasdair A. MacDonald noted in relation to the inclusion of pre-Reformation literary texts in the Bannatyne Manuscript, 'one may yet be surprised at the amount of older (and thus Catholic) material which Bannatyne has contrived to include.' He went on to say that 'Bannatyne has put up a Protestant smokescreen, but through it many aspects of pre-Reformation beliefs and practices can still be glimpsed.'[180] Perhaps it is therefore unsurprising to find an analogous survival of elements of Roman Catholic devotional items being accommodated in and around the material culture of the Kirk in the same period.

[178] See Volume Two, Figs.87-88 for images of the funeral brass from Ormiston Kirk.
[179] See Volume Two, Fig.89 for an image of the Menzies Monument.
[180] A.A. MacDonald, 'Poetry, politics and reformation censorship in sixteenth-century Scotland' in *English Studies*, 64:5 (1983), 410-421.

Chapter Two

FURNISHING THE KIRK

It is surprising to note how quickly the new structural layouts of Reformed kirks were decorated following the initial cleansings of moveable fittings in 1559-60. Timber construction, carving and decoration was an important component of the domestic scene in the homes of affluent residents, in public buildings of the burghs, and in the country houses and castles of the lairds and nobility. [181] At first gradually, and then more quickly as the Kirk gained confidence in the late 16th century, these prominent citizens were also responsible for bringing beauty and elegance to places of worship.

With the new configuration for worship established, and the gradual installation of galleries and fixed seating, the stage for worship was created. On the basis of *The First Book of Discipline,* and the stereotype of Reformed austerity, one might expect to find little of interest in these new worship spaces. However, at a very early stage decoration of the timber of pulpits, pews and lofts began to be undertaken. By its nature, timber was cheaper to obtain and easier to decorate than stone, so it was used as a quick way to add beauty and elegance to the worship space. However, these qualities also led to its disappearance, with the result that upon rebuilding, carved timber was not particularly valued, was vulnerable to the ravages of general wear and tear, climate and fire and was easily discarded as it went out of fashion. Fortunately, there are some rare survivals *in situ*, such as at Pencaitland and Burntisland, where a simple classicism was used to front the lofts and desks; in locations where refugee timber was given a home out of context as part of composite furniture; and in documentary records.[182] These sources are sufficient to enable us to reconstruct some of the colourful and complex environment to be found in the Jacobean Kirk.

[181] C. McKean, *The Scottish Chateau* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing Limited, 2001), 229, shows the carved timber screens and wainscot panelling in the great hall at Craigievar Castle. There is a marked similarity to surviving timber carving in kirks such as Pencaitland.
[182] See images in Volume Two for Pencaitland (Figs.90-94), Burntisland (Figs.95-110), and St Nicholas, Aberdeen (Figs.111-141).

Pulpits[183]

A small number of pulpits have survived from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, ranging from the utilitarian to the highly stylised. Very few remain from the first decades of the Reformed Kirk, although there are tantalising descriptions of the rearrangement of St Giles, Edinburgh, with the use of "Eistland" (Baltic) timbers:

> In primis, ther wes stowing out of the kirk xii glewt pannellis, with certaine standartis and intendens fro the eistmaist trivice; Item, thar was put in wark in the iii pillaris the pannaling of the eist trevice, the entres of the pulpit, with iii stageis on athersyd of the samyne, xxx Eistland burdis; Item, I haiffe delyverit to Allexander Guthrie xii glewit pannellis that suld have beine put in the for face of the eist trevice and xiii Eistland burdis sic eque, ressat and deliverance.[184]

Where resources were available, it seems that embellishment of the pulpit was a natural expression of the priority of the preached Word to the extent that the pulpit seemed to have become an enthronement of the Word. Sometimes the design could be quite innovative, as in the case of the new lectern for St Giles, which was described as 'ane great foure square lettrane to the ministeris, turneand upon ane wyce.' Clearly, this was an original work as the maker, Patrik Schange, was compensated for both the making and 'for troubling of his spreit in the inventing of that consait.'[185] The pulpit's central location and carved decoration, sometimes including Scripture texts, created a Reformed alternative to the high altar, the locks provided for many pulpits indicating the reverence in which the pulpit was held. When there was to be a preaching service at the third bell the preacher would ascend the pulpit for the sermon, a task entered into with some trepidation and humility as we will see in the case studies in Section Three. The 1598 pulpit of Parton Kirk (which survives in the National Museum of Scotland) is an interesting example of a Reformed pulpit very much in the style of pre-Reformation design. The canopy is very similar to Bishop Stewart's pulpit in Aberdeen, with carved gothic finials and the inclusion of the vernacular text 'Feir The Lord and Honour His Hous.' The panel of the base and the back

[183] See images of pulpits in Volume Two, Figs.142-154.
[184] *The Burgh Accounts of Edinburgh*, vol. 2, ed. R. Adam, Scottish Burgh Record Society, 34 (Edinburgh, 1899), 'Dean of Guild's Accounts, 1552-67,' 142.
[185] *Ibid*., 156.

of the pulpit are elaborately patterned, creating a stimulating visual spectacle in oak. Later pulpits seem to have adopted a more classical language. The pulpits at Holy Rood Kirk in Stirling, Pencaitland, Culross Abbey, Gifford and Dun Kirks included similar classical columns and non-figurative decoration, although each was unique. At Stirling, the pulpit has lost its sounding board, and at Pencaitland, the richly carved base of the pulpit has survived along with its bracket for a baptismal bowl, but the back and sounding board are later additions/replacements.[186] At Gifford, the pulpit predates the current building and was moved there from another kirk, possibly the collegiate church at Yester House, which was the predecessor of the new kirk of 1710. It is of a similar style to the Pencaitland pulpit, but also includes a matching sounding board canopy and a substantial area of decorated panelling on the wall at each side.[187] This makes a significant statement in the centre of the kirk. At Dun Kirk, the nineteenth-century building contains a magnificent circular pulpit dated 1615, which is raised on a plinth to a significant height suitable for its new setting. Its decoration includes foliated carving on the front panels and a panelled back, which retains a heraldic shield beneath an elaborate sounding board. These pulpits are good examples of those with a single space for the preacher. However, in many places a desk for the reader/precentor was attached at a lower level, forming a two-tier pulpit.[188] An excellent early survivor of this type is the pulpit at St Salvator's Chapel in the University of St Andrews. The pulpit was originally that of the parish church, Holy Trinity, and moved to the chapel when Holy Trinity was virtually rebuilt in 1798-1800.[189] It has an enclosed desk for the reader at the lower level and an elaborately carved pulpit above. There is no surviving sounding board, but the back board looks as if it was intended to support one. A final example, captured in a drawing of the interior of the collegiate church at Tain in 1819, displayed features of the pre-Reformation pulpits of Bishop Stewart at Aberdeen and the Parton Kirk pulpit.[190] At this time, there was a reader's or precentor's desk below the minister's pulpit. A relatively plain base rose to a chastely panelled back board which was then turned into a canopied sounding board with gothic crockets and pinnacles. Information contained with the drawing stated that 'the pulpit of this church, a piece of elegant workmanship, was presented by the Regent Murray to the magistrates of Tain, for their zeal

[186] Baptismal bowls attached to pulpits were the normal Reformed model, which symbolically connected the preached Word and the Sacramental Word of Baptism. The 1574 Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts of New Aberdeen recorded 'The mending and changing of the standart that holds the bassing on the pulpett,' *CESNA*, 384.
[187] See Volume Two, Fig.145 for an image of Gifford Kirk pulpit.
[188] See Volume Two, Figs.146-148 for images of the pulpit at Dun Kirk.
[189] J. Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland, Fife*, 380.
[190] See images of the Tain and Parton Kirk pulpits in Volume Two, Figs. 19 and 149-151.

in promoting the Reformation.'[191] The pulpit is dated to around 1575 in the *Buildings of Scotland* volume, but as Regent Murray was assassinated in 1570, this date seems too late. John Gifford noted that it was heavily restored in 1890 and remained in the collegiate church.[192]

The Place of Repentance

Whilst the place of repentance was a crucial piece of liturgical furniture in relation to the performance of repentance, in most kirks it seems to have been functional and undadorned. However, the prominence of discipline and its liturgical expression in pentitential rites, meant that the place of repentance had a powerful presence, for better or worse, in every kirk.[193] In some churches, such as at Greyfriars in Edinburgh, it was known as the 'pillar' of repentance,[194] but the surviving stool and modern replica from the same church indicate that 'pillar' may have been a technical or metamorphical term rather than a literal one. The outworking of discipline led to frequent choreographed appearances of penitents close to the pulpit during the preaching of the sermon, and in larger parishes such as Perth or Elgin this meant that a seat for more than one person was required.[195]

An extract from the Elgin kirk session record of 29th August, 1593 was an excellent demonstration of the local details of the performance of repentance:

> Margaret Greiff confessis she suffered her barne to be smoirit through negligence upon the nycht. She is ordanit to stand three Sundays in sackcloth bairfut and bairleggit in the kirk befor the congregation, beginnand at the first bell, so arrayit, to stand in the porche of the kirk till last bell ring to the

[191] Hutton Collection, NLS, 30.5.23 (142b).
[192] J. Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Highlands and Islands*, 458; For a drawing of the interior of Tain Kirk, see Volume Two, Fig.19.
[193] N.M. Macdonald, *Reconciling Performance; CP*, 127-182.
[194] W.M. Bryce, *History of the Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, William Green, 1912), 49.
[195] For example, Sir William Brereton reported that 'there stood three women upon the stool of repentance' during his visit to Sunday morning worship at Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh, on 28th June, 1636, in P. Hume Brown, ed., *Early Travels in Scotland* (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1891), 144.

> preaching ceiss and then fra that to be removit be ane officiar to the commoun place within the kirk appointit for thais that stand in hair or sackclothe and thair to stand all the quhyll of the preaching and prayeris and in the hail meintyme of the making of hir repentance appoints ane mytre of paper upoun hir head or breast, with ane inscriptioun therupoun conteining the caus of hir being thair.[196]

The furniture for repentance seems to have been an area of development in Elgin, as on 7th November of the same year, the session minutes recorded that 'John Man slandered Richard Warden…….sall compear before the congregation of Elgin three Sundays and mak his repentance in sackcloth upon the new stuill in the north-east nuik of the kirk with a paper upon his breast contenand the caus wherfor he sittis ther.'[197]

Given that the doctrine and practice of sin and repentance were so enshrined within *The First Book of Discipline*, the series of courts that structured church life, and in liturgical form in *The Forme of Prayers*, it seems without doubt that the layout of the church building to accommodate discipline added to the potency of worship, whether out of the congregation's fear of the same happening to them or the fervent desire for there to be genuine repentance and reconciliation of the sinner with the congregation.[198] This was illustrated in an account by Fynes Morison of a visit to St Giles in Edinburgh in 1598, where an unsuspecting English visitor of high social status mistakenly sat in the place of repentance, thinking that it was an advantageous vacant seat. He experienced the dark-edged mirth of the congregation, which demonstrated how deeply the place of repentance had been embedded in the consciousness of that congregation.[199] Discipline was significant. In this context the pulpit acted as the locus for the ritual, giving symbolic and practical expression of the belief that the Word of God could move a sinner to repentance and reconciliation.

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[196] *RKSE*, 19.
[197] *Ibid*., 20.
[198] See Section Two, Chapter One for further discussion of the performance of repentance and reconciliation.
[199] P. Hume Brown, ed., *Early Travels in Scotland*, 84.

Carved desks and lofts

The richer the church and its benefice-holder, the more likely it was that it would contain an array of carved pews and lofts to surround the pulpit. This was an exercise in the display of wealth and power, with the merchant guilds, town council, wealthy individuals and local landowners able to assert their authority in the place of worship. In addition, it provided a visual spectacle that brought colour and imagery to Reformed worship. Smaller churches might have had only a few items of carved work. At Mid-Calder kirk, a carved pew back of 1595 survives, whilst at Prestonpans, a gallery front or pew back dated 1604 and still brightly coloured, was uncovered during renovations in 1891.[200] The gallery and pew fronts at Pencaitland show the kind of standard classical language that was used in even a humble country kirk.[201]

At St Nicholas Aberdeen, a wealth of carved material dating from before 1560 was retained and augmented with new carving until fashions for church furnishing changed in the mid-eighteenth-century. Some of the earlier work is dated, such as a pew back of 1610, which survived by being remodelled into a chair, and carries the scriptural text '1 COR.10 CA.QHATSOVER ZE DOE DOE ALL TO THE GLORE OF GOD, G.K.; A.K.; D.K.; 1610,' and the Baxters' seat, now a richly carved portable bench dated 1607. [202] A composite canopied desk, created from the medieval choir stalls, bears the arms of Aberdeen and the date 1606, and a small heraldic panel is dated 1601. Much other material is undated, meaning that it is difficult to give a clear indication of exactly what would have existed in our period. However, at St Nicholas there seems to have been a very significant survival of medieval timber carving, which was adapted and became the foundation of an incremental growth in carved and decorated timber desks and lofts expressing kin and civic pride.[203]

The parish church in the royal burgh of Crail was a good example of a kirk where the parishioners were prosperous enough to pay for elaborate and elegant desk and loft decoration. The kirk still contains five heraldic and non-figurative decorated desk panels dating from 1594-1605 which include vernacular and Latin mottos. They have been stripped

[200] *EAS*, vol.3, 602-3.
[201] See Volume Two, Figs.90-94 for images of Pencaitland Kirk.
[202] *CESNA*, 448.
[203] See Volume Two, Figs.116-141 for images of woodwork at St Nicholas Aberdeen.

of their later coat of dark stain and any earlier paint, so now appear to be in their pale virgin oak state. This perhaps gives an idea of how this material may have looked when first installed, although it is possible that these panels were also painted brightly in a similar way to those found elsewhere.[204] A chance survival of a painting of a sailor, preserved as a recycled board for flooring, gives a tantalising glimpse of the sailor's loft from which it came and is a helpful corroboration of the extensively restored loft decorations at Burntisland parish church.

Perhaps the most striking survival of a canopied pew is to be found in Burntisland. Originally the Melville pew for the laird of Rossend Castle, it later became the town council pew. It is dated 1606 and boasts inlaid polychrome woodwork and an ornate canopy. Due to the square ground plan at Burntisland, it is wrapped around the north-east pillar, so that the pew is directly opposite the pulpit, typical for a laird's pew.[205] A more sedate example was situated in the former east end of St Mary's Kirk at Whitekirk, which although not a separate laird's aisle, contained a canopied laird's seat in classical style.[206]

One of the most tragic losses was the loft and bishop's throne of Kirkwall Cathedral. Billings drew these extraordinary pieces of furniture in the early 19th century, possibly after the cathedral had been adopted by the government, and the rest of the furnishings were cleared out. It is not known when the throne and loft were removed, but most likely this happened after the church was returned to the care of the town council in 1855-7 and divided again at the eastern crossing arch to re-create a parish church within the choir.[207] In 1900, T.S Robertson illustrated fragments of carvings of Thistles, foliage and Poppy seed heads from pews at Kirkwall and there were alleged to be panels surviving in the Grahamshall mansion of bishop Graham, as well as some pieces at Skaill House. [208] It is not clear as to whether these items were pre or post-Reformation, but they existed in the Reformed place of worship and embellished it until the nineteenth-century. The loft was located at the south side of the east end, within one arcade of the choir. Three renaissance pillars supported it and a panelled loft area was covered in non-figurative decoration. The "throne" was located against the east pier of the third choir arcade from the east end and

[204] See Volume Two, Figs.35-49 for images of Crail Kirk and its woodwork.
[205] See Volume Two, Figs.98-100 for an image of the Melville Pew at Burntisland.
[206] *EAS*, vol.3, 275; See Volume Two, Figs.12-14 for images of Whitekirk.
[207] J. Gifford, *Buildings of Scotland: Highland and Islands*, 315.
[208] T.S. Robertson, 'Notes from Kirkwall' in *PSAS*, 1900-01, 313-315.

was of gothic design, with a canopy supported on a panelled back. A large desk area was enclosed by carved and panelled sides.[209]

Even small churches could boast significant displays of elaborate desks, particularly where there were a number of local lairds associated with the church, as in the case of Udny in Aberdeenshire. [210] James Logan recorded the display of carved and coloured timber during his visit around 1818-20, which included numerous canopied desks covered in heraldic imagery relating to the various local lairds. Whilst the desks were not all installed within the period of this thesis, they demonstrated an incremental development of interior decoration in this parish. Sadly, the 'curious pulpit' which Logan referred to was not included in his drawings, and there is as yet no evidence of its date or format. It is possible that (as Logan suggested) it was contemporary with the rebuilding of the church around 1600. Logan also recorded the carved timber desks in Kintore parish church shortly before its demolition in 1818. Again, there was an incremental inclusion of heraldic imagery and carved timber through our period, in a medieval building substantially adapted for Reformed worship.[211]

Carved and decorated timber desks and lofts became ubiquitous in the Scottish Reformed Kirk. Later in this chapter we will see that they were an important and spectacular part of the furnishing of many large burgh kirks, as well as being significant in smaller rural churches.

Painted Wall Texts

There is no surviving evidence of Scriptural and liturgical texts that were painted on the walls of many Reformed church interiors in this period. One of the few documentary sources relates to St Giles in Edinburgh, where in 1559 the tussle between opposing factions caused the removal of the recently installed texts of The Ten Commandments and The Lord's Prayer from the walls:

[209] See Volume Two, Figs.155-156 for Kirkwall images.
[210] See Volume Two, Figs.157-164 for Udny Kirk images.
[211] See Volume Two, Figs.165-167 for Kintore images.

> Schortlie heirefter queen regent, my lord Bothuell my lord Creichtone and the frinchemen came out of Leyth againe and come to Edinburgh and caussit repair againe the alter and imagies and caussit say mese daylie in the kirk and caussit put away the ten commendementis and the lordis prayer quhilk was painttit on the wallis and caist dirt wpoun thame and did great distructioun in the toun and thair about as ze sall heir.[212]

We have much more extensive evidence regarding the early post-1559 decorative scheme in St Nicholas Kirk in Aberdeen. The Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts of 1571-1600 detailed the extensive repair and decoration of this large burgh kirk. In 1584 forty shillings was 'payit to Jon Mellin [Melvill] for pantin of the belief [The Apostles' Creed] and spargeing quhyt [white] of the vyndok with spargeing quhyt off tua pilleris yranent.'[213] An entry of 21st September 1584 included payment 'to John Melvill for the paintin of the tabill [The Ten Commandments] aboue the north kirk dur.'[214] On 26th June, 1590, He was once again recruited to 'paint the tabill in the sowth yll q[uhi]lk conteins the belief and was spilt with the weit.'[215] Further work was undertaken in 1591 'for the paintin of twa tabillis with skyptor thairon.'[216] In 1598-99, Mellin was employed again 'for the pantin of four tabillis, paintin off twa lytill tabillis and the blak vark, all laid with owill for his owill colloris.'[217] When it is considered that the north east of Scotland was judged to be slow to adopt Reformed practices, it is remarkable that St. Nicholas Kirk both retained so much of the medieval fabric and furnishing, but was also at the forefront of the Reformed practice of decorating kirks with Scriptural and confessional texts.

There is evidence that similar texts were painted on the pillars at Burntisland church, and probably many more across the country.[218] Later, these texts often came to be painted on boards or canvas and attached to the walls, their size making an impact in the church and

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[212] Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie*, The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, 3 vols., ed. A.J.G. Mackay, Scottish Text Society 18 (Edinburgh, 1899-1911), vol. 2, 163.
[213] *CESNA*, 387.
[214] *Ibid.*, 388.
[215] *Ibid*., 391.
[216] *Ibid*., 393.
[217] *Ibid*., 397.
[218] *ASPRC*, 219.

emphasising the importance of these basic building-blocks of piety.[219] Considered in an environment of white lime-washed interior stonework, these painted texts would have stood out boldly and clearly, and added to the catechising and worship experience of the congregation, who were surrounded by the Word both literally and metaphorically.

Communion Plate[220]

The communion plate of the pre-1559 church was felt to be unsuitable for the Reformed Lord's Supper. Ornate chalices had been owned by many churches, but their style and symbolism were deemed to be too ritualistic and sumptuous in relation to the domestic flavour of the Reformed communion celebration. [221] Consequently most communion plate was sold off, with the funds being used for civic projects and poor relief.[222] In some cases, the destination was a sympathetic noble house, as in the case of the treasures of St Machar's Cathedral in Aberdeen which were taken to Huntly Castle, or outwith the country in the case of the treasures of Glasgow Cathedral, which were taken to Paris by Archbishop James Beaton.[223] In the worst cases communion vessels simply disappeared in the turbulent times of 1559-60. However, cups were needed for the wine even at the infrequent communions of the new Kirk. Kirk sessions approached prosperous locals, or the benefice-holder, to supply the elements of bread and wine, and table linen. At Perth in October, 1585, members of the session were appointed to 'speik the laird of Craigie for the furnisching of wyn and bread to the communion.'[224] It seems likely that domestic cups of various kinds were also borrowed to serve as communion plate. Very little dedicated communion silver survives from the period 1559-1617. The 1617 act of the Scottish parliament, which commanded that every parish should obtain cups, a basin for baptism and linen for the communion tables, was designed to bring some degree of consistency to the material culture of communion celebrations.[225] Thomas Burns' *Old Scottish Communion Plate* (1892) was an incredibly comprehensive catalogue of what survived from the early

[219] *WSRC*, 371.
[220] For images of communion plate see Volume Two, Figs.178-213.
[221] *LI,* 153.
[222] *WSRC*, 239.
[223] *LI*, 184.
[224] *PKSB*, 323.
[225] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2016), 1617/5/20 <http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1617/5/20> [accessed 8 November 2016].

Reformed Kirk.[226] Combined with the recent unpublished inventory of Church of Scotland communion plate held by parishes, it is possible to assemble a picture of the style of communion cups surviving from the period, and to ask whether any conclusions can be drawn from this analysis.[227]

The oldest surviving cup that can be said to have been commissioned for use in church is the Rosneath cup of 1585-6, now in the National Museum of Scotland. Its style is close to that of a slender domestic cup with a narrow goblet set on a simply ornamented base and stem. George Dalgleish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham noted in their study of Scottish silver that no domestic silver cups have survived, except where they were utilised or copied by the Kirk.[228] This is an apposite remark, as the domestic nature of the Lord's Supper was the principle paradigm in the period to 1617. However, "domestic" did not mean that the cups were devoid of elegance, decoration and symbolism.

A survey of cups that can be confidently dated to church use in the period from 1559 up to and including the first wave of commissions of dedicated cups for local congregations in response to the 1617 Act of Parliament, is included in Volume Two. This evidence shows that whilst the prevailing trend in both pre-1617 and post-1617 cups was elegant simplicity, there were notable local variations. In the case of Currie Kirk, where the cup dates from 1596-1600, the wide mazer-style bowl was used. This was a very early example of a church commission for a mazer-shaped communion cup, the trend for this style being strongest in the 1630s, particularly in commissions for the large burgh kirks of Edinburgh. This style was especially resonant with the Scottish tradition of loving cups, or cups of reconciliation used in prosperous households, clan gatherings and within institutions such as university colleges. At St Andrews, the mazers of St Mary's College (1567) and St Leonard's College (dated by Burns to 1544) were obvious prototypes for the Currie type of communion cup. In the Reformed mind, the Lord's Supper was a meal of reconciliation between neighbours, following as it did the pre-communion season of catechising and reconciliation undertaken in each parish, but it was also a meal of reconciliation between the congregation and

[226] T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* (Edinburgh, R&R Clark, 1892).
[227] This inventory of communion plate in parish kirk ownership, compiled by Kirkpatrick and Rachel Dobie, is held at the Church of Scotland offices, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
[228] G. Dalgleish and H.S. Fothringham, *Silver Made in Scotland* (Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland Enterprises Ltd, 2008), 142.

God.[229] The St Mary's mazer included two Scriptural texts from John 1.17 and 1 Corinthians 10.31 in the Latin of the Vulgate translation. These emphasise the importance of the incarnation and the need to live for the glory of God in every part of life. Whilst the St Leonard's mazer has no inscriptions, the Galloway mazer (1569) includes a quotation from Proverbs 22 in the vernacular, which seemed to reflect a more secular focus on reconciliation rituals. It advised that 'Ane good mane is to be chosen above great riches and loving favour is above silver and above most fyne golde.'[230] It is significant that two of these mazers included Scriptural texts within the cups, showing a strong connection to the St Cuthbert's Edinburgh cup (1618-19) which quoted Psalm 116's reference to the 'covp of salvatiovne' and the Cawdor cup of 1617-19, which quoted 1 Corinthians 28.5, 'Let a man thairfoir axamine him self so let him eait of this bred and drink of this cvpe.' The fact that the mazers contained Scriptural texts reflected the situation that there was no truly secular place in this period, whilst the continuity of practice of inscription on communion cups showed the enduring ideological importance of reconcilation inside and outside of worship.[231] Although the most impressive mazer-style communion cups which survive are of a later date, Burns advanced the reasonable theory that mazers made for college and household use were utilized for Reformed communions. He cited the form of the later communion cups of Holy Trinity and St Leonard's parish churches in St Andrews, both of which were in the mazer style.[232] It is difficult to prove that this was the case, but some of the earlier survivors such as those for Fala and Soutra (1611-13), the Dalrymple Hay cup (1615-17) the Dalry cup (1617-19), Halywood (1619), Coulter (1617-19), Carnwath (1618) and Cawdor (1617-19) have wide shallow bowls which whilst not of the scale of the larger mazers do recollect them in their shape. This supports Burns' theory that the permanent cups echoed the style of those which had been borrowed.

Prior to the 1617 act, the cups of Newtyle (1606-7 and 1610-11) and the Duirinish Bracadale Cup (1613) were remarkable examples of decorated tall domestic cups, bearing decoration upon both the elaborate stems and the goblet. These were high status items, and were significant indicators that there was a degree of significance being invested in cups obtained for the parish. Closer to the mazer model and with some restrained decoration on the outside of the bowl, the Dalrymple Hay cup was a more sedate example, whilst the simple

[229] *CP*, 232.
[230] See image of Galloway Mazer in Volume Two, Fig.213.
[231] J.E.A. Dawson, 'Bonding, Religious Allegiance and Covenanting' in J. Goodare and S. Boardman, *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald*, 155-172; J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1985).
[232] T. Burns, *OId Scottish Communion Plate*, 195.

Fyvie cup of 1618 was adorned with the heraldry of the donor, Alexander Seton, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Latin inscription 'DEO SACRISQUE IN ECCLESIA FYVEANA FACIENDIS DICAVIT ALEXANDER SETONIVS FERMELINODVNI COMES &C ANNO SALVTIS 1618.'[233] Shortly afterwards, Seton furnished another set of cups to the parish church at Inveresk (1619-21).[234] These were of the elegant mazer type and bore no inscriptions or external decoration, demonstrating in Seton's diplomatic way that his Roman Catholic affiliation did not dictate the form of what he provided for his local Kirk. His near neighbour in East Lothian, the Earl of Winton, provided two silver-gilt cups of domestic shape for the church at Tranent in 1618. These have beautifuly engraved non-figurative decoration on the bowls and intricate raised work on the base and stems. They escaped the notice of Burns due to their disappearance during the seventeenth-century, and return to the parish in the twentieth, where they are again in use.[235]

The small number of surviving cups makes it hard to make a judgement on national trends of communion cups in this period. It seems as though the general trend was towards silverwork of an elegantly simple and domestic design, even after the 1617 Act. However, there were notable examples of decoration, and the inscription of Scriptural and dedicatory texts in both vernacular and Latin on the inside and outside of the cups. The use of silver rather than pewter implied that the communion cup was now felt to be a symbolic and high status item, worth the considerable cost. What is striking is that although there is a survival of many more cups post-1617, we can see that these were in continuity with earlier surviving cups, rather than radical new designs. The mazer tradition was referenced in early post-1617 cups and strongly picked up in the 1630s, which seems to have been a case of echoing the Scottish post-1559 tradition rather than embracing James VI's post-1603 liturgical agenda. Whilst James may have thought that the 1617 Act was part of his Five Articles of Perth liturgical agenda, it seems that Scotland found a way to express a distinctive identity in its communion plate that was in tune with the liturgical climate that had grown up since 1559. Perhaps most significantly from the point of view of the experience of worship, these precious and beautiful items were not reserved for elite use. They passed through the hands of all of the communicants seated at the table of the Lord's Supper.

[233] See image of the Fyvie Cup in Volume Two, Fig.200.
[234] T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 213.
[235] See image of the Tranent cups in Volume Two, Figs.196-197.

Chapter Three

HYBRID AND NEW-BUILD KIRKS

In this section we have explored the complex amalgam of inherited medieval buildings, adaptations, survivals of Roman Catholic iconography, additions of family aisles and the aesthetic embellishment of the new physical relationship between congregation and clergy in the re-formed kirks of Scotland. These buildings often developed such a degree of architectural layering that it has proved to be impossible to place them in an architectural category. Art historians have looked down on what they perceived as a fall from the grace of medieval architecture, as their adaptations did not follow a pure architectural style. Their allies in the liturgical revival movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries eagerly pursued a course of textbook reconstructions, providing "restorations" that obliterated the accumulation of the post-Reformation period, and in some cases created what George Hay felt to be completely new buildings that did not even reflect the reality of the medieval church stock.[236] Here, it is proposed to call the post-1559 church buildings "hybrid kirks" because they represent the fusion of the inherited church stock and the development of a new worship aesthetic in the Reformed tradition. This was a compromise in terms of architectural purity, but one that made perfect sense in terms of creating places of worship that worked with the inheritance of the Kirk and the developing doctrinal culture. In reality virtually every kirk that continued to be used for parish worship after 1559 was some kind of hybrid kirk. Here we consider a number of particularly revealing examples which show the kind of situation in rural areas and small towns, before moving on to larger burgh kirks and then examples of completely new buildings to consider the physical environments in which people came to worship.

Smaller Hybrid Kirks

Liberton Kirk[237]

One of the factors determining the complexity of hybrid kirks was the number of local lairds. In many cases there was only one, and therefore a single burial aisle, often with a loft above. As discussed in Chapter One, this was frequently in the former chancel, in an existing transeptal aisle or in a newly built aisle. Liberton Kirk, to the south of Edinburgh, was a rural church, but one with a significant number of local lairds. James Drummond sketched the

[236] *ASPRC,* 17.
[237] See image and plan of Liberton Kirk in Volume Two, Fig.214.

church at some time prior to its demolition in 1815 and this can be supplemented by a ground plan made in 1792 by John Sime. The exterior view showed a church of some complexity, with both choir and south transept having exterior staircases leading to lofts inside. There was a dormer window just below the tower, which is an indication that there was a loft in this area, as there would have been little natural light otherwise. The tower was a curious creation, which bore some similarities to the tower at Pencaitland Kirk in the way that it rose from a square base to a polygonal second level and then to a circular bell stage topped by a bell-cap roof and weathervane. The ground plan shows that by 1792 there were four lofts for local lairds, with one located over the former east end for Niddry Castle. There was an additional gallery for the colliers of Liberton and opposite the pulpit was the Craigmillar aisle, in the position of honour. According to the plan, the Craigmillar aisle had an 'arched roof but no gallery.' This leaves room for interpretation as to the exact decoration of the ceiling and the seating arrangements, but they are likely to have been significant.

Airth Old Kirk[238]

Further down the Forth valley, the old parish church adjacent to Airth Castle showed a similar development over a long period. Although there were extensive adaptations, with little of the fabric of the medieval nave surviving, the footprint of the nave was basically that of the medieval church. There were three transeptal burial aisles, a south aisle with arcades, a tower of 1647, a medieval recumbent effigy in the nave and an outside stair to a post-1560 eastern gallery. The arcades included pillars with decorated capitals. On the south side, the aisle of the Bruces of Powfoulis bore the date 1614, whilst the Airth aisle was constructed in the fifteenth century and containined a recumbent effigy in an arched recess, an aumbry, and a burial vault below ground level.[239] The Elphinstone aisle had a semi-circular arch opening into the nave and a stone on the gable with the date 1593. MacGibbon and Ross reasonably suggested that the Elphinstone and Bruce aisles would likely have had lofts above the burial places, which opened into the nave.[240] The overall package of this church was a complex space with varied architectural components that were an architectural expression of the local social hierarchy.

[238] See Volume Two, Figs.215-228 for images of Airth Old Kirk.
[239] *EAS*, vol.3, 465.
[240] *Ibid*., 467.

St Mary's Collegiate Church, Cullen[241]

The Collegiate Church of St Mary at Cullen was an excellent example of a hybrid kirk and is virtually unique in the extent of funerary inscriptions such as 'Memento Mori' and 'Disce Mori' which survive, prominently carved into the stonework of the south aisle – a chantry chapel erected by Elena Hay in 1536. Tellingly, the words 'pray for' have been chipped away from the inscriptions at some point, representing a fairly restrained piece of iconoclasm in this context.[242] This aisle was the embryo of the collegiate church which was established in 1543 in tandem with the enlargement of the building, which retained a Provost, six prebendaries and two singing boys.[243] The locally-produced guide to the church claims that the sacrament house is the only pre-Reformation survival in the building, but it is difficult to believe that the canopied monument to Alexander Ogilvy, who died in 1554, and his wife Elizabeth Gordon, was installed after 1560. The iconography of the tomb, with an image of God the Father as Creator and dressed as a Pope wearing triple tiara, a sun in the top left corner representing Christ and a dove indicating the Holy Spirit, is as provocative as one could imagine for the time. The adjacent sacrament house appears to have been covered by the monument to James, Fourth Earl of Findlater, Chancellor of Scotland, and was "discovered" in 1877. However, as the fourth earl did not die until 1730, it seems likely that the sacrament house was fully visible until the construction of the monument – around 170 years after 1560.

The ensemble of chantry aisle, tombs and sacrament house provided a richly symbolic environment in the former choir of the kirk. This was augmented by the construction of a fine loft for the Ogilvies on the south side of the choir. The date 1602 on its face is the most likely date of construction, as this was the date of the completion of the adjacent Cullen House. However, the picture becomes more complex when the panelling on the supporting pillars is considered. This bears different dates and a rich array of early seventeenth-century non-figurative carving as well as twelve panels of heraldry, some identified as belonging to the families of Innes and Abercrombie. The conundrum of its dating and assembly is solved when it is realised that the panels came from family pews located in the Hay aisle, displaced at the time of the construction of a loft in this area. In summary, to gain a true picture of the worship environment in this kirk we need to envision a single cell nave and choir (most likely without fixed seating), a south chantry chapel filled with elaborately carved pews and desks,

[241] See Volume Two, Figs.229-247 for images of St Mary's Collegiate Church, Cullen.
[242] J.T. Guthrie, *Cullen Auld Kirk* (Cullen, Cullen Auld Kirk, 1962), 7.
[243] *Ibid*., 7.

and a dominant laird's loft facing the pulpit. The north aisle was built later, as were the galleries. Cullen was an excellent example of how a variety of elements organically developed to provide a rich worship environment that drew on spiritual and kin iconography of both Roman Catholic and Reformed piety.

St. Mary's Kirk, Banff[244]

A short distance to the east, the coastal town of Banff once boasted a substantial parish church, but all that now remains of St Mary's Kirk is the burial aisle constructed in 1580 by Lord Ogilvy of Dunlugas.[245] This was one of the earliest post-1559 aisles and has architectural echoes of some of the apses of churches such as St Nicholas Aberdeen and the aisle of Arbuthnott Collegiate Church in Kincardineshire. Inside, it has a stone vault and an impressive arched tomb monument constructed in a restrained medieval style. A memorial stone bears the daring phrase 'Requiescant In Pace.' In 1789 the church was abandoned for a large new kirk, and a painting of 1815 showed that the aisle stood alone. Only 20 years earlier, Rev Charles Cordiner sketched the kirk and showed it to be a long roofless rectangle, with a large porch and the burial aisle. Perhaps this kirk proved less adaptable to conversion and was an early casualty of the trend towards complete rebuilding in the later eighteenth-century.

St. Duthac's Collegiate Kirk, Tain[246]

The Collegiate Church in the Ross-shire pilgrimage town of Tain, is a fine building, now restored to something of the medieval splendour that recalls its days as a pilgrimage church under the patronage of the Scottish monarchs. Drawings of this church in its post-Reformation state of conversion elicit some sympathy with MacGibbon and Ross over the way that the construction of lofts accessed by an exterior staircase obliterated half of the tracery of the medieval east window. Inside, however, the beautiful windows are prominent in the new galleried scheme which surrounded the 1575 pulpit located on the south side. An 1819 sketch showed two storeys of galleries on at least the north and east sides, possibly also on the west. On the north side, a carved gallery front and canopy could be seen, whilst at the east end there was a richly carved front to the lower gallery. It seems remarkable that

[244] See Volume Two, Figs.52-55 for images of St Mary's Kirk, Banff.
[245] D.W. Walker and M. Woodworth, *The Buildings of Scotland, Aberdeenshire North and Moray* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015), 79.
[246] See Volume Two, Figs.16-22 for images of St Duthac's Collegiate Kirk, Tain.

this shrine church continued to be used for Reformed worship, bringing a memory of Roman Catholic piety to the associations that worshipers would have had with the building. All the more ironic, then, that the pulpit is said to have been a gift from Regent Moray to acknowledge the support given by the magistrates of Tain for the Reformation programme. It is tempting to wonder whether Moray's actions were connected to the strong association of his grandfather, James IV, with pilgrimage to Tain. The notion of a 'conservative north' starts to break down when the early implementation of Reformed paradigms in towns such as Tain are taken into account.[247]

Larger Hybrid Kirks

St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen

Further south east, St Machar's Cathedral in Old Aberdeen was the focus of intensive "cleansing" activity in the first wave of Reform.[248] Despite the removal of much of the vestments and treasures, certain components of the cathedral's structural fabric were elaborately decorated. It would have been a huge task to remove the ceiling of the nave, with its magnificent heraldic imagery which located the Scottish church amongst the panoply of European Catholicism, and aligned the Scottish monarchy, church, and the papacy in a colourful display above the heads of the Reformed Kirk.[249] Bishop Stewart's pulpit, constructed in a Franco-Scottish style in the mid-sixteenth-century, was still to be found in use for Reformed worship until 1793, when a refitting of the interior led to its relegation to use in the session house, located in the two western-most bays of the north aisle until further renovations in 1867.[250] The removal of this area in 1824 led to the complete dismantling of the pulpit, but fortunately it was stored in the cathedral, saved in 1844 and rebuilt in Kings College Chapel, where it has been preserved in a slightly amended format.[251] Despite the alterations described by Emerson, the general flavour of the

[247] G. Donaldson, 'Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1985), 191-203.
[248] D. Stevenson, *St Machar's Cathedral and the Reformation: 1560-1690* (Aberdeen, St Machar's Cathedral Occasional papers, 7, 1981).
[249] See Volume Two, Fig.250 for an image of the ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen.
[250] *Logan's Collections*, ed. J. Cruickshank, 142.
[251] *Ibid*., 146- 8; R. Emerson, 'Bishop Stewart's Pulpit' in J. Geddes, *King's College Chapel*, Aberdeen, 1500-2000 (Aberdeen, Northern Universities Press), 137-146; See Volume Two, Fig.251 for an image of the pulpit.

decorated pulpit, with renaissance medallion heads in profile and non-figurative decoration of foliage, flowers and branches, can still be appreciated. James Logan's painting of the pulpit in its transitional location in the session room gives a clear picture of what survived the rigours of time and iconoclasm. Spalding recorded that in 1640 this pulpit was one of the targets of the second wave of cleansing of images and symbols ordered by the General Assembly, noting that 'Thairefter they cam all ryding wp the get, cam to Maucher kirk, ordanit our blissit Lord Jesus Christ his armes to be hewin out of the foirfroont [forefront] of the pulpit thairof.' Logan's image clearly showed a blank central panel below the canopy which contained an image of the crucifixion and the *Arma Christi*, that was chipped out by the enforcers of the Assembly's legislation. It is remarkable that this imagery remained *in situ* for so long and in such a prominent position, associated with the Reformed focus on the preaching of the Word.

Spalding's described the further iconoclasm at the cathedral and in New Aberdeen:

> ….and to tak doun the portrait of our blissid virgin Marie and hir deir sone babie Jesus in hir armes, that had stand since the vputting thairof, in curious wark, wnder the sylring at the wastend of the pend, quhairon the gryte stepill standis, on movit quhill now; and gave ordour to colonel, maister of Forbes, to sie this done, quhilk he with all diligence obeyit: and besydis, whair there wes ony crucifixis set in glassin windois, this he causit pull out in honest menis houssis. He causit ane mesoun trik out Christis armes in hewin wark, on ilk end of bischop Gawin Dumbaris tomb; and siclike chissell out the name of Jesus, drawin ciphar wayis, JHS, out of the tymber wall on the foirsyd of Maucher Iyll, anent the consistorie dur. The crucifix on the Old toun cross dung doun; the crucifix on the Newtoun cross cloissit wp, being loth to brak the stane; the crucifix on the wast end of Sanct Nicholas kirk in New Abirdene dung doun, quhilk was neuer troublit before.[252]

Francis Douglas, writing in 1782, noted that:

[252] J. Spalding, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England. A.D. 1624 – A.D. 1645*, ed., J. Stuart, Spalding Club, 21 (Aberdeen, 1850) vol. 1, 313.

> The high altar, a piece of the finest workmanship of anything of the kind in Europe, had to that time remained inviolate, but in the year 1649 was hewed to pieces, by order and with the aid of the parish minister. The carpenter employed for this infamous purpose, awed by the sanctity of the place, and struck with the noble workmanship, refused to lay a tool on it, till the more than Gothic priest took the hatchet from his hand and struck the first blow. The wainscoting was richly carved and ornamented with different kinds of crowns at top, admirably cut; one of these, large and of superior workmanship, even staggered the zeal of the furious priest; he wished to save it, perhaps, as a trophy over a fallen enemy. Whatever his motives may have been, his hopes were disappointed; while the carpenter rudely hewed down the supporting timbers, the crown fell from a great height, ploughed up the pavement of the church, and flew in a thousand pieces.[253]

It is perhaps doubtful whether this was actually the high altar. It may be another description of the the destruction of St Katherine's altar, but it adds further evidence of the kind of environment within which parishioners at Old Aberdeen worshipped until this point.

The addition of galleries and desks within the crossing area, focusing on the pre-Reformation pulpit (which remained at the south west crossing pier until 1793) created a substantial worship space containing overt visual iconography retained from the pre-1560 church, including tombs containing recumbent effigies of prominent clergy. The collapse of the crossing tower in 1688, with the destruction of the transepts, led to the building-up of the western crossing arch. Worship continued in the nave, itself further developed in 1793 when it was filled with lofts.[254]

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[253] W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1845-52), vol.1, 50. Billings cited F. Douglas *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland* (Paisley, Alexander Weir, 1782), 185-6; C. Cordiner, *Letters and Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britai*n, 3 vols, (Banff, 1780-95), 20 [accessed via Eighteenth-century collections online, 24.7.16].

[254] *Logan's Collections*, ed. J. Cruickshank, Plate 1.

St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen

In the earlier discussion in this section of pre-Reformation furnishings in the burgh kirk of New Aberdeen it was noted that after 1596 the large church was divided into two in order to facilitate the hearing of preaching. The Burgh Records of 23rd June recorded that the Council:

> Ordanit the hail carvit tymmer wark betuixt the pilleris in the queir to be removit, and placit convenientlie quhair the same salbe thocht meit to tbe placed, to the effect that ane stane wall may be biggit betuixt the said queir and the bodie of the kirk, that the said queir may be maid ane preiching kirk for preiching of the word of God, and ministratioun of the sacramentis, with all convenient speid, according to the ordinance of the hail town maid befoir, ordanining the queir to be devydit fra the kirk, and maid ane new kirk to the effect forsaid.[255]

This record confirms that the medieval choir stalls were still *in situ* at this late date.

Gordon of Rothiemay, writing in 1661, described both parts of the building as being 'supported with two rowes of stone pillars, having large rooms, behind the pillars [aisles]. Ther roofs are seild with wainscot.' He went on to say that 'Both churches, which now are parted by a wall, are adorned with galleries, pewes, and dasks of wainscot, both bewtifull and commodious, and severalls of thame guilded.'[256] This 1661 description was augmented in 1782 by Francis Douglas, who visited the East Church on his tour:

> In the body of the church hange several large bras chandeliers; and before the upper gallery in the west end, hangs a small ship in full trim, to indicate that the gallery is appropriated for sea-faring people. The pulpit, a very handsome one, is on the north side, backward from which we enter to a large room where the church session meets to do business. In the wall near the

[255] *Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen 1570-1625*, vol. 2, 135.
[256] Gordon of Rothiemay, *Abredoniae vtrisque descriptio. A Description of Bothe Touns of Aberdeene*, ed. C. Innes, Spalding Club, 5 (Aberdeen, 1842), 14-15.

> session house door a small flat stone marks the place where Mr Adam Harriot, their first Protestant Minister, was buried.[257]

This account may be compared to the very full description of James Logan, written in 1818 prior to the rebuilding of the East Kirk in 1835. His sketch of the interior at this date has survived and is an extremely helpful supplement to his detailed written account.[258] He described the skeleton of the kirk as being in its medieval condition, with the four bays of choir arcades intact, and elaborate decoration on the ceiling of both the apse and the choir:

> The roof of the body of the church is ceiled with timber and adorned with raised work, amongst which are the arms of Aberdeen, and another: a bend charged with three buckles, and the letters P.L. Round the edges is a border of flowers painted blue. On the north side is an inscription in black letter as follows:-
>
> I M
> Ad laudem diui Nicholai in anno prepositure
> Honabilis viri Iohis Mar hoc celamen factu fuit tempore
> Patricii Leslie magri fabric huius eclie anno doi millo
> ccccc xv[259]

This description was further corroborated by John Ramsay (1799-1879), whose memoirs published after his death in 1871 recorded that 'The above inscription ran continuously in one line along the margin of the ceiling, on the north inner wall above the windows of the clerestory, immediately about the spring of the arch of the ceiling.'[260] Ramsay also commented that the ceiling was very similar to that of Kings College Chapel, Aberdeen, giving us a very good idea of what the St Nicholas ceiling would have looked like.[261] Logan noted that 'the east end, above where the altar stood, is done in the same manner, but

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[257] F. Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland,* 104.
[258] See Logan's sketch of the interior in Volume Two, Fig.115.
[259] *CESNA*, Appendix V.
[260] A. Walker, *The Selected Writings of John Ramsay MA, with Memorial and Notes by Alexander Walker* (Aberdeen, 1871), 227-228.
[261] W. Kelly, 'Carved Oak from St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen' in *PSAS*, LXVIII 1934, 355-66; see also the image of the ceiling of Kings College Chapel in Volume Two, Fig.114.

more profusely ornamented. There are two coats of arms which have been gilded.'[262] A watercolour of the apse ceiling in the Hutton Collection may also be the work of Logan, as a copy of his painting of Bishop Stewart's pulpit at St Machar's Cathedral is included in the same archive.[263]

Logan went on to describe the rest of the kirk as follows:

> Some of the galleries are ornamented with curious work in front. There are three galleries at the west end. The second belongs to the sailors, and has the picture of a ship on the front, and a handsome one, full-rigged, hung before it. The upper gallery was originally for the singers: it is now called the bell gallery, because the entrance is from the place where the bells are rung. They are all white painted.

In addition to the carved gallery fronts, Logan recorded that in 1818 there were a number of coloured 'atchievements, for persons buried in the church or who have had seats in it.'[264] He noted that they were taken down and burned in the stove to heat the West Kirk. In addition to these combustible items, there were also a number of stone panels, carved with coloured heraldic designs which Logan also recorded in the volume. These panels were connected to pre-Reformation dignatories of the burgh and appear to have been lost during the replacement of the old church in 1835.[265] The panels were not shown on Logan's 1818 sketch of the interior, but the reconstruction drawing of 1839 by Joseph Robertson, whilst not an accurate representation of the building at this stage being without any galleries in the aisles, does include detail of four carved panels above the nave arcades. Perhaps these were the coloured heraldic panels?[266] In any event, it is undoubtedly the case that the interior contained these pre-Reformation heraldic carvings until 1837.

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[262] J. Logan, 'An Accurate and Minute Description of the East Kirk, 1818,' in *CESNA*, Appendix V.
[263] See image of the ceiling of St Nicholas Kirk in Volume Two, Fig.112.
[264] *CESNA*, 445.
[265] *Ibid*., Plates 1 and 2.
[266] J. Sharples, D.W. Walker, M. Woodworth, eds., *The Buildings of Scotland, Aberdeenshire: South and Aberdeen* (Yale, Yale University Press, 2015), 122.

The Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts contained numerous payments for the construction and repurposing of desks in the period 1571-1600. In 1574 Johne Craik was paid for 'sawing away of the forpart of the stallis in the queir' and 'transporting of said forparts of the stallis and placing them in the body of the kirk and cheptor.'[267] The degree of desk construction seems to indicate an early adoption of fixed seating in this kirk. At the re-building in 1837 fashions for church decoration had moved on and the accumulation of timber from the c.1508 choir stalls plus post-1560 carving on desks, pews and gallery fronts had apparently become undesirable. A significant amount had survived in the church, some of it reworked to become new furniture, but retaining the original detail. Although it is difficult to be specific about where individual items were located, the survival to this day of a large portion of the medieval choir stalls which were combined with later carving to become a large desk, gives an idea of the kind of way in which the older work was re-purposed. During the nineteenth-century, some of the older work was sold and became the basis for household furniture, whilst other material was used to furnish the previously empty St Mary's chapel, located beneath the old east end of the kirk.[268] Other panels in the chapel are clearly from the choir stalls, but have been reworked into different pieces of furniture. This is fortunate in that it guaranteed the survival of a substantial amount of both pre and post-1560 material which would have been destroyed in the subsequent fire of 1874 which gutted the 1837 building and the surviving medieval spire. The large desk is a good example of a piece hybrid furniture, emobdying the heritage of the past whilst adopting a new configuration and imagery appropriate for the new church regime.[269]

Summary of St Nicholas Kirk

St Nicholas Kirk was an excellent example of the material culture of a large Scottish kirk following 1560. Initially, the less structural elements of Roman Catholic worship were removed, either for safe-keeping elsewhere, sold off for the common good or appropriated by others. However, the more structural elements such as rood screen, loft, choir stalls and built-in carved items such as tombs and heraldic wall panels were not removed. This left an environment redolent of Roman Catholic worship, but one which was on the way to being developed into a worship space which turned its back on the high altar and made its focus the pulpit on the north side of the kirk. In due course, the building was divided into two worship spaces and a dividing wall was built at the eastern crossing arch in 1596. The former

[267] *CESNA*, 384-5.
[268] See St Nicholas Kirk images in Volume Two, Figs.115-141.
[269] See image of St Nicholas Kirk desk in Volume Two, Fig.133.

choir became the east church and in due course was filled with seating and galleries which became adorned with rich timber carving, much of which was painted and coloured, and offset by a backdrop of lime-washed walls and pillars.[270] This was not a sombre worship space, but one that was alive with decoration, much of it linked to the social hierarchy of Scottish society and the burgh. Although it is hard to create a "photographic" image of St Nicholas east kirk from the written record, we have enough surviving material and documentary evidence to say that this space was far from drab, was filled with colour and decoration, and embraced the inherited medieval fabric.

St Giles Kirk, Elgin[271]

St Giles Kirk is one of the lost kirks of Scotland. It was a substantial medieval church with nave, transepts, central crossing tower with saddle-back roof, and a choir. Sleazer's 1693 image in *Theatrium Scotiae* showed that it was a prominent landmark in Elgin.[272] In a similar move to that of the burgh of St Andrews, where the parish church was to be that of Holy Trinity rather than the cathedral, St Giles was chosen in preference to the magnificent 'Chanonrie Kirk' as the focus for Reformed worship in the burgh. St Giles continued to be used in the two-cell format, with the kirk session initially using the choir to hold its meetings.[273] It served as an aisle for a parallel reader's service during the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the nave,[274] until the chancel arch was built-up in 1621 to form two separated spaces – the nave (or 'Muckle Kirk') and the 'Little Kirk,' (or 'New Kirk'). Maintenance issues were flagged in 1598, when the choir was noted to have become 'ruinous for laick of help, quhilk umquhyle bishoppis of Murray wer in use to beit and repair.' Resources were forthcoming from the fruits of the bishopric and the Lordship of Spynie, and the choir repairs undertaken perhaps more timeously than in some parishes.[275] In 1679 the nave roof collapsed, but the choir, crossing and transepts remained intact. The subsequent rebuilding incorporated the aisled four bay nave, within which an extensive scheme of galleries was constructed and reopened in 1684.[276] The impressive pulpit of this

[270] The Kirk and Bridge Work accounts contain many references to 'spargeing white' the walls and pillars of the interior of St Nicholas in the period 1571-1600, *CESNA*, 382-398.
[271] See St Giles Kirk images in Volume Two, Figs.26-30.
[272] *The Records of Elgin*, 2 vols, compiled by W. Cramond, New Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1903-8) vol. 1, 352.
[273] *RKSE*, 4, 10.
[274] *Ibid*., 65.
[275] *Ibid*., 54.
[276] H.B. Mackintosh, *Elgin Past and Present*, (Elgin, 1914), 201.

date survives, as does a painting of the new scheme of galleries, which featured heraldic carving associated the the burgh trades, town council and heritors. In 1700, the transepts were shortened to incorporate road-widening works and the building was further pruned with the demolition of the New Kirk in 1800. This left only the 'muckle kirk' and the crossing tower. This last portion was demolished in 1826 and replaced with the present parish church.

The complete disappearance of the building and of visual evidence of its interior scheme prior to the reconstruction in 1684 means that we have to rely on the written record. The kirk session minutes provide a good picture of the usual struggles to maintain the building and to prevent its abuse from various sorts of inappropriate activity. A record of 1597 noted that 'the hail elderis hes prom-ist a boll lyme ilk ane of them to sparge the kirk withal,' which demonstrates that the interior of this kirk was lime-washed in a similar way to St Nicholas in Aberdeen.[277] The following year, we hear that 'all the elderis hes concludit in ane voce that all the fixt stuilles for the women be rasit and put furth out of the kirk betuix this and the day fyvetein dayis.'[278] This is good evidence that there was an early development of dedicated seating, segrated between men and women in this case, and that it was not always harmonious. It may be that 'fixt stuilles' referred to stools that were placed permanently in church (to claim a certain position) rather than a literally nailed-down seat, hence the difficulty of managing the situation. The tension was clearly an ongoing issue, because the record of 31st March 1600 took up the theme again:

> Because sum folks fynds fault with the removing of the vomen stuills the minister inquiyrit severallie ilk elder about gif they allowit or disallowit that ordour that we takin in the removing of the stuillis, efter sum ressouning it is allowit providing th[a]t their be sum ordour takin for easing of the agit vowen and diseasit personnes in the kirk the tym of the semone, preaching or prayeris and thairfoir that they gif in thair bills for craving of sic thingis as is neidfull.[279]

[277] *RKSE*, 32.
[278] *Ibid*., 50.
[279] *Ibid*., 67.

As Andrew Spicer and Margo Todd have pointed out, maintaining order in church was a struggle, even when the construction of lofts provided further fixed seating arrangements.[280] In 1599 the session decided 'that their sall sit ane honest man ilk Sondaye at the entrie of the new loft to stay the tumult and to keipe the formest seat for the searcheris to sitt upon when they cum in.'[281] Twelve days later a further decision was made that 'it is appointit that ilk Sabboth day tua elderis sall sitt in the east end of the loft and their tak ordour with the landward peopill.'[282] The younger members of the congregation could also be challenging, so the order went out that 'The maisteris of the Gramer and Sang scholes ar appointit to discipline their disciples that trublit the kirk this day.'[283] By 1614 the session was concerned to ensure that seating was left free on the first 'degree of the east loft' in order that seating would be available for 'the wisitouris and wtheris honest persones or strangeris and to the collectouris at the dores.'[284] Clearly, the congregation was of a size where the building was struggling to accommodate the numbers of people attending, and reserved seating had become necessary for those that might not have either their own seat or who needed to have flexible access to their places during worship. The decision of 21st August was then made public with some additional qualifications that 'This day intimatioun maid to the people from the pulpeit that nan[e] sat in the first grie of the east loft except provest, bailzeis, persones of counsall, wisitouris, and collectouris.'[285] This seems like a significant variation on the theme of the eastern portion of the church being the place of importance used to house a council or laird's loft.

Alexander Douglas was minister of Elgin from 1581 and was appointed Bishop of Moray in 1602, retaining his involvement with the parish as a senior minister alongside the appointment of another minister, and presided at the Lord's Supper shortly before his death in 1623.[286] He was a prominent but enigmatic figure, regularly mentioned in the minutes of the General Assembly as a member of committees and commissions, but nothing has so far been discovered to shed light on his preaching, liturgical and pastoral practice. However, the survival of the kirk session minutes of Elgin reveal this parish to have been particularly

[280] A. Spicer, '"Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Worde:" Preaching, Pews and Reformed Worship in Scotland, 1560-1638' in *History*, vol. 88, issue 291 (July 2003), 405-422; *CP*, 40.
[281] *RKSE*, 59.
[282] *Ibid*., 62.
[283] *Ibid*., 62.
[284] *Ibid*., 139.
[285] *Ibid*., 139.
[286] *Ibid*., 345.

rigorous in its attempts to implement the Reformed paradigm of worship and discipline. In common with Perth, there were numerous references to the issue of parishioners going to the old cathedral kirk to pray, and to visit holy wells in the vicinity. This situation was in line with much of Scotland at the time, and revealed the degree to which old habits of piety did not die away, despite the new Kirk regime. Douglas was at the forefront of tackling this, although as Jenny Wormald has pointed out, he was surprisingly ecumenical when he asked King James to show lenience upon the recusant but sick Laird of Gicht in 1610.[287] In testimony to the respect in which he seems to have been held, and against prevailing practice, Douglas was buried inside St Giles and his monument survives, now transferred to the Cathedral kirkyard. The sophisticated development of St Giles Kirk during his incumbency demonstrated that a Reformed paradigm and a rich setting for worship were not mutually exclusive, nor was there any significant alteration to the worship practice in the Elgin kirk after he became a bishop.

St Giles, Elgin was a very good example of a now lost hybrid kirk. The medieval fabric was retained, with the choir utilised for meetings, smaller gatherings and the parallel readers' service during the Lord's Supper. The ravages of time, structural deficiencies, changing fashions and the physical development of the burgh took their toll, but essentially St Giles was an excellent example of the way in which the Reformed paradigm was made to work in a church built for Roman Catholic worship.

Dunfermline Abbey[288]

Moving southwards, and demonstrating that the larger "hybrid kirks" were not restricted to the north east of Scotland, Dunfermline Abbey was a very significant lost interior of the post-Reformation Kirk. At the Reformation, the abbey church appears to have been in a delicate structural condition:

> The wallis in sindrie parts ar revin, and the volt thairthrow partit, near hand the ane side from the uther, and the glassin windois of the samyn decayit, and nane now being thairin quhairthrow it is greit danger and perrell to the saidis compleneris of thair lyvis to enter, remaine, or bide within the said kirk,

[287] J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 133.
[288] See images of Dunfermline Abbey in Volume Two, Fig.252-264.

> owther in tyme of prayers, teching, or preching of the Word of God, or ony uther besines neidfull to be done thairin, without haistie remeid be providit in all things necessary.[289]

Although the entire building, including a huge crossing tower and monastic choir, was intact at 1560, its poor condition meant that Reformed worship was to be held in the nave. The financial situation of sorting out the revenues of the abbey (which became annexed to the crown in 1587) seems to have held up repairs. However, the advocacy of Queen Anne was the catalyst towards both the renewal of the royal palace at Dunfermline and the adjacent abbey church in a scheme of repairs begun in 1594.[290] A storm in 1672 led to the collapse of the ruined choir and the crossing tower fell in an eastward direction in 1753, destroying what was left. This seems to have been a critical time for the building, as in the same year the top level of the south west tower of the west end had to be removed, with the remainder falling in 1807.[291]

As at St Nicholas and St Machar's in Aberdeen, lofts were suspended between the pillars of the nave in an interior scheme that developed in the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. We learn a great deal of the lost interior of Dunfermline Abbey from Chalmers' *Historical Statistical Account*. It was written before the abandonment and clearance of the nave after the construction of a new parish church on the site of the former choir and crossing, and included evidence of substantial textual decoration on the lofts:

> The royal gallery stood between and covering the front of two columns on the south side, a little to the east of the pulpit. On the lower part of the wooden ceiling were painted and gilt the crowns of Scotland and Denmark, and below these respectively were the letters I.R. and A.R., the initials of James VI and his Queen, Anne. Higher up was the crown of Soctland, and below it were the letters I.R., with the Scottish thistle between them. Immediately over the seat was a scarcely legible inscription, beginning, "Cum.Deum.Cogitas.Qui.Dat.Vitam.Et.Necessaria [when thou thinkest on

[289] J.M. Webster, *Dunfermline Abbey*, 1948, 226, quoting Register of the Privy Council, 13 September, 1563.
[290] *Ibid.*, 228-9.
[291] See Dunfermline Abbey images in Volume Two, Figs.252-253.

> God, who gives life and things needful}. The front of the seat, made of oak, which is still preserved in Dunfermline, was 18 feet long, elegantly carved and gilt, and had in the centre a crown between the letters I.R. and A.R., and a circle beneath, with some devise almost totally defaced, and the date 1610. On the western wooden partition, between the royal gallery and an adjoining one, which belonged to the Earl of Dunfermline, were these inscriptions, amongst some others, much defaced:
>
> "Per.Religionem.Deus.Cognoscitur.Neque.Fieri.Cognitas.Quin.Ametur.Et.Colatur;" and "Hic.Deum.Adora" ("God is learned by religion, nor can he become known, without being loved and worshipped;" and "Here adore God)."[292]

The abbey was evidently the parish church of the Earl of Dunfermline, as there was a laird's gallery immediately to the west of the royal loft. Chalmers went on to describe this in detail:

> The Earl of Dunfermline's, and afterwards Marquis of Tweeddale's Gallery, was immediately adjacent to the royal one on the west. There were painted on the wooden ceiling of it two coronets, and some other devices not very distinct, with the following inscriptions:
>
> "Quum.Deum. Vocas.Dominum.Fac.Illi.Servias,
> Vita.Christi.Testatur.Humanam.Ejus.Probitatem.Miracula.Divinitas.Omnipotentem.Lex.Celestis.Sapientiam.Illi.Omnia.Credere.Debemus.In.Cujus.Potestate.Sunt.Rerum.Omnium.Eventus.Petite.A.Deo.Et.Accipetis.etc-
> Haec.Est.Vita.Eterna.Ut.Cognoscamus.Patrem.Et.Quem.Ille.Misit.Jesum.Christum (When thou callest on the Lord God, see that thou serve him, etc. The life of Christ bears witness to his human excellence; His miracles to the omnipotence of his divinity; His heavenly doctrine to his wisdom. We ought to trust all things to Him, in whose power are the events of all things. Ask

[292] P. Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1844), 121.

> from God, and you shall receive. This is life eternal, that we know the Father, and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent).
>
> Over the door, between this gallery and the royal one, were four square connected compartments, on the first of which was COLE (worship), on the second DEUM (God), and on the third TE IPSUM (thyself). The fourth was illegible, but may have been Cognosce (know). Above another compartment was PRAESTES (may'st thou excel), and below it VIVES (thou shalt live).
>
> On the front of the seat was a board containing the following inscriptions and devices: SEMPER (always), a crescent, a coronet (gilt), a shield, in four compartments, two of which had three crescents, and the other two three mullets each, supported by two white horses, with the motto below – "NEC.CEDE.ADVERSIS.REBUS.NEC.CREDE.SECUNDITS (Neither yield to adversity, nor trust to prosperity); the coat of arms of the Earl of Dunfermline.[293]

This loft was very likely to have been that referred to in the minutes of the Synod of Fife in 1612, on the subject of its inappropriate imagery:

> My Lord Archbishop reported, that having aquainted the King's majestie with the offens upon the paintrie of my Lord chancellor his dask in the kirk of Dunfermaling, haid reported his Hienes will that the Kirk insist no further in process against his Lordship, seeing his Majestie thought the offens sufficientlie removed.[294]

Here, Chalmers gave us further clues to a glimpse into the fate of this decorative scheme when he said that 'The board is still preserved in Mr Paton's interesting and valuable collection of national antiquities, and the front of the seat (of oak) was sent to Abbotsford, along with the pulpit.' We are also told that all of the inscriptions on the galleries were in

[293] *Ibid*., 121.
[294] *MSF,* 54, 29-30 September, 1612.

Roman capitals, with gilded lettering and further gilding on most of the heraldic devices, and that the rest of the timber was 'painted of a whitish colour.'[295] The enigma of exactly what was recycled at Abbotsford continues upon examination of the sketches of J. Sime, made in 1805 and preserved in the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.[296] It has been commonly assumed that the bow-fronted panelling in the entrance hall at Abbotsford was the pulpit. However, on inspection, it seems unlikely that the panels are large enough to comprise a full pulpit. This is confirmed when examining Sime's sketches, which showed that the pulpit was a completely different shape, being of the large polygonal canopied variety, similar to the one that existed at Ayr Old Kirk and Fenwick Kirk.[297] However, Sime's view from the pulpit to the south, where the royal and Dunfermline galleries were situated, clearly shows a double bow-fronted gallery in the location of the royal pew, demonstrating that these panels are from King James VI and Queen Anne's seats. The addition of the bow fronts brings their seating slightly forward of the gallery line, allowing them to be more visible in the kirk and accentuated their joint presence – a design both practical and symbolic. The trim on the top of the circular portions implies that these were both upper portions rather than being designed to sit one on top of another, consistent with being used as part of the loft front. The remnant panelling at Abbotsford is similar to the panelled gallery fronts around the kirk, shown in the rudimentary sketch.

Webster also described a gallery at the east end of the nave containing 'the musicians' seat.' It was accessed via a staircase in the crossing tower and located above the enclosed 'communion yle.' It seems very likely that this was a seat dedicated to the singers from the sang schule who led the Psalms, rather than being simply a relic of the pre-Reformation abbey church as he surmises, although the location sounds very similar to the former rood loft, which in some churches was used to house the choir. In any case, it was re-purposed on 10th June, 1656 when it was allocated to Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie 'an to his household yrin, to big ane comlie seat for yr ease an profitable hearing of the word of God in tyme of divine service.'[298]

[295] P. Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1844), 122.
[296] See Volume Two, Figs.255-257 for images of Sime's interior drawings Dunfermline Abbey in 1805.
[297] D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1887-92), vol. 5, 161 for an image of the Fenwick pulpit.
[298] J.M. Webster, *Dunfermline Abbey*, 235.

J.C.R Buckner corroborated much of this in 1882, but added further detail regarding the old pulpit and the sending of the timber to Abbotsford:

> When this church was used as a Presbyterian place of worship – 1563 [to] 1821 – the pulpit stood against the centre pillar, north side. It was made of oak, and beautifully carved. The words, "who is sufficient for these things?" were on the higher part. Sir Walter Scott, who visited Dunfermline in 1822, about a year after the old church was disused, was quite enamoured with the pulpit, and applied to the heritors for it, a request which was readily granted. This pulpit, and other relics of antiquity from Dunfermline, now adorn the entrance hall of Abbotsford.[299]

He further commented on the detail of the royal loft, and noted that 'The other parts of the old church were occupied by galleries and seats belonging to the heritors of the parish and the corporations of the trades of the burgh.'[300] One significant difference between Sime's sketch and Webster's account is that the Dunfermline loft had become the Elgin loft by 1805, reflecting the fact that the Earl of Elgin was now principal heritor.

Summary of Dunfermline Abbey

The post-1559 nave of Dunfermline was a significant lost interior of the Scottish Reformed Kirk. It followed a similar pattern to the adaptation of other large kirks, and is further useful evidence of the dynamic of the worship space, with the congregation gathered closely around the pulpit in the relatively intimate space of the abbey nave. Sime's sketches show a "dropped" ceiling by 1805, positioned just above the nave arcade, which would have potentially improved the preaching acoustic by reducing the volume of the space. The existence of significant timber decoration, gilding and colouring in connection with desks and lofts indicates a vibrant worship space that functioned in a very similar way to St Nicholas Kirk in Aberdeen.

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[299] The inscribed panel from the pulpit does not appear to be present at Abbotsford (2016).
[300] J.C.R. Buckner, *Clark's Guide to Dunfermline* (Dunfermline, William Clark and Son, 1882), 21.

New-build kirks

It is significant that even the few brand new kirks constructed in this period did not differ markedly from the typical rectangular medieval ground plan, although the interior layouts conformed to the general model of Reformed adaptations. In some cases, this was because the church was rebuilt on the foundations of an earlier church, but in others it may simply have been that the adapted format worked well and that other options did not present themselves as significantly more advantageous. This situation continued into the second half of the seventeenth-century in the new churches at North Berwick (1659) and Tulliallan (1675-6).[301] Two striking examples of new churches were those at Burntisland (from 1592) and Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh (1602-20).

Burntisland Parish Church[302]

There has been much comment amongst architectural historians concerning the unique design of Burntisland Parish Church, debating whether it was influenced by Dutch or French models. However, Andrew Spicer has proved that Burntisland predates the churches by which it was reckoned to be inspired.[303] It seems that this new-build project was a singular attempt to address the question of what an ideal Reformed church might look like. Its square ground plan, with four massive round arches on solid piers holding up the ceiling, and the incremental development of lofts around a centralised plan, was an innovative response to the challenge of gathering a large congregation around the preacher. However, it was not emulated anywhere else in Scotland until the wave of church building and replacement from the late eighteenth-century onwards.

The growing burgh of Burntisland received permission to replace the tiny medieval church at the Kirkton of Burntisland, and the new church opened in 1592.[304] It seems that there was some reluctance amongst parishioners to attend worship in the new kirk, with worship

[301] See Volume Two, Figs.266-267 for images of North Berwick and Tulliallan Old Kirks.
[302] See Volume Two, Figs.95-110 for images of Burntisland Kirk.
[303] A. Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007), 54.
[304] N.B. Mackie and W.H. Sweenie*, A Guide to the Heritage and History of Burntisland Parish Church* (Burntisland Parish Church), 9.

continuing at the Kirkton until 1596.[305] However, by 1602, the town council began to push for the old parish church to be completely abandoned in favour of the new building and ordered that the parishioners should 'convene in the Kirk and that the Kirk shall be dressit and apparallit within the month with sufficient stone and well furnished with sufficient seats round about for men and women.'[306] In fact, fixed seating was not provided for most people until late in the seventeenth-century, leaving the areas of the kirk on the ground level extremely flexible, perhaps chaotic. The wives and daughters of members of the craft guilds were not allowed to sit in the lofts, and instead occupied space in the centre of the church. This separation of families must have brought a particular kind of experience to worship, although it is hard to attribute positive or negative qualities to it.

Although Burntisland is a significant survivor of a new-build early Reformed Kirk, it has also evolved substantially. When first constructed, the absence of galleries would have created a monumental interior space, in contrast to the tiny gothic former church at the Kirkton of Burntisland. However, the floor was initially of compacted earth rather than flagstones, the roof timbers were not ceiled, nor was the original wooden lantern tower completed until 1600.[307] The decoration that survives today is due to a restoration of 1908, which recovered what had been covered as "old-fashioned" during renovations in 1822, and much decorative paintwork was subsequently added in the twentieth-century. However, the gilded image of a war vessel has been dated as prior to 1606. The sea-faring flavour of this kirk would have been enhanced by the model of the famous warship, the Great Michael, which hung in the church until 1822, when it disappeared during the renovation programme. It was replicated in the twentieth-century. A further painted panel, estimated to date from the mid-seventeenth-century, portrays a ship flying the new British naval flag. The image includes a gilded latin text 'Dabit Deus his quaque veia' [God guides every sail] bearing witness to the fashion for including guilded texts and mottos, such as those at Dunfermline, and shows that the Kirk was not afraid of displays of Latin, even in the austere times of the mid-seventeenth-century. In another panel, a vernacular text 'God's Providence Is Our Inheritance' was potentially an early seventeenth-century creation. In addition to the painted gallery fronts, there were further carved elements in the lofts, including material

[305] *Ibid*., 12.
[306] N.B. Mackie and W.H. Sweenie, *A Guide to the Heritage and History of Burntisland Parish Church*, 12.
[307] The original external wallheads were lower, which would have given the outer compartments behind the arches a much steeper profile. The external walls were raised by 1.2m in 1822. J. Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Fife*, 110-111.

destroyed in a fire in 1822. However, one panel connected to the Weavers and dated 1597 has survived, along with a primitive marquetry image of a warship, dated 1609.

William Laud was no fan of either the Burntisland kirk or the Scottish Reformed fashion for building galleries. Commenting initially on St Giles, Edinburgh, he caustically included Burntisland in his critique of the burgh kirk:

> At Edinburgh the King's command took down the stone walls and galleries, which were there removed, and not mine. For his Majesty's having, in a Christian and princely way, erected and endowed a bishopric in Edinburgh he resolved to make the great church of St Giles, in that city, a cathedral; and to this end, gave order to have the 'galleries' in the lesser church, and the 'stone wall' which divided them, taken down. For of old, they were both one church, and made two by a wall built up at the west end of the chancel; so that which was called the lesser church was but the chancel of St Giles, with galleries round about it; and was for all the world like a square theatre, without any show of a church; as is also the church at Brunt Island over against it. And I remember, when I passed over at the Frith, I took it at first sight for a large square pigeon-house; so free was it from all suspicion of being so much as built like an ancient church.[308]

Summary of Burntisland Parish Church

The complex kirk at Burntisland was a unique response to the unusual opportunity to build a new parish church on a fresh site. The square ground plan and the monumental classical style were in marked contrast to the small, low and rectangular parish church at the Kirkton of Burntisland. The slowness with which the parishioners transitioned to the new place of worship stands in contrast to the more effective transition seen in places such as Perth and Aberdeen, where continuity with the material culture of the old parish kirks aided the development of a new worship paradigm. However, the development of the Burntisland kirk's carved timber galleries and seating, and its colourful painted decoration, had much in common with trends in the decoration of worship spaces underway in the wider Kirk. It may

[308] *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D.*, 3 vols., ed. J. Bliss (Oxford, John Henry Parker, 1847), vol. 3, 315.

be said that in its final form it is as much a reflection of the broader aesthetic of Jacobean worship as it was a unique experiment.

Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh[309]

The burgh of Edinburgh moved to create four congregations from the single parish of Edinburgh in 1598. In 1602 a new church for the South West Quarter congregation was decided upon, to be built in the yards of the old Greyfriars' house, just outside the city walls. Part of this property had already been granted as a new burial yard by Mary Queen of Scots in 1562. Funds were made available by the Burgh Council of Edinburgh in 1602 to start the work on Greyfriars along with a grant of the stonework of the doors and buttresses of the Sciennes convent of St Catherine of Sienna. After significant delay, In 1611 it was decided that the new church should be 'biggit with pilleris,' resulting in a large rectangular building with a four bay nave resembling a Dominican preaching church, but with no east-end focus on a high altar.[310] There are signs that a clerestory and stone-vaulted aisle ceilings were intended, but never constructed. [311] Eventually in December 1612 the building works began in earnest. The building was finally completed in 1618, the first event being the funeral of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway in 1619. The first act of public worship was conducted by Patrick Galloway on Christmas Day, 1620. Whereas Burntisland was a pioneering building, Greyfriars on the surface appears to have been a traditional medieval gothic church given classical facades. However, it is a particularly complicated building, having suffered from the rigours of division, re-union, re-division, destruction by fire, nineteenth-century rebuilding and finally reunion and restoration to a single worship space. The restoration of the 1930's chose to introduce a long west-east axis for the first time in its history, with a raised chancel and furniture inspired by the ecclesiological movement. Today, the building looks like a medieval gothic church, but originally the focus was around a pulpit on the south side of the kirk. Initially there was little permanent seating, with the congregation bringing their own stools if they wished to sit. However, in 1639 fixed seating was provided in all of the Edinburgh churches as part of the wider drive to ensure an orderly and attentive congregation.[312] There is no evidence of a paved floor having been provided when the church was constructed. In due course lofts were built on the east, west and

[309] See images of Greyfriars Kirk in Volume Two, Figs.268-9.
[310] W. Moir Bryce, *History of the Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, William Green and Sons, 1912), 39.
[311] H. Honeyman, 'Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh' in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 1912-13 (Aberdeen, W. Jolly, 1913), 49-57.
[312] W. Moir Bryce, *History of the Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh*, 47.

possibly also north sides, painted in some way but destroyed under the Cromwellian occupation.[313] Greyfriars may have been conceived with the architectural skeleton of a medieval hall church, but its use reflected the new priorities of the Reformed Kirk.

Other new churches

Burntisland and Greyfriars could not be more different in their architectural style, but both met aspirations for large scale corporate worship focused on preaching in their unique architectural environments. Outside the prominent burghs, new churches were less grand, but were driven by the same agenda for Reformed worship.[314] Some of these new-builds have been completely lost to us. Spicer cited new churches at Forfar (1568), Fraserburgh (1571), and Arbroath (1580-90) but so far we have little information about their structures. Where there are surviving buildings, they tend to be simple rectangles, sometimes built on the foundations of an existing medieval church, and incorporating elements of the earlier fabric. At Weem, the simple rectangular building of 1609-14 is of a very high quality, including a hybrid mixture of Jacobean and Gothic windows, expensive heraldic sculptural elements on the exterior in hard-wearing granite, and the impressive Menzies monument inside.[315] In contrast, the 1582 kirk at Kemback was a very simple vernacular building, oriented in a north-south direction and without any apparent architectural aspirations.[316] At Salt-Preston, the 1596 church tower survives, but the body of the kirk has been replaced. In this case, it was rather more square than rectangular, with the addition of two lofty aisles.[317] At Stenton, the pre-1582 church incorporated the earlier saddle-back tower and other elements of the medieval church in a long rectangular structure (with the addition of a later north aisle) whilst the new-builds of late sixteenth-century date at Eassie, Inveravon, Kilmaveonaig, Nevay, and Parton were all simple rectangles. At Keith in Morayshire, the church is said to have been rebuilt in 1569, making it one of the earliest building projects in the Reformed Kirk.[318] It was a simple building and retained the long rectangular format. The square-headed windows speak of a building designed largely in opposition to anything resembling a medieval church, which considering the ongoing incidence of non-conformity

[313] *Ibid*., 98.
[314] See G. Chernoff, *Building the Reformed Kirk* for a helpful account of the construction of new kirks and their relationship with local communities.
[315] See images of Weem Kirk in Volume Two, Figs.89, 270-272.
[316] See images of Kemback Kirk in Volume Two, Figs.273-4.
[317] D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. 5, 172.
[318] See image of Keith Kirk in Volume Two, Fig.275.

in this part of Scotland was perhaps unsurprising. Unfortunately the surviving image does not reveal whether there was a transeptal aisle opposite the tower, but it is likely that there would have been access to the pulpit through the tower door. Judging by the outside stairs, this building was provided with galleries, perhaps as soon as it was built. It is possible that the interior contained decorated lofts, but so far no further information has been discovered. There are some similarities between Keith and the much later building at Gifford (1710).[319] Although the latter has a claim to greater elegance, the internal layout, with early seventeenth-century decorated timber pulpit and panelling, may be a reflection of the layout and interior decoration of the Keith building.[320] The 1612 church at Dirleton, which replaced the medieval church at Gullane, is a good example of a new-build that survives intact, with the exception of the addition of the spectacular south aisle of 1664. The body of the kirk is wide and long, with a west end tower, similar to the original arrangement at Greyfriars Edinburgh, but on a smaller scale.[321]

[319] See image of exterior of Gifford Kirk in Volume Two, Fig.276a.
[320] See images of the Gifford Kirk pulpit in Volume Two, Fig.145.
[321] See image of Dirleton Kirk in Volume Two, Fig.276b.

Section Conclusion

We can see that Burntisland Kirk was unique in its time as well as in its survival. Why did it not generate more imitators? Finance was perhaps an answer, but it may well be the case that the rectangular form was felt to work well enough, and provided a simple structural answer with a pitched roof rather than the more complex task of roofing a square building. However, local variation sometimes led to interesting examples such as that at Eccles (1601), which according to the Statistical Account was a small but impressive building:

> The old church was a Gothic building, in the form of a cross, vaulted and covered with large flagstones...and ornamented with a cross, and a very elegant steeple. The building might have stood for many centuries, and it was with the greatest difficulty it was taken down. But as it was too small to accommodate the inhabitants, the proprietors of the parish took it down about 20 years ago, and built a very handsome modern church on the same ground.[322]

Had the inherited buildings of the Reformed Kirk been less structurally sound, it is possible that a greater number of innovative buildings (like Burntisland and Eccles) would have been constructed in the early years of the new Kirk. William Laud's jibes over the material culture of St Giles, Edinburgh and Burntisland Kirk were views that emerged from his particular culture of churchmanship and architectural preference. It is true that the material culture of Scottish kirks varied widely during the period 1559-1617, with worship taking place in some fairly miserable circumstances in certain places. However, in other parishes both maintenance and development led to the transformation of ancient kirks and the creation of a Reformed worship aesthetic which could be intimate, bright, colourful, even sophisticated in kirks such as St Nicholas, Aberdeen and Dunfermline Abbey. The physical development of the church buildings was intimately tied to key principles of Reformed theology and ecclesiology, which sought corporate focus on the preaching of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments and the performance of Discipline, but a substantial legacy of pre-Reformation fabric and furnishings remained in many places throughout the period. The physical expression of social hierarchy in the colourful carved and painted heraldry of desks and lofts was an important dimension in contributing to the dynamics and aesthetics of worship. Church buildings were important shapers of the worship experience

[322] J. Sinclair, ed., *The Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, *1791-99,* vol. 11, 239.

of Scots. By 1617 a forward-looking hybrid kirk culture had been created for ‘the house of the Lord’ which spoke of continuity as well as vibrancy and change.

SECTION TWO

THE CONTENT OF WORSHIP

Chapter One

THE SCRIPT FOR WORSHIP - LITURGY IN THE KIRK, 1559-1617

Scottish Reformed worship did not take place divorced from textual liturgy. Printed prayers were a feature of worship and were utilised throughout the period 1559-1617, as in the case of the examination of Robert Fogo, reader at the Kirk of Kilmadok on 10th September, 1583:

> Compeirit the said Robert personallie to quhom was cassin up ane chapter in the New Testament and commandit to reid the same and eftir reiding of ane portioun thairof thair was gevin to him twa prayeris in the psalme buik to reid.[323]

However, the complicated genesis of the Psalme Buik in the decade before 1559 needs to be examined to understand the influences upon its subsequent development. In particular, it is important to recognise that prior to the introduction of the 1637 Scottish *Book of Common Prayer*, there was a great deal of flexibility offered to ministers. The liturgical materials of the Psalme Buik could be used as they were set, or something similar could be used. This was an invitation to the minister to use other material, or compose his own in a way that was 'like in effect.'[324] This level of flexibility was a key contrast to approaches to liturgical material in the Church of England, which prescribed set texts and permitted no deviation or clerical creativity. This distinctively English approach was also at odds with Reformed practice across the rest of Europe.[325] King James VI's attempts to introduce such a model to the Scottish Kirk were handicapped by this idiosyncrasy.

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[323] *Stirling Presbytery Records 1581-1587,* ed. J. Kirk, Scottish History Society, fourth series, 17 (Edinburgh, 1981), 172.

[324] From the rubric of 'The Bvriall' in *The CL Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1615, *STC* 16592).

[325] J.E.A Dawson, 'Scotland and the example of Geneva,' in *Theology in Scotland*, vol. 16, no.2 (2009), 55-73.

The first Reformed liturgical materials – conflict and creativity in exile

The priest and reformer, John Knox, and others involved in the challenge to the old Kirk during the 1540's, had been imprisoned, exiled or fled in the reprisals that followed the murder of Cardinal Beaton and the siege of St Andrews Castle in 1546-7. Knox ended up as a French galley slave until 1549. On his release, he entered the service of the Church of England as a military chaplain in London and Berwick. Following the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553, and with an unfriendly Roman Catholic Scotland to the north, the first wave of religious refugees left England to pursue their fresh expression of Christianity without inhibition from what quickly became an uncompromisingly Roman Catholic revival in the Church of England. This first wave was followed by those who had stayed in England, but had found their hopes of an accommodation with Mary Tudor (or indeed the overturning of her Roman Catholic agenda for the Church of England) to be impossible in practice. Protestant refugee communities sprang up initially in Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Zurich, Emden, Wesel, then later in Basel, Geneva and Aarau.[326] The most significant from the Scottish worship point of view were the congregations at Frankfurt and Geneva. Knox was called to be one of the pastors at Frankfurt in 1554, following an initial period in Dieppe and a short time in Geneva.[327] At Frankfurt there was initially a degree of liturgical plurality. On the one hand, some members of the Frankfurt congregation preferred the English *Book of Common Prayer*, whilst others, including John Knox, preferred a more streamlined order of worship. The tension between these strands in the Frankfurt congregation eventually led to the expulsion of Knox, the withdrawal of his supporters, and in due course their arrival at Geneva, where the liturgical culture in the English-speaking congregation tended towards Calvin's *Forme of Prayers* and the French Huguenot tradition.[328] This resulted in the adoption and adaptation of these texts for regular worship and the sacraments. William Maxwell demonstrated that the Sunday morning worship liturgy in *The Forme of Prayers*, and its daughter liturgy created for the English speaking congregation in Geneva, was derived from pre-Reformation and early post-Reformation usage in Strasbourg. The liturgy was effectively the first part of the mass, up to the point of the prayers of thanksgiving and

[326] N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), 27.
[327] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox*, 85.
[328] T. Duguid, 'The Troubles at Frankfurt: A New Chronology' in *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 14.3 (2012), 243-68.

intercession, showing that the Reformed Sunday morning service was in continuity with the medieval Catholic Church as well as the early churches it sought to emulate.[329]

It is something of an accident of history that any of the Genevan exiles returned to Scotland, as strong bonds of affection to England had been developed by the Scots clergy previously working as exiles there. In 1559, despite continued stirrings of Protestant activism on the ground in Scotland, the regime of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, showed no signs of being open to rejection of the papacy and the Roman Catholic order. Critically, Knox had alienated Elizabeth I through his polemical *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* and there was no prospect of him or his anti-*Book of Common Prayer* faction being allowed to disturb the new Elizabethan polity.[330] Having been refused entry to England, it was to Scotland that Knox and the scholarly Christopher Goodman, his fellow pastor in Geneva, were obliged to return. With them they brought the liturgical materials of the *Geneva Bible*, *The Forme of Prayers* and the incomplete *Anglo-Genevan Psalter*, along with a Protestant consciousness that owed little to Scotland and far more to England and Europe.[331] However, it is important to recognise that in the long run the development of the new Reformed Kirk on the ground is what mattered. Their European Reformed culture was to receive a distinctively Scottish incarnation.[332]

Liturgical Options

On the return of the exiles to the British Isles, those who came to Scotland advocated the "Book of Geneva," and this was added to the liturgical mix of the ecclesiastical and political ferment of 1559-60. It is quite likely that proto-Protestants in Scotland made use of the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* of Edward VI in this period, although it is also likely that copies of the 'Book of Geneva' had also made their way to Scotland, as *The First Book of Discipline* noted in the Second Head, 'Of Sacraments,' that 'albeit the Order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our kirks, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that both these sacraments may be rightly ministered, yet for a uniformity to be kept, we have

[329] W. Maxwell, 'The Sunday Morning Service in the Book of Common Order' in *The Church Service Society Annual*, 1930-31.
[330] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox*, 172.
[331] J.E.A. Dawson, 'Scotland and the example of Geneva.'
[332] *Ibid*., 69.

thought good to add this as superabundant.'[333] Perhaps as a result of the legacy of the earlier Frankfurt arguments, it was the Genevan book that was to become the base-line for Scottish Reformed liturgical texts.

Promoting the Psalme Buik

In essence, the Scottish 'book of our common order' provided a spiritual manual – something akin to a primer, missal or prayer book, for the Reformed paradigm. [334] Although there were likely copies of the Genevan-printed *Forme of Prayers* circulating in Scotland prior to this point, in 1562 Robert Lekpreuik printed an edition in Edinburgh, no doubt intended to supply the new Kirk. The first uniquely Scottish edition of 1564 was also entitled *The Forme of Prayers,* but the whole volume was almost immediately identified with the Psalms. [335] This was demonstrated in the minutes of the General Assembly of 26th December 1564, which stipulated 'that every minister, exhorter and reader, shall have one of the psalm books lately printed in Edinburgh.'[336] The formal printed title of the entire volume later became variants on *The CL Psalmes of David*, whilst still retaining the liturgical texts in most editions.

Possessing a Psalme Buik was considered an essential part of Reformed piety, but the liturgical texts were not merely for reference. The Assembly's 1564 instruction went on to specify that ministers, exhorters and readers should 'use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and the ministration of the sacraments.'[337] Later, acts of the Scottish

[333] *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots 1547-1603*, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1898) vol. 1, 219-20. Kirkcaldy to Percy, 1 July 1559, 'The manner of reformation is this – they pull down all manner of "freires," and some abbeys which will not receive it – cleanse parish churches of images and monuments of idolatry – and prohibit all masses. In place whereof, the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in them;' Similar references are found in John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W. Croft Dickinson (Edinburgh, Nelson, 1949), vol. 1, 148; It is likely that during the English invasions of the 1540's, English Bibles and copies of the *Book of Common Prayer* were brought to Scotland as part of the propaganda offensive against the Roman Catholic regime; *FBD*, 90.
[334] *Ibid*., 182.
[335] *APGA*, 74.
[336] *RKSE*, 11. The entry for June 30th 1591 described the order of the Session that 'It is appointed that all the young men be summonit agane this day aucht dayis to heir thame ordanit to haif psalme buiks in tymes cuming that can reid.'
[337] *APGA*, 74.

Parliament in 1579 ordered more prosperous Scots to purchase a copy of the Psalme Buik and an English language Bible:

> All gentilmen household[aris] and vtheris worth thrie hundreth m[er]ks of yeirlie rent or abone, and all substantious yemen or burgess[es], likewise househaldar[is] estemit worth five hundreth pund[is] in landis or guidis, be haldin to haue a bible and psalme buke, in vulgare language in thair houses ffor the better instructioun of thame selffis and thair fameliis in the knawlege of god w'thin year and day efter the dait heirof ilk persone vndir the pane of ten pund[is] And that the provest and baillies of ilk burgh and sic persone in every parochyne to landwart as salhaue the kingis commissioun searche inquire and try quha failzeis. The third p[air]t to thame selffis for thair panes and the tua p[air]t to the help and relief of the puyr of the parochyne.[338]

This was an attempt to support the enterprise of the publication of the first English language Bible to be printed in Scotland, the Bassandyne/Arbuthnott edition of 1579, but its terms would also have boosted sales of the Psalme Buiks published in 1575 and 1578 by Thomas Bassandyne and Johne Ros.[339] It is significant that the Acts also included what came to be known as the "Act of Tymous Remeid," under which the re-establishment of sang schules in the principal burghs was ordered:

> For instructioun of the youth in the art of music [and] singing q[uhil]k is almaist decayit and sall schortly decay w[i]t[h]out tymous remeid be prouidit Oure Souerane lord w[i]t[h] auise of his thrie estaitis of this p[rese]nt parliament requeistis the prouest, baillies, counsale and communitie of the maist spe[ci]all burrowis of this realme and of the patronis and prouestis of the collegis quhair sang schuilis ar foundat to erect and sett vp ane sang scuill w[i]t[h] ane maister sufficient and able for instructioun of the youth in the said science of music as they will ans[we]r to his hienes vpoun the perrell of thair fundationis and in

[338] *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1814), vol. 3: 1567-1592, 139.
[339] *BibCO*, 26-27; *The CL Psalmes of David in English Metre, With the Forme of Prayers, and Ministration of the Sacraments &c. used in the Churche of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Bassandine, 1575, *STC* 16580).

> performing of his hienes requeist do vnto his maiestie acceptable and gude ples[ure]. [340]

There was a clear liturgical programme at work, most likely driven by the Regent Morton in a parting shot before his final deposition at the end of 1579. Although the king was technically coming into his majority, he was still a young teenager. As Morton had been Regent since 1572, the considerable legislation of 1579, of which these acts regarding the Kirk and music were part, represented his attempt to enshrine his church priorities before another regime came to power. The imminent influence of Esmé Stewart, widely suspected of Roman Catholic leanings, explained much of the tenor of the legislation 'Anent the trew and haly kirk,' which was designed to reaffirm the Reformed Kirk and to strike at Roman Catholic recusancy.[341] The new sang schules provided assistance for Psalmody in the Kirk, which was at risk of being undermined as the generation of musicians who had been trained in the pre-Reformation church began to die off. This was a programme of practical legislation to compel engagement with Psalmody and to place it in a framework of musical education reaching more widely into society. The sang schules were not church choir schools as such, but metrical Psalmody was an important part of their curriculum and their pupils were harnessed to lead the singing at worship in the burgh kirks. As the boys of the sang schules grew up, their knowledge of the Psalms made them important figures in the development of congregational singing.[342]

The 1579 acts regarding Bibles and Psalme Buiks were reinforced in Edinburgh by the Magistrates and Burgh Council. On 11th November 1580 the Provost, Alexander Clerk of Balberry, initiated a programme of checking that those who qualified under the terms of the 1579 Act were in compliance. If not, disciplinary measures were to be taken.[343] Similar exercises were recorded in Elgin, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the programme of promoting the Psalme Buik spread across the country. In 1611, a further round of legislation under the newly established episcopal regime was no less favourable to this programme. Andro Hart had produced a new edition of the Geneva Bible in that year, along with two editions of the Psalme Buik, and the Synod of Fife's visitation of the parish of Abdie in north Fife was typical when it noted that 'they are ordained to buy ane common bible.'

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[340] T. Duguid, *Sing a new song,* 159; *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 174.
[341] *SR*, 300-301, 137.
[342] See Section Two, Chapter Two, 169-173 for further discussion of the sang schules.
[343] J.W. MacMeekin, *History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms* (Glasgow, McCulloch & Co., 1872), 130.

Evidence of Psalm-singing in rural parishes was provided in the same visitation when the session was instructed 'to gather the almes for the poor in the tyme that thei sing the psalme.'[344] It is significant that despite the advent of the King James Version, the post-1610 episcopal Kirk hierarchy continued to promote the Geneva Bible and the Psalme Buik. This was a worship culture that had established its paradigm.

What were the Psalme Buiks like?

Chapter Two of this section will trace the development of the various editions of the Psalme Buik, with particular reference to the metrical Psalms, but here we explore what these books were like and by whom they were used. There is no particular pattern discernable in the physical size of the books. Cowan's survey revealed that the largest were quarto editions, that octavos were most common, but with editions as small as 12mo, 16mo, 24mo and even the tiny 32mo, printed by Robert Young in 1635.[345] The variation in size reflected the economics associated with the purchase of these texts and the possibility that the smaller and more affordable editions could easily be slipped into a pocket. Sadly, many of the surviving copies have been given modern bindings due to the disintegration of the originals through the ravages of use and time. However, examples of luxury editions such as the gilded and embossed octavo copies of the Vautrollier 1587 edition at New College Edinburgh, still with its original clasps, or the beautifully patterned Hart 1611 copy at 121 George Street, Edinburgh, were in circulation. By contrast, many surviving copies are of varying sizes and are simply finished in functional covers, demonstrating that Psalm Buiks were produced for a wide market.[346] Printers' testaments of the period give an idea of the pricing structure. Johne Ros' 1580 testament noted that he had 'twentie-sevin Psalme buikis, with the noittis,' priced at eight shillings and 'fourty litill Psalme buikis, vnbund, of the quhit paper, price of the piece, vjs viiid.'[347] Henrie Charteris' testament of 1606, following his death in 1599, included what seem to be luxury editions of 'four Psalmes, in octauo, ouvergilt, at liiis iiiid' and a slightly more accessible stock of 'xxiiij Psalmes, in octauo, in filletis, at xxix s the pece.' By contrast, he also held 2,353 'Psalmes' for only three

[344] *MSF*, 32. 1611 visitation of the Kirk of Ebdie [Abdie].

[345] *BibCO*; *The Bannatyne Miscellany; containing original papers and tracts, chiefly relating to the history and literature of Scotland*, vol. 2, ed. D. Laing, Bannatyne Club 21 (Edinburgh,1836), 263. The Testament of printer Robert Bryssoune noted 32mo copies, but this edition is not listed in *BibCO*.

[346] See images of Psalme Buiks in Volume Two, Figs.277-295.

[347] *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. 2, ed. D. Laing, 265.

shillings the piece. In 1641, John Wrettoun's Testament noted 'nyn hundredth littil Psalme buikis of David in meitter, in octavoe,' whilst Robert Bryssoune's testament of 1646 contained 3,000 'Psalm buiks, in 32,' 4,000 'Psalmes in saxtene'and 5,500 'Psalme buiks for bairnes.'[348] It is remarkable that the metrical Psalter was still being produced in such quantities and for such diverse markets during the period of the revisions being developed for the 1644 Westminster Directory of Public Worship and the new 1650 Psalter. This was a demonstration of the significance of the 1564 Psalter and its associated materials, which were so embedded within the worship culture of the Kirk that to replace them went against both commercial and popular momentum, despite the suggestions of revision mooted in the General Assembly as early as 1601.[349] Evidently, Bryson did not see its replacement as a likely scenario when he published his editions of the 1640s, which points towards a backlash against the draft revisions of liturgies and the Psalter in the period before 1638.[350] William Cowper's description of Sunday worship in his *Seuen Daye's Conference Betweene a Catholicke Christian and a Catholicke Romane* described a scene where 'every one is preparing (as you see) their Psalme-Book.'[351] Whilst literacy rates may have been low at under 30% of the population, with higher rates in urban areas, it is not inconceivable that a larger percentage within congregations may have had access to a Psalme Buik, even if they could not write.[352] Catechising and home worship may have fostered both rote-learning and reading to the extent that possession of a small Psalme Buik was not inconceivable. This was a further factor in the stability of the Psalm translations. If a poor family was able to purchase a Psalme Buik, that book would remain in the family for a considerable time, as they did not have the resources to purchase every new edition. The compound effect of this was that by the time William Cowper wrote, Psalme Buiks had been accumulating across Scotland, handed down through families as well as being purchased by others in new

[348] *Ibid*., 200-265.
[349] *APGA*, 1276.
[350] See *BibCO*, 45-47 for details of James and Robert Bryssoune's eight editions of 1640, 1641, 1642 and 1643.
[351] W. Cowper, *Seuen Dayes Conference Betweene a Catholicke Christian and a Catholicke Romane* (London, John Budge, 1613, *STC* 5934).
[352] Michael Lynch raised the issue of the ability of congregations to afford to buy and use the printed material of the Psalme Buik in his 'Preaching to the Converted? Perspectives on the Scottish Reformation,' 329. However, he failed to explore the early modern practice of memorisation, which did not require everyone to be literate, and did not give weight to the incidence of those who could read but not write. Rote-learning may well have assisted in due course with the process of learning to read from printed texts, as part of family worship using a single copy of a Psalme Buik. In addition, the Psalme Buik may have fulfilled a similar function to pre-Reformation "Books of Hours," which functioned as status symbols as well as devotional aids.

editions.[353] The Psalme Buik and its contents became one of the steady features of the Reformed Kirk, remaining consistent whilst headline issues of polity were raging all around.

Robert Lekpreuik's editions

Prior to the creation of a bespoke Scottish edition, Robert Lekpreuik, the Edinburgh printer, released an imprint of the book under the title *The Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments &c used in the English Churche at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godlie learned man, Iohn Calvin whereunto are also added the praiers which they use there in the Fre[n]che Churche* (1562) which filled the gap until the production of a first Scottish edition in 1564/5.[354] This bespoke Scottish edition removed some of the material specific to the Genevan context, incorporated some prayers which specifically referred to the Scottish scene of French military action in 1559-60, and included the completed edition of the metrical Psalter with music.[355] An additional core item not contained within the Genevan book was a Scottish kalendar including a minimal list of religious festivals, and an encouraging Sonnet addressed to the Reformed Kirk by William Stewart. The book therefore contained the first printed music in Scotland and the first printed sonnet, putting it at the forefront of the arts as well as of liturgy.

[353] *MSPP*, 150.
[354] *The Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments &c. used in the English Churche at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godlie learned man*, *Iohn Calvin* (Edinburgh, Lekpreuik, 1562, *STC* 16564).
[355] See Section Two Chapter Two.

What was the core material?

The contents of the 1564-5 Lekpreuik Psalme Buik was as follows: [356]

Kalendar

Sonnet by William Stewart [not included in subsequent editions, although it was printed with the 1571 *Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and again in the 1641 edition of the Forme of Prayers printed at London for William Cooke*][357]

1. **The Confession of Faith** [used in Geneva]

2. **Of the Ministers and their Election** [giving advice]
   Of their Office and Deutie
   The Manner of Electinge the Ministers
   Of the Elders, and as touching their Office and Election
   Of the Deacons, and their Office and Election
   The Weekly Assemblie of the Ministers, Elders and Deacons
   Interpretation of the Scriptures

3. **Material for use in Regular Sunday Worship**

   - Another Confession for all states and times
   - Another Confession and Prayer commonly used in the Church of Edinburgh on the day of Common Prayers
   - A Confession of Sins and Petitions made unto God in the time of our extreme troubles and yet commonly used in the Churches of Scoltand, before the sermon
   - [Rubric for singing a Psalm, prayer by the minister and the sermon, with prayer to follow, and a prayer for] 'The Whole estate of Christ's Church'
   - The Aaronic Blessing
   - Prayers used in the 'French Church of Geneva'
   - A prayer for after the sermon on the day of common prayer

[356] *FOP.*

[357] *The Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and of Pvblict Repentance* (Edinburgh, Lekpreuik, 1571); *The service, discipline, and forme, of the common prayers and administration of the sacraments, used in the English Church of Geneva. As it was approved by that most reverend divine, M. Iohn Calvin, and the Church of Scotland. Humbly presented to the most High Court of Parlament, this present yeare, 1641* (London, William Cooke at Furnisalle, 1641).

- Prayers used in the Churches of Scotland, in the time of their persecution by the Frenchmen
- A Thanksgiving unto God after our deliverance from the tyranny of the Frenchmen
- A prayer used in the Assemblies of the Church as well particular as general

4. **The order of Baptism including an "Exposition of the Creed"**
5. **The Manner of The Lord's Supper**
6. **The Form of Marriage**
7. **The Visitation of the Sick**
8. **Of Burial**
9. **The Order of the Ecclesiastical Discipline**
10. **The Psalms with music**
11. **The Catechism**
12. **A Form of Prayers to be used in Private Houses**
13. **A Prayer to be said before meals.**
14. **Another prayer before meals**
15. **Another Thanksgiving after meat**
16. **Another Thanksgiving after meat**
17. **Evening Prayer**
18. **A Prayer made at the first Assembly of the Congregation**
19. **A Complaint of the Tyranny used against the saints of God**
20. **A Godly prayer to be said at all times**
21. **A Prayer to be said of the child before he study his lesson**
22. **A Prayer to be said before a man begin his work**

The chief characteristic of *The Forme of Prayers* was its permissive nature. Throughout the book, rubrics made clear that the composed material that was provided could be used as it stood, and that the minister could adapt it or compose his own material. It was notable that the draft liturgical revisions of 1617-18 retained this permissive element when it was advised that 'before the breaking and distributing he shall blesse and give thanks, by this *or the lyke prayer*, after the example of Our Lord.'[358] The general sense of the material provided was more important than the exact form of words. However, in the case of readers, who were not permitted to create either prayers or sermons and were restricted to reading set texts of prayer and Scripture, the content of the book *was* intended to be used as it was set. In contrast to the flexibility on textual usage, the rubrics were quite specific in

[358] G. Donaldson, 'A Scottish Liturgy of the reign of James VI,' in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, 10 (Edinburgh 1965), 108. Emphasis by the present author.

many of their directions concerning actions, such as in the 1564-5 Lord's Supper liturgy, where the rubric stated that:

> The Exhortation ended, the Minister commeth doune from the pulpet, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in likewise taking their place as occasion best serveth then he taketh bread, and geieth thankes, either in these words following, or like in effect.[359]

At the point of the distribution of the elements, the rubric pointedly noted that the bread and wine were to be delivered amongst the people handing from one to another, citing the Scriptural precedent for this, and further described what should happen:

> During the which time, some place of the Scriptures is read, which doeth lively set foorth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not onely be occupied in these outwards signes of bread and wyne, which are called the visible word; but that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holie Sacrament represented.[360]

Following the distribution, the rubric suggested the singing of Psalm 103 or another suitable Psalm of thanksgiving, and the order concluded with a substantial and uncompromising clarification of the ways in which the Lord's Supper was different to the Mass. In this order and that for baptism and burial, the rubrics were a means to highlight the Reformed theological stance, both as a polemical challenge to Roman Catholic doctrine and practice and to establish what the Reformed practice should be. These examples underline the significance of Reformed rubrics, which were sometimes permissive but also directive. From this we can deduce that where the rubrics were directive, practice was more likely to be uniform, particularly in the sacraments and burial. However, there is evidence that local orders were created, as in the case of the *Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of*

[359] *FOP,* 91.
[360] *Ibid.*, 88.

Montrois, which has been dated prior to 1581.[361] Certainly, the huge funeral of Regent Moray in 1570 was a good example of "doing what we say, not what we do," and leaves the possibility that local variation of practice was a feature of the early decades of the Reformed Kirk. Other occasions such as weekday prayers, marriage ceremonies and penitential rituals seem to have been subject to much more local variation, particularly where worship was led by ministers, who were permitted to deviate from set texts.

This sketch of the contents of the first *Forme of Prayers* reveals the time-limited nature of some of the material relating to the period of 1559-60, and its polemical edge in the comment concerning the nature of the Lord's Supper in relation to the Mass. As a result, the seeds of the need for liturgical change were already sown in the first Scottish edition, but it is remarkable that these core texts were not subject to revision until 1616-18, when a committee of ministers was instructed by the General Assembly to undertake the creation of a new suite of orders for worship. Until then the approach of successive printers was to re-typeset, but not to change the core texts, adding new material as seemed appropriate. Amongst the most significant additions were two substantial liturgical texts for specific pentitential occasions: *The Ordovre of Excommunication and of Public Repentance*, which Lekpreuik printed as a separate item in 1569 and was first found in the 1571 edition of the Psalme Buik, and *The Ordour and Doctrine of the Generall Faste*, which Lekpreuik printed as a separate item in 1566 and 1574 and was first included in the 1587 Vautrollier edition of the Psalme Buik.[362] Their subsequent inclusion in successive full editions showed their ongoing use and significance. These substantial liturgies were linked to the third mark of the Scottish Reformed Kirk, that of discipline, which augmented the core elements of the Word preached and the sacraments rightly celebrated. Of course, discipline was already a feature of the Reformed churches of Europe, but it was given a sharper edge in the Scottish context of a national church, and formal expression in *The First Book of Discipline*.[363] As a result of this larger and more diverse national Scottish rather than congregational context, a formal liturgical approach was needed, and the *Ordovr and Doctrine of the Generall Faste* was extremely specific in its eight day programme of Scripture readings, sung and spoken

[361] 'The Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois,' ed. D. Laing, *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, 1 (Edinburgh, 1844) 293-300.
[362] *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration Of The Sacraments &c. used in the English Churche at Geneva, and approved and received by the Churche of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1571, *STC* 16579); *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter. For the use of the Kirk of Scotland* (London, Vautrollier, 1587, *STC* 16582).
[363] *FBD*, 203.

Psalms. This was an occasional liturgical sequence which demonstrated that worship in the Reformed Kirk could be highly dramatic and programmed in certain circumstances. [364] Much more frequent was the performance of repentance in regular worship. Given the frequency of cases coming before kirk sessions and recorded in their minutes, penitential rituals were a ubiquitous weekly feature across the country and were an important dimension not reflected in the headline liturgical texts of *The Forme of Prayers.*[365]

The drama of repentance in Reformed worship

In Section One, the new paradigm of the use of kirks for Reformed worship was explored, showing how the focus of the worship space was altered to revolve around the pulpit. In addition to this physical focus, a consistent format for Reformed Sunday morning worship was established which needs to be considered alongside the liturgical materials. *The First Book of Discipline* had specified that a bell was necessary to convene the congregation and it is notable that the commissioning of beautiful bells, particularly from the Burgerhuys foundry in The Netherlands, is attested by the surviving material culture of the kirks of the period.[366] The visual aesthetic of bells was not, of course, seen by the congregation, although the remarkable decorated bellcotes of Aberdeenshire certainly were. The gathering of the people of God in the congregation was one of the foundational elements of the Reformed theology of worship, and these bellcotes seem to have been a physical manifestation of this doctrine.[367] Although bells may not have been seen, they were heard. The first bell alerted the congregation to start making their way to worship, which in landward areas could be a considerable journey on foot. The second bell signalled the start of the reader's service. Between the second bell and the third bell it was very common for penitents to be ordered to stand in the "jougs" at the church door as the congregation filed past. This heightened the symbolism of the penitent being outside the fellowship of the congregation, and therefore excluded from the time of prayer, praise and Scripture reading. This was led by the reader or minister if there was no reader, and added to the sense of distinct sections of worship within the overall Sunday worship envelope. At the end of the reader's service, the third bell was sounded for the ministers' service. *The Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and of Pvblict Repentance* noted that the pentinent should 'be presented

[364] N.M. Macdonald, *Reconciling Performance,* 153-170.

[365] *CP*, 127-182 on performing repentance.

[366] Eeles, F.C and Clouston, R.W.M., 'The Church and Other Bells of Aberdeenshire,' in *PSAS*, vol. 90 (1959), 130-160.

[367] *Ibid*., for images of various decorated bellcotes, including that of Insch Old Kirk.

before the public Churche vpon an Sunday after the Sermon, and before the prayeris and Psalme.' Having been convoyed into the church by elders of the kirk session, the penitent was installed in the place of repentance in front of the pulpit and in the face of the congregation, in order that they could benefit from what was considered to be the transforming power of the preaching of the Word. Meanwhile the minister would have entered the body of the kirk, perhaps with the convoy, and ascended the pulpit to lead the preaching service. Following the sermon, the penitent would be removed again, unless they had fulfilled the terms of their repentance and been accepted back into the fellowship of the congregation. *The Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and of Pvblict Repentance* provided a substantial liturgical sequence, involving penitent, minister and congregation. There were lengthy narratives and prayers for the minister and an opportunity for the penitent to 'openlie confesse the cryme whatsoeuer it be and shall desyre Gods mercy, and pray the Churche to call to God for mercy with him, and unfeanedly desyre that he may be ioyned againe to their societie and number.' At this stage, the rubric noted that 'the Minister shall ask the Congregation if they Iudge any forther to be required for their satissfactioun, and reconciliation of that brother.' The liturgy then continued with an admonition to the congregation to mark their own sinfulness having observed it in their 'penitent brother,' and a final question from the minister to the penitent 'that he wil be subject to the discipline of the Church in case that he after offendeth, who answering that he will, the Minster shall say in maner of absolution.' Following the absolution, a final liturgical act of reconciliation was undertaken as 'the Elders and Deacons with Ministers if any be, in name of the hole Church take the reconsealed brother by the hand, and embrace him in signe of full reconciliation.' The service concluded with the singing of Psalm 103 (significantly also directed to be sung after the reconciling meal of the Lord's Supper) and the final Benediction.[368]

The vivid description of the repentance of Henry Hammiltoun at St Andrews in 1583 gave testimony to the working out of this liturgy in local worship:

> The said Mr. Henry to compeir upon Sonday the first day of December nixttocum, at the second bell to sermone befoir none, in the parroche kirk of St. Androus; and oppinlie sitt in the saitt beside Niniane Rowill, [the

[368] *The Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and of Pvblict Repentance* (Edinburgh, Lekprevik, 1571); also found in *The Works of John Knox*, 6 Vols., ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, Thomas George Stevenson, 1864), vol. 6, 447.

> precentor] quhill the sermone and prayar be endit; and their eftir to cum to the middis of the kirk forgane the pulpeit, humill him self on his kneyis, craif pardoun and forgeifnes at God, the hoill congregatioun, and the said Mr Robert Wilkie, minister, for the said offence, and promis in tymes cuming nocht to do the lyke, under pane of censouris of the kirk.[369]

The existence and frequent use of the liturgy of reconciliation, set within the context of regular Sunday worship, demonstrated a considerable drama and momentum, with parts to play for minister, congregation, elders and the penitent. The momentum of the three bells, convoy, prayer before the sermon, the sermon itself, and potential reconciliation or continued exclusion, is evidence of a finely choreographed and scripted worship culture which was nevertheless open to spontaneous and potentially emotive engagement.

[369] *RStAKS*, 630.

Case Study

The Henrie Charteris *Forme of Prayers* and Psalme Buik of 1595-6

Of the many editions of the Psalme Buik and *The Forme of Prayers*, one of the most significant was that produced by Henrie Charteris and printed in 1595-6. Curiously, there has been little focus on this edition and no suggestion that it was particularly significant in the worship history of the Kirk. Charteris was a central figure at the peak of the Kirk's self-creation in the 1590s and an Edinburgh based book-seller who later became a printer as a result of the acquisition of the press of Johne Ros in 1580. In the 'Address to the Reader' of his 1594 edition of Blind Harry's 1488 epic poem, *The Lyfe and Actis of the Maist Illvster and Vailzeand Campiovn William Wallace*, he claimed that his Kinfauns branch of the family were descended from the French 'Thomas Duke of Lo[n]goueil callit ye reid Reuar,' a leading supporter of Wallace and then Robert Bruce's cause.[370] In addition to this noble lineage, given architectural expression in the surviving 1598 burial aisle at Kinfauns Old Kirk, the Charteris family had become embedded in the hierarchy of the burgh of Edinburgh.[371] Henry's father had been Dean of Guild in 1558-9 and Henry himself became a prominent and affluent member of the burgh council of Edinburgh. He was a member of the ordinary council in 1574-5 and 1582-3, a replacement Councillor in 1580-1, a bailie in 1577-8, 1581-2 and first bailie in 1589-90.[372] In addition to this he was an elder of the 1573-4 kirk session for the North East Quarter of Edinburgh and was recorded as still being an elder on the session of 1584-5. Alastair Mann identified him as a burgh commissioner and in 1589 he was appointed as one of the thirteen Kirk commissioners (including the ministers Robert Bruce and Robert Pont) who were tasked to meet every week to 'consult on affairs pertaining to the weal of the Kirk in so dangerous a time.' [373] Marshall noted that Charteris played a significant role in the development of education, supporting the campaign to create a national grammar and acting as an inspector of the High School of Edinburgh. In addition to this, his early publishing enterprises were characterised by their Scottish historical and

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[370] *The Lyfe and Actis of the Maist Illvster and Vailzeand Campiovn William Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie, Mainteiner and defender of the libertie of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Henrie Charteris, 1594, *STC* 13150); Charteris' French ancestry may explain his interest in using elements of the Huguenot Psalters in his Scottish Psalme Buiks.

[371] See image of the Charteris aisle at Kinfauns Kirk in Volume Two, Figs.56-59.

[372] M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 40, 259; J. Marshall, 'Charteris, Henry (d.1599)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5176> [accessed 13 July 2016].

[373] A.J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-17*20, 18; *APGA*, 875.

literary themes. The use of Scots language in his prefaces was a striking development alongside his interest in Scottish literary material.

Initially Charteris was a bookseller, but he was actively involved in publishing in partnership with the printer Robert Lekpreuik. His commissions from Lekpreuik included an edition of *The Actis and Deidis of the Illuster and Wailzeand Campioun, Schir William Walla*ce (1570) Robert Henrisone's *The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian* (1570) and John Barbour's *Actis and lyfe of the maist victorious conquerour, Robert Bruce* (1571). He was also involved in a short commercial relationship with Johne Ros during 1579-80 when he commissioned the printer to produce four classic Scots language texts including Gavin Douglas' *The Palice of Honovr* (1579), *The Warkis of Sir David Lindsay* (1579), *The Seuin Seages* in Johne Rolland's Scots meter translation (1578), and Patrick Hume's panygeric poem to James VI on his progression to royal majority, *The Promine Contening the maner, place, and time, of the maist Illuster King James the sext* (1580).[374] After purchasing Ros' press he produced at least another fifteen titles, which spawned six second editions.[375] *Two Meditatiouns* of James VI on the themes of Revelation 20.7-9 (1588) and 1 Chronicles: 15.25-29 (1589) were printed, apparently at the instigation of Patrick Galloway, who was minister at Perth and subsequently a minister of the King's Household. Both items have prefaces by Galloway and include liminal panygeric poetry to the King in Latin by John Malcom, which emphasised the identification of James VI with King David. Around the same time, Charteris printed a Latin poem of Hercules Rollock, the Principal of the High School of Edinburgh, which celebrated the marriage of James to Princess Anne of Denmark.[376] Perhaps of greatest significance from the point of view of trying to assess the interests and agenda of the publisher is his output in 1593-4 during the period of the birth of Prince Henry and the dynastic symbolism of his baptism at Stirling.[377] Robert Henrisone's Scots language *Testament of Cresseid* (1593), further editions of Lindsay's *Warkis* (1592 and 1597), Dauid Lyndesay's *The Historie of Ane Nobil and Wailzeand Squyer, William Meldrum* (1594) and another edition of *The Lyfe and Actis of William Wallace* (1594) seem to point in the direction of a policy of publication to either stimulate or respond to a sense of Scottish national literary and historical pride

[374] H.G. Aldis, *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700: including those printed furth of the realm for Scottish booksellers with brief notes on the printers and stationers,* Edinburgh Bibliographical Society (Edinburgh, 1904), 6.
[375] *Ibid*., 7-10.
[376] R. Dickson and J.P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing: from the introduction of the art in 1507 to the beginning of the seventeenth-century (*Cambridge, Macmillan & Bowes, 1890), 367.
[377] See Section One, Chapter One, 50-53 for the discussion of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, reconstructed for the Baptism of Prince Henry.

surrounding the developing identity of the Stewart dynasty. It is particularly significant, as A.A. MacDonald has noted, that these editions contained elements of censorship of overtly Roman Catholic doctrine, practice and poetic imagery, including sensitive material within the *Actis and Deidis of Schir William Wallace,* where a cautionary paragraph warned aginst the 'blyndnes and erroir of that tyme, quhairin me[n] wer (as it wer) enforcit to beleif sic vanities and leis.'[378]

Charteris' commercial involvement with the Kirk stepped up a level in 1581 with the printing of *The Forme and maner of examination befoir the admission to the tabill of the Lord.*[379] This text was printed using his newly acquired press and the Blackletter Scots orthography previously deployed by the late Johne Ros. It is significant that this work followed so soon after Ros' 1578 edition of the metrical Psalter, the first known to have appeared in Scots. These are partner texts, most likely used in the Kirk of Edinburgh (Charteris' own congregation), in the homes of that congregation, and potentially elsewhere. The catechism was explicitly identified in the title as being 'usit be the Ministerie of Edinburgh and geuin to the Maisteris of euerie familie that be the oft reiding thairof thai may be the better instructit in the groundis & principall heidis of Religion.'[380] Amongst the distinctive elements of this catechism is the section on the sacraments, in which the question 'Quhat is signifyit be the breking of the breid?' is followed by the answer 'The passion of Christ, that he was brokin for our sinnis' and the partner question 'Quhat is signifyit be the powring out of the wyne?' which elicits the response 'The schedding of his blude upon the croce.' This striking articulation of the theological symbolism associated with the basic actions of the Lord's Supper amplifies the insights of Stephen Holmes concerning the continuing Reformed use of symbolism in worship and demonstrates that this approach was already embedded in the practice of the Kirk of Edinburgh prior to the arrival of Robert Bruce as one of the ministers in 1587. This shows that Bruce's sermons on the Lord's Supper of 1589-90 were not idiosyncratic and were in tune with established doctrine and practice.[381] Charteris was also responsible for printing John Craig's *A Shorte Svm of the Whole Catechisme* (1581), dedicated to the congregation of New Aberdeen, but designed as a succinct teaching tool

[378] A.A. MacDonald, 'Poetry, politics and reformation censorship in sixteenth-century Scotland,' 415.
[379] *The Forme and Maner of examination befoir the admission to the tabill of the Lord, usit be the Ministerie of Edinburgh And geuin to the Maisteris of euerie familie that be the oft reiding thairof may be the better instructit in the groundis & principall heidis of Religion* (Edinburgh, Henrie Charteris, 1581, *STC* 11183).
[380] *Ibid*.
[381] *SS*, 199-203.

for the whole Kirk and especially for use in the home.[382] The volume had a very polemical edge, as *The Negative Confession* of 1580 was contained within it, plus a section identifying the patristic writers embraced by Craig, and those figures in the early church who were rejected by the Reformed Kirk as having embraced tradition over Scripture. Charteris was again involved with *The Negative Confession* when he reprinted it as a single sheet edition in 1596.

The 1596 Psalme Buik

Understanding Charteris' publishing ventures and standing in both society and with the Kirk is essential to properly framing the peak of his church publishing output. This was reached in the 1596 edition of *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter With Prayers and Catechisme, according to the forme used in the Kirk of Scotland. With Sundrie other things quhilk sall be declared in the Table next following the Kalender*.[383] There were two earlier editions in 1594 and 1595, but it is the 1596 edition (with Psalms dated 1595 in some copies) which is most important in terms of identifying the developing liturgical identity of the Kirk. Firstly, it must be understood that Charteris was hardly a maverick voice. He was at the centre of Kirk policy, was an elder and had been entrusted with the key position of commissioner on the standing committee alongside Robert Bruce and Robert Pont in 1589. His testament directed the minister of Edinburgh and first Principal of the College, Robert Rollock, to be an advisor to his executors, although Rollock predeceased him by only a matter of months in 1599.[384] It therefore seems likely that Charteris both knew the mind of the leading figures of the Kirk and had first hand experience of its worship life. The fact that Charteris chose to be so innovative with the 1596 edition is therefore a sign of confidence and perhaps also of an editorial group of friends and colleagues who helped him to develop its content.

Charteris composed an 'Address to the Reader' to explain what he was doing in terms of changes in the layout of existing material. The essence of this was that he wished to provide an option to having all of the liturgical material and Psalms in one volume, which was a relatively substantial book depending upon the book size deployed. He noted that he

[382] J. Craig, *A Shorte Svm of the Whole Catechisme* (Edinburgh, Henry Charteris, 1581, *STC* 5962).
[383] *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter. With Prayers and Catechisme, according to the forme used in the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585).
[384] R. Dickson and J.P. Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 357.

wished to make the different components more affordable for those who could not purchase or did not need the entire volume, and also described the possibility that ministers could take separate parts, such as the Lord's Supper liturgy 'in thair travel.'[385] The two volumes in the library of New College, University of Edinburgh, contain catechisms, kalendar, liturgical texts and prayers in the first, and the metrical Psalms in the second. Although the bindings are modern, the format seems to bear out this practice.[386]

The contents page to the edition contained 61 items of liturgical material and Psalmody which were noted with their folio numbers, presumably as part of the flexible printing option. Numbers 40 and 41 are 'The CL Psalmes of Dauid with their co[n]clusions following' and 'CL Praiers vpon the said Psalmes, ilk ane following the Psalme.' Four items were noted as being printed separately, although they were available for inclusion in a complete volume: [387]

58 The Buke of Fasting

59 The Buke of Exommunicatioun

60 The forme of public Repentance

61 The Ecclesiastical Discipline[388]

Charteris added at least one new prayer not found in earlier books, and made major changes in the order of the contents by providing five divisions, each with a title page, rather than the more usual three.[389] However, the most significant feature of this edition is that it was printed throughout in Scots orthography. It was a significant undertaking to typeset the entire volume and its component parts. Prior to this point, the only other edition in Scots orthography was that of 1578, attributed by David Laing to Johne Ros.[390]

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[385] *The CL Psalmes of David In Meter* (Edinburgh, Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585), 'Address to the Reader.'
[386] Copies in New College Library, University of Edinburgh, tur77.
[387] *BibCO*, 27.
[388] *The CL Psalmes of David In Meter* (Edinburgh, Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585).
[389] *BibCO*, 17.
[390] *Ibid*., 27.

Seen in the context of his earlier publications of older Scots language classics and texts relating to national heroes, and the Scots orthography catechisms printed by Charteris in 1581 for the congregations at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, the Scots Psalme Buik fits a trajectory of Scots language materials published in a mood of growing national pride and cultural identity. For the entire suite of worship materials of the Kirk to now be available in a complete Scots language edition was a major statement of the enculturation of the Reformed Kirk – a seed of Geneva which had fully germinated in Scottish soil.

The 1596 Kalendar

It is very striking that the Almanack includes 'Fastingis euin' as well as 'Pasche day' and 'Whitsonday.' Although Whitsunday remained a major term day for transactions, the other two are more difficult to explain, except to note the pre-1560 church calendar was still shaping the time of the Reformed Kirk. In the kalendar itself, Charteris' reflection of the developing identity of Kirk and nation in the 1590s was revealed. Each month contains a poem dedicated to its qualities, whilst the former major church festivals such as Circumcision, Epiphany and Yule Day are included. The evangelists, apostles, various Marian festivals and numerous other Saints' days and festivals such as Palm Sunday and All Hallow's Day are included in connection with Scottish regional fairs. In the midst of these are set key events of Biblical and Classical history and the major events of King James' life: his birth, coronation and the birth of his heir, Prince Henry. In this full kalendar we can grasp a sense of the self-image of Scotland as a Godly nation under a Godly Stewart dynasty that stood in continuity with the heroes of the classical and Biblical world. This is a similar ideological landscape to that given visual expression in the contemporary painted ceilings at Crathes Castle in Aberdeenshire.[391]

The 1595-6 Psalter

The Psalter is dated 1595 in most surviving copies, so presumably was created first and then bound up as required with the other portions which were printed in the next year. However, a copy with the Psalter dated 1596 survives in the library of the University of Cambridge.[392] It was basically a Scotticized version of the 1564-5 Psalme Buik in terms of texts, but there were various changes to the proper tunes. Charteris' major innovations in the Psalter were

[391] C. McKean, *The Scottish Chateau: The Country House of Renaissance Scotland* (Thrupp, Sutton Publishing, 2001), 220-21.
[392] *Ibid*., 29.

the inclusion of doxologies for each of the poetic meters used in the book, and a prayer following each Psalm. These prayers were direct translations into Scots of those composed by the Franco-Genevan Augustin Marlorat, and were found in editions of the Huguenot Psalter from 1561-1674. It is possible that by including these prayers in the 1596 Psalme Buik, Charteris was responding to their existing use in Scotland. The Testaments of Thomas Bassandyne (1578) and Robert Smyth (1602) included 1,280 and 2,000 copies respectively of 'Prayers Upon the Psalms.'[393] Although no copies are known of this work, it is possible that it represented a collection of the Marlorat prayers translated into English or Scots. Charteris' programme of Scotticizing *The Forme of Prayers* and Psalme Buik seems to accord with his wider project of publishing literary classics and historical works in Scots. The prayers after each Psalm reflected a growing Scots language Reformed liturgical culture, which reached its peak in Charteris' 1596 edition.

It might be argued that the novelty of Charteris' 1596 edition of the Psalme Buik was a departure taking the Kirk further towards the 1637 Scottish *Book of Common Prayer* and Canterbury rather than Geneva. However, the evidence is firmly against this. The liturgical texts do not receive any innovative treatment in terms of their content, only in the format in which they could be available. Indeed, as Duguid has pointed out in his analysis of changes that Charteris made to the proper tunes in the Psalter, 'Charteris' 1596 Psalter was a renewed effort to align the Scottish Psalter with its predecessors from Geneva, this time through its tune suggestions,' a move which he noted was in the opposite direction to contemporary English Psalters. [394] It is surely significant that Charteris' business partner, Andro Hart, returned to the 1596 model in his own Psalter of 1614 despite some significant changes in his earlier editions.

The enigmatic presence of the kalendar in the Psalme Buik

Scottish liturgical scholarship has paid little attention to the existence of numerous versions of the kalendar of festival days in the Psalme Buik of the Kirk, printed in at least half of the approximately 70 editions published for the Scottish market between 1564-1644. Although there are some items in certain editions of the kalendar (such as signs of the zodiac) which may be said to characterise it as an almanack, most editions had a separate kalendar and almanack. What relevance, then, did the kalendar have in the spiritual landscape and

[393] *WSRC*, 85.
[394] *MSPP*, 146.

worship practice of the day? Although the Reformed Kirk inherited *The Forme of Prayers* and metrical psalter of the Genevan congregation, this did not contain a kalendar of festival days. Remarkably, despite the prohibitions on festival days contained within *The First Book of Discipline*, the kalendar of the 1564-5 *Forme of Prayers* included twenty festival days. The thirty-five surviving editions with kalendars had unique approaches to its structure and content, although some printers such as Andro Hart used the same kalendar in successive editions. There seems to have been no restriction on which festivals were included, and the decision was left to the wisdom and priorities of the publisher. Henry Bassandyne's 1575 edition re-introduced the Marian feasts of the Annunciation and Assumption, whilst the Vautrollier 1587 edition also included the Conception of Mary. The fullest list of festivals occurred in the Charteris 1596, Smyth 1599 and Hart/Lauson/Cathkin edition of 1607, an unidentified 1613 edition and finally the Wreittoun edition of 1635. In these cases, festivals were listed in conjunction with markets and fairs, creating a comprehensive composite almanack and kalendar. In some other editions, the fuller list of markets and fairs was included separately from the main kalendar, perhaps out of a desire to avoid raising questions about the status of these festivals in relation to the worship practice of the Kirk.

There was no obvious chronological development of the kalendars except that in the case of the Raban editions from 1625, heirs of Hart editions of 1634 and 1635 and the Bryson edition of 1640, Ascension Day appeared.[395] This was one of the festival days mandated in the Five Articles of Perth of 1618, so it makes sense that this would appear in subsequent editions of the kalendar. However, it is significant that it did not appear until 1625, the year of the accession of Charles I. Beyond this, it is striking that there was no great difference between the kalendar listings before and after 1618. There was a steady inclusion of feast days (although the specific details varied between editions) until the Bryson 1640 edition, after which the kalendar disappeared completely. The final imprint of the Psalme Buik with the full complement of liturgical texts was the Tyler edition of 1644, from which all of the

[395] *The CL Psalmes of Dauid in prose and meeter: With their whole usuall tunes newly corrected and amended* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1634, *STC* 16598); *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599); *The Whole Book of Psalmes in Prose and Meeter. With an exact kalendar and morning and evening prayer, and many other godly prayers &c* (Edinburgh, Bryson, 1640, *STC* 16601).

festival days were removed. This is perhaps unsurprising in light of the ensuing civil war in The Three Kingdoms.[396]

Questions remain as to if and how these kalendars were used, and why successive printers included them. If they were never used, their inclusion would have been a commercially senseless decision. The Kirk would have been unlikely to specify their inclusion, so the printers must have been responding to perceived public demand. Evidence of their usage can be seen in marginal notes made in contemporary hand in a number of surviving copies. A sign of the Reformed place for the monarch in the life of the church and popular consciousness is to be found in a copy of the Charteris 1596 edition at the National Library of Scotland.[397] Alongside the kalendar's entry for the birthday of King James on 19th June is a substantial tribute and prayer recording the death of King James in 1625. At Princeton Theological Seminary there is a copy of the 1635 Hart edition which contains corrections, additions and clarifications within the kalendar in contemporary script. The date of the Nativity of John the Baptist was clarified as 24th June and St Peter's Day as 29th June. The Nativity of Mary was noted as 6th September and St Matthew inserted on 21st September. Finally, Michael Archangel was noted as 29th September. Someone here was interested in having an accurate kalendar in relation to the feast days.[398] At New College, Edinburgh, a copy of the 1596 Charteris Psalter contains a secretary-hand note on the September page of the kalendar which says 'heir endis caniculair dayis,' referring to the "canicular days," or "dog days of summer," which were included as such in other versions of the kalendar.[399] These additions are examples of the interaction of Scots with their Psalme Buiks.

[396] *The psalmes of David in meeter and prose: with the prose in the margin of the last translation of the English Bible: also an exact kalender, the Confession of faith, the order of baptisme, the Lords Supper, and marriage* (Edinburgh, Tyler, 1644).

[397] *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter* (Edinburgh, Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585.5) NLS, Cwn752. See image in Volume Two, Fig.290.

[398] See image of Princeton Theological Seminary Psalme Buik in Volume Two, Figs.294-295, SCB #4565 c.2.

[399] See image of New College Library, University of Edinburgh, Charteris 1596 Psalme Buik in Volume Two, Fig.288.

At first glance, it might be suggested that the kalendar was simply a catalogue of festivals associated with commercial fairs and markets with an economic rather than spiritual imperative. However, it may be proposed that the enduring connection of many feast days with fairs and markets was as a result of their entrenched nature in popular consciousness, identity and piety. It simply was not possible to excise such a significant part of popular culture overnight. Even the kirk session of Perth continued to use the church kalendar to regulate its disciplinary practice until 1582.[400] Therefore the presence of the kalendar in the key worship and catechetical resource of the Reformed Kirk suggests that until the 1640s popular piety and local cultural customs could over-ride the more austere policies of the Reformers. Saints and festivals continued to be a part of the wider life of Reformed Scotland, albeit with no ritual expression within the worship of the Kirk. It is striking that the celebrations of the deliverance of King James from the Gowrie (1600) and Gunpowder (1605) plots, which became such prominent days of thanksgiving across the British Isles, did not make their way into the Scottish kalendars. When compared to the way in which Charteris had celebrated the Stewarts in his 1596 kalendar, this raises questions regarding the relationship of the Stewart monarchs to Scotland after 1603 and indeed about feelings in Scotland concerning the veracity of these plots. What is most significant is that everyday Scots attended worship with a spiritual landscape that still had a memory of the kalendar of the Roman Catholic Church, a memory that was fuelled by annual celebrations of fairs and markets held in the name of saints, and apparently endorsed by their presence in the kalendar of their spiritual "handbook." What Scots brought to worship in their hearts and minds was surely as significant as what they heard in prayer, praise and preaching while they were in church.

[400] *PKSB.*

Revising *The Forme of Prayers*

The Liturgy Committee

The General Assembly of 1616 was a threshold for the developing Royal policy of liturgical change in Scotland. The minutes of the session on 26th August recorded that in addition to the planting of 'chief burgh towns' with 'sufficient, wise, learned, and peaceable men,' the development of a Scottish canon law code and detailed provision for catechising and admission to communion of children, a new Confession of Faith was commissioned to be a test for office-holders in 'Kirk and Commonweal; and all students in colleges.' This was the context for the order 'that a liturgy be made, and the form of divine service, which shall be read in every church, in common prayer, and before preaching every Sabbath, by the reader where there is one; and where there is none by the minister before he conceives his own prayer, that the common people may learn it, and by custome serve God rightly.'[401] At the session on 27th August, the Assembly made a more specific order that 'a uniform order of liturgy or divine service be set down to be read in all kirks, on the ordinary days of prayer, and every Sabbath day before the sermon, to the end that the common people may be acquainted therewith, and by custom may learn to serve God rightly.'[402]

The Assembly appointed Patrick Galloway and Peter Hewat, ministers of Edinburgh; John Adamson, minister of Liberton; and William Erskine, minister at Dunino, to carry out the work. John Adamson was the son of Henry Adamson, Provost of Perth, and may therefore have had early contact with both Patrick Galloway (minister at Perth, 1581-9) and William Cowper (minister at Perth, 1595-1613) through his Perth connections.[403] A regent in Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh and later Principal from 1623, Adamson became minister at Liberton, to the south of Edinburgh, in 1609. Patrick Galloway had been close to the king since the late 1580s, and was a minister to the Royal household prior to 1603. William Erskine was the son of first generation reformer, John Erskine of Dun, and was a signatory to the protest to parliament in 1606 against the first episcopacy. In 1620 he was

[401] *APGA*, 1521.
[402] *APGA*, 1532.
[403] Cowper was later to become involved with the process, and was associated with the draft for a new Scottish *Book of Common Prayer* of 1618. This was never published, but used as a first draft for the eventual 1637 Scottish *Book of Common Prayer*.

summoned before the Court of High Commission for failing to observe holy days and not celebrating communion in accordance with the prescriptions of the Five Articles of Perth.[404]

This revising committee seems well balanced, with the son of one of the first generation of Reforming heroes in Erskine, a malleable favourite of King James in Patrick Galloway, a highly educated and well connected minister in John Adamson, and a rising favourite of the King in Peter Hewat. King James had personally requested Hewat's transfer to the High Kirk of Edinburgh in 1610 and gifted him the benefice of the Abbey of Crossraguel in 1612, which entitled him to a seat in parliament.[405] However, this "dream team" was to fall apart before long due to Hewat's leading role in presenting a protest during the king's visit to Scotland in 1617 against royal encroachment upon the liberties of the Kirk. Whatever part Hewat played in the drafting of the liturgies was terminated by his swift fall from royal favour. Like his predecessor and royal favourite, Robert Bruce, Hewat was banished initially to Dundee and then confined to Crossraguel until his death in 1645.[406] Hewat's published sermons *Three Excellent Points of Christian Doctrine*, preached in Edinburgh and printed in 1621, contained an address 'To the Reader,' which drew on the imagery of 2 Timothy 4.3 to ruefully reflect on where he had found himself:

> Louing and Christian Reader, I know that the great light and knowledge of this age hath bred itching eares, so that he who will giue foorth any thing in publick, must expect of his travels more carping and censuring, than profiting.[407]

No liturgical texts were ever published as a result of the committee's work, but three manuscripts have survived which shed light on the flavour of what the revisers had in mind. The first was an order for the reader's Service and was preserved in the Wodrow

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[404] *FES*, vol. 5, 196.
[405] *FES*, vol. 1, 64.
[406] R.L. Greaves, 'Galloway, Patrick (*c.*1551–1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10311> [accessed 17 Nov 2016]; *FES*, vol. 5, for Erskine; *FES* vol. 1: 2, 37, 44, 63-63 and A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 159 for Hewat; See Section Three, Chapter Three for Cowper.
[407] P. Hewat, *Three Excellent Points of Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1621, *STC* 13258), address to the Reader [Accessed at Early English Books Online, 26th September, 2016].

Manuscript and David Calderwood's *History of the Kirk*, being transcribed later and published by Sprott in 1871.[408] This is the only printed order for the reader's service that has been discovered and may well reflect an element of established practice as well as revision. At the very least, it affirms the now well-attested role of readers as the front line worship leaders in the early decades of the Reformed Kirk.[409] Its production after 1616 seemed to affirm that readers still had and were envisaged to have a place in the future Kirk. In terms of content, there is no significant departure from the general format and theological content of the Sunday worship materials in the Psalme Buik, but it has a slightly more defined structure than can be deduced from the material in *The Forme of Prayers*:

A Form of Service
To be used in all the
Parish Churches of Scotland
Upon the Sabbath Day
By the Readers where there are any established, and where there are no Readers by the Ministers themselves before they go to Sermon.

1. Recite the Fourth Commandment
2. Say Psalm 19 v. 14
3. Exhortation and Prayer
4. The Confession
5. Sing or read Psalm 92
6. Prayer
7. Chapter of the Gospels and of the Epistles 'as they shall by course'
8. Prayer
9. Read the 89th or 103rd Psalm "or any of them that shall be thought fittest let be here set down at length."
10. The Creed (most likely the Apostle's Creed, although this is not specified) 'which is the ordinary Confession of Faith'
11. The last prayer (for the Kirk)
12. Prayer for the King
13. Prayer for the Queen
14. Prayer for Princes Charles
15. Prayer for the Prince Palatine and His Spouse

[408] G.W. Sprott, ed., *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), Appendix.
[409] J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish.*

16. Prayer for the Nobility and Council
17. Prayer for the Clergy
18. Prayer for the schools of learning
19. Prayer for sick and diseased persons
20. Prayer in time of famine and dearth
21. Prayer in time of pestilence
22. Prayer in seed time
23. Prayer in time of harvest

Finally, there is a list of eight 'Prayers in the Ordinary Psalm-Book to be retained, which may be used by the Preachers, either before or after sermon, or by the Readers in Burghs in their weekly Exercise.' These are substantial texts from *The Forme of Prayers* which seem to have been felt worthy of inclusion in the new liturgy, demonstrating a degree of continuity.

The manuscript copy of the reader's service is marked as 'Howatt's order' in a different but contemporary hand from that of the writer of the liturgy. Given his accreditation with this text, it seems very likely that he was directly involved in the work on other parts of the service. This would explain the intriguing circumstances of a liturgical draft that Gordon Donaldson discovered in the Warrender Papers and published in 1965.[410] As Donaldson noted, the draft had not been available to George Sprott for the compilation of his *Scottish Liturgies of James VI* (1871 and 1901) nor his own *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (1957). The draft can be dated from internal evidence to 1616-17 and therefore stood between the draft of the reader's service and the full draft for a Scottish *Book of Common Prayer*, which was completed in 1618-19, but not taken forward until it was used as the basis for the drafting process of the 1637 Scottish *Book of Common Prayer.*

This second liturgical draft was in two hands, the first having prepared the draft and the second having made corrections, but not completed the work. The end of the manuscript attributes it as 'B. of Galloway Cowper's Form of Service,' but does not specify who wrote the intial draft. Donaldson proposed the draft as of 1616-17, so it seems very likely that Hewat had a hand in it, and that following his 1617 protestation was replaced on the job by

[410] G. Donaldson, 'A Scottish Liturgy of the reign of James VI.'

the experienced Bishop of Galloway, himself a fertile composer of prayers and religious prose.[411]

The introduction to this draft was headed:

> The Old Leiturgie or Church Service used in The Church of Scotland explained and inlarged, wherein no change is maid as concerning the substance, onlie some prayers that wer proper for their tymes, such as these which war used when the Church was under the tyrnannie of strangers, ar omitted, and others meeter for this tyme placed in their rowme.
>
> The Book of Common Prayer and Administratioun of the Sacramentis, with the maner of [confirming is deleted] catechisinge young children, the form of solemnizing mareage, the order for visitatioun of the seik, of fasting and burial as they ar used in the Church of Scotland.[412]

As this introduction suggested, the draft was framed as growing out of the existing *Forme of Prayers* rather than replacing it with completely new material. What was created did not draw very significantly away from the content of the 1564 *Forme of Prayers* in terms of theological tone and composition of the prayers, but there was a significant degree of creativity in the shaping of the orders. The order for Sunday worship seemed to cater for the presence of a reader, but was quite different from Hewat's reader's service of 1616. In particular, there were dedicated sequences for the first, second, third and last 'Sabboth[s] of the moneth' for before and after noon. Although there had been morning and afternoon worship from the outset of the Reformed Kirk, material for the afternoon had not been previously specified in *The Forme of Prayers.* As it stands, the draft does not read straight-forwardly, there being a directory-like flavour. It was necessary for the minister to find the component parts for the relevant Sunday morning and afternoon. This would likely have been amended further in a subsequent draft, and certainly bore no resemblance to the full

[411] For further details of William Cowper's writing, see Section three, Chapter Three, and some of his published prayers in Appendix Two; M. Todd, 'Bishops in the kirk: William Cowper of Galloway and the puritan episcopacy of Scotland' in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol. 57, issue 3 (August, 2004) 300-312.

[412] G. Donaldson, 'A Scottish Liturgy of the reign of James VI,' 92.

1618-19 draft order, which contained orders for morning and evening prayer and 'Sunday Service' which were designed to be followed continuously in their entirety. As in the reader's service, this draft expected some prayers to be retained from *The Forme of Prayers* but is innovative in its inclusion of a selection of Psalms to be divided and read and/or sung before and after a prayer. These were Psalm 84; Psalm 106 (the first two verses as a doxology at the end of the service before the blessing); Psalm 119 (Sabbath afternoon); Psalm 92 (Second Sabbath morning); Psalm 95 (Third Sabbath morning); Psalm 119 (Third Sabbath afternoon); Psalm 145 (Last Sabbath morning).

The rubrics contained further clues to the worship climate associated with this draft. For the first time, a specific formula for announcing Psalms was required:

> After this prayer, let the reader proclame to be sung the second part of the 84 psalme. Let the reader proclame the psalme in this manner: Sing unto the Lord a new song, let his praise be heard in the congregation of saints. Psal. 149.1. Praise God by singing the 84 psalme at the beginning. This is to be observed everie tyme he proclames a psalme.[413]

'A general confessioun to be said be the quhole number, kneeling' may well reflect congregational practice of kneeling during prayer, and is a separate issue from kneeling to receive the elements at the Lord's Supper.[414] There seems to be a shift in the emphasis given to reading of Scripture in this part of the service, as it is now ordered, 'After this let the reader read some plaine and short portion of holie scripture, if tyme serve, and then let him proceede with this praier, which concludes the service before the incoming of the minister.'[415] Some of the rubrics give an idea of the liturgical thinking behind the draft, as in the notes concerning the use of different prayers of confession:

> Ony of those may the pastor use according to his owne discretion, or ane other as God shall please to move his hart to whom he hes geven the grace of

[413] *Ibid*., 94.
[414] *Ibid*., 93.
[415] *Ibid*., 95.

> prayer. Onlie let this be remembred that a constant form of confession is more easily imprinted in the peoples hart, whereas dailie change of prayer, howsoever it may move for a tyme, yet doth it soone evanish and is forgotten of them who heard it.[416]

This rubric was a perfect demonstration of the advantages and disadvantages of the established worship pattern. Extempore prayer was admitted as valid for those who were skilled at it, but using too many different printed confessions was felt to hamper the learning process and engagement of the congregation, who may not have had a copy of the text or have been able to read it. A similar point was made in the rubric for the Second Sabboth afternoon, which said 'The Ordour praescryved for the afternoon service of the first Sabboth is in all things to be observed, that by continual use the psalmes and praiers may become familiar to the people and imprinted in their memories……'[417] Extempore prayer after the sermon was specified where there was a minister capable of it but if not, a prayer from the Psalme Buik was suggested. A lengthy admonition exhorted the congregational response of 'Amen' with an appeal to Scripture and the practice of the early church, revealing that this may have been a contentious issue amongst some ministers and congregations.

Gordon Donaldson and Bryan Spinks have commented extensively on the theological and liturgical relationship between the order for the Lord's Supper in this draft, the 1618-19 order (the first full draft of the Scottish *Book of Common Prayer*) and the eventual publication of the 1637 version.[418] Whilst Cowper's initial alterations to Hewat's draft did not go hugely towards what emerged in 1637, there was a clear progression which can confidently be linked to the coercive mood of James' programme of church "reform," which required something closer to the practice of the Church of England.[419] Hewat's draft did not take the Scottish order that close to the 1637 "destination." It could be said that Hewat

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[416] *Ibid*., 96.
[417] *Ibid*., 101.
[418] G.W. Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1871), 3-91.
[419] A.R. MacDonald, 'James VI and I, The Church of Scotland, and British Ecclesiastical Convergence;' *The Jacobean Kirk.*

merely amplified existing practice. For example, the rubric concerning the bringing in of the bread and wine seems well-established Scottish Reformed theology and practice:

> [It wer expedient that – *deleted*.] als soone as the pastor enters into the pulpit, the deacons and such as attend [*substituted for* ar appointed to serve at] the table sal [*subst.* for suld] present the elements covered and sett them upon the samin [*subsit.* for table], for besude that be the word and prayer they are sanctefeit and changed to the holie use whereunto God hes appointed them, the doctrine of Chryst his death will [*subst. for* shall] affect and move the people the more easily when they see these holie signes which repraesent Chryst crucefeit unto us.[420]

The practice of the minister preaching first, then coming down from the pulpit to the tables 'being plenished with people' was in continuity with established practice, and the admonition of the pastor to not pass around the bread and wine too swiftly, instead taking time to 'stirre up them who ar nearest him to a devout and reverent resaving that others may learne reverence by their example.' At this stage, the practice of passing the elements amongst the communicants had not been abandoned and the sequence of "tables" was clearly outlined, with an instruction for what should happen both during and between the sittings:

> In the time of service while the people ar communicating let the reader read distinctlie the historie of Chryst's passion, begin at the 13 chapter of St John and so goe forward till the people having communicat begin to ryse from the table and others come in their place. All this time of the removing of the one and incoming of the other let him sing a part of the 103 psalme and the table being neere plenished let him conclude so mekle of the psalme as he hes sung, with Glorie to the Father etc., because it is a solemne day of thanksgiving and twyse holie to the Lord.[421]

[420] G. Donaldson, 'A Scottish Liturgy of the reign of James VI,' 105.
[421] *Ibid*., 111.

This rubric both clarified the practice between the tables, which was observed in the use of the choir and nave for parallel worship at Elgin, and the enduring use of Psalm 103 during the Lord's Supper. [422] In addition, the use of doxologies advanced by Charteris can be seen to have continued to have an impact, and we have a useful indicator of the way that longer psalms were used in portions according to liturgical need.

Conclusion

The development of liturgical texts for the Kirk was a complex process of evolution, which sometimes involved looking forward and back within the European Reformed context. Charteris' 1596 *The CL Psalmes*, considered with its full scope of liturgical materials, was a peak in this tradition, and included significant original features. The kalendar, with its framing of the Stewart dynasty in the context of classical and Biblical history revealed the extent to which the Reformed Kirk was committed to the concept of a Godly monarch as defender and advocate of the church, despite the contemporary strife of the events of 1596, which culminated in the "coup" in which leading ministers of the Kirk were implicated.[423] Zealots such as David Calderwood may have seen 1596 as both a year of triumph and disaster, with the triumphant re-affirmation of the Negative Confession (of 1580) followed by the catastrophic fall-out of the "coup" of 17th December. However, in liturgical terms this was a peak year in the life of the Scottish Kirk.

Whilst King James thought that he had secured a liturgical task group in 1616 that would deliver what he wanted, Peter Hewat's drafts instead reflected the weight of settled liturgical custom and practice. This was clearly not enough to satisfy King James' aspirations, as the drafting process continued after Hewat's ejection from the committee. It fell to the mediating, and much maligned, William Cowper, to take the work forward after Hewat's banishment. This resulted in the more complete draft of a service book, taken much closer to *The Book of Common Prayer*, in 1618-19. Cowper's death on 15th February 1619 effectively derailed the project, which was already suffering from the controversy surrounding the forcing-through of the Five Articles at the 1618 Perth Assembly.[424] Hewat's

[422] See Section One for discussion of St Giles Kirk at Elgin.
[423] J. Goodare, 'The Attempted Scottish Coup of 1596.'
[424] I. Torrance, 'A Particular Reformed Piety,' suggested that a moderate liturgical compromise was possible, but focused on the communion liturgy of 1618 as the model that could have worked. Hewat's draft of 1617-18 may have stood a better chance.

draft of the reader's service and the larger suite of texts drafted in 1616-17 may well represent practice on the ground in many parishes as well as an unrealised Reformed vision for enriching the liturgical life of the Kirk. Had Hewat not been suspended and remained engaged in the liturgical task it may well have been possible to publish a new and moderate *Forme of Prayers*, revising the 1564 book, removing the time-limited elements, retaining the best, and creating new material. Instead, a leap was made towards *The Book of Common Prayer*. The revised liturgies worked on by Hewat and Cowper were never printed or introduced. The furore around the Five Articles forced them to the sidelines, and the existing materials of *The Forme of Prayers* continued to be printed along with some editions of the Psalme Buik until 1644. Meantime, the project for an Anglican-style Scottish Prayer Book continued, reaching fruition in 1637, but this was another unsuccessful, although fully worked-out and published project. All of this was indicative of the strength of the well-embedded liturgical practice and aesthetics of the Reformed Kirk.

1617 did not end the usage of *The Forme of Prayers*, but it was the start of a royal campaign to change the kirk's worship culture fundamentally by statute. This led to an unsettled period, then ultimately the extreme covenanting back-lash which wiped out the moderate Reformed liturgical culture that had grown up since 1559. It is hard to disagree with Bryan Spinks' assessment that it unleashed 'Scottish Sacramental Polarisation' in that the centre ground of the Reformed Kirk was lost to the covenanting extremes of those in favour of presbyterian polity and the Laudian ritualism of the Church of England.[425] Ultimately, this polarisation led to the loss of the settled experience of worship that had developed since 1559. King James' strategy delivered a hammer blow to the experience of worship by forcing the issue of liturgical practice against the momentum of the Reformed Kirk. The result, after the subsequent injudicious actions of his son, Charles I, and the following civil wars, was not enrichment, but the complete loss of a liturgical tradition.

[425] B. Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, 88.

Chapter Two

THE SOUND OF WORSHIP

Venite exultemus, Domino!

O cum let us lyft up our voyce and sing unto the Lord![426]

The First Book of Discipline placed singing at the centre of its vision for the new Kirk, stating that 'men, women, children, would be exhorted to exercise themselves in the Psalmes, that when the Kirk doth convene and sing they may be the more able together with common hearts and voyces to praise God.'[427] The most radical dimension of the new culture lay in the shift from worship conducted primarily in Latin, with singing of Psalms, hymns and canticles in plainchant and polyphony, largely undertaken by clergy and choirs where they existed, to a diet of preaching, prayer and metrical Psalms in the vernacular, intended to be sung by all of those present at worship. Historians and musicologists have debated the extent to which this genre of congregational song took root and became popularly accepted.[428] Approaching the question from the musicological angle, there has been a tendency to judge metrical Psalm-singing from the standpoint of art music. The late Kenneth Elliott, trailblazer in research into the music of both the pre and post-Reformation Kirk, tended to value the most elaborate arrangements of Psalmody and to prejudge the

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[426] *The CL Psalmes of david in meitir: With the forme of prayeris and administratioun of the Sacramentis &c. Usit in the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Smyth, 1599-1602, *STC* 16586), Psalm 95.1.

[427] *FBD*, 186-7.

[428] Millar Patrick, Kenneth Elliott, and Gordon Munro recognised the growth of metrical Psalm-singing whilst holding the material in fairly low estimation. More recently, Tim Duguid and Jamie Reid Baxter have highlighted the unique qualities of the pre-1644 Scottish Psalters; N. Temperley, *'Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks', c.1547–1640 by Timothy Duguid'* (review) in *Music and Letters*, vol.96(2), (2015), 269-271 offered a tempering assessment of Duguid's work, by suggesting that his proposal that Psalms without proper tunes in the Scottish Psalters should be sung to tune suggestions that matched the mood of the Psalm as well as its metre, was not realistic. However, the range of mood and metre within the Psalters, the speed with which Psalmody was taken up, and growing awareness of the emotional range and complexity of early Reformed worship suggests that we are still only scratching the surface of the question of how congregations engaged with the new material.

question of the music of the Reformed Kirk, stating that 'the Calvinist Reformers under Knox made no proper provision for music in the new church service, apart from metrical Psalms and canticles.'[429] This is demonstrated in the *Cappella Nova* recording of his edition of David Peebles' setting of Psalm 107, in which superb choral singing is accompanied by an improvised organ part.[430] Whilst beautiful and highly sophisticated, organ-accompanied choral Psalm-singing was not representative of the church music culture of the period. This was the background to the *Singing the Reformation 2016* project, during which eleven Psalm settings were recorded in an attempt to convey the sound of a congregation and sang schule singing Scots language versions of the texts of the Ros (1578), Charteris (1596) and Smyth (1599) editions of the Psalme Buik. Full details of the project can be found in Appendix One, and the recordings are a bank of sonic evidence for this chapter.[431] Whilst sophistication was indeed to be found in the work of composers such as Andrew Blackhall, who created many of the new Psalms in "reports," there is a danger of making a case of special pleading in an attempt to characterise Psalm-singing as a discipline that was evenly developed to a high level across the country.[432] It is true that some centres of excellence, such as the sang schule of New Aberdeen, raised Psalmody to its most virtuosic Scottish Reformed level. However, the experience of the majority of parish churches would have been much less polished. This chapter uses the lens of music for worship to explore the genesis of Scottish Reformed Psalm-singing, asking how it came to have such a central, popular and powerful place in Reformed piety and worship.

Scottish?

Earlier generations of "presbyterian" historians and commentators may have liked to claim the national purity of the Scottish Reformed tradition, but early Reformed worship in Scotland was international. [433] It is important to remember that Latin Psalmody had been as central to the daily worship of the Roman Catholic Kirk in Scotland as it was elsewhere, with its roots in the continuities between Jewish and early Christian worship. This was not new material as such, although the language of worship had been rendered in a new way in the

[429] K. Elliott and F. Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 26.
[430] Tavener/*Cappella Nova*, *Sacred Music for Mary Queen of Scots.*
[431] <http://churchservicesociety.org/singing-reformation-2016> [accessed 4th November 2016].
[432] "Psalms in reports" are a type of basic polyphony.
[433] For example, K. Hewat, *Makers of The Scottish Church at the Reformation* (Edinburgh, Macniven & Wallace, 1920); R. Selby Wright, Fathers of the Kirk (London, Oxford University Press, 1960); J.S. McEwen, *The Faith of John Knox* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1961).

hands of the sixteenth-century translators and versifiers. Scottish metrical Psalmody was influenced first by the mid-sixteenth-century stirrings of reforming sympathies expressed with a Lutheran accent in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis.* These "underground" songs of the European Reformation came to be identified (rightly or wrongly) with the Wedderburn brothers of Dundee, and known popularly as "The Dundee Psalms."[434] The evolving collection included ballads in metre, sacred song and Psalm settings in Scots vernacular as well as satirical material that challenged the established ecclesiastical order. It is to these songs and to courtly ballads that we should look for the roots of metrical singing in the vernacular. It is noteworthy that the first printed editions which survive date from as late as 1565, with further editions in 1567, 1570, 1578, 1600 and 1621, showing that this material was considered an advantageous commercial enterprise, without significant risk of censorship by Kirk or State after 1560. The Edinburgh printers Bassandyne, Charteris, Smyth and Hart all printed editions to feed demand. James Melville gave testimony to the availability and use of this material in Montrose during the 1560s:

> Ther was also ther a post, that frequented Edinbruche, and brought ham Psalme buikes and ballates; namelie, of Robert Semple's making, wherin I tuik pleasour, and lernit sum thing bathe of the eseat of the country, and o the missours and cullors of Scottes ryme. He schew me first Wedderburn's Songs wharof I lerned diverse par ceur, with great diversitie of toones. He frequented our scholl, and of him also I lerned to understand the Calendar, efter the common use thairof.[435]

However, there is no evidence that this material was ever used in public worship, with the exception of Robert Pont's setting of Psalm 83, which was based upon a text in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis,* and a funeral hymn which was included to be sung within the unique liturgy for burial at Montrose.[436] Instead, the authorised material for metrical singing in the Kirk was to be Psalms, with the gradual inclusion of a selection of scriptural songs and

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[434] *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A.A. MacDonald, Scottish Text Society, fifth series, 14 (Woodbridge, 2015), made a conclusive case for the authorship of the works being largely from outside of Scotland, and with very little direct input from the Wedderburn brothers.
[435] *ADJM*, 22.
[436] J. Reid Baxter, 'Metrical Psalmody and the Bannatyne Manuscript: Robert Pont's Psalm 83' in *Renaissance and Reformation* 30, no.4 (2006), 41-62; 'The Forme and Maner of Buriall used in the Kirk of Montrois.'

hymns in editions from 1566, printed (at least initially) in standard English of the day rather than in Scots.[437]

To understand this rejection of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* by the new Scottish Kirk, we need to look to the English Reformation of the 1530's, which followed a rather different trajectory, but fed the roots of Scottish Protestant piety. The metrical Psalms of Sternhold, Coverdale and Hopkins had begun the creation of a new tradition of Protestant song that would eventually become the paradigm for Scotland's Psalm-singing culture.[438] On the face of it, this seems to count against acceptance on the ground. How could a "foreign" vernacular text have become the bedrock of a new Scottish Reformed tradition? The answer to this question lies in the route that the Psalter took, the characters involved in its creation and its deployment on the ground in Scotland. As discussed in the preceeding chapter, the Reformed Kirk inherited the liturgical materials of the congregation of English-speaking exiles in Geneva. Their Psalter was developed using core texts created by Sternhold and Hopkins (already used in England prior to the exile) and extended by the revisions of 1556, 1558, 1561 and 1562. These included edited and new metrical translations from Hopkins, Whittingham, Kethe, Norton, Marchant, Poullain and Sternhold. It used melodies already sung by Calvin's Genevan congregation, based on the French Psalter of 1543-47. The Anglo-Scottish community shaped, and were shaped by, this developing new version of scriptural song which returned with them to the British Isles after the death of Mary Tudor and the accession of the new Protestant queen, Elizabeth I.

St Andrews: The birthplace of the Scottish Psalter

John Knox and Christopher Goodman returned to a Scotland in 1559 with significant supporters of their cause. None was more important than the half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots, Lord James Stewart, illegitimate son of James V, later Earl of Moray, and first Regent of Scotland following the deposition of his half-sister. He was the lay commendator and prior of the Augustinian house at St Andrews. More than twenty of the canons of the Priory became ministers, readers and exhorters in the new Kirk and were crucial to the

[437] In *BibCO*, William Cowan noted the inclusion of Scriptural songs and hymns in the 1566 Scottish edition of the Psalme Buik printed in Geneva, and then in the 1571 and 1575 editions printed in Scotland.

[438] N. Temperley, *The music of the English parish church* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979); B. Quitsland, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008).

implementation of the new regime.[439] Lord James, who later become popularly known as "The good Regent," was to take up the cause of the embryonic worship culture of the Reformed Kirk, likely encouraged and assisted by the popular and experienced new pastor at St Andrews, Christopher Goodman, who had arrived in 1560 following a short ministry at Ayr.[440] Lord James recruited Thomas Wode, a former monk of Lindores abbey and later reader and vicar of St Andrews, as scribe for a project to create a complete Scottish edition of the metrical Psalter. The project also involved the creation of texts to fill the gaps in the incomplete Anglo-Genevan Psalter when it became clear that a complete edition was not going to emerge from Geneva. The work was undertaken by two leading figures of the Kirk. Robert Pont created 6 Psalms and John Craig created 15. Pont was an elder of the congregation at St Andrews during Christopher Goodman's ministry, a participant in the first General Assembly of 1560 and hugely influential throughout his career as a minister and later as a senator of the College of Justice.[441] John Craig was a Dominican who was converted to the Reformed cause by reading the works of Calvin whilst stationed in Italy. He narrowly escaped from the Inquisition and returned from Europe to play an important part in the establishment of the new Reformed Kirk, which included serving as second minister to John Knox at St Giles in Edinburgh. He composed a Catechism for the Kirk of New Aberdeen and worked on *The Ordovre and Doctrine of the Generall Faste*, *The Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and of Pvblict Repentance,* and *The Second Book of Discipline* as well as texts for the Psalter.[442] Tim Duguid has pointed out that Craig's setting for Psalm 143 was paired with the only Italian tune in the Psalter, bringing a musical as well as textual influence from his time spent in Italy.[443]

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[439] M. Dilworth, 'Canons Regular and the Reformation,' in A.A MacDonald, M. Lynch, and I.B. Cowan, eds., *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden, Brill, 1994), 164-182; L. Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), Appendix B, 'Fasti of post-Reformation St Andrews canons.'

[440] *SR*, 272; *Wode Psalter*, Ms La III.483 (b): 137; J.E.A. Dawson, 'Goodman, Christopher (1521/2–1603)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10975> [accessed 18 Dec 2016].

[441] J. Kirk, 'Pont, Robert (1524-1606),' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22507> [accessed 21 September 2016].

[442] J. Kirk, 'Craig, John (1512/13?–1600),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6574> [accessed 1st Nov 2016].

[443] *MSPP*, 97.

A qualitative difference between the worship ideals of Calvin and the Scottish project was that Calvin had favoured unaccompanied unison singing, whereas Lord James commissioned settings in four-part harmony. The musical work on the psalter included tunes and harmonised settings for treble, alto and bass alongside the melody, which was known as the "Kirk Part" and was generally carried in the tenor line. In this respect, the Scottish Kirk had found common ground with the Huguenot psalters, particularly the musical contributions of Louis Bourgeois (1510-c.1560) and Claude Goudimel (c.1514-1572), who created harmonised settings characterised by lively rhythms and musical dissonance.[444] Lord James enjoyed music, like his father and half-sister, which may explain his interest in harnessing the services and goodwill of the musicians of the Scottish church in the context of the radical change to the musical requirements of worship following the abolition of The Mass and its choral settings. Already, in this first phase of the streamlined Kirk worship culture, there were signs of a desire to imbue that worship with beauty and richness in a distinctive incarnation for the Scottish Kirk. It is an open question as to the further direction that worship would have taken had Lord James not been assassinated in 1570, but the Regent Morton followed Moray's musical lead in his commissions of choral Psalm-settings from Andrew Blackhall, and the re-establishment of the sang schules in 1579.

The elaborately decorated surviving Wode part-books give us a vital insight into the thinking behind the development of early Reformed worship. Wode included editorial notes that described his mission and the commissioning of another monk and musician, David Peebles of the Augustinian Priory at St Andrews, to compose the harmonised parts to accompany the tunes inherited from the incomplete Anglo-Genevan and French Psalters. Peebles was one of the leading musicians of Scotland, but it seems that he was a reluctant collaborator, Wode noting that 'the said David he wes not earnest; bot I being com to this toune to remaine, I wes euer requeisting and solisting till thay wer all set.'[445] Wode persisted, and eventually the work on the Psalms was completed by 1566. In addition to the Psalms, a collection of canticles based upon those created for the English and Anglo-Genevan books, was included. Further choral and instrumental music continued to be written into the partbooks until Wode's death in 1592, in collaboration with leading Scottish musicians and clerics such as Andrew Blackhall, Jhone Angus and Andrew Kemp. This seems to have been an attempt to create a reference point for Scotland's church music culture and to avoid what Wode saw as the possibility of a complete loss of music in the re-formed Scotland.

[444] G.J. Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its Consequences,' 281.
[445] *Wode Psalter* Tenor Part Book, Ms La III. 483 (b): 166.

However it seems that despite this fear, music was destined to play an important part in the new Kirk, albeit in a radically altered liturgical context.[446]

Printing the sung Word

It is important to stress that the metrical Psalter was new to most Scots. Whilst underground Protestant gatherings, known as the "Privy Kirks," may have used earlier incomplete English printed editions of the metrical Psalter and material from the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, these were not officially sanctioned books of the pre-1560 Scottish Kirk. Consequently it is inconceivable that metrical Psalms could have immediately penetrated the consciousness of the entire Scottish Reformed Kirk. However, in the period from 1564 to 1644 around 70 editions of the Psalme Buik were produced for the Scottish market by a range of printers in Scotland, London, Geneva, Middelburg and Dort. The Psalm translations remained steady (aside from typographical errors) between editions, although there were variations in the details of prefaces, collect prayers, Latin incipits, and doxologies. Typeface varied between Roman and Gothic script in the various printings. Ros (1578), Charteris (1595-6) and Smyth (1599), introduced Scots orthography to the Psalm texts. Of these Scots editions, Smyth and Ros were also noteworthy for their use of black letter text as opposed to the Roman typeface of most other printings, making a significant connection with the blackletter editions of other Scots language poetry and prose published during the period. The Scots editions demonstrated an independence of mind amongst printers and a market for a Scots language edition. This was likely a reflection of the reality of practice on the ground, where Psalms were effectively "translated" out of the standard English text and into Scots dialect. This raises the possibility that there was a far greater degree of variation in local practice, when one takes into account regional dialects, such as the Doric of the North East, and the tantalizing case of the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. During the early modern period, Gaelic was a strong presence in the Highlands and Islands and significant swathes of lowland Perthshire, Moray, Angus, and Aberdeenshire. When Robert Pont was appointed Commissioner for the Plantation of Kirks in Moray in 1563, he accepted on the condition that 'he should not be burdened with the kirks speaking the Irish [Gaelic] tongue in the said bounds.'[447] These congregations required a Gaelic speaker and worship materials in this vernacular, a pressing need supplied by John Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll and

[446] J. Reid Baxter, 'Thomas Wode, Christopher Goodman and the Curious Death of Scottish Music' in *Scotlands* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 3-4.
[447] *APGA*, 59.

Bishop of the Isles, who produced a Gaelic edition of *The Forme of Prayers* in 1567.[448] However, there was no corresponding Gaelic Psalter due to his early death and also perhaps the incompatibility of English and Gaelic poetic metres.[449] A Gaelic metrical psalter required a completely new translation of the psalter, and Bishop Carswell's early death in 1572 destroyed the momentum of this project. In the event, no Gaelic translation was provided until the first fifty Psalms were made available in 1658. However, it is conceivable that oral transmission of translations of Scots/English versions embedded Reformed Psalm-singing in the Gaidhealtachd. There was a metrical form of The Lord's Prayer in John Carswell's *Forme of Prayers*,[450] which indicated that in common with Scots-speaking areas, The Lord's Prayer was sung in metrical form. A metrical Gaelic blessing of a ship was also included, demonstrating unique dimensions of worship in Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland. There are tantalising references to the Psalms in the Gaelic text of *The Forme of Prayers*, including Psalms 25, 119 and 128, indicating that they were intended to be sung.[451] Further research in this area could provide valuable insights into the relationship between the worship cultures of the Reformed Kirk in the Gaedhealtachd and Scots-speaking areas.

It seems that each printer had leeway to introduce their own ideas, style and content, provided that the basic Psalm texts and the core liturgical materials were not changed. In that context, printers such as Bassandyne, Charteris and Hart were pitching at the growing commercial market for religious books. The quantity in which the Psalme Buik was produced and the frequency of the editions underlined the financial viability of the enterprise. Bluntly, people wanted the Psalme Buik. A copy of the 1633 Raban edition (consulted in Princeton Seminary library) shows that it was handed down as a treasured possession from one generation to another in the Bruce family.[452] However, very few copies of all editions now survive. It could be said that this indicates that few were printed, but quite the opposite seems to have been the case. Ian Green has estimated that in England alone, hundreds of

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[448] *Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh: John Carswell's Gaelic translation of the Book of common order*, ed. R.L. Thomson and A. Matheson, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1970).

[449] D.E. Meek, 'The Reformation and Gaelic Culture: Perspectives on patronage, language and literature in John Carswell's translation of *The Book of Common Order*' in *The Church in the Highlands* (Bristol, Scottish Church History Society, 1998), 37-62.

[450] *Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh,* 111-112.

[451] *Ibid*., 35, 67, 72, 89.

[452] *The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland* (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597). Copy consulted in Princeton Theological Seminary Library, SCB #4563.

thousands of copies, quite possibly a million, were printed in the period 1562-1640. [453] Although the Scottish market was smaller, it was just as focused on supply and demand, and the new Kirk required the Psalme Buik to be available to as wide a market as possible. Testaments of Scottish printers reveal that significant stock was held. In Robert Smyth's testament there were 1034 copies of the 'Dundee Psalms,' otherwise known as *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, although very few copies of this work now survive. Thomas Bassinden's 1579 testament noted 1372 prose copies of the Psalms, which is an indicator of the popularity of the Psalms in general and their use to underpin the Reformed process of catechising. Johne Ros's 1580 testament revealed that his inventory of stock contained 576 'Littill Psalme Buiks' priced at 3s.vid each, in two editions. Robert Gourlaw's 1586 testament contained '22 dozen Small lytill prayer buikis' and '42 small prayer buikis in parchment.'[454] Perhaps all of these copies wore out through use. More likely, the advent of the 1645 Westminster Directory of Public Worship and the publication of the new Scottish Psalter of 1650, with its new metrical translations, rendered the old Psalme Buik obsolete, leading to the gradual disposal and destruction of copies.

David Calderwood seems to have been right in his estimation of what would happen should the old Psalme Buik be rendered obsolete by a new translation. Here he referred to an earlier challenge to the 1564 Psalter, and seemed to estimate the number of Psalme Buiks in circulation:

> Nintlie, the countries will be burthened with the loss of thrie hunder thousand buiks of the old, and with the coast of sex hunder thousand of this new meeter, during the privilege which we heir is to be granted to the cheef author.[455]

[453] I. Green, '"All people that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice": Protestantism and Music in Early Modern England' in S. Ditchfield, ed., *Christianity and Community in the West. Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001), 154.
[454] 'Collection of the Wills of Printers and Booksellters in Edinburgh Between the Years 1577 and 1687,' in *The Bannatyne Miscellany* vol.2, 191-294.
[455] D. Calderwood, 'Reasons Against the Reception of King James' Metaphrase of the Psalms, MDCXXXI' in W. Scott, D. Laing, T. Thomson, eds., *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol.1 (Edinburgh, 1827), 245.

At one third of the population of Scotland, this is a very significant number of Psalme Buiks estimated to be in circulation, but not an improbable one given the number of editions that were printed. Despite the huge attrition of these books, the survival of copies of most editions reveals something of the market for the book. As discussed in Chapter One, the Charteris edition of 1596 included a preface which was explicit about the printer's intentions. He was making the book available as a whole, or with the separate constituent parts of kalendar, almanack, liturgical texts, catechism and Psalms available at the convenience of the user.[456] This practice is consistent with that of the printers of the day, who sold unbound copies of the desired material that could be taken by the purchaser to a bookbinder for finishing. The Psalter of 1635 (edited by Edward Miller, Master of Music of the Chapel Royal in Scotland) included an editorial which described his intentions in creating an edition that drew on all of the harmonisations of the Psalms and canticles that he could find in use across Scotland to create a definitive edition. He effectively ironed-out local variations in music practice.[457] These editorials are valuable clues to both the reality of local practice on the ground and the ongoing demand for and fluidity of the presentation of different editions. Neither of these Psalters would have been produced without the potential for revenue, as none of the editions after the intial Kirk sponsorship of Lekpreuik in 1564 appear to have been subsidised. Market forces were at work in the Psalme Buik business.

Using the new Psalters

For many, this would have been the first time that the Psalms had been encountered in anything other than Latin. The translations would have seemed shocking in their newness, with striking metaphors rooted in the sixteenth-century world-view, which opened up the world of Scriptural song to the entire congregation. Those who could not read learned *par ceur* through hearing singing in the kirk at public worship and in family devotions at home.[458] *The First Book of Discipline* recognised that 'in some churches the psalms may be conveniently sung; in others, perchance they cannot.' This was a realistic assessment of the extent to which a new way of singing Psalms could be rolled out to every parish. Given the

[456] *The CL Psalmes of David In Meter. With Prayers and Catechisme, according to the forme used in the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585).
[457] *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599).
[458] James Melville used this phrase a number of times to describe material learned by heart. *ADJM,* 16, 22, 32.

difficulty of finding and funding sufficient ministers and readers to fill parishes, it should not be surprising that Psalm-singing developed at different paces in different places. Nevertheless, unaccompanied singing had been advocated as a great spiritual blessing by Calvin, the Anglo-Scottish congregation in Geneva, and the authors of *The First Book of Discipline*. It was seen as an intensified form of prayer to God, rather than simply a decoration of worship. The preface to the 1556 *Forme of Prayers* described prayer as being of 'two maner of sortes, that is either in wordes only, or els with songe ioyned ther unto.'[459] The first Scottish edition of *The Forme of Prayers* in 1564-5, emulating the Huguenot Psalter of 1564-5, contained an encouraging sonnet by William Stewart, which described the Psalter as:

> Out of whose ha[n]ds (w[it]h great thanks) now receiue
> All David's Psalmes, set foorth in pleasant verse,
> A greater gift of them thou could'st not crave:
> Whose endless frute, my pen can not rehearse:
> For here thou hast, for euerie accident,
> That may occure, a doctrine pertinent.[460]

The 1564-5 edition included metrical text settings of all 150 Psalms, more than two thirds of which were printed with music for their dedicated "proper" tune, these being the melodies for which Thomas Wode secured harmonised parts. These, arrangements, however, were not included in the printed Psalme Buiks until the 1635 Hart edition, and could only have circulated in manuscript form. Consequently, they would have been unlikely to have been used in most smaller kirks, which were without the benefit of sang schule singers. Their omission from the 1564-5 book seems like a piece of realistic commercial practice. However, the inclusion of simple melodies meant that they could be readily followed in the print and learned with the assistance of the precentor, who often doubled as the reader and sang schule master, or music master/teacher in the local grammar school.[461] James Melville

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[459] *The forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: and approved, buy the famous and godly learned man, John Calvyn* (Geneva, Crespin, 1556, *STC* 16561), 17.

[460] *Les 150 Psaumes, d'apres les Editions de 1564 et 1565,* tr. P. Pidoux (New York, The Institute of Mediaeval Music Ltd, 1983); *FOP.*

[461] As in the case of Henry Adamson, who was music master, reader and precentor at St John's Kirk in Perth in 1617. *SSSM*, 355.

provided us with an excellent account of his youth in Montrose, where Psalm-singing was clearly a strong feature of worship there. The boys in the local grammar school learned the Psalms with the benefit of coaching from a hired musician:

> ….a blind man, wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our school teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thairof, and sing tham in the kirk by heiring of whome I was sa delyted, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thairof in miter, quhilk I haiff thought eer syne a grait blessing and comfort.[462]

The love of music stayed with Melville and he became an enthusiastic advocate of both the affective power of music and its usefulness as a catechetical tool:

> I thought it my dutie to indeuour to draw you to the right use of Musick and Singing, the whilk being sanctified be gud and honest matter, and holy disposition of heart, makes meikle for godlie edification and comfort. For the measures of poësie & harmonie of musick (as I finde be daily experience in my awin familie) delytes the mind, and sa helps the memorie very meikle, to embrace and keip fast the matter and stirres up and sets the force of the soules affections towards God, in pleasand meditation thereof. The reason is iuident and natural, because that like drawes to like, and delites therein, and that while delites, leaues a stamp and printe in the memor, and moues sa the affections, that it is not easielie remoouea.[463]

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[463] J. Melville, *A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastovr to his People* and *A Morning Vision: or Poeme for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith and Repentance: Wherein the Lordes Prayer, Beleefe, and Commands and sa the Whole Catechisme, and right use thereof, is largely exponed* (Edinburgh, Robert Walde-grave, 1598, *STC* 17816), 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'

He spoke of music as one of his chief delights, although went on in a somewhat Calvinian vein to note his concern that over-indulgence in music-making could be detrimental to the purer desires of singing in worship:

> Mairower, in these yeirs I lerned my music, wherin I tuk graiter delyt, of an Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha had been treaned upe amangist the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam, plean-song, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, wherof sum I could weill sing in the kirk; bot my naturalitie and easie lerning by the ear maid me the mair unsolide and untreadie to use the forme of the art. I lovit singing and playing on instruments passing weil, and wald gladlie spend tyme whar the exerceise thairof was within the Collage. For twa or thrie of our condisciples played felon weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our Regent haid also the pinalds in his chalmer, and lernit some thing, and I eftir him; bot perceiving me ower mikle carried efter that, he dishanted and left of. It was the grait mercie of my God that keipit me from anie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments; for, giff I haid attained to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid never don guid utherwayes, in respect of my amorus disposition, whereby Satahn sought even then to deboiche me; bot my God gaiff me a piece of his fear, and grait natural shamfastness, quilk by his grace war my preservatives.[464]

This chimed with the preface to the Genevan *Forme of Prayers* of 1556, which concerning singing warned that:

> Thir is no gift of God so precious or excellent, that Satan hath not after a sort drawen to him selfe and corrupt: so hath he most impudently abused this notable gifte of singing, chieflye by the papistes his ministers in disfiguring it, partly by strange language, that can not edifie: and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyringe men to tickle the eares, and flatter the phantasies, not esteminge it as a gifte

[464] *ADJM*, 29.

> approued by the worde of God, profitable for the churche, and confirmed by all antiquitie.[465]

From David Calderwood's later vantage point of the 1630s, his *Reasons against the reception of King James' Metaphrase of the Psalms*, described the established Psalm culture which he feared was under threat from the attempts of Charles I to introduce a new metrical Psalm translation in the name of his father, James VI:

> Sundrie Musitians of best skill and affection for furtherance of the act of Parliament anent the instructing of the youth in Musick, have sett downe commoun and proper tunes to the whole psalmes according to the diverse forms of meeter. Both pastors and people be long custome, ar so acquainted with the psalmes and tunes thereof; that as the pastors ar able to direct a psalme to be sung agreeable to the doctrine to be delyvered, so he that taketh vp the psalme is able to sing any tune, and the people for the most pair to follow him. Both people and pastors have some psalmes, or parts of psalmes, by heart, as may best serve for ther different disposition and case of conscience, and for the chainges of ther externall condition. By the lose of that heavenly treasure in ther hart alreadie, they would be farder grieved, and prejudged in ther spirituall estate, than they could be hurt in bodie or goodes suffering for retention of their owne psalmes.[466]

Despite the polemical context, Calderwood's defence revealed the degree to which the singing of the existing metrical Psalm translations had entered the fabric of Kirk life. Regardless of the the artistic merits of these texts and tunes, they had become staples of the culture of Scotland. They were also part of a wider worship culture, tied to the printed matter that had returned from Geneva, but which had been expanded for its new context. It is remarkable that Calderwood, the arch-presbyterian polemicist, should have chosen to

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[465] *The forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: and approved, buy the famous and godly learned man, John Calvyn* (Geneva, Crespin, 1556, *STC* 16561), 18.

[466] D. Calderwood, 'Reasons Against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalms MDCXXXI,' 233.

defend the full suite of liturgical texts in the Psalme Buik in his argument against changes to worship:

> If it should happen (as God forbid) that our psalme bookes in meeter with the commoun order prefixed unto them, and the catechise following them now printed cum privilegio regiae majestas wer removed, it might be justlie feared as the kirk decays in moyane and meanes that the confession of faith, the order of the election of ministers, of the ecclesiastical discipline, and of excommunication and publicke repentance, the visitation of the sick, the burial of the deade, the commoun prayers, the forms of the Lords supper, of baptisme, and marriage, the booke of fasting, and Calvines catechise, should be suppresst to the great hinerance of public and privat uses.[467]

Lest we think that Calderwood was too polemical to be a credible witness, it is worth bringing in the testimony of liturgical reviser William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway. His proselytising 'Catholick Christian' described a typical Reformed service to the almost persuaded 'Catholick Romane' on day seven of his *Seuen Dayes Conference* saying, 'euerie one is preparing (as you see) their psalme book.'[468] Despite the polemic, by this time it cannot have been outrageous to claim that a substantial number in the Kirk owned a Psalme Buik. This is another piece of evidence that Psalm-singing was deeply embedded in Kirk worship. Introducing liturgical change in the face of dearly-held practice was a major challenge.

Resurrecting the music and evaluating its impact

In recent decades, there has been a considerable effort amongst musicologists such as Kenneth Elliott, Alan Tavener, James Ross, Noel O'Regan, Tim Duguid and scholarly impressarios such as Jamie Reid Baxter to bring to life the hidden music of this period. The original material of the Wode Psalter and the individual editions of the Psalme Buik were not accessible to non-specialists, and the better known 1650 Psalter and its successors bore little resemblance to the earlier psalter both in terms of music and text. Elliott reconstructed editions of Psalm-settings in modern notation, which enabled choral groups

[467] *Ibid*., 234.
[468] W. Cowper, *Seuen Dayes Conference*, 208.

such as *Cappella Nova* to bring them to life in concert and on recordings. Cappella Nova's album, *Sacred Music for Mary Queens of Scots,* contains thrillingly sung settings of Psalms 107 and 124.[469] These were based on the settings in the *Wode Psalter* and used tunes that continued to be sung through the entire period of the 1564-1644 Scottish Psalter. The melodies are particularly significant in giving a flavour of the musical material adopted from the French-Genevan Psalter. In the case of Psalm 124, the melody is adopted from the 1551 edition. In the case of Psalm 107, the melody was adapted from the tune for Psalm 107 in the Genevan Psalter. This in turn was sourced from *Cinquante Pseaulmes* of 1543, but the earliest edition which survives is that of Louis Bourgeois from 1547.[470] The Psalm is one of thanksgiving for God's purposes in being present to the people of God in the midst of wandering in the wilderness and oppression by enemies. The thrilling tune captures the ambiguity of the text. It portrays God as a benevolent but powerful guide who will strike down enemies whilst preserving the Godly. This theme would have resonated with the uncertain context of the Reformed Kirk in the early modern period. The melody has disappeared from common use, despite its revival in *The Church Hymnary Third Edition* (1973) and *The English Hymnal* (1906) where it was paired with a paraphrase by John Milton.

The character of these tunes is robust and engaging. They are easy to pick up for a congregation, yet the harmonised parts are extremely effective sang schule material. Nicholas Temperley has suggested that 'There can be little question that the genius of the French Psalm tunes contributed much to the popularity of the Reformed religion.'[471] One can only agree with him. Whilst not every tune in the Scottish Psalter of 1564 is compelling, the inclusion of the highly charged and memorable French tunes was a significant element of the appeal of this new Psalm-singing culture.[472] In 1949, Millar Patrick asserted that 'In the portions of the Psalter suitable for modern worship there is a rugged strength, a massive positiveness, an elevation and dignity and a direct objectivity, which makes them incomparable for congregational use.'[473]

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[469] Tavener/*Cappella Nova*, *Sacred Music for Mary, Queen of Scots.*
[470] M. Frost, *English & Scottish Psalm & Hymn Tunes c.1543-1677 (*Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1953), 153, 169.
[471] N. Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), 22.
[472] French composer, Louis Bourgeois, contributed 70 tunes to the Genevan Psalter*;* M. Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1949), 22.
[473] *Ibid*., 228.

Whilst one may take issue with his suggestion that some parts of the Psalter were unsuitable for 'modern' worship, Patrick seemed to support the view that the metrical Psalm-settings have an inherent musical and textual power for congregational singing. Part of the appeal lay in the variety of metres employed by the compilers of the Psalters, and the use of much more French material (31 tunes) than its English Psalter cousin.[474] In fact, the 1564 Scottish Psalter adopted 105 tunes, more than any other psalter in the English language up to that point.[475] In contrast to the later straight-jacketing of the Scottish Psalter into only 12 common tunes after 1650, the Psalters from 1564 until 1644 offered a remarkable range of mood and rhythm, which generated a need for 32 separate Scots doxologies in the 1596 Charteris edition. As Edward Millar described in his address 'To the gentle reader' in the 1635 Hart Psalter, the tunes were 'some grave, some light, fitting diverse dispositions.'[476] Although there was much new musical material in the Scottish psalters, it is also significant that a substantial number of tunes made use of plainsong music modes, giving an aural connection with the soundscape of the old Kirk, and easing the transition to the new soundscape. Millar Patrick noted that there were 21 Dorian, 6 Phrygian, 6 Mixolydian, 49 major and 22 minor tunes in the Psalter.[477] To modern ears, the sound-world of some of these melodies may seem rather gloomy. A case in point is the Peebles setting for Robert Pont's version of Psalm 76 in the *Wode Psalter*, which was included in the 1564 Lekpreuik edition of the Psalme Buik. This Psalm became known by part of its incipit – 'Jewrie laun' – and was used as the text for Robert Bruce's famous sermon at the cross of Edinburgh on the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.[478] The melody seems to be derived from plainsong, but is well suited to the punchy and dramatic text. Its inconclusive musical ending serves to underline the drama of the text by suggesting forward movement in God's purposes for humanity – the story of God's people was not yet complete.[479] As a song of thanksgiving for deliverance from the very real threat of Spanish invasion, this metrical version demonstrated how powerful these Psalms could be in their

[474] *Ibid*., 50; *MSPP*, 88-89.
[475] T. Duguid, *Sing a new song: English and Scottish metrical psalmody from 1549-1640*, 134.
[476] *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599), 'To the Gentle Reader.'
[477] M. Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, 71.
[478] *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinburgh*, ed. W. Cunningham, Wodrow Society, (Edinburgh, 1843), 279.
[479] A recording of Psalm 76 may be found at <http://www.churchservicesociety.org/sites/default/files/psalm76-str.mp3> [accessed 1 September 2016].

original early modern context. However, it needs to be remembered that they include a spectrum of emotions, and a wide range of tunes was provided to convey these varying moods. This is the reason that there were 105 separate tunes in the Psalter. The question of mood has been investigated by the Finnish music-anthropologist, Päivikki Suojanen, who made an extensive study of hymn-singing practice in Evangelical-Lutheran revival movements in Finland during the period 1969-1982. It was rooted in a much longer tradition of Protestant worship with similar elements to that found within the Scottish Reformed Kirk. She noted that hymn-singing was regarded as prayer (as in the Genevan *Forme of Prayers* preface) and that tunes in a minor key were positively associated with penitential texts. What to the impartial observer may seem to be dull, may in fact be charged with pious energy and meaning for the worshipper in its liturgical worship setting.[480]

The Scottish Psalters also contained a great range of celebratory melodies to match the more buoyant Psalms. There are some particularly effective tunes such as that set for Psalm 27. This tune is still used in the Church of Scotland's *Church Hymnary Fourth Edition* (2005) in its incarnation as *Genevan 42*. The setting of Psalm 27 in the Peebles harmonisation is perfectly matched to the mood of the text, and the syncopated cross-rhythms in the harmony lend it a particularly lively and energising mood that is just as fresh to twenty-first-century ears as it was in the sixteenth-century.[481]

Psalms of pure thanksgiving and celebration, such as 100, 103 and 118 received vibrant musical settings in the Scottish Psalter. Psalm 100, in the musical setting which became known as *Old Hundredth*, is one of the few which remain in use in worship in the Church of Scotland. It was received with the Anglo-Genevan Psalter but had its roots in the French-Genevan Psalter of 1551. The melody was also used for Psalm 134, and there are other melodies in the Psalter which show strong similarities to *Old Hundredth*. On the one hand it might be said that this was repetitive, on the other, perhaps use of certain musical phrases was helpful to aid the singing and to cross-reference between the subject matter of Psalms.[482] As we have seen, Psalm 103 was directed to be sung at the end of the Lord's Supper and also after the reconciliation of penitents. The metrical Psalm text contains strong themes of God's tender care and forgiveness for us in the context of lives that are fragile and fleeting. Within this context, the mood is of thanksgiving for what has been

[480] P. Suojanen, *Finnish Folk Hymn Singing: Study in Music Anthropology* (Tampere, University of Tampere Institute for Folk Tradition, 1984), 76.
[481] A recording of Psalm 27 may be found at <http://www.churchservicesociety.org/sites/default/files/psalm27-str.mp3> [acccessed 1 September 2016].
[482] *MSPP*, 26-33.

received in life. The setting by Peebles for the *Wode Psalter*, also included in the 1564 Psalme Buik, is from the Anglo-Genevan Psalter of 1556 and in a similar way to the setting of Psalm 27 uses syncopation and cross-rhythms in the harmony parts to enliven the vigorous and positive melody.[483]

Canticles and non-Scriptural songs

Although the 1564 Psalme Buik did not include any canticles or non-Scriptural songs, these began to appear from 1566, then subsequently in varying permutations in most editions of the Scottish Psalme Buiks until 1644. Thomas Wode had secured settings from Andrew Kemp and Johne Angus of a substantial selection of eighteen canticles and hymns, including the Songs of Mary and Simeon, The Lord's Prayer, The Articles of Belief, The Ten Commandments and the ancient hymn, *Veni Creator*.[484] There is no substantial evidence of these items having been used in worship, but their early and enduring appearance seems to indicate that there was a purpose for their inclusion in the Psalme Buik. The settings are largely simple and homophonic, so it seems likely that they were designed for congregational use, or at least for congregations to join in if led by a sang schule group. As a non-Scriptural hymn it is striking that *Veni Creator* should have been selected, but this may also serve to highlight the importance of the sense of the movement of the Holy Spirit in worship which was evident in so much of early Reformed liturgy, preaching and piety. In that context, its inclusion is less radical and more like common sense. Even more telling is the inclusion of a number of penitential songs which are reflective of the piety of the period and whose use seems very likely. The appearance of James Melville's metrical *Song of Moses* in the Hart 1615 Psalter, where it was directed to be sung to the existing proper tune of Psalm 3, demonstrated the acceptability and use of material in addition to the 150 Psalms.[485]

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[483] A recording of Psalm 103 may be found at <http://www.churchservicesociety.org/sites/default/files/psalm103-str.mp3> [accessed 1 September 2016].

[484] Recordings of fifteen of the canticles and hymns found in the Wode Psalter can be heard on the CD accompanying the book J. Reid Baxter, M. Lynch, E.P. Dennison, *Johne Angus: Monk of Dunfermline and Scottish Reformation Music* (Dunfermline, Dunfermline Heritage Community Project, 2011).

[485] *The CL Psalmes of David, in Prose and Meeter: With their whole usuall Tunes, newly corrected and amended* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1615, *STC* 16592).

Sang Schules and Precentors

The musical culture in the early years of the Reformed Kirk would have depended heavily upon whether local church musicians were retained, or chose to remain active within the Reformed worship culture. An important factor was the transfer of monastic clergy into the new Kirk. In the case of the Augustinian Priory at St Andrews, the Sub-Prior John Winram and 20-21 members of the house became part of the new dispensation. 15-16 became ministers, and five became readers or exhorters.[486] At the very least, these clergy would have had experience of the musical life of the priory, and potentially a degree of skill in leading and encouraging the singing of the new metrical Psalms. The musical abilities of readers, precentors and school masters, roles which were often held by the same person, were extremely important. As noted earlier in this chapter, John Erskine of Dun hired a local singer to encourage the singing of Psalms in the school and in the kirk, which seems to have been a positive experience for the young James Melville. However, Erskine was one of the national leaders of reform and his activism may have been atypical. It has to be admitted that the musicians of the Kirk were uneven in their availability, quality and conscientiousness, a feature common to every age. *The Perth Kirk Session Book* revealed that precentor John Swinton had to be disciplined on various occasions for fornication. In addition, he seems to have had a fondness for departing from the tenor (Kirk part) of the Psalms, which could mean that he was extemporising another harmony which was therefore causing the congregation confusion. Whatever the case, this situation reveals how even a large burgh kirk such as St John's in Perth could face difficulties in achieving effective and reliable musical leadership from individuals of good character.[487] In contrast, the Aberdeen sang schule was in the premier league, looked to by all of Scotland as an exemplar of high standards, and as a producer of skilled musicians. Andro Kemp, who had been the Master of the St Andrews sang schule from 1565, later presided at New Aberdeen from 1570-73. He seems to have also been involved in disciplinary proceedings at the Kirk of St Andrews in 1570, which may well have been a catalyst for his departure to Aberdeen in that year.[488] However, his 40 settings of Psalm tunes, discovered in the Panmure papers, give a flavour of the high quality and independent Psalm-singing culture which was sustained in both St Andrews and Aberdeen.[489] Kemp's musicality was apparent in a valuable insight into singing practice and tempi appended to his settings of The Lord's Prayer and The Articles of

[486] M. Dilworth, 'Canons and Canons Regular in the Reformation.'
[487] *PKSB*, 342.
[488] *RStAKS*, 338.
[489] *SSSM,* 153.

Belief in the *Wode Psalter*, in which he said 'sing thir breivis [as] semibreivis for it will be othairwayis to hevy and doylit.'[490] It is significant that St Andrews, considered in many ways a paradigm for the Reformed Kirk, retained a sang schule whose singers led the Psalms in the parish church as part of the regular worship diet.[491] In 1599, the session minutes recorded that 'Jhon Roull, as maister of the sang schole, to caus the best of his scholaris sitt besyid him self, about the pulpeit, to help to sing the Psalmes on the Saboth dayis.'[492] A member of the Roull family was still involved in music teaching and worship in 1599, as one Ringang (Ninian) Rewll (Roull), who had been a canon of the Augustinian priory, was the precentor mentioned in the kirk session minutes of 1568, 1569, 1582, 1587 and 1588.[493] This may indicate a degree of continuity in the music of worship in the kirk of St Andrews, and it should not be forgotten that Thomas Wode remained vicar and reader in the parish until his death in 1592.[494]

Gordon Munro has described the way in which the pre-Reformation sang schule tradition came under severe pressure after 1559, when its raison d'etre in the singing of the Mass was removed.[495] Only St Andrews and Edinburgh were able to immediately sustain their sang schules, but both Aberdeen and Glasgow were able to re-establish theirs during the 1560s. It is possible that others survived or were re-founded during this decade. Durkan and Reid Baxter's *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters* offers tantalising glimpses of the tenure of music masters in locations such as Crail and Cullen during the 1560s.[496] It seems extremely likely that in these burghs, the music master would have been recruited to organise singers to lead the Psalmody in the Kirk. Elsewhere, the role of musicians who became readers and precentors in the Reformed Kirk would have been a crucial musical bridge until the revival of more sang schules after the 1579 "Act of Tymous Remeid."[497] These did not necessarily stand the test of time through the religious conflicts of the mid-seventeenth-century, but it is very significant that their flowering coincided with the developing worship identity of the

[490] J. McQuaid, *Scottish Musicians of the Reformation*, 175.
[491] However, in '"The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk:" St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation,' Jane Dawson concluded that the St Andrews "blueprint" was not emulated across Fife, and therefore we should be cautious in extrapolating national experiences from local circumstances.
[492] *RStAKS*, 908.
[493] *RStAKS*, 308, 338, 488n, 604, 630; J. McQuaid, *Scottish Musicians of the Reformation*, 175.
[494] *Ibid*., 193.
[495] G.J. Munro, '"Sang Schwylls" and "Music Schools,"' 65-83, 66.
[496] *SSSM*, 259, 261.
[497] McQuaid noted that 34 grants of musicians' livings were made during the Morton Regency of 1572-1580. J. McQuaid, *Scottish Musicians of the Reformation*, 80.

Kirk in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which was demonstrated in the analysis of buildings and contents in Section One.[498] At least 39 sang/music schools were identified by John Durkan in the period 1560-1633, and there may well have been more of which we have no record.[499] Sang schule singers frequently enlivened the worship of large kirks in the major burghs. The presence of the sang schule children in particular was confirmed by accounts in kirk session records which noted specific arrangements to build seating for them within the kirk. These singers were not simply a temporary expedient. They were harnessed as an important musical lead for the prayer and praise of the congregation, freshly primed with the new material that they were being taught in both sang, music and grammar school contexts. At St Nicholas Kirk in Aberdeen a threshold was reached when the large burgh kirk was divided at the crossing to create two places of worship in 1596. In that year, Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen recorded the decision that 'Maister Willeam Skene, maister of the sang school, sall serve bayth the kirkis in uptacking of the psalme theirin, everie Sonday, the ane kirk be himself, and the uther be the doctor, or sum of his discippullis, that can discharge himself theirin sufficientlie.'[500] However, there was clear evidence that the sang schule pupils in Aberdeen were already regularly involved in singing at worship, as a note in the 1591-2 burgh Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts recorded payment to 'Dauid Anderson wryth mak ane dowbill sett in the kirk to the bernis of the sang skoull, for his warkmanschip.'[501] At Elgin, the sang schule pupils were a presence in the Kirk, sometimes an unruly one. The session noted at its meeting on 4th November 1599 that 'The maisteris of the Grammer and Sang scholes ar appointit to discipline thair disciples that trublit the kirk this day.'[502] A few months later, the session declared that as part of the parallel teaching during the tables of the Lord's Supper 'It is appointit that the maister of the Grammar Scole occupe reading and singing of psalmes in the queir and a desk to be tain out of the kirk thairinto.'[503] A more substantial role was envisaged for the precentor, and potentially the pupils, when the session decided on 12th December 1600 that 'The maister of the Sang Schole to be spoken anent the daylie psalme at morning befoir the reding and at evening befoir the blessing.'[504] At Stirling, the Council instructed the creation of seats around the pulpit to be used by the sang schule master and his pupils in 1621:

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[498] G.J. Munro, *Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500-1700.*
[499] *SSSM*, 165.
[500] *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, vol. 2, 1570-1625, ed. J. Stuart, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1848), 157.
[501] *CESNA*, 393.
[502] *RKSE*, 62.
[503] *Ibid*., 63, 8th February 1600.
[504] *Ibid*., 74.

> The brethrein of the kirk, be advyse of my Lord Provest thinkis meit that the pulpet and Reederis letrun salbe taine doune and reedefeit again: and therefore they ordain that the samin be done be Johne Johnsone and Duncan Watsone maisteris of the kirk wark be advyse of my Lord Provest, the Minister, Johne Sharar Dean of Gild, and Johne Williamsone toun clerk; and that they mak commodious seattis about the fit [foot] thairof meit for the maister of the sang school and his bairnis to sit on, for singing of the psalmes in the tyme of the holie serveice of the kirk. [505]

At Ayr in 1583, the sang schule children were to 'sing in ye Kirk ye for [four] partis of music, beginning ilk Sunday at ye second bell.'[506] Whilst the Edinburgh sang schule remained open after 1560, little is known of its part in parish worship, particularly after the division of St Giles into multiple places of worship. However, we do know that in 1574 the session ordered their precentors to 'sing the salmis on the preching dayis in sic touns as ar maist colmoun for the kirk.'[507] John Buchan was successfully in charge of the Haddington sang schule until he transferred to the same position in Glasgow in 1592, where he also functioned as a reader and precentor. Here, singing in worship was the subject of a record of 7th September, 1587 when it was noted that 'Mr William Struthers, teacher of musick, shall sing in the High Kirk, from the ringing of the first bell to the minister's coming in; and appoint four men to sit beside him, beneath the pulpit; and, in the mean time, that the

[505] M. Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, 135; 'Extracts from the Kirk Session of Stirling' in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. J. Dennistoun and A. Macdonald (Edinburgh, 1834), 458-9.
[506] T. Duguid, *Sing a new song*, 302; J. H. Pagan, *Annals of Ayr in the Olden Time, 1560-1692* (Ayr, Alex Fergusson, 1897), 75; *SSSM*, 152.
[507] T. Duguid, *Sing a new Song*, 302; G.J. Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its Consequences,' 297; 'Book of the General Kirk of Edinburgh,' in *Miscellany of the Maitland Club,* vol. 1, part 1, ed. J. Dennistoun and A. Macdonald (Edinburgh, 1833), 113.

chapters be read by the reader successively to the singing.'[508] Daily evening prayers in the High Kirk also included Psalm-singing.[509]

Complexity without 'curiosity'[510]

Psalms in Reports came from the pen of another high profile church musician, Andrew Blackhall, who had been a Canon of Holyrood Abbey. He ran a music school whilst he was minister at Musselburgh (1589-1609) and created new Psalm settings for another local minister, John Davidson of Salt-Preston.[511] Amongst other polyphonic material, he wrote a setting of Psalm 128, specified for the marriage liturgy in *The Forme of Prayers*, which was commissioned by the Regent Morton for the wedding of his nephew at Dalkeith in 1573.[512] Edward Millar included eight anonymous settings in reports within his 1635 edition of the Psalter 'for the further delight of qualified persons in the said Art [of Musicke],' an acknowledgement that these were in use in places with capable sang schule singers. Some of these may well have been written by Blackhall.[513] The setting for Psalm 113 is particularly effective, the music having been adopted from Claude Goudimel's setting for Psalm 68.[514] Again, we see links between Scotland and the Huguenot tradition in the adoption of this arrangement. Millar's editorial 'Address to The Reader' in this Psalter revealed the musical landscape within which he was working and what he aimed to achieve. He perceived that

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[508] R. Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. 2, part 2, ed. W.J. Duncan, Maitland Club 33 (Glasgow, 1848), 22.

[509] G.J. Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its Consequences,' 275 (citing I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation*, 139-140).

[510] Thomas Wode noted in the *Wode Psalter* manuscript that Lord James Stewart had desired that 'Dauid Pables, being ane of the cheiff musitians into this land to set three pairts to the tenor, and my lord co[m]mandit the said dauid to leaue the curiosity of musike and sa to make plaine and dulce, and sa he hes done.' *Wode Psalter* MS La III. 483 (b): 166.

[511] See case study on John Davidson in Section Three, Chapter One.

[512] *SR*, 291; G.J. Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its consequences,' 287.

[513] *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599), 'Address to the Gentle Reader.'

[514] A recording of this setting of Psalm 113 may be heard at <http://www.churchservicesociety.org/sites/default/files/psalm113-str.mp3> [accessed 1 September 2016]; P. Pidoux, tr., *Claude Goudimel Oeuvres Completes Vol. 9*, (New York, The Institute of Mediaeval Music, Ltd, 1967), 65; K. Elliott and F. Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 32.

the absence of a printed version of the harmonisations contained within the Wode Psalter had led to a situation where 'sundrie Tribles, Bases and Counters set by diverse Authors, being sung upon one and the same Tenor, do discordingly rub eachupon another, offending both Musicall, and rude ears, which never talked of this art: which unhappie fault I thought might happily be helped, and the Church Musick made more plausible by publishing this Booke.' Millar went on to describe that he was occupied in 'collecting all the sets I could find on the Psalmes, after painfull tryall thereof, I selected the best for this work, according to my simple judgement.'[515] His description was a plausible one, revealing that there was a wide variety of musical practice being undertaken, that harmonised singing was a ubiquitous feature of the Scottish Kirk (albeit one that sometimes was less than musically satisfactory) and that the settings of 'Deane John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Peebles, Sharp, Black, Buchan and others famous for their skill in this kind' were in use.[516] Whilst it is likely that some of these settings may only have been heard at Royal and noble occasions such as the Baptism of Prince Henry in 1594, the evidence from the music libraries of the sang schules of Aberdeen and Glasgow seems to indicate that local congregations associated with a high quality sang schule could have heard these more complex Psalm-settings. In particular, Psalms in reports could have been sung by a congregation along with a sang schule, because the proper tune was contained within the tenor part, sung by the precentor and other tenor voices. It is quite possible that the national soundscape of Scottish Reformed worship had a wider palette than more pessimisitic assessments have concluded, whilst remaining within the Reformed ideal of 'plane and dulce' word-setting, and avoiding an unacceptable amount of 'the curiositie of musike.'[517]

The effect of kirk layouts

As discussed in Section One, the rotated axis of kirks for Reformed worship generated a new dynamic of a congregation gathered close to the reader's desk, minister's pulpit and the space in the middle of the Kirk where discipline was enacted and the tables set up for the sharing of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. As we have seen in the above evidence, sang schule singers were often positioned adjacent to the pulpit and the reader's desk, with the reader sometimes also being the precentor. Such intimacy is extremely helpful for

[515] *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599), 'Address to the Gentle Reader.'
[516] *Ibid*.
[517] *Wode Psalter* MS La III. 483 (b): 166; *SSSM*, 152.

congregational singing and both precentor and sang schule would have been able to give a strong lead from this position. During a worship re-enactment at Greyfriars Kirk in February 2015, this kind of layout was recreated. It promoted such a level of focus that an intimate connection with the congregation was quickly established, and the Psalm-singing led by a sang schule group and precentor was rapidly taken up by the congregation. A further worship re-enactment at St Mary's Kirk in Haddington during March 2016 adopted similar principles but included advance rehearsal for the congregation in order to simulate an experience where the congregation were singing a body of Psalms that had become familiar to them – in the sense of learning *par ceur*.[518] The impact of this experience was tested in a series of vox-pops at the end of the project and the results revealed strongly positive feedback about the intimacy of the layout. In this case, the congregation were gathered on three sides around the pulpit and a reader's desk in the centre of the medieval nave, which has arcaded aisles to north and south. In this building, the destruction of the choir by the English army in 1547 left the Reformed congregation with little option but to seal off the ruined choir by building a partition wall at the western crossing arch in 1561 and convert the nave. This project was therefore a faithful recreation of the dynamic of the post-Reformation use of the remnant church.[519] The use of individual modern chairs gave the event a more orderly feeling, whereas at Greyfriars Kirk participants were invited to bring their own stools. The more haphazard clustering that resulted at Greyfriars perhaps reflected the early Reformed experience rather better. It is therefore important to stress that merely singing the new metrical Psalms was not the full experience. It is essential to consider the environment in which they were sung and the impact of individuals who were leading, choosing and interpreting the material: the reader, the precentor, minister and the congregation themselves. Without considering this context, evidence of the experience of worship is underplayed or skewed.

Psalms as liturgy

During the period until 1649, the role of the precentor was to begin the Psalm, with the congregation singing through the verses rather than using the later practice of lining-out.[520] Parishes without the benefit of a sang schule to lead the singing would likely have had to engage in the untidy experience of learning the new material during the reader's service on a Sunday morning, and during catechising on Sunday afternoons. Various sources testify to

[518] See Appendix One.
[519] See photograph of the church layout in Volume Two, Fig.296.
[520] T. Duguid, *Sing a New Song*, 304.

the ability of congregations to learn Psalms by heart, encouraged in the local school and in the home. David Calderwood gave a particularly useful account of this:

> Nixt the people ar acquainted with the old metaphrase more than any book in scripture, zea, some can sing all, or the most pairt, without buik, and some that can not read, can sing some psalmes.[521]

The practice of learning the Psalms by heart, created a body of people for whom Psalm-singing was not simply a perfunctory exercise, in which they read the text from a book in a passive manner. Rather, the announcement of a particular Psalm, known by a congregation through regular engagement with it at home or at the Kirk, would have elicited a deeply embedded response, with the singer freed from the shackles of the printed word and able to get closer to the spiritual sense of the text. This is not an unrealistic suggestion in the context of a culture where orality was still far more significant than the printed word. As Tim Duguid has pointed out, 'with so many tunes that were well suited to their texts, Scots could readily learn and memorise the metrical psalm texts printed in their psalter.'[522] The people of Scotland in the period 1559-1617 still committed large items to memory as a natural part of their education, piety, and leisure. As James Melville had discovered and put into practice in his *A Spirituall Propine*, learning of texts was assisted by the use of an appropriate melody.[523] The existence of Psalm tunes as the musical theme for John Black's instrumental "Lessons," for use in teaching music and performance in the domestic environment, was a demonstration of how the tunes of the Psalter made their way into the cultural sphere outside of worship.[524] This can only have helped to make the tunes more familiar and to interweave religious threads of Psalmody into the cultural fabric. It may be asked whether congregations had many opportunities to sing Psalms in public worship. The rubrics within the Psalme Buiks indicated that two Psalms were sung, one before and one after the sermon during the preaching service. However, this does not take account of what may have been sung in the reader's service. In an anonymous 1644 tract, *The Platforme of the Presbyterian Government With The Forme of Church-Worship And The Particulars of the*

[521] D. Calderwood, 'Reasons against the reception of King James' metaphrase of the Psalms,' 238.
[522] *MSPP*, 104.
[523] J. Melville, *A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastovr to his People*, 'Epistle Dedicatorie;' For further discussion of James Melville's methods, see case study in Section Three, Chapter Two.
[524] K. Elliott and F. Rimmer, *A History of Scottish Music*, 32.

Manner and Order thereof: According to the Word of God, and Practice of our Brethren of The Church of Scotland, most likely produced by English Presbyterians in the context of the debate around the future worship and polity of the Church of England at the Westminster Assembly, there was a useful outline of the content of Scottish worship prior to 1644:

> The Pastor is bound to teach the Word of God, in season and out of season, and beside all occasionall and week-day Sermons, the Congregation ought to assemble twice on the Lords day; and for this end notice is to be given of the time by the sound of a Bell. When so many of all sorts, men and women, masters and servants, young and old, as shall meet together, are assembled, the publike Worship is to begin with prayer, and reading some portion of holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, which the people are to hear with attention and reverence; and after reading, ***the whole Congregation are to joyn in some Psalme***, ***which reading and singing is to continue till the Preaching begin***; at which time the Minister having prefaced a little for quickening and lifting up the hearts of the people, is first to make a prayer for remission of sin, sanctification, and all things needful, joyning also confession of sins, and thanksgiving, with special relation to the hearers: ***after which, in the forenoone is another Psalme***, and after the Psalme a prayer for a blessing upon the preaching of the Word. His Text is ordinarily some part of that Book of Canonicall Scripture, which in his judgement he conceiveth to be fittest for the times, and the condition of his flock. The Doctrine deduced is explaned and confirmed by Scripture, and fitly and faithfully applied in such method, manner and expression, as may most edifie the hearers.
>
> After Sermon, the Pastor praiseth God, and prayeth again for a blessing, with earnest Petitions for the Church Universall, and for the coming of the Kingdome of Christ, for all the afflicted Churches, for the Churches of the Kings Dominions, for the King, Queen, Prince and the whole Royall Progenie, for the Ministerie and People of this Kingdome, for all the members of that particular congregation, as well absent in their lawfull affaires, as present; for all that are afflicted

> amonst them, in body, minde, or meanes. ***The Prayer being ended, a Psalme is sung***, and the people dismissed with a blessing.[525]

On the basis of this account, which augments other evidence of worship practice that we have considered, at least four Psalms were sung in public worship each week, not taking into account those sung at afternoon catechising and worship, at midweek morning and evening prayers and preaching, or during special occasions such as a period of fasting.

Peter McCullough's essay 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?,' discussed the development of a musical aesthetic in the English Chapel Royal following the arrival of King James in 1603, encouraged by Lancelot Andrewes:

> The sophistication of Andrewes' synthesis of music and word may have been unique in the early seventeenth-century Church of England. But it was made possible by a peculiarly Jacobean ecclesiastical culture which seemed increasingly comfortable with church beautification, both architectural and musical – as long as that did not threaten the inherited Elizabethan commitment to the ministry of the word through preaching. Nowhere was this rapprochement more vividly on display than in King James' own Chapel Royal, which nurtured excellence in both pulpit and choir. But by the 1630s, Laudian hostility to evangelical preaching would destroy that brief Jacobean equilibrium.[526]

This description is an extremely useful counterpoint for our discussion of the Scottish context. McCullough described church beautification as something that was potentially in competition with the ministry of the Word and preaching. In Section One, it was shown that

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[525] *The Platforme of the Presbyterian Government With The Forme of Church-Worship And The Particulars of the Manner and Order thereof: According To The Word of God, and Practice of our Brethren of The Church of Scotland* (London, R. Austin, 1644), 5. Emphasis by the present author.

[526] P. McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?' in N. Mears and Alec Ryrie, eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013), 129.

the period after 1559 had seen a gradual move to decorate the arrangement of worship spaces around the requirements of the preached and sacramental Word. This was not in competition with, but supported the focus on the sacramental and preached Word. In terms of music, from the outset of the Scottish Reformed Kirk Psalm-singing was felt to be a core part of worship, rather than a competing embellishment. The prominence of the Psalter in relation to the rest of the contents of the Psalme Buik might suggest domination, with the Psalms seeming to swamp the liturgical texts that they are bound with in the Psalme Buik. However, the Psalms had a less obvious supporting presence at the heart of these texts, revealing how central they were felt to be in the life of the Kirk. Unlike the English *Book of Common Prayer*, the liturgical texts of *The Forme of Prayers* suggested particular Psalms for particular moments. The most substantial of these was the programme of Psalms to be used in *The Ordovre and Doctrine of the Generall Faste*, first published for the Kirk as a stand-alone item by Robert Lekpreuik in 1566. During the week of penitential worship and fasting, thirty different Psalms were specified to be read or sung. On the first Sunday, Psalm 51 (the classic pentitential Psalm) was sung at morning worship, followed by a sermon based on the beginning of Psalm 119 in the afternoon. At the end of this service, Psalm 6 was sung. Through the weekdays, morning and afternoon, a sequence of Psalms 2, 3, 10, 12, 13, 17, 25, 28, 36, 37, 40, 14, 49, 55, 57, 59, 61, 64, 68, 69, 70, 74, and 77 were to be read, with Psalm 78 and 80 used to conclude the fast.[527]

In the first chapter of this section it was noted that *The Ordovre of Excommvnicatiovn and of Pvblict Repentance* specified the singing of Psalm 103 following the welcoming of the reconciled penitent into the fellowship of the congregation. It was also specified in the liturgy for the Lord's Supper as a suitable Psalm of thanksgiving and praise to conclude the table fellowship of the Supper, or in the case of the draft communion liturgy of 1617-18, at the changeover between the tables.[528] As reconciliation of penitents with the rest of the community was attempted before the meal of reconciliation between the community and God in the Lord's Supper, the use of Psalm 103 in both of these rites would have given it a double resonance to the congregation.[529] The potency of this Psalm within the Reformed Kirk was further demonstrated by its use at deathbeds in the period, such as that of the ministers James Lawson and John Chalmers.[530] Within the marriage liturgy, Psalm 128 was designated for the ending, whilst Psalm 23 was set for the election of a Superintendent, revealing in liturgy the typically Knoxian motif of the leader as shepherd.[531] In terms of the

[527] *The Ordovre and Doctrine of the Generall Faste.*
[528] G. Donaldson, 'A Scottish Liturgy of James VI,' 111.
[529] *FOP,* 'The Maner of The Lord's Supper,' 92.
[530] T. Duguid, *Sing a New Song*, 290.
[531] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox*, 46.

experience of worship, these liturgically specified Psalms were guaranteed familiarity by repetition at these occasional events and revealed The Psalms as integral to the vision of Scottish Reformed worship in the period.

Conclusion: an ideological and spiritual landscape in song

The very nature of the Psalms made them ideal material to be the new song book of the Reformed churches of Europe. Gordon Rupp highlighted the centrality of the Psalms for Martin Luther and the tradition in which he was raised:

> It would be difficult to exaggerate what the Psalter – 'the Bible in minature' – meant to [Luther]. The Psalms were the first considerable part of the Bible which he got off by heart for use in cell and choir. Month by month the Divine offices moved through the Psalter with stately measure, touching the height and depth of every emotion, every mood and almost every human crisis. Now it was the poignant cry of Israel, ravished and discomforted, in exile among her foes; next the exultant joy that God's right arm had swept giant foes into oblivion; the long, backward glances down the corridors of the past, with their reminders against the folly and faithlessness of Israel, of the enduring faithfulness of God. The piteous complaint of the poor man, betrayed, defenceless, while the ungodly struts before him in insolence and pride; the shout of the crowds at some high festival; the impatience of the saints, beset by temptation and anguish; music and dancing, the noisy clamour of the temple courts, the silent eloquence of the little hills, the valleys thick with corn, the great sea, the sun and the stars, the ancient offering of a contrite heart, and through them all the solemn testimony to the transitory glory of this world, against the abiding Word of God.[532]

The Psalms were personal and corporate. They were the expression of direct connection with God and arose out of the experience of the people of Israel's ups and downs of fortune, in

[532] *Wisdom and Wit, An Anthology from the Writings of Gordon Rupp,* ed. J. Vickers (Peterborough, Methodist Publishing House, 1992), 23.

exile, return, defeat and apparent victory. Through apostasy and faithfulness, through seeing the actions of God against their adversaries and against themselves, for better or worse, this material would have resonated strongly with the English and Scots exiles in Europe and those living "underground" in the British Isles, particularly in the edited versions and new translations created by Whittingham and others. As Beth Quitslund has noted, these translations pointed up the notes of exile and oppression in their source material.[533] On their return the notes of restoration must have sounded strongly in their reading of their fortunes into Scripture, with the interpretive glosses from the Geneva Bible prefacing each Psalm.[534] As an encouragement to the keenest in the new Kirk, the Psalms must have been hugely comforting. Amidst the many setbacks in the attempts to "plant" Kirks in local areas recorded in the minutes of the General Assembly such as the difficulty of weaning people from the now illicit practices of visiting holy wells, taking part in religious plays such as the *Corpus Christi* play in Perth, frequenting places to which healing powers and divine agency were attributed, and the ever-present threat (imagined or real) of the return of a Roman Catholic order, the Psalms had their part to play.[535]

As a young eye-witness at St Andrews in 1570, James Melville recorded that the elderly John Knox 'causit sing commounlie the 44 and 79 Psalmes, quhilk I lernit *par ceur*, for that was the yeir of the bludie massacres in France, and grait troubles in this countrey.'[536] Use of these Psalms highlighted the adversarial flavour of the times, with the Roman Catholic Church and monarchy of France identified with the oppressive Gentile power that would eventually be overcome by the power of God. When metrical Psalms were sung at the return of Mary Queen of Scots in 1561 the style (and probably some of the tunes) may have been recognised by the French members of the court as an emblem of Protestantism displayed by the Huguenots. In this context, such material was loaded with ideology and challenge, even if it was not intended to convey it.[537] Likewise, Blackhall's five part arrangement of Psalm 43, 'Judge and revenge my cause,' which fused Morton's piety with his political agenda to crush the Hamiltons for their opposition to his Regency (whilst

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[533] B. Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603*, 155.

[534] In her article, 'Scotland and the Example of Geneva,' Jane Dawson has pointed out that the image of Moses parting the Red Sea used on the title page of the Geneva Bible 'demonstrated the central theme of God's deliverance of his persecuted people,' and therefore matched the thematic emphasis of the metrical Psalm translations.

[535] *PKSB*, 76-78.

[536] *ADJM*, 27.

[537] J. Reid Baxter, 'Metrical Psalmody and the Bannatyne Manuscript: Robert Pont's Psalm 83,' in *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30.4 (2006/7), 51.

echoing the use of the same Psalm on a banner produced for the battle of Carberry following the murder of Lord Darnley and in Robert Sempill's ballad following the murder of Regent Moray) was a grim reminder of the political ideology that could be coupled to sacred texts in febrile times.[538] When Robert Bruce preached his sermons on the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588 he used Psalm 76 as his text, which in its metrical form included the words:

> Thair did he brak the bowmens shafts
> Their fyrie dairts sae swift o' flicht;
> Thair shields, their swords, an' aa thair crafts
> O' weir, quhan thay war boon tae fecht.[539]

When the exiled minister of Edinburgh, John Durie, was welcomed back to Edinburgh in 1582, a huge crowd was reported to have sung Psalm 124 in four-part harmony in the Royal Mile. A song of deliverance from persecution, the Psalm included the words: [540]

> E'en as the bird
> Oot o' the Fowler's gin
> Escapes awa,
> Richt so it fares wi' us;
> Broke are thair nets,
> And wee hae scapit thus.
> God that made He'en, an' earth is oor help then;
> His Name hes sav't
> Us frae thay wickit men.

[538] J. Reid Baxter, 'Thomas Wode, Christopher Goodman and the Curious Death of Scottish Music,' 9; J. Reid Baxter, '"*Judge and Revenge My Cause*:" the Regent Morton, Andro Blackhall, Robert Sempill and the fall of the House of Hamilton in 1579,' in S. Mapstone, ed., *Older Scots Literature* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2005), 467-92.
[539] *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinburgh*, ed. W. Cunningham; T. Duguid, *Sing a New Song*, 290.
[540] *ADJM*, 134; D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. 8, 226.

At the conclusion of a fractious convention of the Kirk at Falkland in 1609, William Cowper attempted to overcome divisions concerning the King's developing Kirk policy by urging the singing of Psalm 133:[541]

> Och, hou happie a thing it is an' joyfu' for tae see,
> Brethreen thegidder faist tae haud, the baun o' amitie,
> It caas tae mynd that sweet perfume, an' that coastly ointment,
> Quhilk oan the Sacrificers heid, be Goad's precept was spent. [542]

The significance of Psalms as building blocks of faith, doctrine and the wider social and political fabric was apparent in the way in which preachers referenced them in their topical sermons. Patrick Galloway, preaching in front of the King at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, on Monday 11th August 1600, gave a discourse on Psalm 124 in light of the King's escape from the Gowrie Conspiracy, in which there was an explicit identification of King James with King David, assumed author of the Psalms. [543] Soon afterwards, at Glasgow on 31st August 1600, Galloway again preached on the subject of the Gowrie conspiracy, this time using Psalm 30 as his inspiration.[544] Around the same time, the burgh records of New Aberdeen laid out in great detail the festivities for the celebration of the King's deliverance, which included spending 'the rest of the day [following preaching] in all lauchfull and honest gladnes, and accompanie thair magistrattis throw the towne in singing of psalmes and praising of God.'[545]

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[541] *Ibid*., 780.
[542] *The CL Psalmes of David In Meter. With Prayers and Catechisme, according to the forme used in the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585), Psalm 133.
[543] P. Galloway, 'The Application of three several discourses delivered on occasion of the Gowrye Conspiracy, August, 1600,' in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol.1 (Edinburgh,1827), 141.
[544] P. Galloway, 'The Applicatioun of the XXX Psalme, prechit be Mr Patrik Galloway, the last of August, 1600, befoir His Majestie, in Glasgow,' in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1827), 153.
[545] *Extracts from the council register of the burgh of Aberdeen 1570-1625*, vol. 2, 221.

Such deployment of Psalms for polemical ends was a measure of how deeply embedded they had become in the life of the Kirk and the wider culture.[546] Congregational singing allied to striking melodies, often enriched by harmonised part singing, heightened their potency and made them essential building blocks in catechesis and liturgy. Their popularity boosted sales of the Psalme Buik and as a consequence placed additional prayers and liturgical material from *The Forme of Prayers* in the hands of a significant proportion of the population. As an emblem of the Kirk, the Psalme Buik was a potent symbol, but it was also a well used spiritual manual, a Reformed book of common worship which understood and channelled the potency of corporate song.

[546] In the domestic sphere, it was common to have verses of the Psalms painted on walls and ceilings of prosperous homes. See M. Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, 2003).

SECTION THREE

FOUR PARISH CASE STUDIES

Introduction

A key argument of this thesis is that the experience of worship is best explored in particular local contexts rather than in more general theoretical terms. This local evidence can be used to build a larger picture of the worship experience in Scotland, but always with the caveat of distinctive local details and variations between parishes. This chapter therefore seeks to explore four parishes: Salt-Preston, Anstruther/Kilrenny, Perth and Ayr. These have been chosen because they are all examples of communities where the Reformed paradigm of worship and discipline was developed at an early stage after 1559.

A crucial part of this local experience was the impact of the pastor on each congregation. Where a parish was fortunate enough to have its own minister in post, their personalities, intellects, preaching abilities and pastoral qualities impacted upon the experience of worship. Henrie Charteris' 'Address to the Reader' in his 1599 collection of Robert Rollock's sermons upon the Pauline Epistles highlighted the priority that early modern Scots placed upon the experience of preaching and the voice of the pastor, with printed sermons and tracts seen as unable to convey all of the qualities of a preached sermon:[547]

> And albeit it be true that in the letters we ar not able to express and schaw furth that quhilk was maist singular in him quuhill he vttered thir thingis be viue voce, zit in them we propose vnto zou his form that he keipit in public preching quhilk may serue to monie gude vsis...[548]

The task in each of these case studies will be to attempt to rediscover the "voice" of each minister in the context of the experience of worship in each congregation, with a particular emphasis on their life, character and pastoral practice. Biographical details, sermons,

[547] See Section Two, Chapter Two, 129-135 for further discussion of Henrie Charteris' part in the worship experience of the Reformed Kirk.

[548] *Certaine Sermons Vpon Severall Places of the Epistles of Pavl Preached be M. Robert Rollok, Minister of the Euangell of Iesus Christ at Edinbvrgh* (Edinburgh, Henrie Charteris, 1599, *STC* 21271), 'Address to the Reider.'

catechetical writings and any other publications will be examined alongside evidence of the material culture of worship in their parish churches.

The new "model" congregation of Salt-Preston [Prestonpans] in East Lothian was launched in 1596 under the ministry of John Davidson, who also published significant catechetical material and achieved the construction of one of the few completely new Reformed church buildings constructed before 1600. James Melville, nephew of the better known theologian and polemicist, Andrew Melville, was the pastor of a group of East Neuk of Fife parishes from 1586, including Anstruther Wester, Kilrenny, Pittenweem and Abercrombie, but succeeded in rationalising the finances of the parishes so that he completed his parish ministry as incumbent of only one: Kilrenny.[549] His pastoral writings were particularly illuminating, showing his concern for the teaching and care of his congregation. St John's Kirk in Perth enjoyed the services of two ministers after 1595 when William Cowper (later bishop of Galloway) arrived to work alongside John Malcom as collegiate minister. The session minutes recorded that in 1596 it was agreed that the parish should be divided between the ministers for the purposes of catechising.[550] The Perth session records are valuable survivors and combined with the extensive published devotional material by Cowper, give a flavour of the character of this pastor and the worship life of his congregation.[551] Finally, in the case of Ayr, a Reformed paradigm was developed quickly within the context of the converted medieval St John's burgh kirk.[552] Christopher Goodman and John Knox were both associated with the Ayr Parish before and soon after their return from Geneva, demonstrating the significance of this congregation as a seed-bed for the new Reformed Kirk. Kirk session records only survive from 1604, but they cover part of the ministry of the prolific writer and preacher, John Welch, prior to his imprisonment in Blackness Castle and eventual exile in France as a result of his association with the Aberdeen General Assembly of 1605.[553] However, earlier burgh records and accounts do survive, which testify to the early Reformed paradigm. Welch's large body of published

[549] *ADJM*, xiii.
[550] Transcriptions of excerpts from the Perth Kirk Session minutes, with comments by James Scott, Adv.Ms.31.1.1a, f.111, September 13th 1596.
[551] *PKSB*; *The Chronicle of Perth*: *A register of remarkable occurrences, chiefly connected with that city, from the year 1210 to 1668*, Maitland Club 10 (Edinburgh, 1831), 7.
[552] M. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation.*
[553] A.R. MacDonald, 'Welsh, John (1568/9–1622)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28979> [accessed 2 June, 2016].

sermons are particularly valuable when asking how he might have been experienced by his congregation.

Chapter One

JOHN DAVIDSON (c.1549-1604) AND THE CASE OF SALT-PRESTON[554]

After al whilk, I sometimes demand the children, and sometimes as it seemeth meete for edification, any man of the congregatio[n], how he can answere to some principall things, after sik easie manner as I thinke his capacity is able to understand: whairof (praised be God) baith I, and the party answering, many times receaues comfort, and the Kirk edification.[555]

Introduction

John Davidson has a justified reputation in the historiography of the Kirk as a fiercely confrontational idealist. From the perspective of his opponents amongst the supporters of the ecclesiastical policies of King James VI he was seen as a ranting ideologue, 'a man given to contention,' who was a danger to church and state.[556] Even amongst those who supported him, there were times at which his rhetoric was too much to handle, but he still gained a reputation as a hero.[557] However, his work as minister at Salt-Preston towards the end of his life revealed another side to his character: that of pastor and teacher. This section will ask what we can reconstruct of the character of the pastoral relationship between Davidson and his congregation when he was removed from the more prominent pulpits of Edinburgh, Liberton and Canongate, and was given the task of planting a new congregation in East Lothian.

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[554] J. Kirk, 'Davidson John (c.1549-1604)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7217> [accessed 24th June 2016].

[555] J. Davidson, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers in Christianity* (Edinburgh, Waldegrave, 1602, *STC* 6324.5).

[556] J. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland, beginning the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the reign of King James VI*, 3 vols., ed. M. Napier and M. Russell, Spottiswoode Society (Edinburgh, 1851), vol. 3, 71.

[557] Calderwood reported that David Fergusson feared that Davidson would go too far in criticising the King in 1583. D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, vol. 4, 623-4.

Biography

Just as James Melville was linked to the first generation of Reforming figures in Angus and the Mearns, John Davidson grew up under the influence of the parish minister of Dunfermline in Fife, David Ferguson, one of the first generation of Reformed ministers.[558] Davidson was raised in a situation of some prosperity and privilege in Dunfermline and matriculated at St Leonard's College in St Andrews in 1566. His studies there were likely to have been in the standard Arts and Philosophy curriculum. However, Charles Rogers noted that following his graduation, 'he prosecuted in private the study of theology,' presumably imbibing an atmosphere of theological enquiry encompassing all three of the St Andrews colleges of St Salvator, St Leonard and St Mary.[559] From 1570 he continued to work at St Leonard's as a Regent. As well as teaching the young James Melville, he was closely associated with the elderly John Knox, who according to Melville's *Autobiography and Diary* attended Davidson's play, which was created and presented for the marriage of one Johne Colvin in 1571. This play, in which 'the Castle of Edinbruche was besieged, takin, and the Captan, with an or twa with him, hangit in effigie' was rather grim polemical subject matter, reflecting the period of its creation. [560] For Knox and others, the loss of friends such as George Wishart and those persecuted by the Marian regime in England desensitised them to the horror of this kind of entertainment. This was personal.[561] Following the death of Knox in 1572, Davidson paid tribute to him in the poem *Ane Breif Commendatioun of Vprichtness*. Its printing by Robert Lekpreuik in 1573 was testimony to Davidson's standing amongst the influential figures of the Reforming network.[562] This status was further highlighted by the refuge provided in Ayrshire by Robert and Elizabeth Campbell of Kinyeancleugh following the furore stirred up by his 1574 verse tract *Ane Dialogue or Mutuall Talking Betuix a Clerk and ane Courteour Concerning Foure Parische Kirks till ane Minister*, which had challenged the Regent Morton's policy of rationalising the finances of

[558] The Bannatyne Club edition of David Fergusson's sermons includes a poem by Davidson in praise of Fergusson. *Tracts by David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, MDLXIII – MDLXXII*, ed. J. Lee, Bannatyne Club 113 (Edinburgh, 1860).
[559] *C. Rodgers, Three Scottish Reformers* (London, English Reprint Society, 1874), 32; Ernest Holloway has described the curricula in the St Andrews Colleges as very similar during the 1560s and 1570s in E. R. Holloway III, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland 1545-1622* (Leiden, Brill, 2011), 56-57.
[560] *ADJM,* 65.
[561] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox*, 299.
[562] J. Davidson, *Ane Breif Commendatiovn of Vprichtness* (St Andrews, Lekprevik, 1573, *STC* 6321).

the Kirk by uniting of multiple Benefices under one minister.[563] Davidson paid tribute to the Campbells in his poem *A Memorial of the Life and Death of Two Worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of Kyneancleugh and his Wife Elizabeth Campbell*.[564] As a result of Davidson's continuing fall from favour, the Campbells then arranged for his safe passage to lodge with Christopher Goodman at Chester.[565]

Davidson's developing reputation as a troublemaker led to a more discreet period of study at the University of Basel from around 1575 followed by time spent in England.[566] Once again, he proved to be too hot to handle, and was banished from England due to his fiery rhetoric.[567] On his return to Scotland, he became minister of the significant parish of Liberton to the South of Edinburgh, where he continued to combine parish duties with prominent involvement in the national affairs of the Kirk. Further notoriety was gained when at Sunday worship in Liberton Kirk on 10th June 1582 he pronounced the sentence of excommunication on Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, who had controversially been appointed Archbishop of Glasgow.[568] In the context of the failure of the Ruthven Raid of 1584, Davidson joined a range of political refugee ministers and nobles in Newcastle and both here and in his subsequent time spent in London was part of the continuing formation of the identity of the group of ministers who were loyal to the crown but increasingly resistant to developments in the church.[569] James Kirk noted that Davidson was probably back in Scotland by 1589, although his influence and activity in England at this time was significant, including the publication of a catechetical work *A Short Christian instruction* in 1588.[570] The discreet use of his initials rather than full name in the attribution is likely due to his reputation as a trouble-maker, while its publication by Waldegrave ties in with the imprint of Davidson's later material. The 'Epistle Dedicatory' reveals that he wrote the work

[563] J. Kirk, 'Davidson John (c.1549-1604).'
[564] J. Davidson, *A memorial of the life [et] death of two vvorthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel In English meter* (Edinburgh, Waldegrave, 1595, *STC* 6324).
[565] I am grateful to Professor Jane Dawson for highlighting this period of Davidson's life.
[566] J. Kirk, 'Davidson John (c.1549-1604).'
[567] *Ibid*.
[568] C. Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers*, 35.
[569] An attempt by a segment of the Scottish nobility to gain control over the young King James VI.
[570] J. Davidson*, A Short Christian instruction: Made first for the use of a private familie, and nowe communicated by the author, to other flockes and families, where it pleased God, to use his weake labours in the work of the Ministerie* (London, Waldegrave, 1588, *STC* 6173).

as a tribute to a community in which he was resident and as a parting gift that would allow his teaching to be harnessed in future.[571] The very fact of commercial publication suggests that his work was received with enthusiasm, whilst the catechism was a forerunner of his fuller 1602 publication *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*.[572] It is notable that both of these works were produced at the end of a period of pastoral engagement - first in the case of his time in London and second, following six years at Salt-Preston. The motivation in each situation seems to have been to leave a resource behind for future edification of these communities and a wider public.[573]

Davidson's notoriety in challenging authority continued with a 1590 tract directed at Richard Bancroft (future Archbishop of Canterbury, whose infamous sermon at Paul's Cross against presbyterian polity had caused a diplomatic incident) and successive attempts to challenge the King via the General Assembly over the policy of including ministers as members of the Scottish Parliament.[574] Davidson continued to be directly involved in challenges to the policies and person of the Crown through the 1590s. His health began to fail him around 1601 when he was warded at his manse and yard at Salt-Preston by royal decree. He died in 1604 remaining a defiant challenger to the Crown, albeit one who consistently offered qualified loyalty to a "Godly" monarch.

[571] It is interesting to consider whether the work may have been linked to a community which included the Antonie Martine referred to in the letter of 6th November, 1585, written by a group of Scottish ministers in Stirling to 'Mr James Carmichael, Mr John Davidson, Mr James Melvil, and the rest of the Scottish sojourners there, give these at London, in Honie Lane, in Mr Antonie Martine's House.' Quoted in C. Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers*, 36, citing R. Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of Scotland*, ed. W.J. Duncan, Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1834), vol. 1, 182.
[572] J. Davidson, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers.*
[573] *Ibid*., introduction.
[574] J. Davidson, *D. Bancrofts rashnes in rayling against the Church of Scotland noted in an answere to a letter of a worthy person of England, and some reasons rendred, why the answere thereunto hath not hitherto come foorth. By I.D. a brother of the sayd Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Waldegrave, 1590, *STC* 6322).

Pastor at Salt-Preston

It was ironic that Davidson's most significant period of pastoral work was initiated by going beyond the limits of acceptable challenge to the crown. Had he been a more discreet figure, we may never have benefited from the insights of his final and pioneering pastoral ministry. Being sidelined from the pulpits of Edinburgh and Canongate led to a proposal to deploy him as minister to the village of Salt-Preston in coastal East Lothian, to which he agreed provided that the community there would clearly call him to the work of pastor. He preached on 16th November and 17th December 1595, before accepting the call and preaching for the first time as minister on 5th January, 1596.[575]

The medieval chapels at Salt-Preston had fallen victim to the depredations of the English invasion of 1544, and consequently parishioners had to walk to another local church at Tranent.[576] Although this is not a great distance, the thriving coal and salt producing community of Salt-Preston (and the Synod of Lothian) saw it as deserving of a new church and minister.[577] Davidson could be said not only to be "luxury casting," but his commitment to the parish was demonstrated by his willingness to build a church, manse and school and to provide an endowment, all paid for from his family inheritance.[578]

Davidson noted that he first preached for the congregation at Salt-Preston on 16th November 1595. His strategy for catechesis was outlined in the 'Epistle Dedicatory' to *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*, and is a window into the relationship between pastor and people.[579] Davidson's model can be said to be consistent with what will be observed in the work of James Melville, William Cowper and John Welch. It is significant that *Some Helpes for Young Schollers* contains a shorter catechism which is prefaced by a 1599 endorsement from Synod Clerk Richarde Thomeson in the name of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale.

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[575] R.M. Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans: Reformer, Preacher and Poet in the Generation after Knox* (London, James Clarke & Co., 1936), 135.
[576] M.F. Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans*, 132.
[577] There were some parallels here with between Anstruther Wester, Bothkennar and Burntisland in respect of the scale of the towns, the trading environments and church development.
[578] M.F. Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans*, 47.
[579] J. Davidson, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*, 'Epistle Dedicatory.'

Davidson noted that he saw the creation of this work as a contribution to the growing repertoire of teaching material available to the Kirk:

> This is not to prejudge the labours of anye godly learned brethren, nor to make any prescription[n] unto them who followe the learned Catechismes made either by them selves, or any uther godly learned man: but onely for the edification of our own people, whome we have trained up after this manner, as maist meit in our judgement for their capacity, according to the approbation of our Provinciall assembly of Lowthiane, by their act made thairanent. The tenour whereof is heirafter set downe. And as wee in the meane time are to use the godlie Catechismes of uthers, as wee may profite thereby, and to reject and contemne none: so gif anye Christians can reape any profite by this, we offer it to their discretion….[580]

The Presbytery of Haddington noted their commissioning of prayers from Davidson as part of a drive to introduce a new model of piety in the Presbytery:

> The hail gentlemen being required to reform their houses and use prayers at morn and evening, with reading of the Scriptures after dinner and supper, promised to obey; and for execution thereof every minister was ordered to visit their houses and see whether it was so or not; and for behoof of the unlearned Mr John Davidson was ordained to pen short morning and evening prayers, with graces before and after meat, to be communicated to each minister for behoof of his flock.[581]

[580] *Ibid*., introduction to 'The Ordinary Catechism.'
[581] M.F. Gillon, *John Davidson of Prestonpans*, 41, Citing Presbytery of Haddington Minutes, 10th March, 1595-6.

Davidson's work took place in a wider context of development within the Presbytery, and his creativity as a composer of liturgical and catechetical material had an impact on congregational life beyond Salt-Preston.

A manual for Salt-Preston, and the Kirk

Some Helpes for Young Schollers tells us a lot about the way in which Davidson approached the work of replanting a congregation. This substantial publication contained a number of components. It began with an 'Epistle Dedicatory,' followed by a form of instruction used prior to the communion season in which each of four sections included a statement of doctrine followed by a question and answer model. Then came what was termed 'The Ordinary Catechism, as it is taught in the newe Kirk of Salt-Preston Every Saboth Day.' This was a shorter work with a question and answer model, designed to be used as a public teaching tool at afternoon catechism in the Kirk. Finally, some prayers for before and after meals, The Ten Commandments and settings of Psalm 130 and 117 (with printed music) were included.

Addressing these sections in order, the 'Epistle Dedicatory' gave a very clear insight into the rationale of the writer:

> If the often repetitions following, to any man seeme tedious & superfluous, let him consider that here wee have to doe but with rude beginners, that are wained from the milk (as it were) & drawen from the breasts, to whome as to childre[n] beginning to learn, precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept, line unto line, line unto line &c whilk craves painful labour of the teachers, with greate plainnesse, (which is not so common perhappes in this our Church and country as neede were)……..[582]

These comments illuminate the ideals and challenges of the Reformed Kirk. The kind of theological education that was the aim at parish level required an intensive degree of implementation. Given the question of literacy, ability to purchase printed texts and

[582] J. Davidson, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*, 'To the Reader.'

variable local success in ensuring attendance and home study hinted at in the works of Cowper and Welsh, Davidson's final remark in this quotation must surely be taken to accurately reflect the variable achievement of these ideals across Scotland. However, this did not mean that Davidson was unsuccessful in his aims at Salt-Preston. The following 'Epistle Dedicatory' was addressed 'To his loving flock of Salt-Preston who by the preaching of the Gospel, believe and turne to the Lorde.' This address unfolds into a narrative of his time and strategy with a localised character, in which he makes an explicit parallel between the people of Israel around Lake Galilee in the time of Jesus and his own congregation as 'a people by the sea-coaste, long sitting in no lesse darknesse, then did they of Galilee.' Such parallelism between the people of Israel and the "new Israel" of Scotland chimes with the popular use of the metrical version of Psalm 124. Whilst likely overstating his congregation's response when he said 'as the Apostle speaketh of the Galathians, I beare you record that if it had beene possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes & given them to me,' there were signs of popular endorsement. Certainly his following remark that 'Though nowe and then to some I be-come an enemie for speaking of the trueth' was surely an understatement when considering the entire spectrum of his life and work. Davidson concluded with a note regarding his methods in which he 'For the better keeping in memorie whereof, I have thought good to put them in writ in divers formes, and set them to printing for your use as ye see, that nothing bee wanting that maye further the sounde grounding of you according to your meane capacitie….' At the close of the Catechism, Davidson noted the method. The doctrine was to be read and 'a short & summar repetition made thereof againe, we proceede to the Examination accordinglie.'

'The Ordinary Catechism' which followed in this volume was described as 'taught in the newe erected Kirk of Salt-Preston every Saboth day.' The introduction to this text described in some detail how it was used in weekly segments, and therefore the entire contents are covered in the course of each month. The children of the local school were appointed to undertake the question and answer format 'by cuples, demanding and answering ane another before the people, as by the Catechisme they are led, after that I have read and opened a fit and convenient place of Scripture, according to the part for the day.' However, this was not simply catechising for children, as he went on to describe how he 'somes as it seemeth meete for edification, any man of the congregatio[n] how he can answere to some principall things, after sik easie manner as I thinke his capactity is able to understand: whairof (praised be God) baith I, and the party answering, maby times receaves comfort, and the Kirk edification.' A key point here is Davidson's compassionate modulation of his questioning to accommodate different levels of learning, a characteristic which must have

endeared him to his congregation. The Catechism is in compact question and answer format between the 'Teacher' and the 'Disciple,' and his description of its use suggests a kind of liturgical role play.

At the close of the work, Davidson commented on the prayers which he included for before and after meals. He sharply addressed those who apparently disapproved of composed prayers being used before meals. According to Davidson they prefer to be 'swashing downe to the table like swine and starting up like Dogs when they are filled: thinking the true praising of God (namely at Table) to bee but Monkish hypocrisie, a Popish ceremonie, or loste time.' Such a sharp address was reminiscent of the rubric following the Lord's Supper in *The Forme of Prayers*, which was similarly designed to underline the differences between it and the Mass.[583]

Davidson's originality as a creator of new material for worship was revealed at the end of *Some Helpes for Young Schollers.* Here we find the settings of Psalms 130 and 117. Kenneth Elliott's research has revealed that the metrical text of Psalm 130 is not to be found in any other Psalter, English or Scottish, and is therefore very likely to be from Davidson's own pen. The music that accompanies this is similarly not from any other identifiable source, so Elliott suggested that on various musical grounds, the four part setting of the Psalm is likely by Andrew Blackhall, musician and composer minister of the adjacent parish of Inveresk. The text of Psalm 117 has been identified as from the 1562 English Psalter whilst the tune first appeared in the 1615 Psalter known as *London Tune*. Elliott considered it very likely that Blackhall composed this tune and edited the Common Tunes which appeared in the 1615 Scottish Psalter.[584] All of this is suggestive of an interesting degree of collaboration between parish ministers and the significant place of music in the catechising and worship of the Kirk. Here was a local parish minister seeking to use music as a means to extend the repertoire of teaching methods at his disposal in a similar way to that of James Melville.

Finally, a word about the approach of Davidson to the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. His catechisms reveal a close affinity to the preaching of Robert Bruce on the subject of sacramental symbolism:

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[583] *FOP,* rubric for the Lord's Supper.

[584] K. Elliott, 'Some Helpes for Young Schollers.'

Q. What is joyned with the preaching of the worde in the Ministerie, for your farther strengthening in this Faith?

Ye sall answere,

A. The twa sacramentis of Baptisme and the Lords Supper.

Q.What are the Sacraments?

Ye sall say,

A. They are actions co[m]manded by Christ to be minstred in the kirk, in the ministration[n] of visible signs joyned with the preaching of the word offering Christ Jesus crucified onely for salvation to the rest of the senses, that the word preached does to the eares and hearing.

This stress on the work of the sacraments as somehow connecting with senses other than those deployed in the hearing of the Word preached were in harmony with what Bruce proposed:

> The Word leads us to Christ be the ear: the Sacraments leads us to Christ by the eie. Twa senses of al the rest quhilk God has chosen, as maist meete for this purpose to instruct us, and bring us to Christ. For that doctrine mann be maist effectuall and mouing that walkens and steirs up moniest of the outwards senses; that doctrine that walkens not onely the eare, bot the eye, the taist, the feeling, and all the rest of the outwarde senses, mann move the hart maist, mann be maist effectual and pearcing in the saul: Bot sa it is, that this doctrine of the sacraments mouis, steirs up, and walkins moniest of the outward senses; therefore it mann be (gif we cum weil prepared to it) maist effectual to steir up the inward senses of the dull hart.[585]

[585] R. Bruce, *Sermons upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh be M. Robert Bruce, Minister of Christes Euangel there: at the time of the celebration of the Supper, as they were receaued from his mouth* (Edinburgh, Waldegrave, 1591, *STC* 3923), Sermon One.

The emphasis here on the sensory dimension of the Sacraments, combined with Bruce's emphasis on the effectiveness and power of the Sacrament being linked to the degree of preparation of the participant, was very similar to what Davidson advanced in his Catechism. On this basis, it could be said that Bruce's perspective was not unique and that these works reflected the importance and potency of the liturgical expression of the Sacraments in the Reformed Kirk.

Davidson continued with the Sacrament of Baptism:

> Q: When I sall aske what is the signe in Baptisme, and what are the signes of the Lords Supper? Ye sall answere,
>
> A: Water in Baptisme, the bread and wine in the Lords Supper.
>
> Q: What signifies the signes? Ye sall say,
>
> A: They both signifie and truly offer Christ crucified to the receavers for salvation. The water applied, setting out the washing away of our sinnes by the bludeshed of Christ and the bread and the wine the continual feeding and nourishment of our saules by this death to life everlasting.
>
> Q: When ye salbe asked, do the sacraments mair really and powerfully communicate Christ crucified unto us than the Word preached? Ye sall say,
>
> A: Not, but more sensibly.
>
> Q: Last, when I shall demand, doth any sacrament more effectually communicate Christ crucified unto us, than another, or any signe more than another? Ye sall say,
>
> A: No: and therefore the bread in the Lords Supper, is no more transubstantiate into Christ his body the[n] is the water in Baptisme, and the cupe or the wine in the Supper into the new testament, or blood of Christ. Finally, all this communication of Christ by Faith into the Sacraments, is mere spiritual, and supernaturall. Sa that thereby Christ is not corporally and locally brought out of heaven (whilk must needs containe him, and his bodily presence to the last day) to bee in the place of the elements, or to be included within them. But contrarily, by the use of the elementes, our hearts

> are convoyed and carried, to the livelye consideration of his death and resurrection, and from thence to heaven, (where he sits at the right hand of God) to feed upon him by faith, to life everlasting, whilk is the verye washing of our sinnes, [.....] eating of his body & drinking of his blude.[586]

Here we find a reminder that a sharp distinction was drawn between Reformed Sacraments and those of the pre-1560 Scottish Church. Despite the continuities of symbolic interpretation, so expertly highlighted by Stephen M. Holmes in *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland*, the Reformed Kirk stressed continuity in some respects but not in others. The vehement denial of transubstantiation was a marker of how difficult it was to enforce Sacramental thought that attempted to affirm a sensory and tangible dimension to the presence of God in these rites, without falling into empirical understandings of the Sacramental materials of water, bread and wine. In many ways it would have been easier to advocate a Zwinglian understanding of the Sacraments, but the Scottish Reformers held to a Calvinist line which identified a real presence in the gathered body of the congregation, and stressed their ascent towards God in the actions of the Supper.

The Place of Worship at Salt-Preston

In Section One we explored the lost interiors of the buildings of the early Reformed Kirk. Salt-Preston offers only tantalising glimpses of what Davidson's church was like, as parts of the 1596 church survive in the current church building. MacGibbon and Ross suggested that at least part of the tower was a survival from the medieval church, with later additions at the bell stage and spire.[587] The body of the kirk was replaced in 1774, but two aisles survived on the south side and were recorded by MacGibbon and Ross in 1892, although the westernmost has since been demolished. Although neither of these aisles look to have been part of the 1596 building project, they are consistent with the construction of lofts and aisles for local lairds, and their location seems to indicate that the original pulpit was situated on the north side. It is very likely that the church was fitted out with pews and lofts at an early stage in common with other kirks of the period. Although we have little direct evidence, MacGibbon and Ross also featured a heraldic panel dated 1604, which was discovered during renovations to the church in 1891 and 'formed the back of a seat in the

[586] J. Davidson, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*.
[587] D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol.5, 171-3.

gallery, and was concealed by a green cloth.' They noted that 'the panel is of oak and in good preservation, except where cut away to make it fit its new position, and the colours are still rich and fresh.'[588] The form of the panelling makes it very likely that this was part of a gallery or pew located in a prominent place within the kirk, adding to our earlier evidence of coloured and carved decoration within early Reformed church interiors in Scotland. As this is the only survival from the interior furnishings, it is at least a possibility that there were further timber desks and lofts that may have formed part of a larger scheme. The fragments of pews at Pencaitland give an idea of what the Salt-Preston interior may have looked like.[589] It would seem that notwithstanding Davidson's radical Presbyterian position on polity, non-figurative carved wood and coloured decoration was acceptable in his "model" church.

Conclusion

John Davidson's model church and congregation at Salt-Preston represented an early example of a new building and a bespoke programme of catechising which was made available to the wider church through the publication of *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*. Davidson's introductions in this volume spoke clearly of his method and nurturing attitude towards his congregation. His creation of at least two metrical Psalm editions, with commissioned music from Andrew Blackhall, show that in common with James Melville, Davidson was inclined towards using literary and musical arts as vehicles for teaching and spiritual growth. His approach to the Sacraments revealed strong affinities with his contemporary, Robert Bruce, and a network of Scottish Reformed ministers who held an elevated view of "real presence" in the Lord's Supper. The church building embodied the classic early Reformed Scottish combination of continuity with the pre-Reformation place of worship and adaptation for the new worship culture, including elements of carved timber, coloured heraldry and non-figurative decoration on pews and lofts. Davidson has an indisputable reputation in the history of Scotland as a fearless and some might say obsessional challenger of the encroachments of the monarch on the church. This aspect of his career has overshadowed his pastoral achievements at Salt-Preston and their wider impact on the Kirk.

[588] *EAS,* vol. 3, 602-4.
[589] See images of Pencaitland Kirk woodwork in Volume Two, Figs.91-94.

Chapter Two

JAMES MELVILLE (1556-1614) AND HIS EAST NEUK OF FIFE PARISHES

And the dayly wish of my heart is for the effectual working of the quickening spirit of Christ in all your hearts.[590]

Biography

James Melville was one of the most prominent of the second-generation ministers of the Kirk. Following years in the shadow of his uncle, Andrew Melville, his currency has risen thanks to the advocacy of historians such as Jamie Reid Baxter and John McCallum, who have highlighted his influence, contemporary reputation, and the quality of his poetic and pastoral writing.[591] In addition, recent historiography has revised the polemical received opinion of Andrew Melville, finding his legendary status to have been formed by early demonization at the pen of Archbishop Spottiswoode, who characterised him as the guru of a wayward and rebellious party of Presbyterian extremists in the Kirk, in contrast to the more positive account given by David Calderwood and John Row.[592] Melville's iconic status was then revived and transformed by the Protestant historiography of Thomas McCrie in the nineteenth-century. Both sides of the argument held up Melville as either hero or villain, creating a composite legend, free to be loved or loathed depending upon your ecclesiastical preferences.[593] It may be said that Andrew's status has been downgraded from that of

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[590] J. Melville, *A Spirituall Propine of a Pastour to his People* and *A Morning Vision: or Poeme for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith and Repentance: Wherein the Lordes Prayer, Beleefe, and Commands and sa the Whole Catechisme, and right use thereof, is largely exponed,* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1598, *STC* 17816), 'Epistle Dedicatory.'

[591] J. Reid Baxter, 'James Melville and the "Releife of the long soule:" A Scottish Presbyterian Song of Songs,' in R.F. Glei, M. Goth and N. Tomaszewski, eds., *Medievalia et Humanistica 41: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 211-230; J. McCallum 'Sone and Servant:' Andrew Melville and his Nephew, James,' in R.A. Mason and S. Reid, eds., *Andrew Melville (1545-1622),* 201-214.

[592] For a discussion of the construction of the Melville legend see C. Erskine, 'The Making of Andrew Melville' in R.A. Mason and S. Reid, eds., *Andrew Melville (1542-1622),* 215-234.

[593] R.A. Mason and S. Reid, eds., *Andrew Melville (1545-1622)* was a landmark publication of essays re-evaluating the work and legend of Andrew Melville; A.R. MacDonald, *The*

"lynchpin" to "leading figure" of the Kirk, with the new perspectives allowing James Melville to take his rightful place as one of the most pastorally sensitive and influential ministers of his generation. His extensive *Autobiography and Diary* make him one of the most significant primary witnesses to matters of late sixteenth-century life in the domestic, religious and political spheres. Above all, James emerged in his diary as a well-rounded human being and dedicated Pastor. This remarkable work, only published in printed form in 1842, is a crucial source of evidence of his manifesto for ministry in his East Neuk of Fife parishes. When his central place and influence within the clerical networks of the national Kirk is considered, James Melville can be proposed to have been an influential role model for the early Reformed Kirk and this influence opens up vistas onto the wider Scottish experience of worship, as well as that of his own parishes.[594]

Montrose: the catalyst for Melville's piety

Melville grew up in humble circumstances in Baldovie, a landward settlement near the east coast burgh of Montrose. His father was a minor laird (and friend of John Erskine of Dun) who became a minister at nearby Maryton in the first wave of the Reformed Kirk. Although he seems to have discouraged his son from pursuing a ministerial career, the young James appears to have found much to stimulate him spiritually in school and kirk. James completed a curriculum including religious education, music, Latin and classics and described the regular public worship as a particularly formative experience:

> The Minister was able to teatche na ofter but annes in the ouk; but haid a godlie honest man reidar, wha read the Scripture distinctlie, and with a religious and devot feeling; whereby I fand my self movit to giff guide are, and lern the Stories of Scripture, also to tak pleasure in the Psalmes, quhilk he had almost all by hart, in prose. The Lard of Done, mentioned befor, dwelt oft in the town, and of his charitie interteined a blind man, wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our school teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thairof, and sing tham in the kirk be heiring of whome I was sa

Jacobean Kirk was an important earlier work which helped to challenge the idea of a 'Melvillian Party' around Andrew Melville.

[594] *APGA*, 903. The Sederunt to the General Assembly on 4th August, 1590, demonstrated who James Melville's peers were in the Kirk.

> delyted, that I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones thairof in miter, quhilk I haiff thought eer sen syne a grait blessing and comfort. [595]

This early schooling was followed by university education in St Leonard's College in St Andrews.[596] During this time he heard the preaching of the elderly John Knox and noted his teaching on the Prophecy of Daniel. Melville's account gives us an idea of the intensity of Knox's preaching despite advanced age and frailty:

> Lifted upe to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie; bot or he haid done with his sermon, he was sa active and vigorous that he was lyk to ding that pulpit in blads, and fly out of it![597]

If there is anything approaching "Apostolic Succession" in the Reformed Kirk, then St Andrews could be said to have been part of it. Melville's experience of and contact with Knox is in common with the slightly older John Davidson (1549-1604), who studied and subsequently taught in St Leonard's College until 1579. Melville described Davidson as having been 'my Maister in St Androis, and a man of authoritie in the Word and Spreit of God'[598] during his period of study at St Leonard's College from 1570. In turn, Melville's time as teacher of Hebrew grammar at St Mary's College from 1580-1586 under his uncle's regime as Principal, saw Robert Bruce (1554-1631) in training for the ministry from 1581. William Cowper enrolled at St Leonard's, graduating in 1583. Add to this the strong relationship between Bruce and John Welch (who married John Knox's daughter Elizabeth) and we can see a microcosm of the relationships between the first generation of Reformed clergy and laity and the growing second generation network which was to become highly influential in the development of the Reformed Kirk.[599]

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[595] *ADJM*, 16, 22.
[596] *Ibid*., 147.
[597] *Ibid*., 33.
[598] *Ibid*., 172.
[599] *Ibid*., 147. Melville noted that he found great comfort in the company of Robert Bruce and Robert Durie and studied with them once a week. This is not to mention the influence of the Melvilles upon students at the University of Glasgow.

Melville also gave testimony to the popular outpouring of grief at the assassination of 'James, Earl of Murro called the Guid Regent' as he recalled this news being received in 1570. A further useful marker of his 'eye witness' testimony to popular consciousness is heard in his comments about the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of Huguenots in 1572 which reflected the widespread fear of the return of absolute monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church order to the British Isles.[600]

His trajectory of University work perhaps hides the fact that James had been approached with a call to be minister in the parish of Stirling in 1582, but Andrew Melville influenced his decision to turn down the position.[601] He later noted in his diary that he was 'mightelie tempted to haiff abandonet this ministrie of kilrynnie, and yeildit to maist ernest callings in uther places; for Edinburgh, Sterling, Dundie, and St Androis also, haid divers tymes ernestlie dealth with me.'[602] Clearly numerous parishes saw the excellent qualities of James Melville.

In 1584 James and Andrew fled into exile in northern England as a result of the "Black Acts" which emphasised royal control and the place of bishops in the apparatus of church and state. Spending time with the nobles and ministers who formed a close-knit refugee community in Newcastle upon Tyne, Melville developed a kind of ideal worship regime including four sermons in the week, two on Sundays and one on Wednesdays and Fridays. It is interesting to note that Melville recommended that on the Sabbath 'the haill exercise sall nocht pas the space of ane houre and a half.' Weekday sermons were to begin at 10am and end by 11am. He noted that 'Ther salbe daylie Comoun Prayers twyse everie day, before noone at ten houres, and efter at foure, at quhilk tyme a Psalme salbe read and handlit, sa that the soum thairof be schortlie gathered, the partes sett doun in ordour, and some schort notes of doctrine, with exhortation bot in sic schortnes, that the hail tyme occupied exceed nocht the space of an half houre.' We see here a degree of recognition of attention spans and the limitations of even the most effective communication skills.[603] At mealtimes, he proposed that someone should read aloud from the Bible followed by a short element of

[600] *ADJM*, 27.
[601] J. Kirk, 'Melville, James (1556–1614)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18547> [accessed 21 June 2016].
[602] *ADJM*, 6.
[603] *Ibid*., 181.

interpretation, then the singing of a 'Psalme, or reasonable section thairof, being lang.'[604] Weekly abstinence, fasting and prayer were to be carried out according to the *Order of the General Fast* and further exercises in prayer and study were followed by an instruction that 'for the quhilk it is necessary that everie an, that can reid, haiff a Byble and Psalme Buik.'[605] Perhaps this ideal order for the committed "Godly" refugees represented something of the vision of *The First Book of Discipline* and the reality on the ground in parishes such as Anstruther and Kilrenny. McCallum noted that during the ministry of William Clerk, Anstruther Wester had a Tuesday sermon as well as Sunday preaching by 1575, and by 1590 the Sunday programme comprised 9am-11am worship (potentially including a reader's service), an afternoon service for the teaching of doctrine from 1-3pm, and a regime of catechising for the rest of the day.[606] Beyond the incumbency of Melville, weekday prayers were recorded as taking place at Anstruther in 1604, and preaching three times per week was to be undertaken by minister George Dewar in 1631.[607] The publication in 1598 of Melville's *A Spirituall Propine* was the culmination of a period of practice and reflection on what did and did not work in the local parish.[608]

Returning to Scotland in 1586, Melville chose to leave his university position and become a full-time parish minister at the linked parishes of Abercrombie, Anstruther Wester, Pittenweem and Kilrenny. Over the next two years James worked to develop the finances of these parishes towards appointing a dedicated pastor in each. Unlike John Davidson, who appears to have been able to devote considerable family wealth to the construction of kirk and manse in Prestonpans, he endured considerable financial hardship in the process, resigning Anstruther Wester in 1588 and finally became minister of the single parish of Kilrenny in 1590.[609] The kirk session minutes of Anstruther Wester from October 6th 1590 recorded the sadness of this congregation at his departure:

> Mr James Melvill took his guid nycht from this congregatioun the said moneth of October 1590 yeiris, and took him to Kylrynnie to be their minister, God forgif him that did sa! For I know and saw him promes that he

[604] *Ibid*., 182.
[605] *Ibid*., 183.
[606] J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish*, 75.
[607] *Ibid*., 76 citing CH2/624/2 pp 67, 72, 54.
[608] J. Melville, *A Spirituall Propine*.
[609] *ADJM*, x, 6.

> suld never laif us for any warldlie respect, sa lang he lyvit, except he war forssit be the Kirk and his Majestie; bot, nevir being forsit aither be Kirk or his Majestie, leift us.[610]

To generate such a feeling of loss in the space of four years was a testimony to his qualities as a man and pastor.

Although his personality seems to have been rather less confrontational than that of the conventional image of his uncle, James was eventually seen by King James as an influential obstacle to his plans for development of worship and polity in the Kirk.[611] He was "invited" to London along with his uncle and a number of other influential and talented Kirk ministers in 1606 for consultations on the polity and worship of the Kirk. Jamie Reid Baxter has described this invitation as partly a diplomatic exercise of persuasion, partly a strategic removal of key players from the Scottish scene during the high drama surrounding the trial and banishment of those involved in the prorogued Aberdeen General Assembly of 1605, and partly simple coercion. The "invitation" turned into effective warding in the homes of English bishops when the Scots proved to be non-compliant and unresponsive to a campaign of preaching, harangue and diplomacy designed to win them over to episcopal polity and developments in worship practice in the image of the Jacobean Church of England. Although James Melville was eventually permitted to leave London, the remainder of his life was spent in Berwick Upon Tweed, where he had to endure estrangement from both his parish and family. He died in 1614, his first wife having pre-deceased him during this exile, and following a second marriage to a much younger bride, mirroring the life of John Knox and reflecting the custom of the day.

The Spirituality of Discipline

John McCallum's excellent and ground-breaking study of the evolution of kirk sessions and their disciplinary practice in Fife revealed that the Anstruther kirk session was transformed

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[610] *Ibid*., xiii.

[611] *ADJM*, xxxii, Archbishop Spottiswoode was alleged by Robert Wodrow to have said that 'Mr Andrew is but a blast, but Mr James is a crafty, byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle!'

by the arrival of James Melville, working with his assistant minister, Robert Durie, in 1586.[612] Melville himself underlined the essential role of the third mark of the Kirk – discipline:

> For that quhilk Chryst sa ernestlie repeates to Piter, quhilk also is commoun to all Pastors, 'Feid! Feid! Feid! Is nocht onlie be Word and Sacraments, bot also be discipline, rewling, and government, as the mater it self declares, the word signifies, and the similitude planlie proves.[613]

Taking into account the warm approach of *A Spirituall Propine*, it is clear that Melville's discipline was not cold and hard-hearted. It was designed to chastise, build up and call his flock back towards Christ and Salvation. In this regard, it is perhaps unfortunate that McCallum chose to use the word 'punishment' to describe the sanctions of the session, which may reveal more of our modern secular mindset in relation to church discipline than that of the Reformed Kirk.[614] Discipline was not an arbitrary punishment of the Kirk, but was seen as part of the larger drive to achieve salvation for the people of God in Reformed Scotland.[615] Melville's writing highlights the essentially pastoral notes of Discipline, which were similarly sounded by Cowper and Welsh. Perhaps the term "penalty" or "sanction" might be a more appropriate description of the measures introduced to address sins such as fornication, sabbath-breaking and non-attendance at worship? After all, in the Reformed mindset, God was the one that would do the punishing in the last judgement. This caveat aside, McCallum cited a large increase in cases pursued by the Anstruther session, including a greater variety of offences on a more consistent basis. Clearly, Melville's arrival was a catalyst for a more vigorous session practice and this should be considered alongside other evidence of his work as Pastor.

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[612] J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish*, 37-72.
[613] *ADJM*, 211.
[614] J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish*, 53.
[615] See N.M. Macdonald, *Reconciling Performance*, for a discussion of the motivation behind Reformed discipline.

Preacher

Although little of Melville's output is identified as a formal sermon, it seems likely that many of the extended passages of exhortation in his *Autobiography and Diary* were delivered as sermons. What was Melville like as a preacher? There are some clues as to his own style and that of his role models from his early days in St Andrews and Glasgow. He recounted experiencing 'Bischope Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a hail winntar mumling on his pretching af his peapers everie day at our morning prayers; and haid it nocht weill par ceur.'[616] This may be contrasted with his response to the dynamism of John Knox and James Lawsone, who he described as 'a man of singular learning, zeal and eloquence, whom I never hard preatche bot he meltit my hart with teares.'[617] Of Robert Hamilton, minister of St Andrews, he said 'The threatnings of his sermonts war verie soar; and sa particular, that sic as lyket nocht the cause, tuk occasion to reprotche him as a rache raler, without warrand.'[618] Clearly, there were limits to the tolerance of a congregation and to what style over substance could achieve. Of John Durie, he commented that he was 'a man zealus and mightie of spreite,' and that he 'conceavit the best grounds of maters weill, and could utter tham fearlie, fullie, and fecfullie, with a mightie spreit, voice and action. The special gift I marked in him was haliness, and a daylie [and nightlie] cearfull, continuall walking with God in meditation and prayer.'[619] Of David Blak, minister of St Andrews, he said that his preaching was 'copious, powerfull, piercing, and pertinent.'[620] In a poignant reflection of Melville's esteem for William Cowper before he accepted the position of bishop of Galloway, Melville was able to commend him for 'ane excellent powerfull sermoune, to the gryt confort and contentment of all the Godly.'[621]

In respect of his own preaching method, he talked of his mouth having been opened as a preacher amidst the trauma of the death of his father. More specifically, he described his decision to preach in an engaging manner at the common prayers at the College of Glasgow:

> The ordour of the Collage was, that everie regent, his ouk about, convoyit the schollars to a kirk hard adjacent, whar the people

[616] *ADJM*, 32.
[617] *ADJM*, 33.
[618] *ADJM*, 33.
[619] *ADJM*, 52, 78.
[620] *ADJM*, 354.
[621] *ADJM*, 638.

> convenit; and that regent red the commoun prayers, with a chaptour or twa. I, for my part, contented nocht simplie to reid; bot taking sum pean, when I might haiff sliped, the night befor indevorit to tak upe the soum of the chaptour, and giff sum notes of doctrine, with exhortation. This pleasit and confortit guid people verie mikle, sa that they resorted verie frequentlie my ouk; quhlik also movit the rest of the regents to essay and follow the same form, and sa baith profited tham selves and uthers.[622]

Although we only have Melville's own word for it, it seems likely that he was an effective preacher who had learned from the positive and negative examples of others. However, he seems to have found poetry to be an equally important teaching medium. At the head of one of his versions of Deuteronomy 32, The Song Of Moses, he dedicated the work:

> To the Church of Scotland in general, the people of the paroch of Kilrennie in special, and everie faithfull member of the bodie of Jesus Chryst there, or else where in particular: for the same end that God commanded Moses to put this song in the mouth of the people of Israell the author dedicates this piece of his paines containing shortly the substance of many sermons preached by him thereupon.[623]

Clearly, Melville worked in different modes, as preacher and poet with a sense of the interconnected nature of these modes.

Pastor, Diarist and Poet

The unique value of James Melville's writing is that it was in contrast to much of the output of other prominent Reformed writers. His *Autobiography and Diary* does contain much that was relevant to the story of the shaping of the Kirk during his lifetime, inevitably reflecting polemical conflict, but it was a much more personal work than the histories of Spottiswoode

[622] *ADJM*, 56.
[623] J. Reid Baxter, 'James Melville and the "Releife of the long soule:" A Scottish Presbyterian Song of Songs,' 215.

and Calderwood, whose writing is more of a retrospective defence of their standpoints in the debate over the polity of the Kirk. With Melville, the telescope of the author is reversed, with the micro perspective of the diarist looking towards the macro perspective of the nation. Admittedly, there was a distinct sharpening of the mood in *A True Narratioune of the Declyning Aige of the Kirk of Scotland from 1596-1610*. This formed a second part of the Wodrow Society edition of the *Autobiography and Diary*, published in 1842, and overlapped the period of the *Diary*, which ended in 1601. The title revealed the frame of mind of the author as he set down his perspective on the period of extreme complexity and ecclesiastical diplomatic manoeuvring by and in response to King James VI. Its main intention was to give an account of the road to the complete establishment of state-embedded episcopal polity in the Kirk in 1610 and was therefore more sharply focused on the protracted manouvering of the monarch and justification of responses from figures of resistance in the Kirk.

Significantly, because Melville died in 1614 he did not comment on the furore surrounding the introduction of the Five Articles of Perth. From the point of view of an analysis of the experience of worship this is helpful as Melville's perspective is not clouded by retrospective condemnation of innovations or defence of former practice. Thus Melville's work might be said to be more useful than that of Calderwood and Spottiswoode in exploring this question. Both the *Autobiography and Diary* and his *True Narratioune* showed that the polity question was one that developed in Scotland long before James inherited the crown of England in 1603. However, Melville made no mention of any attempts by James to introduce Church of England worship practice in Scotland prior to 1610, which supports the proposition that "Laudian" liturgical practice was not latent within the Kirk. It is also evidence that the character of Reformed worship in Scotland was not intrinsically linked to preferences for polity prior to 1618. To be a supporter of episcopal polity did not mean that you were in favour of elaborate ritualism, just as being an advocate of presbytery did not rule out beauty and emotion in worship. Melville did, however, describe the liturgical practice at the Royal court in London during his warding from 1606 as an alien experience.[624] Andrew Melville recorded the same experience in more sharply polemical terms in his poem, written whilst in ward in the Tower of London, and included with a translation in James' Diary:

[624] *ADJM*, 664.

On Kinglie Chappell aultar standis
Blind candelstickis, and closet buikis,
Dry silver basines, tuo of each:
Quhairfor, saith he, quho luikis,
The mynd and worschippe of the Lord
Does England so keipe closse?

Blind in hir sycht, and buried in
Hir filthiness and drosse:
And quhill with Roman ritis schoe does
Hir Kingly altar dresse,
Religiously a purple quhoore
To tame sche does professe! [625]

This seems to indicate that there was a sharp difference between English Court worship practice and the practice of the Kirk, and that the prescriptions of the Five Articles of Perth were indeed an innovation in Scottish Reformed worship rather than an amplification of existing practice.

In addition to the two diaries, a third extremely valuable work is *A Spirituall Propine* of a *Pastour to His People* which was published along with *A Morning Vision* in 1598. These works demonstrated Melville's pastoral qualities and revealed his positive attitude towards singing and poetry as tools to embed and deepen the faith lives of his congregation. The 'Epistle Dedicatorie' was directed to his congregation at Kilrenny rather than to the monarch or a member of the nobility, although the opening poem of *A Morning Vision* was addressed to King James as 'Prince of Poets in his language,' and was a warm introduction to the tools that he had created for his parishioners. In his account of his student days in the *Autobiography and Diary*, Melville stated that he was extremely attracted to music, but identified this phase as a dangerous point in his development. However, in *A Spirituall Propine*, he stressed the potential for singing and poetry to be used to deepen faith, whilst acknowledging their potential to be vehicles for darker emotions and thoughts.[626]

[625] *ADJM*, 682.
[626] J. Melville, *A Spirituall Propine*, 'Epistle Dedicatorie;' I am extremely grateful to Dr Jamie Reid Baxter for giving me access to his unpublished transcription of *A Morning Vision*.

A Spirituall Propine [gift] was a handbook to supplement the existing tools of Bible and Psalme Buik. An immediate challenge to this material could be the question of literacy. If only 30% of the population could read and write, then there is a question of how much impact written material could have had, even in Melville's own parish.[627] McCallum noted Andrew Pettegree's challenge to the assumed role of the printing press in the European Reformations, so does this reduce the importance of *A Spirituall Propine*?[628] It has been suggested that the incidence of being able to read but not write, as demonstrated by Rab Houston, is a major argument in favour of the usefulness of written texts for catechesis in early modern Scotland.[629] McCallum suggested that some texts would have been read aloud by the head of a household or by an elder during catechesis, so this would also have increased the impact of the work for those who could not read.[630] However, on purely financial grounds, it would seem highly unlikely that Melville would have produced such an extensive work and gone to the trouble of having it printed only for it be rendered unusable due to the lack of reading ability in the very parish for which it was intended. Manuscript circulation of similar material would have been more cost effective and in line with widespread practice.[631] As we have seen in Chapter One, John Davidson seems to have held a similarly optimistic approach to the use of his published catechism, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*.[632]

The first part of *A Spirituall Propine* was a prose compilation of prayers and catechism that were aimed at the routines of life and worship. It is interesting to note that the contents list of his work includes types of material that are also present in *The Forme of Prayers*, such as blessings and thanksgiving before and after meals, and morning and evening prayers. However, there were also prayers for the 'Sabbath at Morne.' 'the Sabbath at Night,' 'before the holy communion,' 'after the communion' and poetic material to help with learning doctrine.[633] There is a very large amount of composed prayers, intended for use in

[627] See also the discusson in connection with the Psalme Buik in Section Two, Chapter Two.
[628] J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish*, 89.
[629] R. Houston, 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630-1760,' in *Past and Present*, no. 96 (August 1982) 81-102.
[630] J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish,* 114.
[631] *Ibid*., 118.
[632] J. Davidson, *Some Helpes for Young Schollers*.
[633] J. Melville, *A Spirituall Propine*, 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'

the home to 'lay then the right foundation of prayer solidely.'[634] This foundational material was to be used to build up the relationship between the people and their God to the extent that they could become 'hamely with God, advising, communing, complaining, rejoicing, sorrowing, intreating, and putting him to charge, as his awin friends & children, loving and familiar, nor faithfull, trewe and earnest prayer.'[635] For Melville, the set texts were a means to a greater end, namely the development of an ability to pray freely oneself. The Holy Spirit had a part to play as he stated that she would 'inspire thee mair and mair: and baith teach thee what to pray, and how, and steir thee up with sighes and sobbes, and zealous motions in the minde that cannot bee expressed be the mouth.'[636]

The second part of the work, *A Morning Vision*, followed through on the advocacy of poetry, music and singing outlined in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie:'

> I thought it my dutie to indeavour to draw you to the right use of Musick and Singing, the whilk being sanctified be gud and honest matter, and holy disposition of heart, makes meikle for godlie edification and comfort. For the measures of poësie & harmonie of musick (as I finde be daily experience in my awin familie) delytes the mind, and sa helps the memorie very meikle, to embrace and keip fast the matter and stirres up and sets the force of the soules affections towards God, in pleasand meditation thereof. The reason is iuident and natural, because that like drawes to like, and delites therein, and that while delites, leaues a stamp and printe in the memor, and moues sa the affections, that it is not easielie remooued.[637]

This was a remarkably positive estimation of the potential for verse and music in the spiritual life, and seems a long way from the suspicions of Calvin concerning the use of the arts in worship, notwithstanding the caveats that Melville included concerning right and wrong use of the arts.

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[634] *Ibid.*, 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'
[635] *Ibid*., 'Ane Short Exhortation to prayer prefixed.'
[636] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'
[637] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'

Melville went on to approach the question of spiritual feeling:

> Now it is certaine that measures, harmonie, gud order and temperature, are like to the nature of man, & maist friendlie and amiable thereunto: Seeing the gud constitution of the bodie, standes in the gud temperature of the humours thereof; sa he the saules also the awin sort of temperature: if not in the nature, yet euidently in the faculties and affections thereof, meruelouslie mooued and disposed be the measures temperature, and harmonious melodie of Musick and Poësie.[638]

This was a somewhat philosophical approach to emotion, but was in accordance with what John Welch and William Cowper described of the emotional register of worship at Ayr and Perth. The ideal for Reformed worship was far from the caricature of rigid, inert and emotionally neutered rule-keeping. Sally Mapstone has described the 'emotional confessional character' of much of the content of the poetry contained in *A Spirituall Propine* and *A Morning Vision*.[639] Certainly, Melville's own "spiritual temperature" appears to have been high in his account of being admitted to communion aged 13 years, and in taking part in the singing of Psalms 44 and 79 in response to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.[640]

Melville displayed a very practical approach to teaching the faith. He recognised the need to use tools that would engage his congregation and justified the use of poetry and song as helpful means of fixing doctrine in the mind. Precedents were to be found in the Bible (particularly in the Psalms), in other scriptural songs such as the songs of Mary and Simeon, and in existing paraphrases of Scripture in meter such as the French language settings of Calvin's successor at Geneva, Theodore Beza. He advocated prayer before going to work,

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[638] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatorie'
[639] S. Mapstone, 'James Melville's revisions to *A Spirituall Propine and A Morning Vision*,' in D.J. Parkinson, ed., *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland, Tides of Change, 1567-1625* (Leuven, Peeters, 2013), 177.
[640] *ADJM*, 27.

and the use of songs 'as with salt to season the actions.'[641] He recognised that harnessing existing metrical Psalm tunes to new texts was advantageous in encouraging the uptake of this new material, describing how he:

> …..framed to the common toones, wherewith ye are best acquainted: To the end that yee imploying the misused time therein, may haue the groundes of Christian Doctrine imprinted in your memorie, with delyte and pleasure, and be moued and stirred up to grow in knowledge and feeling of true godliness, whilk is profitable for all things.[642]

The tender pastoral bond between Melville and his congregation was clear when he said:

> Take faithful and diligent care that this word of life dwell plentifully, first in your awin hearts, and nixt in your families: fra the whilk as fountains of liuing waters, it may follow unto the heartes, houses and families committed in particular to euery ane of your charge, & therefor relief of your sauls at that great daye, when the chief Pastor sall appeare to receiue a reckoning of your Stewartrie. And the dayly wish of my heart is for the effectual working of the quickening spirit of Christ in all of your hearts……[643]

A Morning Vision is an extended allegorical poem which begins with the writer awakening from sleep to be faced with a choice between two female characters, Lady Lasiness [laziness] and Lady Pietie [Piety]. The author chooses Pietie, and thereafter an extended journey through the life of faith is directed by the three daughters of Lady Pietie: Faith, Repentance and Devotion. The following text is a remarkable poetic journey through key tenets of Christian Scripture and doctrine, including an extended exploration in verse of The Lord's Prayer, The Ten Commandments and The Apostles' Creed, all voiced by the figure of Faith. This sequence concludes with an oration by the figure of Repentance, including a further version of The Ten Commandments which is designed to be sung to the tune of 'Ah

[641] J. Melville, *A Spirituall Propine*, 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'
[642] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'
[643] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatorie.'

my love, leave me not,' which seems to have been a well known secular song. Another version is entitled *The paterne of true Faith and Repentance, For a prologue to the Law* explores the question of 'true' and 'counterfeit' Christians. A further extended exploration of The Ten Commandments follows in longer verse form, concluding the oration of Repentance, and ending the vision of the work with the writer waking up and finding himself back in his usual home, but with a renewed sense of the people for whose souls he has pastoral responsibility. The vision ended, the volume continued with a version of The Song of Moses from Deuteronomy 32, which was printed in the Psalters of 1615 and 1635, and three metrical settings entitled *The Feeling of Sinne and force of Faith for Salvation*, *The Seaman's Shout*, *The Way and End of Voluptie and Vertue* and a series of sonnets.[644] *The Seaman's Shout* is particularly noteworthy for its text. Appropriately for a coastal parish it describes the journey of faith as being like a sea voyage (referencing Hebrews 6.19). The rubric, specified the melody and the method of singing it as a roundel to increase the effect. The short melody was printed with the poem, perhaps indicating that this tune was less well known.

Perhaps the most important conclusion that can be drawn from Melville's comments on worship and faith practice is that Sunday worship was not disconnected from the rest of life. This is important when considering what Sunday worship was like as an experience for the congregation. If church attenders were following Melville's blueprint outlined in *A Spirituall Propine*, then the Sabbath gathering of the body of Christ was certainly the central focus of life, but it was part of a lifestyle that included prayer, devotion, Scripture reading and sacred song throughout the week. Preparation was as important as the act of attending public worship. Whilst such a discipline may have been unachievable in a rural Scottish parish, Melville's aspirations for a life regulated by study, prayer and public worship were in common with John Welch at Ayr, William Cowper at Perth and John Davidson at Prestonpans.

[644] *The CL Psalmes of David, in Prose and Meeter: With their whole usuall Tunes, newly corrected and amended* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1615, *STC* 16592); *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599).

The place of worship[645]

When Melville arrived at his group of parishes in 1586 he had oversight for Pittenweem, Abercrombie, Anstruther Wester and Kilrenny. By 1596 he had managed to arrange matters so that he had charge of Kilrenny alone. None of the church buildings in this group survive in the state in which Melville would have ministered. However, the churches at Anstruther Wester and Kilrenny were both substantial medieval structures with large towers, arcaded naves and architecturally distinct choirs. Recent research published online by the University of St Andrews *Corpus of Medieval Churches* has drawn together the archaeological and documentary evidence, which includes testimony from *The Old Statistical Account* (1791) in which it was noted that in Anstruther Wester 'The parish church appears to be a very ancient building, from the remains of a large choir, and the gothic structure of the steeple.'[646] Similarly, *The New Statistical Account* (1845) said of Kilrenny Church that 'in the mid-nineteenth-century it was said to be of much larger dimensions than the present [church], being 100 feet [30.5m] by 50 [15.25m] over the walls and having the roof supported by two rows of Gothic arches and round pillars.' Although we lack further surviving evidence of the original churches in both towns, the *Corpus of Medieval Churches* pointed out that it may be useful to compare them to similar local examples such as the church at Crail. Fortunately, although the Crail church has gone through various adaptations and latterly major restoration of the medieval fabric, there is a good deal of material and documentary evidence for the state of the church in our period, and it is to that church that we should look to gain a flavour of Melville's churches at Anstruther Wester and Kilrenny.[647] Preserved in the current fabric of the former Anstruther Wester church are two stones inscribed with scriptural texts. The first, 'My house is the hous of prayer,' is dated 1598 and references Matthew 21.13. The second advises the viewer to 'Enter in at ye strait get [gate]. It is the vyd [wide] get yat leds to perdition,' quoting Matthew 7.13 and Luke 13.24. A carving of two classical arched doorways, one narrower than the other, is located above the text to make the point for those who could not read. It is significant that both of these stones have been preserved, as they highlight some of the thinking about the nature of the

[645] See images of Kilrenny and Anstruther Wester Kirks in Volume Two, Figs.175 and 171-173.
[646] <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158382> [accessed 28th June 2016].
[647] See Section One for discussion of Crail Kirk and images in Volume Two, Figs.34-49.

sanctuary as a special place of prayer and the potent view of the gathering of the congregation as the place in which the narrow gate to salvation could be entered.[648]

Conclusion

There should be no doubt that James Melville was a very significant figure in early modern Scotland, and it is his character of poet and pastor which made him particularly noteworthy.[649] Being a Reformed Pastor in Scotland did not mean that beauty, art and joy were removed from life. There were fears and suspicions of Satan using art as a means to lure Christians away from the proper spiritual life, but creativity and beauty were not seen as excluded from spirituality and devotion. The catechetical tools that James Melville provided for his congregation would have brought them to public worship with heads filled with images created by the poetry that he created for them, and the poetry and art that he encouraged them to find in Scripture. This was a rich vision of Reformed spirituality, held by one of the most influential pastors in Scotland, and practised in the potent setting of the medieval churches of Anstruther Wester and Kilrenny. Like Ayr and Perth, these churches were reconfigured to provide an intimate corporate experience of Reformed worship in places where continuity of the place of meeting symbolically represented the spiritual heritage of their communities.

[648] See Section One, 39-42, for further discussion of the question of the status of the place of worship.

[649] For further insights into Melville's spiritual poetry, which often allegorically traverses Scripture and the church politics of the day, see J. Reid Baxter, 'James Melville and the Releife of the longing soule.'

Chapter Three

WILLIAM COWPER (1568-1619) AND THE CASE OF PERTH

If we live in the Spirit, let us also walke in the Spirit, expressing the fruits of it in our lives.[650]

Biography

William Cowper was born in Edinburgh in 1568 to John Cowper, a merchant tailor, and Marion Duncan. Cowper told us that 'being of the age of eight years old, about Martinmass, I was carried by my father from Edinburgh to Dunbar school.'[651] This early schooling seems to have been a time of intense formation, both in spiritual and academic terms:

> In my younger years I was trained up with the wrestlings of God; from my youth I have borne his yoke, been exercised from his terrors: yet, so that many time his sweet consolations have refreshed my soul.[652]

Cowper remained at Dunbar grammar school until he was around 12 years old, and described going to church 'two and two' as part of the regular routine.[653] Aged thirteen, he progressed to St Andrews to study Philosophy at St Leonard's College in 1581. Although he was not studying theology at this point, nor formally destined for the ministry, it is intriguing to consider the influence that Andrew and James Melville may have had on the young Cowper. Andrew had been appointed Principal of St Mary's College in 1580, and was joined

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[650] W. Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway, His Dikaiologie, Contayning a just Defence of his former Apologie Against the injust imputations of Mr David Hume* (London, Thomas Snodham for John Budge, 1614, *STC* 5914), 10.
[651] *Life of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, Written by Himself*, (in a set of bound pamphlets in New College library, published 1829, K.e.11/9), 1.
[652] *Ibid*., 1.
[653] *Ibid.*, 1.

on the staff by his nephew, James. Both of the Melvilles preached in Holy Trinity, the parish church of St Andrews, in addition to their work at St Mary's College.[654] Although there were theological differences between the staff of St Leonard's and St Mary's colleges, it seems likely that their sermons were amongst those that catalysed Cowper's vocation to the ministry:

> There made I not such progress in knowledge, as I had done before in my other studies; either my age not being capable of it, or my wise and merciful Father not thinking it expedient for me: yet, even there, was a seed of grace still working in me, inclining me to a careful hearing and penning of sermons and theological lessons, as I could have occasion to hear them.[655]

Whilst there may have been theological divergence between the St Andrews colleges at times, Andrew Melville's enthusiasm for Ramist techniques made an impact amongst at least one of the staff at St Leonard's. John Malcom, later to be Cowper's colleague at Perth, displayed a hybrid Aristotelian-Ramist methodology, whilst Cowper himself published a Ramist-style chart in the third edition of his treatise, *Heauen Opened*, as an aid to his exposition of the salvation narrative in Romans 8.[656]

Having graduated from St Andrews, Cowper managed to avoid following the undisclosed career path proposed by his parents and instead secured first a teaching position in Hoddesdon, a town close to London, with a Scottish schoolmaster named Guthrie. Shortly afterwards, an opportunity to study theology with a Mr Broughton took him to London for around three years. This seems to have been a further period of ministerial formation for him, because when he returned to Edinburgh aged 19, he was soon considered as a candidate for the ministry. In the standard practice of the day, Cowper was required to demonstrate his preaching and teaching skills in front of the luminaries of the Kirk:

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[654] S.J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 122.
[655] *Life of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway*, 2.
[656] W. Cowper, *Heauen Opened: Wherein the Counsalle of God Concerning mans Saluation is so manifested, that all men may see the ancient of dayes, the Judge of the* world (London, John Budge, 1613, *STC* 5921).

> I still continued in the same study; and at length was required to give a proof of my gift privately; which I did in the New Church [Part of St Giles, the burgh kirk of Edinburgh], in the presence of Mr Robert Pont, and Mr Robert Rollocke, with sundry others of the ministry Then after that I was required to teach publicly in the New Church, on a Sabbath in the afternoon.[657] And the next week I was commanded to teach publicly in the Great Church in time of a fast, on a Thursday in the afternoon. Thus did the Lord train me up; and these were the beginnings of my ministry: which I recount to the praise of this grace, who counted me faithful, and put me in his service.[658]

Following this successful trial, Cowper was appointed to be minister of Bothkennar, near Stirling, on the south side of the Forth estuary in 1588.[659] According to Cowper, this was a community with the resources to compete with the best of neighbouring towns in the restoration of their parish kirk:

> This calling of God and his Church, I embraced, and went into it, where I found the desolation so great, that beside the walls, which also were ruinous, neither door, nor window, nor seat, nor pulpit, nor any part of a roof was there at all. Yet it pleased God to give such a blessing to the ministry of this word, that their hearts thereby were stirred up, cheerfully to build the Lord's house; which most willingly they fully resolved within half a year; not content to build their own part of the house, but the choir also, which of due should have been done by the parson. There needed here no letters of horning or other compulsitories. Neither content to have built it only, they adorned it within and without, not inferior to any other church of such quality round about it. This was my first external seal, and confirmation, of my calling to the ministry.[660]

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[657] Probably including his own brother, John Cowper, who was one of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1586-7, until his refusal to pray for Mary Queen of Scots led to his deposition by the King and imprisonment at Blackness. See *FES* vol. 1 *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, 52.
[658] *Life of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway,* 2.
[659] *Ibid*., 3.
[660] *Ibid.*, 3; See also Section One, 46-49, regarding church maintenance.

Cowper's ability to work with his congregation to resurrect a medieval church building in such poor repair spoke highly of his capacity to motivate people and to command their loyalty and generosity. It is frustrating that Cowper's church has disappeared without trace, replaced by a later structure, so we cannot assess the degree of adornment within Bothkennar Kirk.[661] However, it seems as if this congregation created a situation where they were well placed to experience worship in an orderly and aesthetically pleasing environment.

After a period of seven or eight years, during which he found himself struggling both with his health due to the dampness of the local climate, and the inner turmoil of what he enigmatically described as a 'school of temptation,' Cowper began to consider options for a move to another parish. He stated that he considered a church 'unplanted in the south, eight miles from Edinburgh.'[662] It is tempting to identify this church as the new charge of Salt-Preston, to which John Davidson was called as minister in 1596. However, this came to nothing and instead he was commissioned by the General Assembly and called and inducted to Perth in 1595 to work alongside the long-serving John Malcom, who had been the sole minister since 1591. Malcom had arrived at Perth following a period at St Andrews as a Regent of St Leonard's College.[663] Perhaps Malcom knew of Cowper from his time at St Andrews and felt confident to receive a graduate with a proven track record as a pastor. *The Chronicle of Perth* noted that 'Mr Williame Couper admittit minister at perth the fyft of October 1595, be imposition of the handis of Mr William Rynd, Archibald Moncrief, and James Herring. Mr Patrick Galloway preachit.'[664] Whether or not Cowper knew Malcom prior to his arrival in Perth, he embarked on what by his own account seems to have been a fruitful collegiate ministry, possibly marred by what he later referred to as 'combats with wicked men.'[665] Perhaps, like many collegial relationships, Malcom and Cowper were not in agreement on all matters. William Scott's eighteenth-century transcription of the kirk session records of Perth included a local tale of a waspish aside from Malcom, in which he

[661] <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/site.php?id=158440> [accessed 1st June 2016].
[662] *Life of William Cowper*, *Bishop of Galloway*, 4.
[663] E.R. Holloway III, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland,* 196. Holloway identified John Malcom as a Regent of St Leonard's College and that he attended Andrew Melville's lectures at St Mary's College; S. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 159.
[664] *The Chronicle of Perth,* 5.
[665] *Ibid*., 5.

noted that 'My colleague William Cowper often found fault with me for not going about into the people's houses on Yule Day to prevent their feasting: yet he accepted of a Bishopric, and I continued minister at Perth.'[666] This seems to indicate that Cowper was the more zealous of the two when it came to enforcement of the more puritanical disciplines of the Reformed Kirk.

Tensions between Cowper and the burgh council and congregation at Perth can be glimpsed in his 1615 *A mirrour of mercie or The prodigals conversion.* The work was dedicated to Edinburgh burgh dignatories, 'The Worshipfull, David Aikenhead, Deane of Gild, Thomas Ingles of Edernie, Mongo Macala, Edward Car, James Dennistoune with others his Worshipfull Councellors and Assessors.'[667] He praised these men for their worthiness, and their welcome to him upon his recent arrival in Edinburgh. They were addressed in glowing terms in contrast to the rather negative estimation of the potential for those in power and leadership to be people who 'looke like men, but indeed are monsters.'[668] Perhaps he was thinking of the troublesome leadership of Perth who he found to be 'stuffed with such pride, self-conceit, disdain, and intolerable contempt, as carried them further from their duty, than any of the former [publicans and sinners].'[669] *The Chronicle of Perth* revealed that in 1602:

> Henrie Balneavis and William Jak maid their repentance in their awn seattis on Sabbath eftir sermone, for making lybell againes mr William Couper, minister, and Henrie Elder, Clerk, 'as King David was ane sair sanct to the croun, so is Mr William Cowper and the Clerk to this poore toun.' Ane act of counsal aganes thame, that nane of them sould beare office or get honourable place in the toun thaireftir.[670]

Not everyone in Perth warmed to Cowper, and this account gives insight into the potential for conflict and tension between minister and congregation, although it would be wrong to

[666] NLS, Ms Adv.31.1.1a f.258.
[667] W. Cowper, *A Mirrour of Mercie* (London, Edward Griffin for John Budge, 1614, *STC* 5927).
[668] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatory.'
[669] *Life of William Cowper*, *Bishop of Galloway*, 6.
[670] *The Chronicle of Perth*, 9.

read such friction as representative of the complete relationship. Cowper has left us an extremely useful account of what he thought his pastoral practice was like in Perth:

> How I did carry myself in my open conversation, living among them, not as one separate from them, but mixed myself in all of their fellowships, as a comfort to the best, and a wound to the worst inclined sort, this age will not want living witness to record it. My diligence, in like manner, in the ministry, not only on the ordinary days, but on others, which I voluntarily chose, thrice a week in the evening; to wit, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday (for a preparation to the Sabbath); for these days they had no preaching in the morning.[671]

Nonetheless, it has to be borne in mind that Cowper wrote this at a point in his life where he was having to defend himself from accusations of apostasy, greed, veniality and corruption in light of his acceptance of the position of bishop of Galloway in 1612 and his subsequent acquiescence with the liturgical programme of the Five Articles of Perth, ratified by the Perth General Assembly of 1618 amidst huge rancour, around a year before his death.[672] Sadly, this cast a cloud of controversy over his final years, and probably means that we need to temper his claims of pastoral achievement, written in this context. However, there seems to be ample evidence in his pastoral and theological writings that demonstrate a keen sense of ministerial concern for his parish. He vividly described the quality of worship during his time at St John's Kirk in Perth:

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[671] *Life of William Cowper*, Bishop of Galloway, 4. This implies that there was preaching on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday mornings.

[672] A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 148-170. Here MacDonald outlines the Five Articles controversy; R. Wodrow, 'Life of Mr Robert Boyd of Trochorege' in *Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers and Most Eminent Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, ed. J. Duncan, Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1834 - 1848), vol.2, part 1, 110. A letter from John Chalmers to Robert Boyd (his brother in law), mentioned the appointment of William Cowper as Bishop of Galloway in terms of some disappointment saying, 'Mr. W. Coupar at Perth is now Bishop of Galloway, to the great greife of many honest minds, who expected better things at his hand.'

> It would have done a Christian heart good, to have seen these glorious and joyful assemblies; to have heard the zealous cryings to God among the people, with sighings and tears, melting hearts, and mourning eyes. I speak the truth in modesty, and not all the truth. It is not vain-glorying; I abhor that: "not I but His grace in me." Why shall it offend any man, that I eat the fruit of my labour, and that my conscience this day enjoys the comfort of my former painfulness and fidelity? My witness is in heaven, that the love of Jesus and his people, made continual preaching my pleasure; and I had no such joy as in doing his work.[673]

Cowper's own faith and conviction of his relationship with God drove him in his ministry. He talked of a particular encounter when he was 'touched with such lively sense of a Divinity, and power of the Godhead, in mercy reconciled with man, and with me, in Christ, as I trust my soul shall never forget.'[674] This encounter with God spurred him on in his work at Perth, but also made him open to a calling to other opportunities. Following what seems to have been an increasingly difficult relationship with at least some of those in authority in the kirk and burgh of Perth, Cowper reflected that his nomination by the Kirk, and King James' approach offering the bishopric of Galloway, was like the opening of a door at an opportune time.[675] Cowper accepted the appointment after 19 years as a minister in Perth. He held both appointments until 1614. On 2nd June, 1615, he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal in addition to his role as Bishop of Galloway.[676] Rather sadly, he ended his life caught in the crossfire of the politics of church and state. Archbishop Spottiswoode attributed his early death to his being too affected by what people thought of him.[677] Whilst the polemicists David Hume of Godscroft and later David Calderwood performed a character assassination on Cowper, it is clear that the self-serving character which they project onto him cannot be sustained by the evidence of both his published work and the accounts of others. It is this less polemicized and pastorally sensitive character that we now seek to meet in his writing.

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[673] *Life of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway,* 5.
[674] *Ibid*., 5.
[675] *Ibid*., 6.
[676] *The Chronicle of Perth*, 5; C. Rodgers, *History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland*, cxvi.
[677] J. Spottiswoode, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol.3, 258.

A conduit of comfort? Assessing Cowper's pastoral writing and preaching

Cowper produced probably the largest number of printed devotional works of any of the pre-1617 Scottish ministers. These included a significant number of sermons, tracts and commentaries almost all of which were produced by the London printers who worked on behalf of John Budge. None of Cowper's writings were printed in Scotland. Budge was a major publisher, responsible for producing many of the works of William Shakespeare. He clearly saw the commercial potential for William Cowper's writing. Since Cowper was in London just after graduation from St Andrews, it is possible that Budge became aware of his emerging talents at that point. Ian Green identified the most popular of his works as *The Triumph of a Christian*, which ran to 10 English editions between 1608 and 1639.[678] Cowper's popularity outlived him. However, it is intriguing to note that his works were aimed, at least in part, at a Scottish audience, lending weight to the evidence that books printed in England made their way to the Scottish book market, especially after the union of the crowns in 1603.[679]

Within a framework of Calvinist predestination, this tender and pastoral published material showed Cowper at the peak of his oratorical power, producing sermons designed to move and encourage his audience in a display of affective preaching. In common with John Welch, he spoke of entering the pulpit in 'much feare and trembling; I never went to it unsanctified by Prayer and the best part of that houre of preparation, have I spent lying upon the ground on my face, with tears and cries begging the Lord's merciful assistance.'[680] In his published sermon for the service of translation of the Archbishop of Glasgow to the see of St Andrews on 6th August 1615, Cowper addressed the question of the role and conduct of ministers and Bishops. He described the tongue of the preacher as the 'white horse on which Christ the conqueror rideth.'[681] Cowper held the preaching task in high esteem.

[678] I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, Appendix I.
[679] A.J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500-1720*, 232.
[680] W. Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway, his dikaiologie*, 38.
[681] W. Cowper, *Phosphoros*, or *A Most Heavenly and Fruitfull Sermon, preached the Sixt of August, 1615 at the translation of the right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of St Andrewes to the sea thereof* (London, John Budge, 1616, *STC* 5932), 69.

Another sermon, *A Conduit of Comfort preached at Sainct James before the Commissioners of the Union of the Realmes,* although printed in 1606, was most likely delivered around the time of the Hampton Court conference of 20th October - 6th December 1604, which matched neatly his absence from the sederunt of kirk session meetings at Perth. It was based upon Romans 8.28, a text to which Cowper returned for his treatise, *Heauen Opened.* The sermon affirmed God's loving purposes for humanity and proposed that despite hardship and suffering, we are never separated from that love. God purposes all things for the good. Quoting Song of Songs 2.2, God was presented as a lily among thorns and an apple tree in the forest. God walks alongside us and refines us through hardship, like precious stones for the building of a heavenly Jerusalem. For Cowper, the Kirk was the vessel in which people should sail through the floods of life:

> For the Church is that Arke of God, which may mount up higher as the waters increaseth but can not be overwhelmed: the bush may burn but can not be consumed: the House built on a Rocke, which may be beaten with wind and raine, but cannot be overthrowen.[682]

In common with his close contemporaries, John Davidson and James Melville, Cowper created works that were aimed at teaching doctrine and encouraging good devotional practice. His *Holy Alphabet for Sion's Scholars* (1613) was a meditation on Psalm 119, and the title derives from the very long Psalm's use of the Hebrew alphabet to structure its sections. [683] Cowper's use of Psalmody was evident throughout his writing, and is further evidence of the fundamental place of the Psalms in the practice of the Kirk, both sung in metrical form and in prose translation. His estimation of the Psalms was as a '*commune quoddam medicina promptuarium* [a kind of medicine cabinet],' but he had particularly high regard for Psalm 119.[684] He noted that he created this treatise 'so plaine in it selfe, that children may understand it; and yet is plentifull in heavenly instruction, that the most wise,

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[682] W. Cowper, *A Conduit of Comfort*, *preached at Saint James before the Commissioners of the Union of the Realmes. By W. Cowper, Minister of God's Word* (London, W.White for W.Ferbrand, 1606, *STC* 5916), C3.

[683] W. Cowper, *A Holy Alphabet for Sion's Scholars, Fvll of Spiritval Instrvctions, and Heavenly Consolations, to direct and encourage them in their progresse towards the New Jerusalem* (London, John Budge, 1613, *STC* 5926).

[684] Cowper's *The Anatomy of a Christian Man* (London, John Budge, 1623, *STC* 5913) included references to Psalms 16, 17, 27, 31, 36, 65, 36, 43 and 143.

godly and [illegible] may every day learne something by it.'[685] He demonstrated its practicality by stating that he had 'ordinarily delivered [the meditations] to my people, in time of their evening prayers.'[686] Each section has a tripartite structure of 'prayes,' 'prayers,' and 'protestations,' and the commentary compassionately contains a table which allows the reader to 'finde out the principall points of Doctrine contained in this book.' This is further evidence that Cowper's published work was rooted in his pastoral practice, and adds to the picture of the worship regime of his Perth congregation.

A Preparatiue for the New Passover was a catechetical work which illuminated the importance of the Lord's Supper within the early Reformed Kirk, despite the infrequency of its celebration.[687] Read in conjunction with James Melville's *A Spirituall Propine* and the sermons on the Lord's Supper by Robert Bruce, it was an important indicator of the sacramental climate of the early Reformed Kirk.[688] One of his earliest published works, dated 1607 and therefore published while he was still in post in Perth, it was prefaced with quotations from the book of Proverbs, which were used to identify the meat, drink and fruit of God with the meat and drink of the Lord's Supper. The figure of Wisdom in Proverbs was later identified as the moving force in the experience of the Supper, surely intended to reference the Holy Spirit, so frequently invoked in the liturgical material of *The Forme of Prayers*.[689] Two liminary poems by M.W. Buchanan and John Stewart acted as thematic gateways to the work. [690] Stewart's poem was affective in its approach to spiritual feeding:

[685] W. Cowper, *A Holy Alphabet*, 'Epistle Dedicatory.'
[686] *Ibid*.
[687] W. Cowper, *A preparatiue for the New Passouer very profitable to be perused and read of all those who are called to the holy table of our Lord* (London, William Ferebrand, 1607, *STC* 5933).
[688] J. Melville, *A Spirituall Propine;* R. Bruce, *Sermons upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*.
[689] *FOP,* 21, amongst many possible examples, seen here in the opening prayer of confession.
[690] J. Reid Baxter, 'Liminary Verse: The Paratextual Poetry of Renaissance Scotland' in *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 3 (2008) 70-94.

> And Set him at God's Table there to dine,
> On God, with God, by soules repast Divine.[691]

A principal theme of the work was the danger of coming to the Supper unprepared. Cowper was clear that the Lord's Supper was for sinners, but that did not mean that one could partake of it without some effort. He referenced 1 Corinthians 11.28, saying 'Let a man therefore trie himselfe and so let him eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup.' As an experience, the Supper was to be an imaginative exercise in placing oneself, and those who sat at table with you, in the intimate chamber of The Last Supper that Jesus shared with his disciples. However, it was also a meeting with God, which Cowper emphasised by quoting *Revelation* 3.20: 'Now he stands at the door and knocks, offering to come in, and suppe with them who will open unto him.' Along with Robert Bruce, as we saw in Chapter One, Davidson and Cowper affirmed a Reformed approach to real presence in the Lord's Supper. Application of this theory to the practice of the preparation season for communion seems likely to have generated an intensely focused worship experience, where communicants did not 'receaue it with earthlye hearts.'[692] His nuanced description of the unchanged material status of the communion bread, did not rule out a high respect for it:

> So this bread though in substance it differ not from other bread, yet concerning the use, it is separate, and much more precious than anye other Bread in the world: being now appointed by God to be a signe and a seale, and an exhibiting instrument of Christ his body and therefore cannot bee profaned, nor abused without contempt of Christ Jesus.[693]

For Cowper, implying that the Lord's Supper was a 'communion of naked bread and wine' was to 'think so baselye of this holy sacrament.'[694]

Cowper's sensitivity to the fragility of early modern life could be seen in his *A Defiance to Death*. It was pastorally directed to the elderly Thomas Stewart, 10th Laird of Graintilie

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[691] W. Cowper, *A preparatiue for the New Passouer*.
[692] *Ibid*., 32.
[693] *Ibid*., 24.
[694] *Ibid*., 27.

(Grandtully) and his wife, Lady Grizell Mercer. He noted that both were aging and in poor health (Sir Thomas died in 1610/11) and the emphasis of the work was on helping the reader to look beyond physical death to the life to come:

> But unto the Christian, death can doe no more but demolish this parpen [partition] wall of clay, within which the soule is captured for a time, it opens the doore of the prison, and gives liberty to the soule, to goe out and returne to her Mother, as shall at greater length appeare in the treatise following….[695]

This 'Epistle Dedicatory' of this work revealed much of the motivation behind Cowper's ministry – he wanted to help people on their journey of faith:

> And herein, if these little fruites of my ministery may serve any way to confirme you in the end, as some way they have comforted you in the journey; and if for your sake they may bee profitable to others, who constantly keepe with you the same course toward the face of Jesus Christ, it shall be no small comfort unto me, knowing thereby that I have not runne, nor laboured in vaine; for there is no thing in the world that I desire more, than that I may put my talent to the uttermost profite, fulfilling with joy the ministration I have received, and so may be welcomed of my Lord, as one who hath beene faithfull in little.[696]

The *Defiance* trod a careful path between denial of the importance of the created body and affirmation of the importance of the immortal soul. Cowper affirmed the goodness of our bodies with reference to words of Psalm 139, 'I am fearfully and wonderfully made,' noting that body and soule are in a mutual relationship that is in some way a foretaste of the life to come.[697] He encouraged respect for and attention to both the body and the soul, noting

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[695] W. Cowper, *A Defiance to Death* (London, John Budge, 1616, *STC* 5918), 'Epistle Dedicatory.' [originally published 1610].
[696] *Ibid*., 'Epistle Dedicatory.'
[697] *Ibid*., 38, 35.

that if 'wee subdue our body by discipline, that the soule may be safe, then shall the body also be partaker of her glorie.'[698] As with all of his works, the treatise was peppered with Latin quotations from patristic writers, and was pointed in its criticism of 'The Doctrine of the Romish Church [which] leaves her disciples comfortless in death.' For Cowper, the spectre of purgatory and dependence on 'soul masses,' was a suspense that seemed to deny God's benevolent purposes towards humanity.[699] Ultimately, we have to be prepared to depart at any moment, in what he described as a changing of clothes and 'a remouving from our cot house on earth, to a palace of glory in heaven.'[700] His motivation in writing was to encourage those in his pastoral orbit to be ready for a good death.

In common with many of his ministerial colleagues in this period, Cowper gave considerable weight to the parallel between Jacob's wrestling with God in Genesis 32, and the Christian life.[701] Cowper's account is of life as a struggle, but one that is full of spiritual rewards, both present and future. David Mullan has suggested that 'the intention of the pastor was to bring people to their knees in despair, only to raise them up in the knowledge and experience of a merciful God.'[702] However, this did not seem to be Cowper's intention. The prayers which Cowper composed and included within this volume, most likely intended for use in home worship, laid much more stress on the forgiving love and kindness of God than any vindictive imposition of suffering.[703] Consolation was the dominant note also found in his *Good Newes from Canaan*, an exposition on the popular penitential Psalm 51, while God's love and the possibility of return to his embrace was the theme of *A Mirrour of Mercie*, which focused upon the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15).[704]

Cowper's final work, *Pathmos or A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John, divided into three severall prophecies*, was completed shortly before his death and printed in 1619. Cowper aptly brought his life and writing to a close by considering apolocalyptic and eschatological themes. His theological and pastoral focus on preparing oneself to achieve a

[698] *Ibid*., 51.
[699] *Ibid*., 14.
[700] *Ibid*., 99.
[701] W. Cowper, 'Jacob's Wrestling with God' in *The Triumph of a Christian* (London, John Budge, 1618, *STC* 5939).
[702] D. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 92.
[703] See Appendix Two for a transcription of these prayers.
[704] W. Cowper, *Good Newes From Canaan* (London, John Budge, 1623, *STC* 5909).

good death reached its full fruition here. Outlining 'writers upon this Prophecie, which I have seene,' Cowper revealed a roll call of 40 publications that he had consulted, from Victorinus of Poytiers (270CE) to King James VI's own commentary. It was an impressive breadth of reading from Patristic to contemporary sources which was consistent with the degree to which the church fathers were referenced in all of his works. Cowper was extremely well-read and shared this with others in his pastoral output.

Discipline at St John's Kirk

In print, Cowper was revealed as a warm, pastorally sensitive but also courageous minister, who seems to have had the spiritual health of his readership at heart. Much of his writing gives insight into his practice in Perth as a parish minister, illuminating our understanding of the conceptual and pastoral framework within which he worked. In terms of parish management, the Perth kirk session records reveal that this burgh kirk was particularly well organised, with twice-weekly session meetings to deal with the business of discipline. Malcom and Cowper both attended session, with a unanimous agreement of the elders in 1596 that 'the office of Moderator of the session be mutual betuixt the Ministers & each of them to use it alternis vicibus.'[705] Cowper was therefore at the heart of the processes of discipline in the parish. Session meetings began with weekly reports from the visiting elders regarding behaviour and any non-attendance at preaching on the previous sabbath. On most sabbaths the good order that the session had in mind seems to have been observed, but there are frequent reports of individual traders opening booths to sell their wares, people travelling to other towns on the Sabbath, or simply failing to turn up for worship at the kirk.[706] Ensuring attendance at worship, processing of marriage requests, baptisms, sexual offences such as adultery and fornication, and particular cases of bad behaviour both within and outwith the Kirk, took up most of the session's time. [707] In this the ministers

[705] NLS, Ms Adv.31.1.1a f.112 November 1st 1596.
[706] CH2/521/3/47 10th September 1598 Details the case of David Rhynd, Flesher, whose servant had opened his booth, allegedly without his knowledge, prepared and sold meat on the Sabbath. CH2/521/3/35 10th July 1598 James Bissett confessed to travelling to the Kirktowne of Gask on the Sabbath and was ordered to pay a penalty.
[707] CH2/521/3/39 14th July 1598 details the case of Androw Fendour and Barbara Wightowne, who 'had carnall deal togider.' They were ordered to purge themselves with an oath and declare their repentance on the next sabbath 'in tyme of preaching;' CH2/521/3/43 18th August 1598 Patrik Jaksone, Maister Miller gave in a 'tabill of complaint upon Jhone Kilbudie' accusing him of slander, although this case was passed to the 'iudge ordinar' as it contained an element of theft.

played a central role to the extent that when the meetings had to take place without a minister, no disciplinary business could be effected.[708] The session appears to have been compassionate in some situations such as the case of Elsept Callin, who confessed adultery with the married Gilbert Robertsone. Callin was charged by the burgh officer, but the session 'suspendit their censuris agans hir' because she 'was at the point of hir birth.'[709] Occasionally a unique issue came up, such as the situation of 4th February, 1605, when the clerk recorded that 'Because the kirk heirtofor hes bene abusit and prophanit many wayis by the disputa[tio]nis of the scholleris' the session decided to take action. The decision was made that such disputations by the pupils of the grammar school in the kirk during the week were 'express agans the word of Christ that the tempill sall be a hows of prayer.' The session banned any disputations in the 'miekill kirk.' This is an interesting view of the nature of the kirk building, and was perhaps a rather more elevated view of the purpose and status of places of worship than has been commonly assumed.[710] Occasionally, the session would proceed to the severe penalty of excommunication, as in the case of Dorathie Ruthven, who simply failed to answer for her offence and therefore the session decided to proceed against her.[711] The long arm of the session extended outwith the parish boundaries, so leaving the parish did not necessarily mean escape from censure. In 1605 the session noted that Bessie Bruce 'hes committit fornica[ti]one wti[n] this congrega[ti]one and is fugitive to arbrothok to eschew the discipline of the Kirk thairfor the sessione ordenit Mr Alexr. Balneawis to wreitt and direct ane leit to the minist[er] at arbrothock that she may be send back to satisfie for hir fornica[t]ione.'[712] In summary, the Perth kirk session and ministers were kept busy with the pursuit of discipline, which was therefore a prominent feature in the lives of the parishioners. As we have seen in Section One and Two, the ritual implications of discipline during Sabbath worship meant that discipline was prominent every week, where a large number of cases resulted in frequent performance of repentance before the congregation at worship. This was not an occasional occurrence, but would have felt normal, making the physical distinction between the reconciled body of Christ and the unreconciled penitents ubiquitous in worship.

[708] CH2/521/3/31 4th June 1598 Notes that the session met but 'The effairs of discipline not handlit this day b[e]caus the ministeris wer in Sterling at the sinodall assembly.'
[709] CH2/521/4/30 14th March 1605.
[710] CH2/521/4/22 4th February 1605; see the discussion of the status of the place of worship in Section One, 39-43.
[711] CH2/521/4/24 14th February 1605.
[712] CH2/521/4/36 6th May 1605.

St John's Kirk and worship at Perth[713]

Cowper helpfully sketched the outline of early Reformed Scottish worship in his *Seuen Dayes Conference Betweene a Catholicke Christian and a Catholicke Romane* (1613).[714] On the seventh day of his polemical jousting with an imaginary Roman Catholic, Cowper took him to observe Sabbath worship. The chapter was uncompromisingly headed 'Wherein the order observed in the Church of Scotland is declared to be conformed to the ancient order prescribed by the Apostles, and practised in the Primitive Church.'[715] The skeleton of the standard Reformed Sabbath morning was described as the reader opening with a Confession prayer followed by a scene of Psalme Buiks being opened and readiness for 'the Psalme which the reader hath proclaimed.'[716] There followed prayer, psalms and Scripture 'and by these the hearts of the people are prepared the more reuerently to heare the word.'[717] At the third bell, the minister delivered the preaching service. Cowper described the preacher's prayer in some detail, surely revealing much of his own practice:

> First he will conceive a prayer, at the which the people mumbles themselves; thereafter he reads his text of Holy Scripture, this the people hear with reuerence, then hee falles to the preaching which some heare with their heads covered, some otherwise (in which you may do as your health requires) the preaching being ended he concludes with a thanksgiving, after which there is a psalm sung by the whole congregation, and then the Minister blesseth in the name of the Lord, and so dimits them: you will see no other thing here.[718]

What this description did not reveal was the substantial part that the discipline of the Kirk played in regular Sunday worship. As we have already seen, the Perth kirk session was a busy one in this regard, and the performance of repentance would have played a significant

[713] See Volume Two, Fig.174 for an image of St John's Kirk.
[714] W. Cowper, *Seuen Dayes Conference.*
[715] *Ibid*., 203.
[716] *Ibid*., 208.
[717] *Ibid*., 207.
[718] *Ibid*., 219.

part in worship, not only with penitents standing in the jougs at the Kirk door before the service, but also in the liturgical expression of repentance during worship.[719]

St John's Kirk is the only parish church in these case studies which survives in a complete medieval format. A hugely significant point is that despite alterations to the fabric, the church continued to be the focus of religious life in Perth, offering some continuity with the practices of the medieval church and as a potent symbol of the faith of the ancestors of "St John's Toun." However, in the course of time it has been restored to such a degree that there is virtually no trace of the organic development of the building during the period of our study. Nineteenth and twentieth-century "restorations" have created an impressive and beautiful building, but have obliterated material evidence of the internal arrangements of the Kirk in the period 1559-1617. Consequently, the extensive written records for the building must be replied upon. In the session minutes of 20th February 1582, there is an account of the Deacon of the Wryhttis appearing before the session to request that his craft might build a pew 'betuix the twa pilleris nixt the pulpit on the northesyd of the kirk.' The response seems to have been positive, as the minutes noted that 'The minister and eldaris allowing thair god zeale and goodwill to help to decoir the house of god grantis to them leife to big seattis in that same place to thair awin ease to be proper to thame in all tymes cumming. Provyding allwayis that the seattis buyldit be tham be decent, cummlie and honourable at the sicht of the minister and the kirkmaister as aucht to be in the kirk of God…..'[720] This permission is a useful insight into the standard that a kirk session would impose upon a growing demand for dedicated seating within burgh kirks. However, only a few years later a much greater issue was raised when on 27th June, 1586 the minutes reported that the session were very unhappy with the 'ruinouse, pitiful, greit and lamentabil estait of the kirk in all partis and placis thereof, and the greit decay that is abil to incur theron.' At this point, the session urged the minister to 'elect and chuse sum part and portion of scriptur quha he thocht maist able and meit to move the hairtis of the pepil and specialie the bailyeis and magistratis….' [721] Maintenance of this large building was an ongoing headache for the session, although this alarming account may have been deliberately hyperbolic in order to stimulate action.

[719] See discussion of the performance of repentance in Section Two, Chapter One, 126-128.
[720] *PKSB*, 209.
[721] *Ibid*., 353.

Lest we think that Reformed worship was devoid of candles, we should remember that these were the only means of lighting the Kirk, particularly for afternoon worship and at evening prayers during the winter months. We know that Perth boasted a particularly fine display of brass candelabra, only one of which survives in Perth museum.[722] The minutes of 8th November 1585 noted the moves that the session made to ensure that 'the deaconis of craftis that according to the ordor thair lichtis may be hung up in their awin places within the [kirk].[723] As noted in *Lost Interiors*, there had been an ongoing wrangle between the Kirk session and the Craft Guilds concerning the supply of candles to light the building.[724] However, a reluctance to supply candles did not mean that the pre-Reformation chandeliers had completely disappeared. When candle supply was dealt with, illumination of the building via a number of surviving chandeliers and candle-holders attached to the new desks and lofts would have created a visual spectacle at daily evening prayers and Sunday afternoon worship during the winter months.

There is a dilemma in addressing the question of when St John's was divided into multiple worship spaces. *The Chronicle of Perth* noted that in November 1598 'the toun began to repair the new kirk in wallis and windows.'[725] The question of what was meant by the 'new kirk' is an intriguing one. Some confusion may have arisen from the record of the session on September 13th 1596, when it was agreed that the congregation would be divided between Cowper and Malcom to ensure that catechising was achieved.[726] However, no subsequent records imply that that were two congregations meeting simultaneously until the late eighteenth-century. James Scott (writing in 1774), noted that the King had attended worship in the kirk on Sunday 6th July, 1617, but that the seat then used had recently been removed:

> His seat, which was lately taken down on the division of the old church, was gilded and ornamented; and in the several panels bore the King's name in letters of Gold. It was a small gallery directly opposite to the pulpit, and

[722] See *LI*, 23 for an image of the surviving Perth candelabra. The parish church at Montrose also boasted a large candelabra, also known as a "hearse," which was created in 1623. It survives in modified former in Montrose Old Kirk. Image in Volume Two, Fig.168.
[723] *PKSB*, 327.
[724] *LI*, 23-24.
[725] *The Chronicle of Perth*, 7.
[726] NLS, Ms Adv.31.1.1a, f.111 September 13th 1596.

> placed on the large south pillar, which now makes a part of the partition wall.[727]

This seems to imply that the nave had been designated as the main worship space for the single congregation and that the programme of desk and loft construction was focused on this area. Certainly, there is nothing in the records that implies a division of the congregation for worship prior to 1774, although there were subsequently three congregations meeting in the nave, transepts and crossing, and the old choir until the 1920's restoration reunited the entire building into a single worship space. This makes sense of the accounts of communion taking place in the choir, with access given via a supervised wicket (gate) variously described as being 'behind the pulpit,' 'behind the auld pulpit,' 'behind the Lordis seat,' and 'door at the skynneris Dask.' In 1585 it was recorded as merely 'the wicket,' but by 1586 was being described as a door. This implies that a partition of some kind, probably formed with desks including that of the Skinners referred to here, had been constructed in 1585-6 at the west end of the nave, delineating the 'new kirk,' at which there was a door that led into the old east end of the church, which was used for the sittings of communion around the long tables. It is also notable that in 1580 and 1581, the pulpit was referred to as 'the pulpit' whereas from 1582 it was known as 'the auld pulpit' and after 1585 it was not mentioned at all.[728] This points to a new pulpit having been installed after 1581 on the north side of the nave, opposite the eventual site of the King's pew, which was built on the south side. It is quite possible that worship continued to be oriented towards the old pulpit in the area of the crossing until 1582 and was then radically altered with the inward focus of the 'new kirk' in the nave. Given that there was plenty of space in the choir for the communion tables, it is likely that the 'new kirk' was largely filled with pews over time, as no clear space was required for the communion "buirds" to be set up. This would have added to the sense of intimate corporate worship, although controversy in 1600 led the women's 'proper' seats in the kirk to be demolished and dispersed amongst the other seats in the Kirk.[729] In 1616, the session ordained that the kirk officer was to 'have his red staff in the kirk on the Sabbath days, therewith to waken sleepers, and to remove greeting

[727] NLS, Ms Adv.31.1.1a f.252 6th July 1617.
[728] *PKSB*, 158, 25th July 1580 and 25th February 1581; 214, 5th March 1582; 280, 23rd March 1584; 251, 25th February, 1583; 335, 7th March 1586; 361, 6th March, 1587; 389, 4th March 1588; 410, 24th February, 1589; 445, 29th June 1590; CH2/521/3/27 May 1598; PKSB, 304, 22nd March 1585.
[729] NLS, Ms Adv.31.1.1a Fol.132, March 3rd 1600.

bairns furth of the kirk.'[730] Intimacy also brought the tensions of jostling disorder, and slumber.

If this hypothesis is correct, then pastoral care and catechising was divided between Cowper and Malcom, but worship was held in a single gathering for the parish. This was supported by the account of the appointment of Henry Adamson as reader and 'entered by the Ministers to the Lettron.'[731] There are references to only one musician taking up the Psalms as late as 1637, when Robert Lawrie was appointed 'reader and uptaker of the psalms' with subsequent admission to the reader's seat.[732] In 1620 the session had agreed the purchase of a single Psalme Buik 'for the Use of the Reader at the Lettron.' The records of the general session do not point towards multiple congregations in this period, unlike the situation in St Giles, Edinburgh and St Nicholas, Aberdeen, both of which were divided and used by multiple congregations.

Conclusion

William Cowper was an unusually gifted author of devotional writings aimed at the non-specialist market which ranked amongst the most significant from any of the Scottish ministers. Although these were printed outwith Scotland, their dedications demonstrated that they were addressed at least partly to a Scottish market. Reading between the lines of the polemical battle towards the end of his life (particularly as it was recounted in the work of Calderwood) Cowper deserves to be seen as an assiduous pastor whose preaching and teaching regime was motivated by a desire for his congregations to progress urgently in their relationship with God. This zeal seems to have brought him into conflict with some in Perth and his decision to accept a bishopric both surprised and disappointed many in the Reformed network of ministers. He was a challenger of anyone who displayed ungodly behaviour, regardless of their status, and this even-handed approach seems to have been at the root of his dilemma over being "piggy in the middle" as he attempted to show obedience to the crown over liturgical change in tension with voices urging the *status quo* in the Kirk. He has left us a valuable record of the order for Sunday worship in the period and analysis of the worship space and disciplinary regime of the congregation at Perth during his time there shows that the kirk was adapted for Reformed worship in a manner typical of

[730] Ibid., Fol.230, June 24th 1616.
[731] Ibid., Fol.264 25th May 1618.
[732] *The Chronicle of Perth*, 35.

other converted medieval Scottish kirks. Throughout his work, we glimpse his affective piety, implying that prayer, preaching and praise was a potent experience for him and his congregation. Sacramentally, Cowper showed himself to be very much in line with the dominant Calvinist approach of the day, rejecting transubstantiation and proposing a “real presence” experience that saw the communicant “ascend” to join Christ in the experience of sharing the Lord’s Supper.

Chapter Four

JOHN WELCH (1569-1622) AND THE CASE OF AYR

My dear brother, with courage bear the crosse,
Joy sall be joined with all thy sorrow here;
High is thy hope; disdain this earthlie drosse!
Once sall you see the wished day appear.
Now it is dark, thy sky cannot be clear;
Efter the clouds, it sall be calm anone.
Wait on his will whoes blood hath brought thee dear,
Extoll his name, tho' outward joys be gone;
Look to the Lord, thou art not left alone,
Since he is there quhat pleasure canst thou take! –
He is at hand, and hears thy heavy groan,
End out thy faught, and suffer for his sake!
A sight most bright thy soul sall schortlie see
When store of Glore thy rich reward sall be.

Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross[733]

Introduction

Elizabeth Melville's sonnet for John Welch, presumably written in the aftermath of his banishment from Scotland, was an early indication of the affection in which he was held amongst the network of leading Reformed ministers and laity in Scotland. In John Livingstone's autobiography (begun in 1666) he stated:

> Those whereby I profited most were the preachings of four men, Mr Robert Rolloc, Mr John Welsh, Mr Robert Bruce, and Mr David Dickson, whom I

[733] J. Reid Baxter, ed., *Poems of Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross* (Edinburgh, Solsequium, 2010), 68.

> thought of all that I had read breathed most of the Spirit of God, least affected, most clear and plain, and most powerfull.[734]

He went on to say that he 'got in loan from John Stewart of Air a large book of sermons of Mr Welshes, all which are almost nothing but unfolding of the inward exercise of an Christian.' [735] The extant printed sermons correspond to this opinion. They were oriented towards the spiritual lives of his congregation. Their personal tone, combined with solid advice on Christian piety, partly explain why John Welch became so popular within the narrative of the Reformed Kirk. Welch's sermons were delivered within a framework of Calvinist predestination, salvation and final judgement. The Revelation of John the Divine was drawn upon for the first ten of his published sermons, where he explored final judgement and repentance, and is an important reflection of the apocalyptic world-view of early seventeenth-century religious thought, interwoven as it was with dynastic and political imperatives.[736] This was developed further in his 1612 work, *L'Armageddon de la Babylon Apocalyptique*.[737] However, Welch held this in tension with the assertion that God would not condemn anyone who held faith, had shown repentance and turned towards God.[738] Each of the sermons critiqued and encouraged a re-formation of lifestyle and piety that

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[734] 'A Brief Historical Relation of the Life of Mr John Livingstone' in *Select Biographies,* ed. W. K. Tweedie, Wodrow Society, 9 (Edinburgh, 1845), vol. 1, 140.

[735] *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, ed. G. Morison Paul, Scottish History Society, 61 (Edinburgh, 1911), 168. Wariston noted in his diary that 'by God's providence I obteaned and begoud to read Welsch on the 11 Hebrews.' If Wariston was correct in his attribution, then it is likely that he referred to Sermon XXV of the *Forty-Eight Select Sermons* (later published). This demonstrated Welch's popularity beyond his death in 1622. However, there is also a possibility that Wariston was referring to the series of sermons on Hebrews 11 attributed to Robert Bruce. If this was the case, then it is interesting to consider that Bruce's sermons could have been attributed to Welch. The two men were good friends, and no doubt spiritual kindred in the network of Reformed clergy and laity.

[736] This ideological landscape is particularly well outlined in A. Williamson, 'Empire and Anti-Empire: Andrew Melville and British Political Ideology, 1589-1605,' in R.A. Mason and S.J. Reid, eds., *Andrew Melville*, 75-99.

[737] J. Welch, *L'Armageddon de la Babylon Apocalyptique*, (Jonzac, Hierosme Maran, 1612). Parts of this work were later reprinted in English translation alongside similar material by Archbishop James Ussher, *A French prophecy: or, An admonition to the English (London, 1690).*

[738] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons Preached by That Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Mr John Welch sometime Minister of the Gospel in Air* (Edinburgh, R. Drummond for W. Gray, 1744), XLVIII, 505-506.

would contribute to reconciliation with God and a positive life beyond death. This case study will evaluate Welch's relationship with his congregation in light of the content of his substantial body of his surviving sermon texts, and the context in which they were preached.

Biography

Born in Nithsdale around 1568/9, Welch was the son of the Laird of Coliestoun. He was portrayed as a type of prodigal son, 'a young stripling, to run away from the school, and play the trowant,' later becoming a border reiver, but returning to his father's mercy. [739] Following thereafter a less rebellious vocational route, Welch was amongst the first students of the new Tounis College of Edinburgh, where he matriculated in 1585 and graduated in 1588 following tuition under the regime of Robert Rollock. Becoming a minister, his first charge was in Selkirk, where he was inducted in 1589, and was appointed by the privy council to a commission to 'preserve the true religion' in Ettrick Forest and Tweeddale in 1590.[740] His ministry in Selkirk lasted until around 1594 at which point he was described as being driven out by local intimidation. In the context of the hagiography of Welch, this could be interpreted as a parallel to Christ not being heard in his home town of Nazareth.[741] His time at Selkirk was followed by around six years at Kirkcudbright, with supervision of the parishes of Galtaway, Dunrod and Kilchrist, following which he was appointed to assist the elderly John Porterfield in the town of Ayr in 1600.[742] On the death of Porterfield in 1604, Welch became senior minister and remained there until his banishment from Scotland in 1606. This exile and its circumstances ensured that Welch became a hero of the Reformed Kirk and that his more admirable characteristics were advanced over any less appealing traits. Livingstone's account of Welch amounts to three pages of text, whereas that of Andrew Melville only merited a short paragraph. This seems indicative of both the impact of his ministry and the devotion that grew up around him.

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[739] A. R. MacDonald, 'Welsh, John (1568/9–1622)', (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28979> [accessed 21st May, 2016]; Anon, *A History of the Life and Death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Edinburgh, 1715), 2; Luke 15: 11-32.
[740] D. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol.5, 420.
[741] Anon, *History of the Life and Death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Glasgow, James Duncan, 1735), 4; In *Scottish Puritanism,* 20, David Mullan pointed to parallels with Gregory's life of Benedict of Nursia, but there seems to be an overt move towards identifying parallels between Welsh and the life of Jesus of Nazareth.
[742] A.R. MacDonald, 'Welsh, John (1568/9–1622.)'

Welch had been caught up in the confrontation between Kirk and King in 1596, preaching on 18th December in St Giles, Edinburgh, in support of the radical "presbyterian" coup which had attempted to force the King's hand in relation to Royal policy on Roman Catholic toleration and the relationship between Kirk and Crown.[743] Following suspension, he was restored to his position as minister at Kirkcudbright, and felt able to dedicate his 1602 polemic *A Reply Against M. Gilbert Browne, Priest*, to King James in the Epistle Dedicatory.[744] However, in 1605 he was again caught up in controversy, this time surrounding the General Assembly which had been scheduled to be held in Aberdeen. A number of commissioners arrived in the city and convened, apparently unaware of the King's order to prorogue. Despite his best efforts to make the eirenic case for the Assembly with Chancellor Seton on his return south to Edinburgh, the episode developed into a full blown trial of strength between King and Kirk.[745] Consequently, Welch was warded in Blackness Castle, the destination of political prisoners of the state. Welch, Robert Dury, John Sharp, Andrew Duncan, John Strachan and John Forbes were eventually convicted of treason before the King's Advocate, Lord Binning. However this capital sentence was commuted to banishment and Welch sailed into exile from the port of Leith on 7th November 1606.[746] This stage of trial and banishment saw Welch portrayed as the suffering servant, condemned by the authorities for faithfully enacting the purposes of God. James Melville's account of the trial casts it as similar to the the trial of Jesus before the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, noting that 'The Counsel was betimes conveinit in the morning, betuixt sex and sevin a clock; and so lyk that of the Scribes and Pharisies that condemnit Christ, consisting of a few Court Lordis and sum Ministeres….'[747]

Welch himself viewed the imprisoned ministers and the entire Kirk of Scotland as the victims of a particular establishment agenda. Writing from Blackness to Lady Lilias Graham on 6th January, 1606, Welch asserted that:

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[743] J. Goodare, '*The Attempted Scottish Coup of 1596*,' 329.
[744] J. Welsch, *A reply against M. Gilbert Browne, Priest* (Edinburgh, Waldegrave, 1602, *STC* 25235).
[745] See A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 108-123 and J. Reid Baxter, 'Andrew Melville and the Gunpowder Plot, 1605-1609,' in R.A. Mason and S. Reid, eds., *Andrew Melville*, especially 156-7.
[746] A.R. MacDonald, 'Welsh, John (1568/9–1622).'
[747] *ADJM*, 575.

> The guilt of our blood shall not only lie upon our prince, but also upon our own brethren, bishops, counsellors, and commissioners; it is they, even they, that have stirred up our prince against us. We must, therefore, lay the blame and burden of our blood upon them especially, however the rest above written be partakers of their sins with them.[748]

In the same letter, however, he talked of the constant love of God using beautiful amd intimate imagery drawing on Song of Songs, where Christ was portrayed as a faithful lover despite hardships endured. This quality of deeply affective and charismatic piety was combined with the principled and determined pursuit of an uncompromising church polity within which the kingship of Christ tempered the role of the monarch. Here we see Welch depicted as the anointed of the Lord set against the rulers of the earth.[749] The sailing of the exiles from Leith on 7th November 1605 was described as a great outpouring of solidarity and emotion:

> Now the Time is come he must leave Scotland, and never to see it again, so upon the 7th of November, 1605 in the morning he with his neighbours took ship at Leith, and though it was but two a clock in the morning, many were waiting on with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell. After prayer they sung the 23rd Psalm, and so with the great greiff of the spectators set sail for the South of France….[750]

James Melville's diary supported this account, noting 'but eftir their cumming hither, Mr Johne Welsche conceivit a prayer, quhilk bred great motioune in the heartis of all the heareres.'[751] His initial destination was Bordeaux. Correspondence with Robert Boyd of Trochrigg indicated that Welch was keen to establish an English/Scots-speaking

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[748] *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, vol. 1, 25.
[749] Psalm 2.2 'The Kings of the earth band themselves, and the princes are assembled together against the Lord and against his Christ.' *Geneva Bible*, 1560.
[750] *History of the Life and death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Glasgow, James Duncan, 1735), 25.
[751] *ADJM*, 668-70.

congregation for the many Scottish and English ex-patriots living in Bordeaux, but this idea apparently did not come to fruition.[752] Consequently, he was admitted by the Huguenot church as pastor at Nérac, followed by Jonzac and finally St Jean-d'Angély, where he remained until persecution of the French Protestant towns and church under Louis XIII led to his return to the British Isles. Welch was never allowed to return to Ayr, but it is a tribute to the esteem in which he was held that the burgh continued to provide him with financial support until at least 1610-11.[753] On his departure from France, he had intended to settle in Nova Scotia but his health failed and he died in London in 1622 aged 53.[754]

Pastor

From Welch's own pen we have an account of his conception of the pastoral ministry that he was engaged in:

> The end of this Ministry of mine among you, it is to root you and ground you in the Lord Jesus, that ye may find Grace in him and through him, and that ye may be filled with his peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, and that your mouths may be filled with his praise. How, there is nothing can plant you in Christ but faith, and there is nothing can make Christ dwell in your hearts but faith, and there is nothing can root you and ground you in the Son, but faith in the Lord Jesus.[755]

There are many accounts of Welch during his time in Ayr which testify to his life and character. The 1715 *Life* described him as being a man of both hands-on involvement in the affairs of the town and of great piety. The 1735 *Life* asserted that 'from the beginning of his Ministry to his death he reckoned the day ill spent if he stayed not seven or eight hours in prayer,' whilst he is described as having taken action to calm the many skirmishes and

[752] R. Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, ed. J. Duncan, vol. 2, 302.
[753] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, ed. G.S. Pryde, 249, 1610-11 'To Mr. John Welsche, the town's late minister, in France, £200.'
[754] D. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 21.
[755] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, XXV, 302.

violence that occurred in the lively port town.[756] His sermons provide glimpses of this robust culture:

> He shall not strive nor cry, his voice shall not be heard in the streets. (Here is a lesson to you whose voice is oft heard in the streets; ye are not like Christ the innocent Lamb, that ye spake not a word loud in the streets.[757]

One can imagine that the congregation would have known exactly who he was referring to and this penchant for wit may have induced either suppressed mirth or outright laughter.

His piety was of the affective variety, shot through with a degree of humility:

> Sometimes before he went to sermon, he would send for his elders and tell them he was afraid to go to pulpit: Because he found himself sore deserted: and thereafter desire one or more of them to pray and then he would venture to the pulpit. But, it was observed, this humbling exertion, used ordinarily to be followed, with a flame of extraordinary assistance.[758]

He was described as having been heard praying loudly throughout the night in St John's Kirk, and observed praying after dark in the garden of his Manse with an aura of light around him. Once again, we have to decide whether these are hagiographical images, designed to recollect Jesus' habit of withdrawing to pray in the wilderness and in the Garden of Gethsemene before his arrest, trial and crucifixion, or true eye witness accounts.[759]

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[756] *History of the Life and death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Glasgow, James Duncan, 1735), 4; Anon, *A History of the Life and Death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Edinburgh, 1715), 7; *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, 5.
[757] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, XL, 413.
[758] Anon, *A History of the Life and Death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Edinburgh, 1715), 9.
[759] *Ibid*., 9,12,13.

Further evidence of his character is to be found at the pen of his wife's cousin, Robert Boyd of Trochrigg.[760] Welch seems to have adapted well to his pastorate in the congregation at Saint Jean d'Angely in Bordeaux. Boyd's letters have preserved a correspondence with one Monsieur Montmartine who wrote to him on June 29th 1607 and amongst other matters noted that 'Mr Welsh is nou preaching most peaceably and freely at Bordeaux…'[761] The 1735 *Life of Welch* described Boyd's account of experiencing his cousin preaching in French and is suggestive of Welch's compelling presence in worship:

> There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village, which moved Mr Boyd of Troch-Rig once to ask him, after he had preached before the University of Saumure with such boldness and authority, as if he had been before the meanest congregation, how he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of such quality? To which he answered, that he was so filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehension from Man at all. And this answer, said Mr Boyd, did not remove my admiration, but rather increased it.[762]

Welch's sanctity was taken to further heights in an account of the death and return to life of the son of Lord Ochiltree in Saumur. Welch apparently refused to accept that the young man had died, and stayed at his side in a prayer vigil for 48 hours until he revived. The parallel with the story of the raising of Lazarus seems clear here.[763] The writer of Welch's biography reported a resident of Selkirk recalling him as 'a type of Christ.' In popular Reformed consciousness, this was his identity. [764]

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[760] *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, 8.
[761] From Boyd's letters in R. Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, ed. J. Duncan, vol. 2, part 1.
[762] *History of the Life and death of Mr John Welch, Minister of the Gospel at Air* (Glasgow, James Duncan, 1735), 26.
[763] *Ibid*., 29, potentially alluding to John 11.1-44.
[764] *Select Biographies*, ed. W.K. Tweedie, 3.

Preacher

Fortunately a large body of Welch's sermons was published, so we have access to some forty-eight short sermons in addition to his printed stand-alone sermon, A *Cry to the Whole Earth*.[765] These sermons reveal him as remarkably connected to the reality of his parish. Far from expecting everyone to be a pious over-achiever, he acknowledged that different people have different types of relationship with God.[766] He tenderly used Psalm 42 to explore the experience of those in distress:

> For your exercise then, if ye would desire a Word of Consolation in this Time of Need, ye must understand that God hath a double Work in the Souls of such of his own as are cast down, the one work is secret, and so secret, that it only bears them up that they cast not away their Hope; but they stand waiting with Patience till God bring consolation; and this Work is so secret, that thou canst not look within thine own Heart, to see if there be any Grace there to comfort thee…….rest upon the promises of God, saying, Come unto me all ye that are wearied and ladened, and I will ease you; he that believes shall never be condemned; believe, and thou shalt see Wonders. [767]

Welch also noted the human tendency to oscillate between terror and security.[768] Whilst showing understanding of their likely lack of staying power, he encouraged his congregation to find Scriptural role models such as Mary of Magdala and Zaccheus, who displayed a change of heart and subsequent devotion to God:

> Now, if thou couldst believe that this continual walking with God brings greater glory unto God than the Work of the Creation of the World, wouldst thou not strive to do it; What Glory brings this to God? When ye may say, Yon Man was blind, but now he sees; he was deaf, but now he hears; he was dumb, but now he speaks; he was lame and crooked, but now he is restored to his Hands and Feet again; he was dead, but now he is alive: What Glory

[765] J. Welch, *A Cry to the Whole Earth* (Glasgow, J. and M. Robertson, 1794), 8.
[766] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, XXI, 273.
[767] *Ibid*., XXII, 285-7.
[768] *Ibid*., XXIV, 298.

> was it to God to see the Change of Zaccheus, who was a Publican, and yet made the Son of Abraham, and of an oppressor was made to give the half of his Goods to the Poor, and was made to restore Four-fold to such as he had taken any Thing from? Luke xix 5. What Glory to God was it to see such a sinful Woman, of whom they said, If he knew what this Woman were, he would not suffer her to Come near him; to see such a Change in her, that she sits at his Feet and washes them with Tears, Glory, What Joy, and What Pleasure should this be to God when he sees thee walking before him in this Christian life and conversation? [769]

A large part of his preaching seems to have been designed to stir up the flock towards self examination and renewed responsiveness to the message of the Gospel. There was a major emphasis on the tenderness and grace of God. Welch felt that God would not punish frail humanity, deploying the imagery of the bruised reed from Isaiah 42.3 and Matthew 12.20 to emphasise that God is not vindictive and wants to draw us to himself, saying 'Ye see the Lord will be content with a little wee thing, and of so small a thing he will make great.'[770]

His final two sermons preached at Ayr were entitled *No Condemnation to God's Elect*. As a way of signing off from his ministry at Ayr before his arrest, this seems entirely representative of his outlook, that God's purposes were to affirm and embrace humanity:

> There is no condemnation to you; and therefore, gladly may ye go home to your house, and gladly may ye go out at this church-door, and as ye may say, when ye are come home, this day salvation is come to my house, I am made the child of God, and the brother of Jesus Christ, for I am in him, and he is in me.[771]

[769] *Ibid*., XXVII, 323.
[770] *Ibid*., XL, 414.
[771] *Ibid*., XLVII, 502.

Preaching technique

The testimony of John Livingstone commended the directness and accessibility of the printed or manuscript versions of Welch's sermons in circulation. These printed versions also contain some clues as to the live experience of hearing the sermons. The language was not elevated, although it was often colourful and dramatic. Welch frequently used Scots words and idioms, which come through to us today despite the barrier of printed text.[772] It seems likely that his accent would have been tuned to communicate with the Scots language speakers of the burgh. Analysis of the sermon texts reveals a strongly rhetorical structure. Lists of points were frequently included, making his doctrine easier to understand and memorise.[773] Rhetorical questions were deployed frequently for dramatic impact and to turn the thread of the sermon back towards the congregation. Sometimes this involved using a scriptural quotation that became a question, such as words of Psalm 90, which became the challenge 'what is your life but as a weaver's shuttle?'[774] At other times, the rhetoric was dramatic, such as the series of questions in relation to God's justification and sanctification in Sermon XXXII.[775] He was not afraid to challenge specific incidences of behaviour such as 'whoredom and idolatry' (which transgressed his vision for a Godly burgh), urged repentance, and used vivid scriptural imagery to bring his sermons alive. [776] For an early modern congregation, a vision of monsters, dragons and devils dwelling in their hearts as evoked in Sermon XXXII, or the lurid description of hell and eternal perdition, would surely have created an electrifying atmosphere in the kirk.[777] Consecutive themes and sermon series formed an important part of Welch's preaching discipline. Sermons I and II covered the last judgement; III-X focused on Repentance; XI-XV dealt with Christian Warfare; and XXXI-XXXIV were preached on the theme of the Song of Zachary from Luke 1.74-75. He often picked up a theme from a previous service, recapping on what had already been said, or left the theme alive at the end of another. [778] This would have created

[772] Examples include Sermon XXVI, 314, 'shame or skaith' [damage]; Sermon XXIX, 'rive' [burst]; Sermon XXIII, 294, 'bank to brae' [riverside to hill]; Sermon XXX 'allanarly' [only]; Sermon XXXIV, 373 'meikle' [much/large].
[773] Such as in relation to how to love God and one another in Sermon XIX, 250; signs of being chosen by God in Sermon XX, 265; how to reform one's character for Christian living in Sermon XXIX, 335.
[774] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXII, 364.
[775] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXII, 363.
[776] *Ibid*., Sermon III, 86.
[777] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXII, 356 and Sermon XLII, 432.
[778] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXV.

a sense of an ongoing faith narrative being unfolded by the preacher. What would happen next in the story of the quest for eternal life?

Worship at Ayr[779]

The town of Ayr was a bustling sea port during the period of Welch's ministry. It should be thought of in the same category as Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee and Leith, with a similar social and trading infrastructure. As a centre for the Reformed Kirk it was significant enough to be the first parish appointment for the returning Genevan exile, Christopher Goodman, who became minister in 1559. The burgh records of Ayr revealed that in this year, a new pulpit was constructed, that Goodman was provided with a new preaching gown and that wine and bread was purchased for the celebration of the Reformed communion.[780] Apparently, the burgh regime in Ayr was already sympathetic to the Reforming cause, and reached out to one of the most celebrated of the Genevan exiles who in turn felt that the post was sufficiently worthwhile to take it on. Later, Goodman's old friend and colleague from Geneva, John Knox, preached at Ayr during 1566, where he was popular enough to be sought as their minister.[781] Both served the parish at the medieval St John's kirk. As can be seen in the images in Volume Two, this building was of a similar scale to St John's Kirk in Perth. The church building was commandeered during the Cromwellian invasion, with the result that a new parish church was constructed further from the shore and at the heart of the burgh. However, the original building survived into the eighteenth-century, so that we have a good impression of what it looked like externally. The surviving medieval west tower gives a good idea of the original scale and splendour of the whole building. Internally, one can imagine a spacious arcaded nave and choir, the skeleton of the building accented by the removal of the furnishings and decoration of Roman Catholicism.[782] Initially, the congregation would have been gathered around a pulpit in the central nave, with very few fixed seats. We have few clues of the detail of the post-Reformation interior, but it is likely that a notable burgh church such as this would have contained special seating for burgh

[779] See Volume Two, Figs.176-177 for images of St John's Kirk at Ayr.
[780] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, ed. G.S. Pryde, Scottish History Society, third series, 28 (Edinburgh, 1937), 132. The accounts also show that communion was celebrated five times in 1599 and at Candlemas, Lammas, Martinmas and Beltane, in 1601-2.
[781] J.E.A. Dawson, *John Knox*, 257.
[782] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, ed. G.S. Pryde, 168. The burgh accounts noted repairs to the 'pillars of the Kirk' in 1590-1.

dignatories, local lairds and the trades guilds of the town.[783] In fact, the burgh accounts confirm that from 1590 onwards the kirk was regularly repaired and developed with new floor tiling in 1594 and the construction of numerous desks, forms and lofts. This included specific work paid for in virtually each year after 1590, culminating in significant repairs and new seating in 1600. In that year, the burgh also paid for 'green cloth, silk fringes, gilt teackettis, black buckram and other furnishings for the pulpit, and green cloth for the reader's desk.'[784] The addition of two more lofts in 1602, further major works in 1603 and repairs and new seating in 1604 seems to reinforce the claim that Welch and Porterfield oversaw a successful period in the life of the kirk at Ayr, with the burgh backing the kirk and making the necessary arrangements to accommodate demand from the population of the town.

There is no documentary evidence of a sang schule before 1583, when Andrew Stewart was appointed master of the music school, with a further appointment in 1601.[785] Gordon Munro noted that in 1583 the sang schule master and his pupils were 'directed to 'sing in the Kirk the for [i.e four] partis of music.'[786] Thereafter there are a number of further references in the burgh accounts to payments made to masters of the music and grammar schools in connection with teaching music and singing the Psalms in the kirk, including a reference to the music master and reader being the same person in 1622-3.[787] This evidence usefully confirms that a programme of regular Psalm-singing in worship led variously by the music school and grammar school masters (likely assisted by their young singers) including harmonised singing, was felt to be both desirable and was happening in burgh kirks such as that of Ayr.[788]

Welch's sermons give us some useful clues as to the worship culture that he advocated. Sermon XXX is based upon the sin of idolatry outlined in Exodus 20.4-6, but went on to offer a positive vision of Reformed worship:

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[783] See Section One for further insights into the furnishings and layout of early Reformed Scottish kirks.
[784] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, ed. G.S. Pryde, 212.
[785] *SSSM*, 214.
[786] G.J. Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its Consequences,' 298.
[787] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624,* ed. G.S. Pryde, 149, 161, 204, 214, 218, 249, 252, 254, 257, 260, 267, 278.
[788] See also the discussion of sang schules in Section Two, Chapter Two, 168-173.

> First, there is the publick worship of God, in hearing of the Law and Gospel preached and proclaimed to you in this Ministry, and in joining thy self by consent to the publick worship of God, in the publick congregation, by saying, Amen to the publick prayers of the Saints of God, and in reaching out thy hands and taking to thyself the seals and sacraments of the visible covenant of God, and in consenting to the censures of the Kirk, and giving place to the keys of the kingdom of heaven; these are the publick means of the worship of God, as also publick fasts and thanksgiving.[789]

This vision was a standard Scottish Reformed prospectus of the three marks of the church: preaching the Word, participating in the sacramental Word and being subject to the discipline of the Kirk. The importance of the place of public worship for Welch was shown in his quotations from Psalm 27.4 and Psalm 84.1,2,10. In each case the texts speak of serving God in the Temple as a time of special encounter. Whilst St John's kirk may not have remained a gilded temple of Roman Catholic worship, the space was no less special for the Reformed Kirk. Devoid of any sense of holiness or intrinsic power in sacred objects, the place of meeting became sacred when the congregation met publicly to encounter God. Welch took the importance of participation in the Lord's Supper to a degree where his account of the instrumental benefits of it and Baptism were obvious, although here seen through the negative lens of his congregation being unprepared for participation:

> I fear many of you as yet have not had great comfort in your Baptism; because ye have not considered, that it is ordained of God, to be a mean to strengthen and confirm you in the Premises of Salvation made to you in Christ, and sealed up to you by his blood, signified by the water in the sacrament of Baptism. Again, I fear the use of the Lord's Supper has not been profitable to you, because of the want of the holy preparation before the action, and that holy disposition in the doing of the action…..[790]

[789] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, Sermon XXX, 344.
[790] *Ibid*., Sermon XXVIII, 329.

Welch shared the sacramental perspectives of his contemporaries, John Davidson, William Cowper, James Melville, and his friend and mentor, Robert Bruce.[791] Whilst emphasising the spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, the metaphor was pushed to its limit in his hope that 'would ye all had faith as a hand to grip Christ, and as a mouth to eat his flesh and drink his blood daily, and as a stomach to digest him, that ye may feed upon him, and live by faith.'[792] There was certainly no Zwinglian dimension to Welch's thinking around the Lord's Supper. He extolled 'That glorious presence of God in the publick congregation, by the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments,'[793] and used heightened imagery of the Passion and its instrumental effect in achieving salvation for us, throughout his sermons. Welch urged daily meditation on the passion of Christ and the efficacy of his death for the community of faith.

In common with and apparently exceeding the Perth regime of William Cowper, Welch was credited by John Livingstone as preaching 'every day of the week twice' in addition to the Sabbath. Matthew Crawford's preface to the 1672 *Popery Anatomized* (a reprinting of Welch's 1602 *A reply against Gilbert Browne, Priest*) went further, noting that Welch 'preached not only twise on the Lord's day, but also twise on every day of the week, from nine to ten in the morning, and from four to five at night.'[794] Welch himself described 'a continued burden of a fourfould teaching every week in my ordinary charge, beside others both privat and publick duties.'[795] It seems likely that the material contained in *Forty Eight Select Sermons* emerged from his weekday preaching.[796] The texts are compact and pastoral, perfectly suited to the more intimate weekday gatherings, and are therefore likely to be close to the original sermon text rather than a reduced format of longer preachings. However, some of the texts specifically urged the listener to attend weekday worship, so must have been delivered as Sabbath sermons:

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[791] R. Bruce, *Sermons vpon the sacrament of the Lords Supper*; See Section Three, Chapter One for discussion of John Davidson, Section Three, Chapter Two for discussion of James Melville and Section Three, Chapter Three for discussion of William Cowper.
[792] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, Sermon III, 84.
[793] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXII, 358.
[794] J. Welch, *Popery Anatomized* (Glasgow, Robert Sanders, 1672), 3 [This was a reprint of the 1602 work, *A reply against M. Gilbert Browne, Priest*].
[795] *Ibid*., 'Address to the Christian Reader' [dated 'at Air, 18th December, 1602'].
[796] *Select Biographies,* ed. W. K. Tweedie, 300.

> Where are ye in the mornings and the evenings that the house of God is so empty, and what becomes of you all these times of the morning and evening sacrifice? I beseech you to spare time from your work, and come morning and evening to the worship of God, and I promise you it shall hinder you nothing in your calling; but the Lord shall add a blessing to your labours every day, the more that ye frequent the worship of God.[797]

This implied that attendance at weekday worship was lower than on the Sabbath, but equally suggests that there were many more people in church on Sundays. This is perhaps not surprising, but it is interesting firstly that there was no sanction against being absent on weekdays, with Welch having to persuade rather than command attendance, and secondly that Sunday attendance must have been at a significantly higher level. On the other hand, it may be that the definition of "empty" for Welch was that there was some space in the Kirk and that Sunday worship saw crowds packing into the building. There is certainly evidence for the latter, as Welch and the burgh council planned a new church to relieve the crowding of the old parish kirk of St John as attendance increased alongside his popularity as a preacher. The new church was not achieved in his time, but construction was begun in 1653 as part of a deal struck during the Cromwellian construction of a fort which encompassed St John's and utilised part of the old church as a barracks chapel and part as storage and stabling.[798] The medieval building was finally demolished around 1726.

There is much internal evidence within the sermons that achieving a full attendance at both Sabbath and weekday worship was an uphill struggle. In the published sermon *A Cry to the Whole Earth*, based upon the story of Martha and Mary in Luke 10, the narrative of Mary's prayerful devotion to Jesus and Martha's preoccupation with domestic tasks was used as a proof text for keeping the Sabbath free from work and focused on spiritual rather than material wealth. Welch urged that 'There is a time wherein we ought to labour in our own vocation, and a time wherein we ought to hear the word of God.'[799] However, he was realistic in his assessment of the balance between work and prayer:

[797] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, 82.
[798] J. H. Pagan, *Annals of Ayr in the Olden Time, 1560-1692*, 56.
[799] J. Welch, *A Cry to the Whole Earth*, (Glasgow, J. and M. Robertson, 1794), 8.

> It is good to be occupied about our calling, to get our living; but it is better to be occupied in hearing the word, which is able to save our souls. As the head and the foot are both needful to the body, so Mary and Martha are both needful in a commonwealth.[800]

Welch's emphasis on the corporate and relational aspect of worship was significant in setting the scene for the later controversy around the Five Articles of Perth, which gave permission for sacramental rites outside of public worship. However, private home worship and study was an equally prominent theme for him. In his sermons, Welch repeatedly stressed the need to turn to God in prayer, and to retreat from the world. The Scottish Reformed Kirk in general urged worship in the home as well as attendance at weekday prayers and sermons where they were provided in the kirks of the burghs, but did not particularly encourage private prayer in church.[801] Welch's practice of going to pray in the church outside times of worship was interesting in light of Calvin's rejection of use of the worship space for private devotion. He urged his congregation to 'use the private means in your house, at the least morning and evening every day.'[802] The microcosm of home worship followed similar lines to the larger community of faith, with the family urged to 'confess your sins one to another, exhort one another, rebuke, instruct, comfort one another, and ay be doing some good in whatsoever company thou be'st or comes in.'[803] Perhaps Welch found this a difficult regime to establish without constant encouragement, and therefore felt the need to keep making the point. Aside from the refusal of access to the Lord's Supper on the grounds of lack of knowledge of the teachings of the Kirk, there was very little leverage over failure to conduct worship in the home. Welch did his best to achieve consent to his proposal that spending time with God in 'exhorting, comforting, rebuking and sharpning one another' was a vital part of achieving salvation.[804] Much will be required from those to whom much will be given – just turning up on a Sunday for worship

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[800] *Ibid*., 10.
[801] J.E.A. Dawson, 'Hamely With God'; A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 317-397.
[802] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, Sermon XXX, 345.
[803] *Ibid*., Sermon XXX, 346; The kirk session minute of 18th February, 1605 urged that the congregation should challenge their neighbour directly on 'ony suspicioun of publik or privat sin' rather than bringing the issue publicly before the session in the first instance. A. Mackenzie, 'Extracts from Kirk Session Book of John Welch, 1604-1605,' in *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Collections*, 2nd series (1961-1966), vol. 7, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Kilmarnock, 1966), 50-51.
[804] *Ibid*., XXXII, 359.

wasn't enough. The heart had to be stirred and a true commitment to God established.[805] But Welch was clear through all of this that his people had a right of access to God:

> God has given thee a right and interest to all thir means, that thou maust step to them when thou wilt, thou mayst hear the Word, receive the Sacraments, thou mayst pray, thou mayst sing, thou mayst meditate, thou mayst confer upon the Word, and thou mayst use all the Exercise of Religion when thou wilt, ye oftentimes God gives the Strength to use them all, when you had little Strength to thy self in the use of them.[806]

Personal commitment was tied to a strong emphasis on constant awareness of and relationship with God. Welch urged people to pray continually and to see all of life as a zone of God's activity.[807] This was a personal relationship that was likened to being in conversation with God, rather than a liturgically filtered transaction with a distant and impersonal deity, lending urgency to the question of behaviour and piety.[808] God was felt to be watching and aware – there was nothing between humans and divinity. There was no harshness, though, in Welch's vision of God. God was portrayed as graceful and forgiving, loosing us from the bondage of The Law and offering a new and sweeter voice in Christ.[809]

Discipline and repentance

The kirk session minutes of Ayr survive from 1604, perhaps linked to the fact that Welch had become senior minister in that year following the death of the elderly John Porterfield. There is a very short period of kirk session minutes relating to the period of his active ministry in Ayr, and certainly too little to make any specific judgements about it from this source. What can be said more generally is that the minutes display a typical range of disciplinary and penitential action. On the basis of this evidence, Ayr could not be said to be particularly better or worse than many other towns of its size. Non-attendance at worship, Sabbath breaking, verbal and physical violence, prophane rhyming and singing were all

[805] *Ibid*., XXVI, 311.
[806] *Ibid*., XXXVII, 399.
[807] *Ibid*., XXVI, 309.
[808] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXII, 364.
[809] *Ibid*., XXXVII, 396.

addressed in specific cases. The 1672 edition of *A reply against Gilbert Browne, Priest* which is entitled *Popery Anatomized*, included a short biography of Welch which noted that 'one time especially, his wife finding him overcharged with grief, he told her, he had that to press him which she had not, the souls of three thousand people to answer for, whilst he knew not how it was with many of them.'[810] Judging by this comment, Welch appears to have been a conscientious pastor, with the spiritual welfare of his parish at heart. The route to ensuring this spiritual well-being included the exercise of discipline as well as preaching. The session register begins with a table of fines for specific offences, which is a good indication of the kind of things that regularly came before the minister and elders.[811] As Moderator of session, Welsh would have been at the centre of this Reformed regime which was established a lot earlier than the surviving records, and would have been embedded during the long ministry of John Porterfield, minister from 1580 until his death in 1604.[812]

He seems to have forged strong friendships and mutual admiration with some of the most powerful people in the burgh. His first home in Ayr was in lodging provided in the house of John Stewart, a leading merchant of the burgh and later firm friend.[813] Robert Boyd noted in his 1623 account of the death of Hugh Kennedy, formerly Provost of Ayr, that Kennedy was 'one of the most familiar friends of that man of God, Mr John Welsh.'[814] No doubt such friendships were helpful in consolidating the still fledgling Reformed Kirk. However, along with friendships came challenges. We find evidence in the sermons of the dire threat presented by 'the pest' [Bubonic Plague]:

> Likewise, how the Lord has guarded you round about, and gave command to the pest that it should not come near to your Ports, when he scattered it over other congregations, and made men and women cry, I have no more but one hundred Merks, take it all, and give me leave to take on hatful of water: Their skallet-boards and skallet-trenchers in Glasgow and Edinburgh, they may

[810] J. Welch, *Popery Anatomized*, 5.
[811] A. Mackenzie, 'Extracts from Kirk Session Book of John Welch, 1604-1605,' 47-52.
[812] *FES*, vol.3, *Synod of Glasgow and Ayr*, 5.
[813] A. Mackenzie, 'John Welch and his Garden,' in *Collections of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 1947-49, vol. 1, (1950), 52.
[814] R. Wodrow, *Collections Upon the Lives of the Reformers*, ed. J. Duncan, vol. 2, 265.

> bear you witness. I wot well ye had as great signs of incessant whoredom as they had.[815]

Ayr seems to have escaped the worst of this terror, which struck the principal towns of the nation, although the burgh accounts for 1605-7 note incidence of plague.[816] However, Welch confronted those whose behaviour and manner of life he felt had brought down divine displeasure on the community in the form of the threat of contagious disease.[817] He had strong words for idle gossip and 'ungodly' behaviour, asserting that 'no man shall be condemned but that he has lived condemned.' Notwithstanding the Grace of God, how one lived was important.[818] The key to addressing this issue was repentance. For Welch, the door was always open for this to happen, but time was short.[819] One can imagine the sense of urgency engendered by such a message in the context of plague. His sermons III-X are entitled 'On Repentance,' and this is a foundational part of his overall message to the congregation. Repentance was seen as a change of disposition that God offers as a gift, rather than something we can do entirely unilaterally. In addition, it is offered amongst other temptations from the vividly drawn figure of Satan. For Welch, Satan was an active force, given lurid expression in his sermons, and drawing especially on the imagery of 1 Peter, where Satan is described as a roaring lion, prowling around on the look-out for victims.[820] Welch presented a list of ways in which Satan would hamper their progress and steal their lives from them.[821] There is a sense of cosmic battle in Sermons 11-15, entitled 'The Christian Warfare.' This "carrot and stick" approach, where repentance was presented as a better option than being lured by the wiles of Satan to burn in hell for eternity, must have been both terrifying and effective for his listeners.[822] As always, there was a balance – 1 Peter 2.9 is referenced in Sermon XXXVII. Here the faithful are described as a chosen generation, but their route ahead, battling against Satan could indeed be rough.

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[815] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, Sermon XLII, 437.
[816] *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624,* ed. G.S. Pryde, 235-236.
[817] J. Welch, *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*, Sermon XLII, 46.
[818] *Ibid*., Sermon XLIV, 450.
[819] *Ibid*., Sermon XLIV, 454.
[820] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXVII, 392.
[821] *Ibid*., Sermon XXXV, 386.
[822] *Ibid*., Sermon X, 175.

Conclusion

John Welch has to be analysed with the understanding that most of the sources for his life were written from the perspective that the exiled pastor was a persecuted hero of the Reformed Kirk. Consequently, a hermeneutic of suspicion must be deployed when considering accounts of his life that appear to elevate him to a position of honour which has strong resonances with pre-Reformation canonisation. However, his surviving sermons are one of the clearest surviving indications of the flavour of Scottish Reformed preaching and piety. The locally-focused sermons reveal a pastor connected to and challenging his congregations, wrestling with a typical range of human behaviour, which showed both resistance to and acquiescence with his programme of piety. He is revealed as a skilled rhetorician with a high spiritual temperature, likely to command attention and stir emotion amongst his congregations. Analysis of Welch in the context of the Ayr parish reveals that he entered an already strongly Reformed worship discipline with up to five celebrations of the Lord's Supper annually by 1601. Physical expression of this was shown in the medieval St John's Kirk, where a programme of construction of pews and lofts was carried out in the period 1590-1604. Welch's stress on home worship and private prayer, combined with attendance at weekday and Sabbath worship, adds to our picture of a well-established, early and vibrant Reformed worship paradigm.

THESIS CONCLUSION

NOT SO DOUR

In this study, the key components of buildings and furnishings, liturgical texts and ritual, Psalm-singing, and the contribution of ministers have been identified as inextricably linked in the totality of the experience of worship. These components developed around Reformed doctrine to create a hybrid experience of worship which drew on elements of the past of the Scottish church in the process of creating a new worship environment for the Reformed Kirk. We have observed the continuity of worshippers gathering in the same medieval churches in which their ancestors had worshipped. Some of the features of these buildings would have been familiar. The arcades of St Giles Kirk in Elgin and the iconography retained in St Nicholas and St Machar's Kirks in Aberdeen, the rood screen paintings at Fowlis Easter, and the widespread sacrament houses of eastern Scotland were links to a doctrinal landscape that endured for at least a generation in the hearts and minds of many Scottish Christians. More was retained in churches across Scotland than the items for which we now have physical evidence. The mid-seventeenth century Covenanters and Cromwellians engaged in a second wave of iconoclasm that removed much physical evidence of continuity between the old and new Kirks.

Alongside elements of continuity came what Reformed thinkers would have called the recovery of the purity of the early church, rather than innovation. Thanks to its roots in the pre-Reformation Scottish context, mixed with European currents of religious change, Scottish Reformed worship developed its national liturgical flavour. Close as the Scottish and English Reformed traditions were, it was the Genevan inheritance of liturgical texts and metrical Psalmody that was developed in the Scottish context and adapted to become a unique vernacular liturgical tradition. This reached its peak in parallel with the growing momentum of the Kirk in the 1590s, which also saw an increase in the number of ministers available to serve a single parish and the expansion of seating capacity and decoration of many kirks. The 1596 Henrie Charteris Psalme Buik was the zenith of Scottish Reformed liturgical development, and provided a Scots vernacular edition of the Kirk's substantial core worship resources that have been overlooked by historians. The new Chapel Royal and the liturgical setting for the baptism of Prince Henry at Stirling in 1594 embodied wider developments of worship in the Kirk. The King's gallery in each of the large burgh kirks was mirrored by the often elaborate laird's aisle or loft found in virtually every parish kirk across the country. As seating was installed, the decoration of the laird's loft became the model for the embellishment of desks and lofts for craft guilds and influential members of civic life.

Church buildings which displayed these new features alongside the inherited infrastructure of the old Kirk revealed both the importance of social hierarchy and the success of the Kirk in establishing itself as a key locus for that hierarchy. The success of the new Kirk in embedding itself in Scottish society was revealed within these colourful, complex and sophisticated hybrid kirks. These kirks proved an ideal environment for the establishment of the new metrical Psalmody, which became a popular way of engaging congregations in worship and teaching the building blocks of Christian doctrine. The *Singing the Reformation 2016* project demonstrated that the new intimate layout of churches greatly facilitated unaccompanied corporate singing. This music could be emotively charged, thanks to its variety of moods in texts and tunes, which both tapped into the deep wells of human experience and then transcended it. Notwithstanding the existence of harmonised singing by sang schules across the country, the category error of assessing metrical Psalmody against the standard of art music has blinded historians to the affective force of this new and characteristic worship medium of the Kirk, which was taken up at least across Scots-speaking areas and possibly also in the Gaidhealtachd. Contrary to the perceived dourness of the Kirk, the writing of James Melville and John Davidson has revealed great Reformed enthusiasm for the art of singing and music to kindle and nurture piety.

At the heart of the developing Reformed worship paradigm were the prominent ministers John Davidson, James Melville, William Cowper, and John Welch. Our case studies have revealed the extent to which these ministers were part of a closely related clerical group who influenced each other, and changed the environments in which they worked and studied. The striking similarities between their writing and preaching indicates that despite their varying positions in the controversies concerning the introduction of episcopal polity, they held a great deal in common. They shared a highly sacramental Reformed doctrine and practice and a deep commitment to Discipline as the third mark of the Church. Each displayed strongly pastoral instincts in their work, and all were oriented towards the spiritual good of their parishioners and the people of the Reformed Kirk. Their highly emotive writing, teaching, and preaching was instrumental in galvanising and building up engaged and spiritually literate congregations.

Though regional variation was undoubtedly significant in the early development of the Reformed Kirk, a striking degree of similarity has emerged from the four case studies of Salt-Preston, Anstruther/Kilrenny, Perth and Ayr. The setting of worship and the practice of each minister revealed many common points. It has been shown that following early variation the

Reformed Kirk developed a paradigm of doctrine and worship that not only came to be the norm across the country by 1617, but also became the deeply held religious custom and practice of the people. The evidence of buildings, furnishings, liturgy and music substantiates this conclusion. This world of worship was lost due to the policies pursued by James VI. His early enthusiasm which celebrated the polity, doctrine and worship culture of the Scottish Kirk was replaced after 1603 by a liking for Church of England worship and polity. The Scottish Kirk's settled state came under threat from another culture which was regarded as incompatible with its own. Whilst under duress, it was initially able to absorb James' programme of introduction of episcopal polity. However, it could not and would not withstand the additional weight of his liturgical agenda expressed in the Five Articles of Perth. The clerical antipathy to state episcopacy and the lay reaction to challenges to the embedded worship culture were time bombs set under the experience of worship in the Kirk. James' insistence on a programme of Anglicised worship at the Holyrood Chapel Royal in 1617 was the overture to the destruction of the established worship experience of the Scottish Kirk. As the Wars of the Covenant and the Civil Wars in the Three Kingdoms raged, one very significant casualty was any continuity with the pre-Reformation Kirk. It destroyed liturgical richness, and the complex and sophisticated resource of metrical Psalmody and clerical practice which had drawn upon the widest palette of European Reformed doctrine and practice.

In relation to Scottish worship, Jenny Wormald's claim that Scotland was 'a distinctly grimmer place to live as it put down its reformed roots' can now be seen to have oversimplified a much more complex situation.[823] The Jacobean Kirk was a richer environment of worship than has been fully appreciated. This thesis has drawn together evidence that shows that the true character of Scottish Reformed worship in the period 1559-1617 has yet to be fully appreciated. 1559-60 was not a cultural and religious year zero, as some have suggested, but instead a threshold of change in which the Church of Scotland grappled with the implications of being a Reformed national church with a long local and international Christian heritage. For a time it succeeded in creating a rich, colourful, engaging and affective Reformed worship paradigm for Scotland that was lost in the troubles of the seventeenth-century.

[823] J. Wormald, 'Reformed and Godly Scotland?' in T. Devine and J. Wormald, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), 205.

The established narrative of the Scottish early Reformed Kirk therefore needs to continue to be challenged by historians in order to recognise that developments in the national Kirk after 1617 did not represent the reality of the experience of worship fostered by those who were to become heroes to the later Scottish presbyterian Kirk. The worship culture advanced by the founding fathers of the Reformed Kirk turns out to have been much more vibrant and sophisticated than both critics and defenders have claimed. In wider Scottish cultural narratives, the caricature of the joyless presbyterian zealot can be seen to be a creation bearing little relation to reality in that period. At the very least, this should prompt commentators to break the established straight-line narrative between the first days of the Reformed Kirk and subsequent periods of Scottish religious and cultural life.

For the Scottish churches, this study has important implications. The Church of Scotland still struggles with the dour caricature deployed as both an insult and an identity marker. The realisation that its foundational worship culture bore little resemblance to the well established caricature opens doors of opportunity for the development of a creative, affective, colourful, and sensory worship practice that can legitimately be said to be inspired by the Kirk's founding fathers. This also has important implications for ecumenical dialogue. Whilst the polemic between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland was clear and persistent, both churches should recognise the continuities of doctrine and practice in the period of this study, and the extent to which the debates of the day masked the underlying continuity in the Lord's Supper, Psalm-singing, and the use of ancient places of worship. Continuing turbulent relations between the Church of Scotland and the Scottish Episcopal Church are to some extent rooted in today's differences in worship practice. On this matter, both churches can rediscover common ground in their shared pre-1617 worship culture. The Church of Scotland can bring to the table a mandate for the rediscovery of its richly vibrant foundational worship experience that can help it to identify with the often sensory sacramental liturgical worship of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In turn, Scottish Episcopalians can recognise the vibrant sacramental Reformed worship culture and explicitly "Catholicke Christian" self-identity of the Church of Scotland prior to 1617. Whilst both of these churches have developed in different directions, a rediscovery of their shared worship culture in the early Reformed Kirk could be a platform for enriched future relationship.

APPENDIX ONE

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

Singing the Reformation, 2016

From 2009-12, AHRC funded project, *Singing the Reformation*, was led by Professor Jane Dawson and the team of Drs Noel O'Regan, John Scally, Jessie Patterson, Andy Grout, Scott Spurlock and Tim Duguid. The project was designed to highlight the Thomas Wode part books, some of which reside in the special collections at the University of Edinburgh library, and to increase understanding of their place in the Psalm-singing and wider cultural context of early modern Scotland. As part of this project, and its follow-on project, new modern sheet music editions of many of the Psalms contained within the Wode part books were created for free use by anyone interested. Some of these settings were recorded by a small group of professional singers from the Dunedin Consort. These recordings added to a small number of settings of Psalms from the period recorded by another professional choir, Cappella Nova, and a larger high quality amateur group, Edinburgh University Renaissance Singers. Despite this, there remained a gap in the "sonic evidence." There were no recordings which attempted to capture the sound of an enthusiastic congregation singing the Kirk part (tune), led by a precentor and a sang schule group singing the harmonies of David Peebles, who contributed most of the arrangements found in the Wode Psalter. A project was conceived to extend the insights of the Singing the Reformation project and to record 13 Psalms using the above forces, with the addition of a group of child choristers singing the treble descant line.

Scots language

Although the Psalms in the Wode Psalter used the standard English language texts found in the Anglo-Genevan Psalter, completed and extended on its return to Scotland with the English-speaking Protestant exiles around 1559, it was felt that Scots language versions of these texts should be used to reflect the contemporary practice of simultaneous translation in parishes of the period. New Scots versions of the Psalm texts were created by Dr Jamie Reid Baxter, one of the leading experts in the language, literature and culture of early modern Scotland. His sources included the Scots language Psalters created by Henry Charteris in 1596 and Robert Smyth in 1599, which Scotticised the received English language texts, and in the case of Charteris introduced doxologies created in Scots to provide for every poetic metre in the Psalter. In order to facilitate ease of pronunciation, the editions are not exact renditions of the Charteris and Smyth texts, and spellings have been varied to assist future non-specialist users of the scores. Dr Reid Baxter's knowledge of the wider poetic and literary culture of the period was invaluable in terms of determining pronunciation and rendering the text in a way which would make this more obvious to the modern user.

The music editions

The music settings were created by Mick Swithinbank, a musician experienced in typesetting this kind of material. Dr Reid Baxter and Martin Ritchie worked with him to determine how the musical sources should be used to create the modern edition. In particular, we needed to be sure that the key signature of the settings would allow the harmonies to be achieved by the sang schule whilst avoiding a situation where the settings were too low or high for the congregational part. The sources were:

1. The Thomas Wode part books
2. The editions of the Thomas Wode part books recently created by Tim Duguid and available on the Church Service Society website.
3. The 1564 Scottish Forme of Prayers and Psalme Buik, printed by Robert Lekprevik. (*STC* 16577). This book contains the melodies for the "proper" tunes for the Psalms, but no harmonisations.
4. The 1596 Psalme Buik printed by Henry Charteris (*STC* 16585) This book contains no tunes, but uses Scots orthography and contains doxologies and collect prayers.
5. The 1599 Psalme Buik printed by Robert Smyth (*STC* 16586). This book contains no tunes, but uses Scots orthography.
6. The 1635 Psalter published by Andro Hart (*STC* 16599), containing the musical resources created and edited by Edward Millar.

Timothy Duguid's tune listings in his *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English 'Singing Psalms' and Scottish 'Psalm Buiks,' c.1547-1640* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2014) was a major source of data, particularly when considering which tunes should be selected to accompany each Psalm when there was a variation over the period 1564-1635.

The 1635 Psalter is a valuable testimony to the reality of Psalm-singing in local parishes. Millar's introduction to the volume outlines his method of collecting the best harmonisations in use around Scotland, as well as the settings contained within the surviving Wode part books. As the Wode part books were never printed, the only method of circulation would have been by copying the separate musical parts into manuscript books, or to create new harmonisations. Miller collated all of the evidence that he could find and used the best in his new Psalter. Thus it can be said that the 1635 Psalter represents good evidence of the tunes and harmonisations that became popular and endured within the Reformed Kirk, many of which are identical with the settings created for the Wode part books, demonstrating their wide circulation and use where there were sang schules. The 1635 edition stands in a line of musical transmission from the 1560s that was disrupted by tune changes in the period in the period 1601-1605, but re-established by printer Andro Hart, notably in his 1615 edition.[824] Some tunes were changed from those in the Wode Part books and early printed Psalters. A

[824] *MSPP,* 154.

good example of this is Psalm 76, which would have been sung to the proper tune that we have used, but which was replaced in the Hart editions after 1603 by another tune. As Psalm 76 was selected due to the evidence we have of its polemical use at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588,[825] it was decided to use the tune found in the editions in circulation up to 1604.

We decided to include the doxologies contained within the Charteris 1596 Psalter at the end of each Psalm. Historical justification for this decision can be found in the debates over the use of doxologies which took place at the Westminster Assembly, during which Scottish delegates advocated continued use of the doxologies or conclusions, representing widespread Scottish practice given printed expression in the Charteris 1596 edition. However, the English delegates disagreed, with the result that doxologies were not advocated in the 1644 Westminster Directory of Public Worship and excluded from the new 1650 Scottish Psalter.

Choice of Psalms

Thirteen music editions were created, comprising Psalms: 1, 27, 42, 67, 76, 100, 103, 107, 113, 118, 119, 124, 133.

These Psalms were chosen to highlight:

- Psalms not previously recorded
- Psalms previously recorded but without the specific forces of this project
- Psalms which have melodies which reflect European tune sources and variety of metre, as emphasised by Tim Duguid. This was one of the distinctive features of the Scottish Psalters when compared to the English Psalters, which were also derived from Anglo-Genevan sources, but developed differently in the English context.
- Psalms which are associated with documentary evidence of their being sung on particular occasions, thereby demonstrating the proposal that Psalms were strongly embedded in the religious culture of the day.
- Psalms which reflect a range of voices from tender and petitionary, to polemical and celebratory, thereby demonstrating how their associated tunes support the texts and create a range of moods in the experience of worship. This demonstrates Duguid's point that tunes were carefully matched with texts in the early Reformed Kirk.
- Psalms which were specified to be sung in particular liturgical contexts, such as fasting.

[825] *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinburgh*, ed. W. Cunningham, Wodrow Society 6 (Edinburgh, 1843), 279.

Due to time constraints during the recording weekend, Psalms 67 and 119 were not recorded, but the music editions are available for free access along with those which were recorded.

Psalm 1 all verses

Text	Thomas Sternhold
Music source	David Peebles ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune source	Anglo-Genevan Psalter, 1556
Metre	DCM 8686 8686

The text of this Psalm links thematically with the text of Song of Songs, a remarkably popular text amongst early Reformed Scottish ministers and evidenced, for example, in the sermons of John Welch and John Adamson.[826]

Psalm 27 all verses

Text	William Kethe
Music source	David Peebles ed. Timothy Duguid
Tune source	French-Genevan Psalter, 1551
Metre	DLM 8888 8888

The setting of Psalm 27 uses a dynamic tune of French origin which has syncopation and cross-rhythms. This lends the tune real movement and energy and matches the text's focus on the light, life and strength of God. As such, it confirms the assessment that in the Scottish Psalter tunes were deployed according to their appropriateness for the words that they were associated with, rather than simply being of a metre that would fit any text. In addition, it reflects the influence of the European Reformed tradition in the Scottish church. This tune has proven its durability by its appearance in the Church Hymnary 4th edition (CH4), set to different words.

Psalm 42 verses 1-5, 9-11

Text	John Hopkins
Music Source	David Peebles ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Anglo-Genevan Psalter 1556
Metre	DCM 8686 8686

This beautiful petitionary text reveals the tender side of Psalmody and Reformed devotional life. The tune is calm and reflective and is sweetly set in the Peebles harmonisation.

[826] Jamie Reid Baxter kindly let me see his inventory of sermon references to Song of Songs and his associated unpublished article on this theme.

Psalm 67 verses 1,2,3,4,6

Text	William Whittingham
Music Source	John Buchan, ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Anglo-Genevan Psalter, 1558
Metre	5555D

A very unusual meter is deployed by Whittingham, which is the basis of John Buchan's setting. Although David Peebles set the majority of the Psalms in the Wode Psalter, Buchan (master of the sang schule at Haddington) completed two without the authorisation of Wode. This is one of these settings. It is a dynamic tune with quite unusual rhythms, again revealing the diversity of the Scottish Psalter.

Unfortunately time constraints meant that we were unable to record this Psalm.

Psalm 76 all verses

Text	Robert Pont
Music Source	David Peebles ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Scottish Psalter, 1564, adapted from tune for Psalm 11 in Enchiridion, Erfurt, 1524
Metre	8888888

Psalm 76 is a dramatic text which tells a story of the oppression of the people of Israel by their enemies and then remarkable deliverance by the perceived action of God.

In the aftermath of the destruction of the Spanish Armada by a storm in 1588, the Reformed outlook saw this as the saving action of God. The vivid imagery of Psalm 76 matched the situation perfectly and Robert Bruce famously preached on this text at the Cross of Edinburgh in 1588.

The robust tune fits the words perfectly, is very singable but also of a type that is unlike anything that has come through the singing tradition of the Church of Scotland.

Psalm 100 all verses

Text	William Kethe
Music Source	David Peebles, ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	French-Genevan Psalter 1551

Metre	LM 8888

Other notes

This setting of Psalm 100 has been said to convey the spirit of Scotland and the text is indeed by a clergyman with Scottish roots – William Kethe.[827] However, it belongs as much to the French, Anglo-Genevan and English Reformed traditions as to the Scottish. It is one of the few settings to have made it into the current Church of Scotland hymn book, but had not been recorded in this format, so we felt that it would be worthy of inclusion.

Psalm 103 all verses

Text	Thomas Sternhold
Music Source	David Peebles, ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune	Anglo-Genevan Psalter 1556
Metre	8686 8686

Other notes

The 1564 *Forme of Prayers*, based upon the Genevan *Forme of Prayers*, suggested that Psalm 103, or some other similar Psalm of praise and thanksgiving, should be sung immediately after the tables of the Lord's Supper and before the blessing is pronounced at the end of the service.[828] This tradition continued, with a different version of the text, within living memory. When one considers the major effort of catechising, reconciliation and repentance rituals that were undertaken prior to the celebration, the Lord's Supper must have been an emotionally charged occasion. The text of Psalm 103 is highly resonant in this context, offering praise for God's goodness, healing power through our spiritual relationship in the sacraments, and stressing God's offer of forgiveness and encouragement for the future. The melody is similarly upbeat and positive – ideally matched to the text.

Psalm 107 verses 1-16

Text	William Kethe
Music Source	David Peebles ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Cinquante Pseaumes, 1547
Metre	DCM 8686 8686

[827] I am grateful to Jane Dawson for highlighting the modern example of the Scotsman John Davidson (1857-1909), and his poem *In the Isle of Dogs*, which described hearing a barrel organ playing *Old Hundredth* thereby conjuring for him the spirit of Scotland.
[828] *FOP*, 92.

The tune for this Psalm was not taken up in the English Psalter and was uniquely preserved in the Scottish Psalter. It is a thrilling tune which reflectings the theme of thanksgiving to God for his mercy to his people, rescuing them from all kinds of dangers and calamities. Previously this was recorded by Cappella Nova, but it was in an elaborate arrangement with organ accompaniment by Kenneth Elliott.[829] This recording renders the Psalm with unaccompanied congregation and sang schule, which seems more faithful to the likely practice of the time.

Psalm 113 all verses

Text	William Kethe
Music Source	Scottish Psalter, 1635 ed. Mick Swithinbank Setting in reports (originally for Psalm 68) by Claude Goudimel[830]
Tune Source	German Psalter, 1526, via Calvin's Psalter 1539 and Scottish Psalter, 1564.
Metre	8888 8888 8888

This represents a body of settings which are called Psalms in Reports. They frame the Kirk part in the context of a simple form of polyphonic writing which is designed to be used in conjunction with a skilled group of sang schule singers rendering the treble, alto and bass parts. They could stand as items only delivered by the sang schule as a type of anthem, or be sung with the congregation taking the kirk part. Although these settings are more elaborate than the basic settings in the Psalters, they retain the emphasis on clarity of word setting whilst adding another aesthetic dimension to Reformed worship. This setting of Psalm 113 is found in the 1635 Psalter, one of the settings in reports collected by Edward Millar. The music has been identified as the setting of Psalm 68 by Claude Goudimel and is strong evidence of the links between the French Huguenot tradition and the Scottish Reformed Kirk.

Psalm 118 verses 1,2,3,4,5, 8,9,10,15,16,22,23,28,29

Text	John Craig
Music Source	David Peebles ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Cinquante Pseaumes, 1547
Metre	9898D

John Craig contributed 15 versifications for the 1564 Scottish Psalter. The tune which he used for Psalm 118 was uniquely taken up for the Scottish Psalter, and is not found in the English Psalters. It is an excellent French tune, with lively syncopation in the harmonisation, and matches the sense of the text perfectly.

[829] Tavener/*Cappella Nova*, *Sacred Music for Mary Queen of Scots.*
[830] 'Les 150 Psaumes après les Éditions de 1564 et 1565,' tr. P. Pidoux, 65.

Psalm 119 verses 1-16

Text	William Whittingham
Music Source	David Peebles, ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Anglo-Genevan Psalter, 1561
Metre	DCM 8686 8686

Psalm 119 was extremely popular in Scotland and therefore we decide to include a section of the first part in our project.[831] Unfortunately we were unable to record it due to time constraints.

Psalm 124 all verses

Text	William Whittingham
Music Source	David Peebles, ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	French-Genevan Psalter 1551
Metre	10.10.10.10.10

This is one of the Psalms that has been handed down to the present day in the Church of Scotland, along with its original tune.[832] It became iconic as a song of liberation. Scotland was identified as the "new Israel," challenged by threats of Royal absolutism, Roman Catholicism and the Papacy. Psalm 124 was recorded by David Calderwood and James Melville as having been sung in four parts by a crowd of around 2000 people in the Royal Mile of Edinburgh to welcome home the exiled minister of Edinburgh, John Durie, in 1582.[833] The text and music make an ideal and bracing combination and one can understand why it was a memorable setting, worth singing in harmony by the large crowd. If the accounts are accurate, (and it would seem bizarre to manufacture an account of a crowd singing Psalms in harmony as there is little polemical advantage to be gained from that detail), then it demonstrates that harmonised singing was common amongst congregations and that this Psalm was already so well known by 1582 that it could be taken up spontaneously outside the walls of the Kirk as well as within.

Psalm 133 all verses

Text	William Whittingham
Music Source	David Peebles ed. Mick Swithinbank
Tune Source	Anglo-Genevan Psalter 1547

[831] W. Cowper, *A Holy Alphabet for Sion's Scholars* was based on Psalm 119.
[832] *Church Hymnary Fourth Edition* (Norwich, Canterbury Press, 2005), no. 84.
[833] D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. 8, 226.

Metre DCM 8686 8686

James Melville's *Autobiography and Diary* contained an account of the convention of the Kirk at Falkland in 1609. At the close of this contentious gathering to discuss the future polity of the Scottish Kirk, William Cowper preached on the last verse of Psalm 74, "Forget not the voyce of thine enemies: for the tumult of them, that rise against thee, ascendeth continually." The selection of this verse was an extension of Royal policy to use fear of Roman Catholicism as a negotiating tool to avoid contention in the Kirk over the impending full introduction of episcopal polity. The gathering was invited to sing Psalm 133, with its words that extol unity amongst the faithful.[834] This is another example of the polemical use of Psalms, as not only did this instruction attempt to apply a poultice of unity to a fractured situation, but it also introduced the imagery of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (Hermon Hill) being united with the Southern Kingdom of Judea (Mount Sion) under a great anointed high priest with a new focus of worship in Jerusalem. The Biblical symbolism in the context of King James' self image, church policy and desires for full incorporating union of Scotland and England could hardly have been missed by those present as a message about the future of Scotland.

Rehearsal and Preparation

A partnership was established between St Mary's Parish Church, Haddington, and their Director of Music, Susan Hamilton. This enabled us to secure access to some local singers who had sung some of the Wode Psalter material recently. Susan also recruited 12 of her junior choristers from St Mary's to be the trebles in the sang schule, reflecting the boys' voices that would have carried this line of music.

Iain McLarty, precentor for the project, recruited a sang schule group of 8 singers who met for advance rehearsal to prepare the harmony parts.

We promoted the project within various amateur choral singing networks with Edinburgh University networks, amongst the congregation of St Mary's, Haddington and to the community in general in East Lothian. We managed to attract 60 people to form the "congregation" in the recording.

Our rehearsal schedule was:

Saturday 19th March	Whole day rehearsal at St Mary's, including a lecture from Prof. Jane Dawson on the context of early Reformed worship.
Sunday 10th April	Optional 2-5pm rehearsal for "congregation"

[834] *ADJM*, 780.

Friday 15th April	7-9.30pm Rehearsal and recordings
Saturday 16th April	10am-4.30pm Recordings
Sunday 17th April	2-6pm Recordings and a worship recreation in the style of the year 1600

Layout of St Mary's Church for the recordings

In order to simulate the typical layout of a medieval kirk as it would have been transformed for Reformed worship, we utilised the flexibility of the moveable seating in St Mary's. Typically, the nave would have become the focus for the main worship, with the former choir most commonly becoming a burial aisle, sometimes with a Laird's loft above. In the case of Haddington, the choir lay in ruins following the destruction by the English army in 1548, leaving the nave as the only serviceable place of worship from that time onwards. The nineteenth-century pulpit, located at the centre of the north side of the nave, became the focus for our layout, with seating gathered round the pulpit on three sides and the desk for the reader and precentor located just below the pulpit in the centre of the gathering. This enabled the "congregation" to be tightly gathered around the pulpit for the hearing of the Word preached.

The 80 singers who rehearsed the Psalms were joined by around 100 members of the public for the worship recreation at 5pm on Sunday 17th April. This meant that the nave was filled and people were sitting very close together, much like the experience of sitting, standing or kneeling in kirks prior to the introduction of pews and the removal of flexible areas. This layout meant that minister, reader and precentor were in close proximity to the bulk of the congregation, unlike the pre-Reformation west-east orientation with clergy at the eastern end.

Performance Practice

The Psalms were rehearsed and sung without accompaniment, as was the practice of the period. Our precentor "took up" each Psalm by singing the first few words and was then joined by the entire group of singers as soon as they had picked up the pitch. In some of the Psalms, such as Psalm 133, this gradual commencement is effectively heard. The precentor sang throughout all verses except where there was a trebles/female voice verse specified in our breakdown of each Psalm. We chose to allocate verses to different voice groupings in order to give as wide an impression of the possibilities for each of the Psalms within a single recording. We have no idea how exactly this may have been done in the original context, but

we can definitely say that there was more likely to have been diverse practice than uniformity across Scotland.

Tempi were kept on the brisk side, to bring out the intrinsic musicality of the settings. There is an interesting debate over tempi. It has been suggested that the Calvinistic worship sensibility would have slowed down tunes that derive from dance and folk music. However, Scotland had already departed from a strict compliance with Calvin's manifesto for singing when harmonised Psalm settings were introduced, so it is perfectly possible that the lively tunes used by John Craig (118) and Robert Pont (76) were sung with as much vigour as they would have been in the domestic setting outside the kirk building. It is also worth bearing in mind that the immediate post-Reformation Kirk was staffed by former monks and priests who were musical and became precentors, readers and ministers. Even if there were no sang schule singers available to lead, a musically proficient former Monk or priest would have been quite capable of learning the new Psalm settings and teaching them to a small country congregation. The singing of Psalms in the grammar schools, attested as an enjoyable experience in the Montrose of James Melville's schooldays, suggests that a lively approach was taken to this music.[835] It is also worth bearing in mind that a number of settings of instrumental music based upon the Psalm tunes of the Scottish Psalter were created by composers such as John Black. Their performance in the domestic scene is hardly likely to have been undertaken with utter solemnity, and therefore this phenomenon of music from worship being quoted and reinforced in the home points to material that was played and sung musically and therefore at a pace and with a mood that was appropriate to the sense of the text. Joyful Psalms were sung vigorously and happily whilst reflective and penitential Psalms were sung with the poignancy that the text demanded. We should not forget that early modern congregations saw the world differently and that the Psalms reflected a view of creature and creator that made worship a matter of eternal life and death. The Psalms were not merely entertainment, but were rather sincere expressions of prayer, as outlined in the introduction to the Genevan *Forme of Prayers*.[836]

During our recording sessions it took a remarkably short amount of time to bring the group from unfamiliar hesitancy to a place where they confidently inhabited each Psalm. In light of this, it is possible to see how the intense public and private worship regime, backed up by catechising, home worship and the learning of Psalms in song and grammar schools, would have been effective in creating a "Psalm literate" culture in Scotland.

Creating the Worship

[835] *ADJM*, 22.

[836] *The forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: and approved, buy the famous and godly learned man, John Calvyn* (Geneva, Crespin, 1556, *STC* 16561), 17.

In planning the content of the worship re-creation we were aware that a complete re-creation would have involved persuading participants to remain for around three hours. It seemed unlikely that we would be able to achieve this both in terms of the willingness of participants and the time available during the recording weekend. A compromise was required which would allow us to recreate the physical experience of being in a congregation inside a medieval church re-formatted for Reformed worship and also to highlight the key components of Sunday morning worship. We decided that a service of 45-60 minutes would work well at the end of the Sunday afternoon recording schedule.

We felt that it was important to demonstrate the separate reader's service, followed by the minister's preaching service, and arranged for the tower bell to be tolled for the first call to worship the second bell to indicate the start of the reader's service and the third bell to mark the preaching service.

Martin Ritchie took the role of reader and Jamie Reid Baxter the role of minister. The entire service was delivered in Scots.

The structure of the service was:

1. Call to worship and Psalm 100
2. A prayer on the 100th Psalm – Charteris, 1596
3. Prayer of Confession from the Forme of Prayers – Smyth, 1599
4. Psalm 42
5. A prayer on the 42nd Psalm – Charteris, 1596
6. Scripture reading: 1 Corinthians 2:1-9 – Geneva Bible, 1560
7. The third bell
8. A preface to 118th Psalm – Geneva Bible, 1560 but also contained before each Psalm in the Psalme Buiks from 1564.
9. Psalm 118
10. Entry of the minister
11. 15 minute condensed sermon of Robert Rollock, published in Scots in 1599
12. Prayer after the sermon
13. The Lord's Prayer – Forme of Prayers – Smyth, 1599
14. Psalm 107
15. The Aaronic Blessing – Forme of Prayers, Smyth, 1599

Insights from the recordings

One of the challenges of historical research into the experience of worship is to appreciate what printed musical materials might sound like in practice. Print was not the experience of the majority of worshippers, but it is the only evidence that we have from which to draw

conclusions about the sound of worship. Making it possible for these materials to be sung more readily and recorded in 2016 was an extremely valuable step forward in terms of adding to the evidence base from which it is possible to draw conclusions about the experience of worship in the early modern Reformed Kirk.

It is also a rather different experience to play the notes of these Psalm settings on a keyboard or to have them sung by a small choir or professional group. Our recording process was a remarkable corporate experience of a group with a (largely) shared Christian confessional identity bringing to life and inhabiting the text and music. As well as being aesthetically pleasing, and historically interesting, testimony from many participants in the feedback forms revealed the emotional power that singing Psalms in an intimately gathered large group can generate.

Congregational singing without accompaniment is not a common experience in today's church – piano, organ and instrumental accompaniment is the usual format. However, this project reflected the experience of unaccompanied singing in the early Reformed Kirk, which continued until the 19th century, when organs began to be introduced. Far from being a deficit, it was notable that some participants described how liberating and unifying unaccompanied congregational singing was. This perhaps supports Calvin's view that the human voice was the best vehicle with which to praise God.

The most striking insight from the tightly gathered layout for worship was that the reader and Preacher were in the centre of this gathering and therefore were in a more intimate relationship with the congregation than that created by a west-east axis. Singing across the space towards each other generated an intensely corporate worship experience.

Feedback from participants

A feedback form was created and returned by 43 participants.

Key questions asked were:

1. **If you were in the rehearsed group, how did the singing of the Psalms make you feel?**

Some of the responses are listed below:

"Totally energised"

"I think the lack of instrumental accompaniment gave the singing a sense of community and commitment that is not always apparent in church services."

“I was completely captivated by the lovely plain melodic lines and wonderful vigorous language of these psalms so beautifully expressing range of emotions from joy, triumph, confidence, love and gratitude to grievance and paranoia. Amongst other things I felt completely swept-up, by-passing the brain entirely (as in a football crowd), into identifying heart and soul with some ideas that I don’t even agree with – the Scots as God’s chosen people (nice idea but absurd); self-definition by contrast with the ungodly and vile (unacceptably self-righteous). In Anglican chant you can turn an indulgent sympathetic eye to the paranoid psalmist complaining “everyone’s out to get me,” but in Psalm 27 how could you not truly feel, without a shadow of doubt, that everyone really is? I felt a strong sense of combustibly intermixed religion and politics – whatever must it have felt in 1600 to sing in the vernacular with the authority of the kirk about ridding the hummill oot o’ thraw!”

“Energised at the time, tired out by the end of the day”

“At times, very powerful communal feeling – particularly when the ‘congregation’ joined in after a sang schule verse.”

“Energised, enthused, moved, excited, this was a spiritual experience as well as a musical one. Made me feel that I was part of a long church tradition and glad to be so. The background historical information helped a lot.”

“Alive, tranquil, energised.”

“Brilliant, energised, inspired!”

“Enthusiastic, energised.”

“vigorous”

“Excited, delighted, satisfied.”

“The unsophisticated vigour of the congregational singing gave us a chance to let off steam.”

“Very much part of the group and connected to the words. Also free! Due to not having to think about singing ‘nicely,’ breathing etc!”

“Great! Uplifted.”

“Felt I was part of a community joined together in song and spirit.”

“Totally uplifted”

“Uplifted, alive, energised.”

2. **What did the layout of the church for the worship re-enactment feel like?**

Some of the responses are listed below:

“It was more ‘in the round’ and closer packed than most churches I have experienced. If felt more ‘contemporary.’”

“Friendly and welcoming”

“Two things: if felt inclusive of the congregation which must initially have been something of a thrill but also somewhat (as we say now) ‘in your face.’”

“Better than normal! The sound was better focused and it felt more intimate.”

“It did feel quite different, but felt ‘right’ for the occasion, particularly with the minister in the high pulpit.”

“More inclusive than sitting in straight rows.”

“Really special – in the round means no one sticks out.”

“It actually felt quite modern/innovative. Present day congregations are notoriously reluctant to move out of rows.”

“Joining in made the meaning come alive – spiritually/emotionally as well as intellectually.”

“Quite cosy – a bit informal and exciting.”

“More intimate, more communal, less of a performance.”

“It felt more personal”

“Communal”

“Nice to be surrounded by all congregation – no feeling of separation from Kirk elders/ministers/singers/congregation. Great!”

“I liked our being gathered round the pulpit”

‘Involved, engaged, inclusive.”

“Very inclusive and participative”

APPENDIX TWO

Prayers composed by William Cowper and printed at the end of the volume *The Triumph of a Christian* (London, John Budge, 1618, *STC* 5939), following part three, 'A Preparative for the Lord's Supper.'

Prayers for Private houses and families

Morning Prayer

O Most gratious God, & loving Father, we hartily thank thee for all thy loving kindnesses so abundantly shewed towards us; for our Election, Creation, Redemption, mercifull Vocation, Justificaton, Sanctification, continuall Preservation, & for that assured & most comfortable hope which thou hast given us of our Glorification in the world to come. We praise thy gracious goodnesse for so mercifully preserving us this present night, and delivering us from all dangers both of soule & body: for that thou hast granted us so sweete and comfortable rest, & hast now presently brought us to the beginning of this day. And as thou hast safely preserved us unto this present houre from al the dangers of this life: so wee beseech thee to continue this thy favour towards us this day, and the whole course of our life. Suffer us not, by the vaine allurements of this world, to be drawne away unto sin and wickednesse. Assist us with thy grace and holy Spirit, that we spend not our time vainelie, or idlie, but that we maie always be diligently exercised in the duties of our calling, to the benefit of our brethren, & discharge of our owne consciences. Grant that in all our consultations, words and works wee may ever have thee present before our eies. Amen

Evening Prayer

O Most gracious God, & loving Father, we hartily thank thee for all thy loving kindness so abundantly shewed towards us: for our election, creation, redemption, merciful vocation, justification, sanctification, continual preservation; and for that same assured and most comfortable hope, which thou hast given us of our glorification in the world to come. We do praise thy gratious goodnesse for so mercifully preserving of us this present day, and delivering us from all perils and dangers both of soule and body, and giving us all things necessary for this present life: as health, food, apparel, and such like. This gracious goodnesse of thine, wee beseech thee, O Lord, to continue towards us for ever. And here we offer up unto thee our soules nad bodies, our lives and all that we have, in assurance that that cannot perish that is committed unto thee. Take us into thine hands, and keepe us this night, that our bodies may sleepe, and our soules may watch for the coming of thy Son

Christ, that so both our bodies and soules may be the more apt and the better able to serve thee in that estate and calling wherein thou hast thought good to place us. AMEN

A prayer to be said at all times

We confesse and acknowledge, O most mercifull Lord, that we are most miserable and wretched sinners, as well by the original corruption of our nature, as by the course of our evill and naught life: we have and doe daily transgresse and breake thy most holy Lawes and Commandements both in thought, word, and deede. By the meanes of this sinne and corruption of ours, we doe continually deserve most just condemnation, and to be for ever cast out of they presence. Yet such is they goodnesse againe toward us, that in mercy thou wouldest not suffer us thus in our sinnes to perish, but hast sent thine owne deare Son Jesus Christ to take upon him whatsoever is due, to reconcile and make us at one with thee againe. In him therefore, and through him we come unto thee, beseeching thee for his sake that wee feeling the grievousnesse of our sinnes, and groaning under the burthen of them, may feele the release and ease of them, in that we through thy holy spirit be assured and stedfastly do believe that Christ hath borne the burthen of them even for us. Graunt, O Lord, that we being assured thereof in our consciences, may through they holy spirit be renewed in the inner man, to hate, detest, and abhorre sinne, and to study to live according to they blessed will, during our whole life.

We doe not onely pray for our selves, but also for all thy whole Church, especially such as be persecuted for thy Word: grant unto them, that whether it be by death or life they may glorifie thy name to their lives end. Be mercifull to this Church of England, Scotland, and Ireland, we beseech thee good Lord, and preserve every part and member of the same, especially thy servant James our most gracious King: grant him all such gifts as be needful for so high a calling to the advancement of thy glory, and the benefit of this Common-wealth: to the establishing of a perfect government of thy Church, to the rooting out of superstition, and to the governing of his subjects in peace and tranquillity. Defend him, O Lord, from all conspiracies, treasons, rebellions: and so worke in the hearts of his Subjects, that knowing his authority doth come from thy heavenly Maiesty, they may with dutifull hearts obey him, in thee and for thee. And here (O Lord) we prostrate our selves, and yield unto thy divine Maiesty, from the very bottome of our hearts all possible praise and thankes for the wonderfull deliverance of our most gracious king, and Queene, the Prince, and all the royall branches, with the Nobility, Clergy and Commons of this Realme, assembled together in Parliament, by Popish treachery appointed as sheepe to the slaughter, and that

in most barbarous and savage manner, no age yielding example of the like cruelty: give us grace (good Lord) never to forget this thy great mercy towards us. Preserve the Councell, and Magistrates of this Realme, that being inlightned by the holy spirit, they may defend thy truth, suppresse wickednesse, and maintaine equity. Behold all thy Pastors, blesse their labours, increase the number of them, place over every Church a paineful watchman, remove all idle lubbers, and confound the power of Antichrist, and turne the harts of the people that they may be obedient unto thy truth. Behold all those that be afflicted with any kinde of Crosse, that they may profit by thy correction in newnesse of life, through Jesus Christ our Lord: In whose name, for these mercies, and whasoever else thou knowest to be needful for us and for thy whole Church, we pray unto thee as he himselfe hath taught us in his holy word, saying: Our Father etc

The Lord make his face to shine upon us, and be mercifull unto us: the Lord turne his favourable conuntenance unto us, and grant us his peace. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the most comfortable fellowship of the holy Spirit, be with us, pereserve and keepe us this day, (or this night) and for evermore. AMEN

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‘Dour-mongers all?’
The Experience of Worship in the Early Reformed Kirk, 1559-1617

VOLUME TWO

Visual Evidence

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Matriculation Number 0564277

PhD Ecclesiastical History
University of Edinburgh, 2017
A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Fig 1.
Lyne Kirk
C.B.Gunn, *The Book of Lyne and Megget Church* (Peebles, Neidpath Press, 1911), 31.



INSCRIPTION ON LINTEL OF EAST WINDOW OF LYNE MANSE, FORMERLY ON LYNE CHURCH.
Photographed by Alex. Mathieson.

Fig. 2.
Guthrie Collegiate Church.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. MS 30.5.22 (16).





Fig. 3.
Guthrie Collegiate Church, Guthrie Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig 4.
Guthrie Collegiate Church,
Guthrie Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 5.
Guthrie Collegiate Church, Guthrie
Aisle ceiling. In National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 6.
Guthrie Collegiate Church, Guthrie Aisle ceiling.
In National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 7.
Guthrie Collegiate Church, Guthrie Aisle ceiling. In National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh. Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 8.
Guthrie Collegiate Church, Guthrie Aisle ceiling. In National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh. Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 9.
Ladykirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 10.
Ladykirk, nave looking to east end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 11.
Ladykirk, nave looking to west end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 12.
St Mary's, Whitekirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig.13.
St Mary's, Whitekirk.
EAS, vol. 3, 275.



Fig. 1193.—St. Mary's, Whitekirk. Interior, looking East.

Fig.14.
St Mary’s, Whitekirk, looking to east end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 15.
Dornoch Cathedral,
Ground Plan.
NLS, Hutton Collection,
Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (142a).

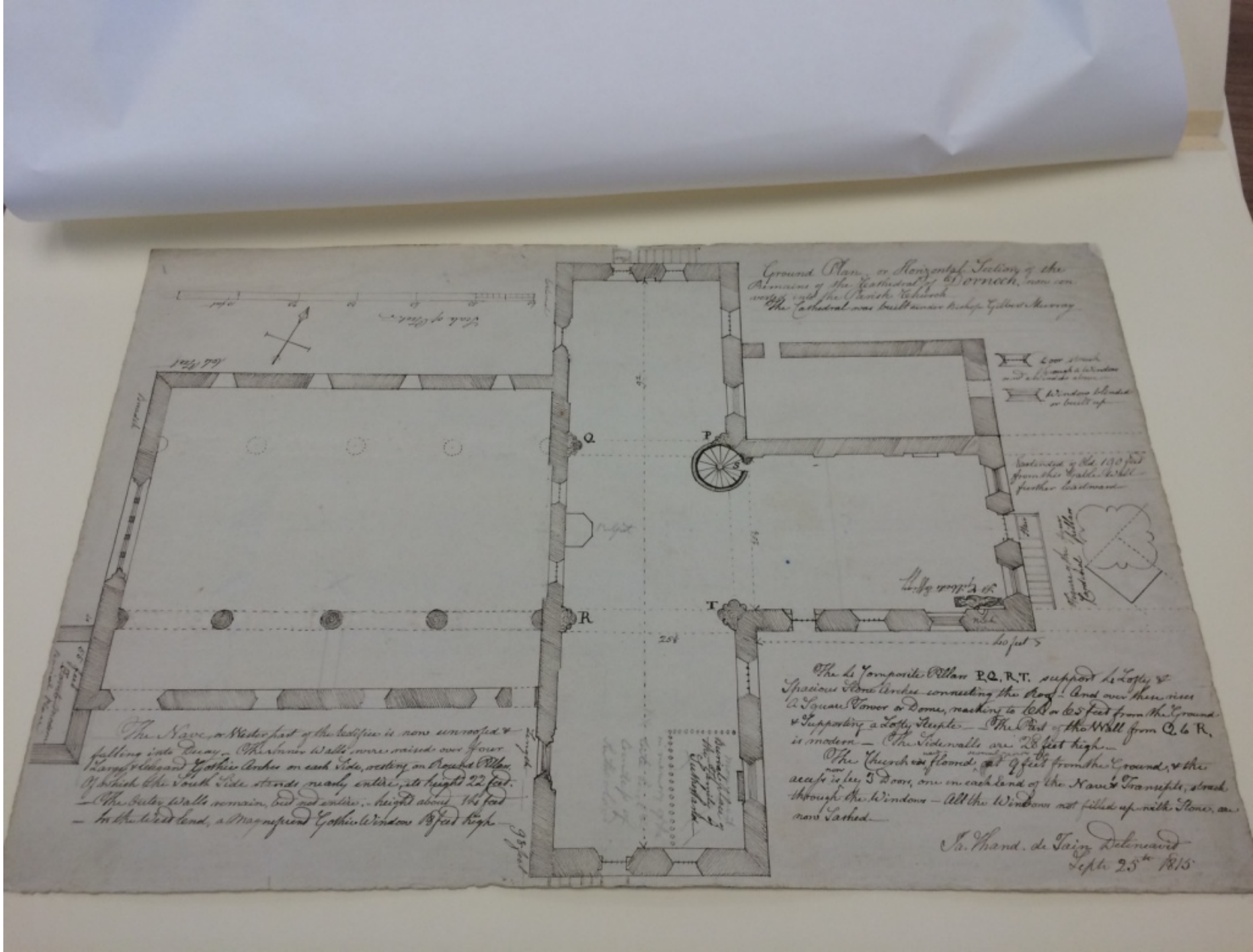


Fig. 16.
Tain Collegiate Church, Ground Plan.
NLS, Hutton Collection,
Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (142b).

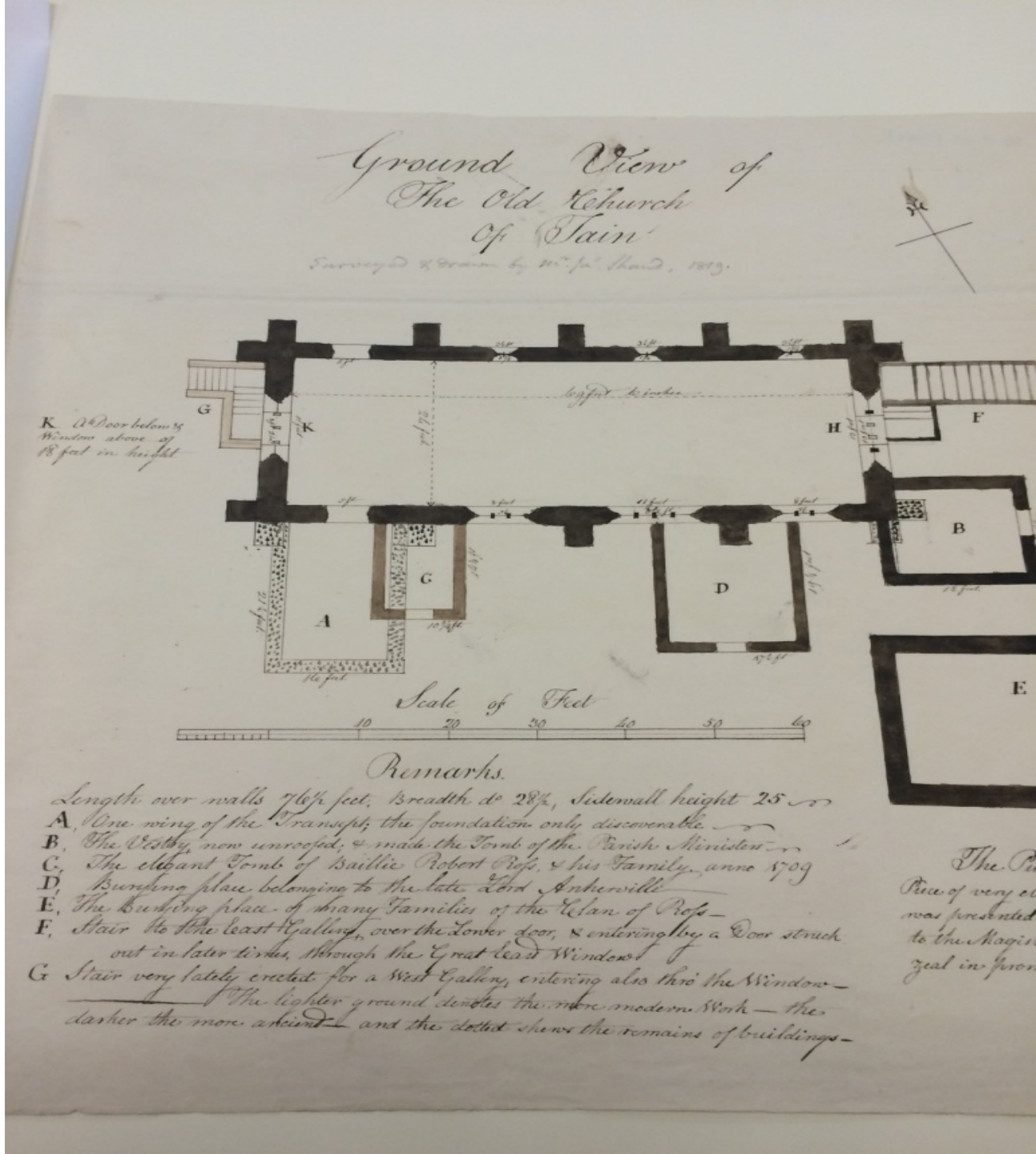


Fig. 17.
Tain Collegiate Church, ground plan of 1815
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (142).

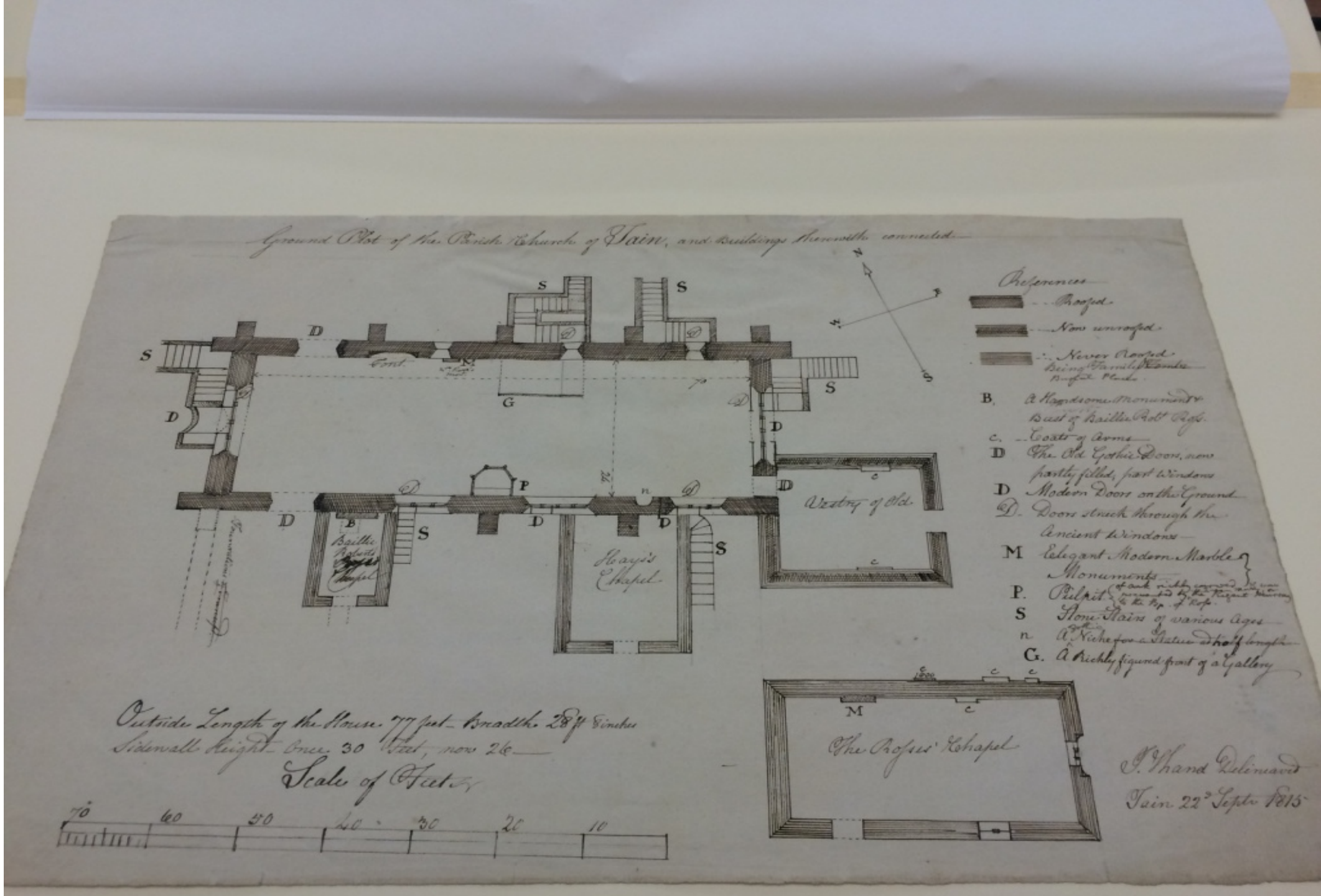


Fig 18.
Detail of notes on Tain Collegiate Church ground plan re. the pulpit.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (142a).

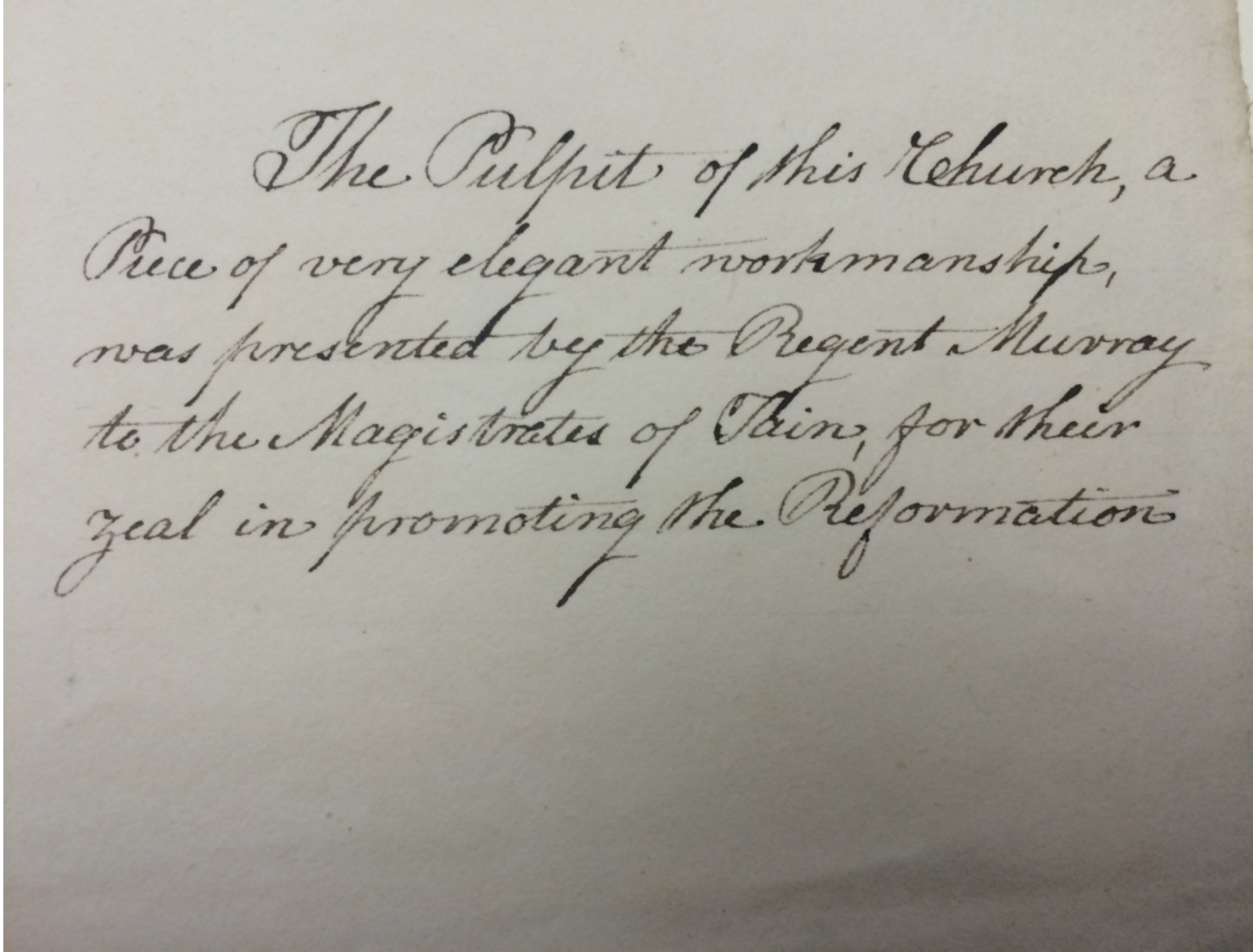


Fig. 19.
Tain Collegiate Church with view of pulpit in 1819.
NLS, Hutton Collection,
Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (144c).



Fig. 20.
Tain Collegiate Church, exterior perspectives in 1815.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (143).



Fig. 21.
Tain Collegiate Church, east end.
NLS, Hutton Collection,
Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (143).



Fig. 22.
Tain Collegiate Church, 1815.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (143).



Fig. 23.
Greenock West Kirk.
G. Williamson, *Old Greenock, Embracing Sketches of its Ecclesiastical, Educational and Literary History* (Paisley, Alexander Gardner, 1888), frontspiece.
[image capture from NLS copy]



Fig. 24. Greenock Old West Kirk in new location c. 1925.
G. Williamson, *Old Greenock*, 112.
[Image capture from NLS copy]



Fig. 25
Greenock West Kirk prior to restoration and move, c.1840-1850.
McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Inverclyde Council.
<http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-old-west-kirk-greenock-183506> [accessed 21 June 2016].



Fig. 26.
Sleazer's c.1693 drawing of St Giles Kirk in Elgin townscape, in *The Records of Elgin*, vol. 1, ed. W. Cramond, New Spalding Club 27 (Aberdeen, 1903), 352.



Fig. 27.
St Giles Kirk, Elgin, showing the 1684 restoration and development within the medieval structure.
G. Hay, *ASPRC*, Plate 30.



ELGIN, INTERIOR OF ST. GILES', *c.* 1770.
From a water-colour drawing in Elgin Museum

Fig. 28.
St Giles Kirk, Elgin.
Exterior views from *Rhind's Elgin* reprinted in *The Records of Elgin*, vol. 1, ed. W. Cramond, 448.

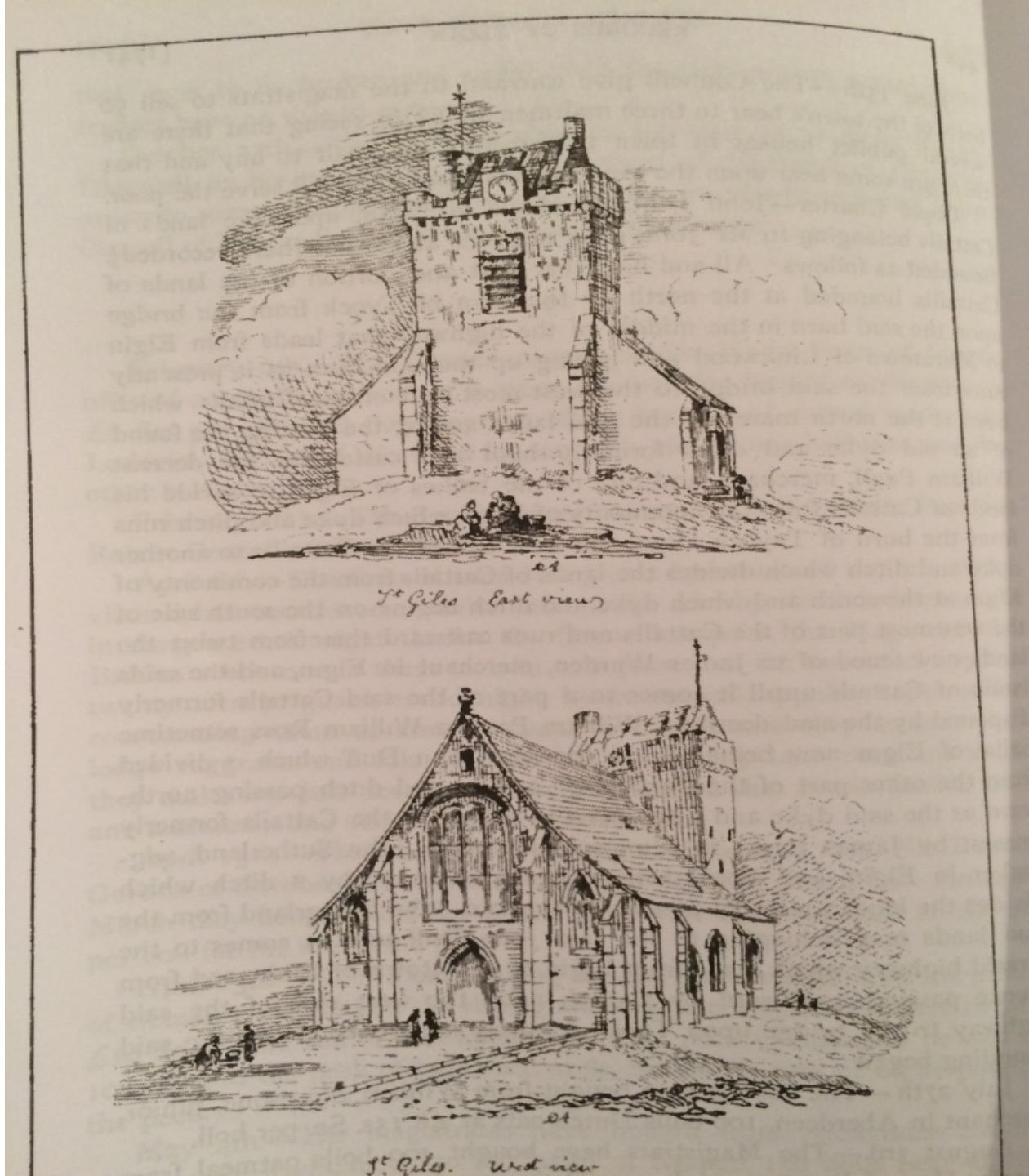


Fig. 29.
St Giles Kirk, Elgin, west end of nave. From Northern Scot (1890), reprinted in *The Records of Elgin*, vol. 2, ed. W. Cramond and S. Ree, New Spalding Club 36 (Aberdeen, 1908), 16.



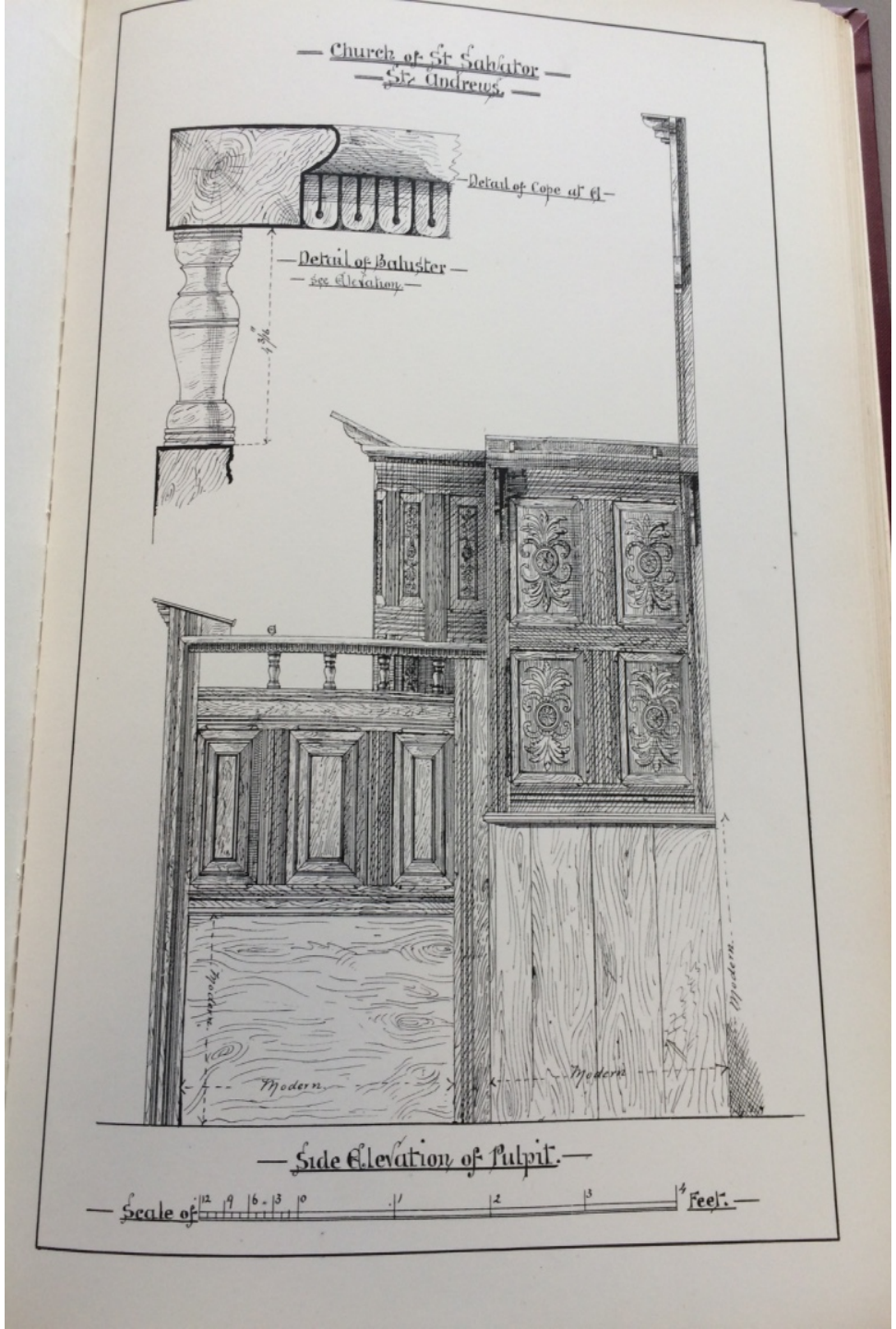
ST. GILES CHURCH, INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST.

Fig. 30.
St Giles Kirk, Elgin, interior looking to east end. From *Northern Scot* (1890), reprinted in *The Records of Elgin*, vol. 2, ed. W. Cramond and S. Ree, 352.



ST. GILES CHURCH, INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

Fig. 31.
Pulpit from Holy Trinity Kirk, St Andrews in J. Russell Walker, *Pre-Reformation Churches in Fife and the Lothians*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, Mould and Todd, 1888).



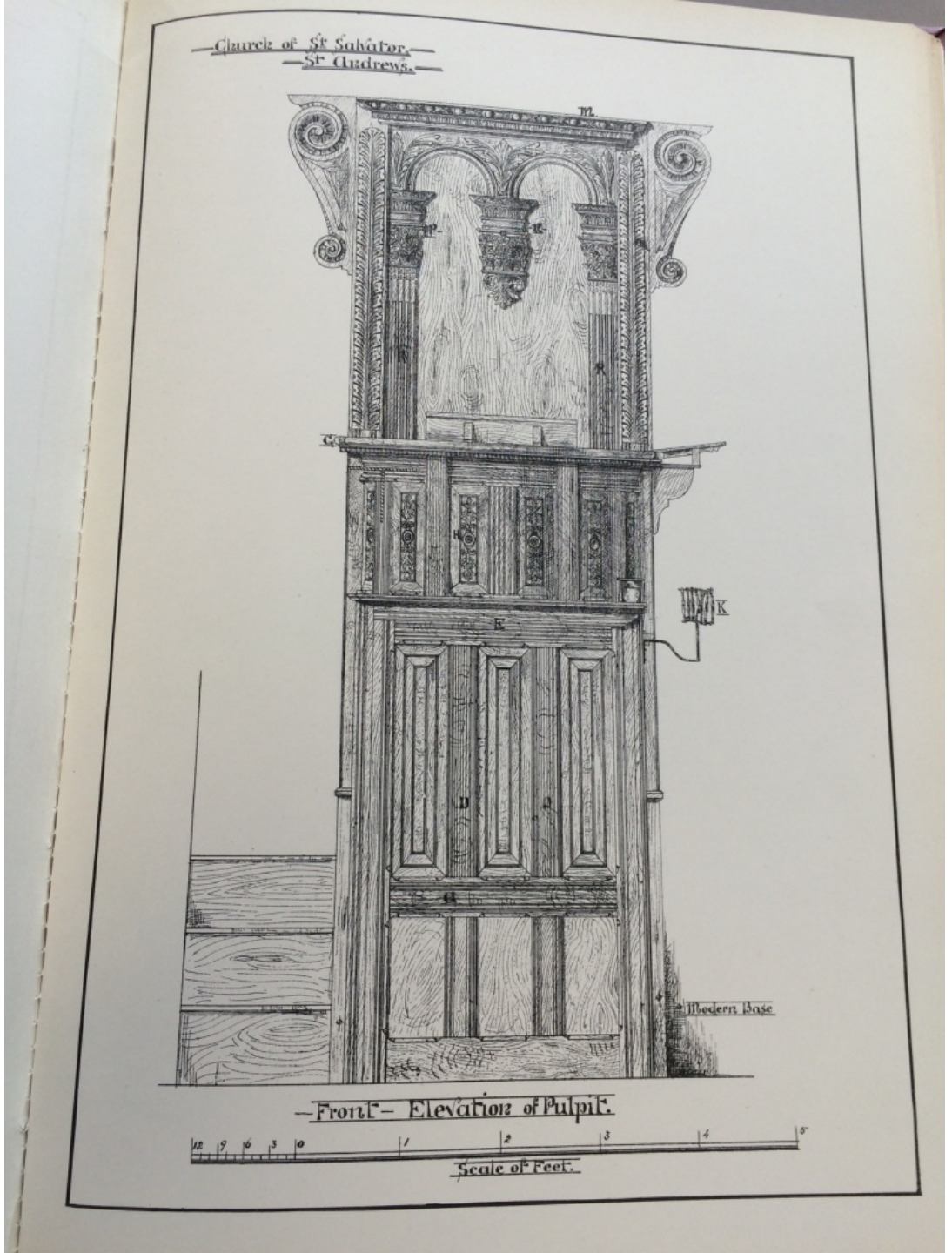


Fig. 32.
Mid-Calder Collegiate Church, east end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 33.
Mid-Calder Collegiate Church interior, looking to east end. <http://www.kirkofcalder.com/images/inside.jpg> [accessed 1 June 2016].



Fig. 34.
Crail Kirk ground plan NLS, Hutton Collection.
Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (7).

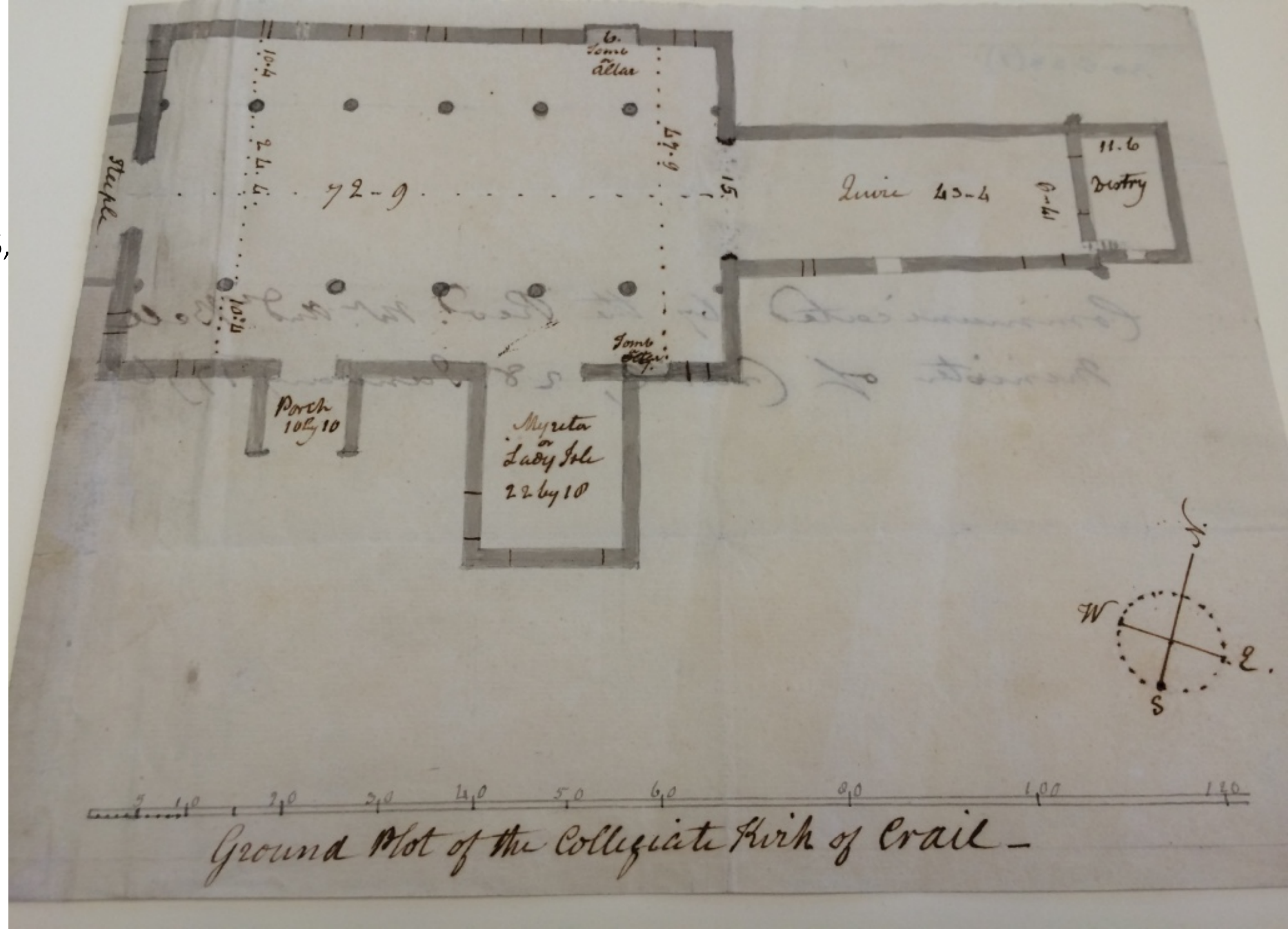


Fig. 35.
Crail Kirk prior to 1815. <http://www.crailmuseum.org.uk/_Media/crail-kirk-in-1815_360.jpeg> [accessed 20 October, 2016].



Fig. 36.
Crail Kirk from the north.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 37.
Crail Kirk from the south.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 38.
Crail Kirk nave looking towards the west end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 39.
Crail Kirk, north nave arcade.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 40.
Crail Kirk, nave looking to the east end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 41.
Crail Kirk, painted image from former Sailors' Loft.
Martin Ritchie



Fig. 42.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 43.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 44.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 45.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 46.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 47.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 48.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 49.
Crail Kirk woodwork.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 50.
Dumbarton Old Kirk in D. Macleod, *Dumbarton Ancient and Modern* (Dumbarton, Benett and Thomson, 1893), section IV.



Fig. 51. Sleazer's c.1693 View of Dumbarton (with Dumbarton Old Kirk in right foreground) in D. Macleod, *Dumbarton Ancient and Modern* (Dumbarton, Benett and Thomson, 1893), section I.



Fig. 52.
Banff Old Kirk Ground Plan.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.22 (29).

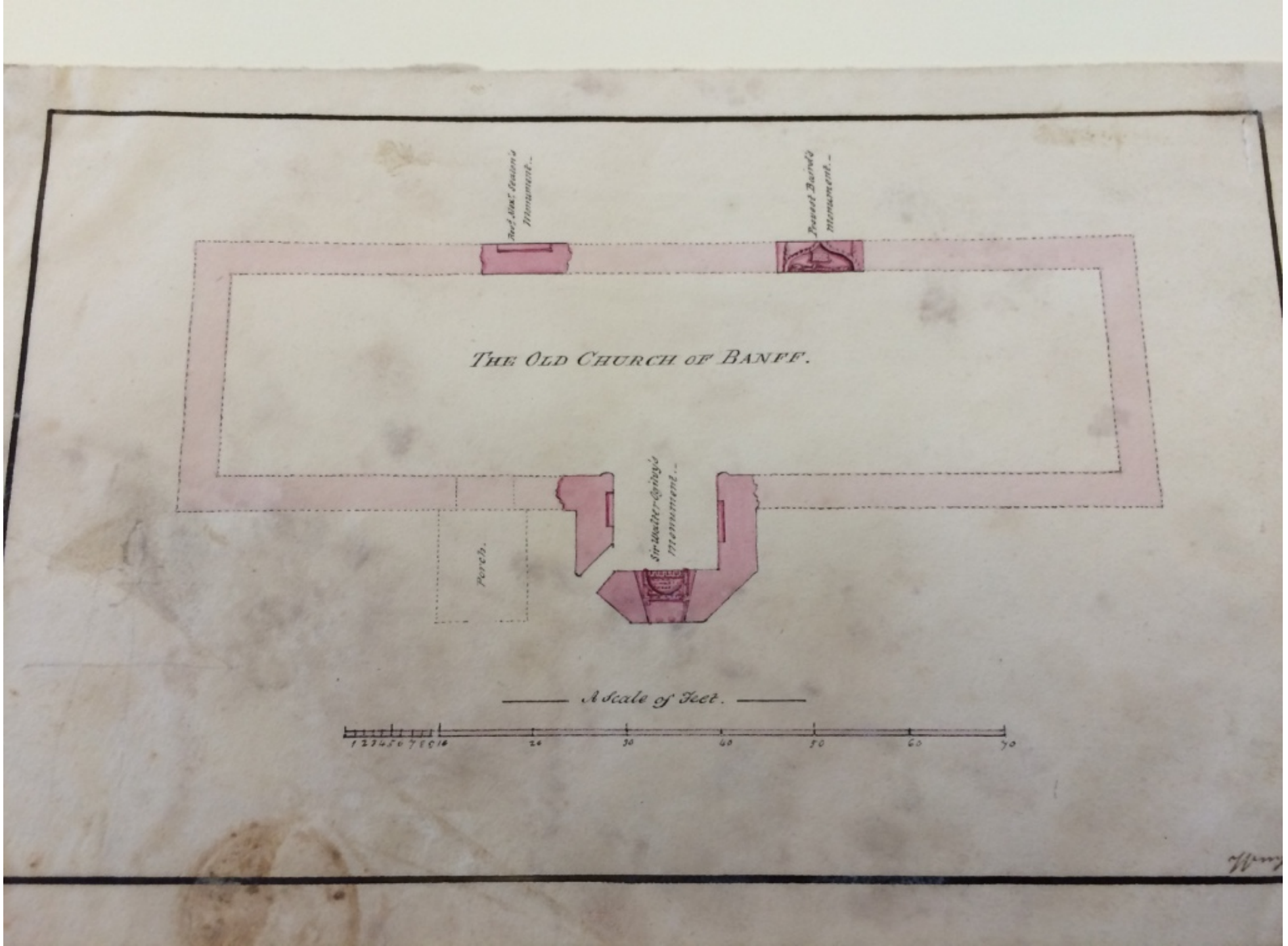


Fig. 53.
Banff Old Kirk, Ogilvy Aisle sketch by J. Cordiner (1815).
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.22 (29b).



Fig. 54. Banff Old Kirk.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.22 (29a).



Fig. 55.
Banff Old Kirk, Ogilvy Tomb.
NLS, Hutton Collection,
Adv. Ms. 30.5.22 (29).



Fig. 56.
Kinfauns Kirk, Charteris Aisle.
Martin Ritchie



Fig. 57.
Kinfauns Kirk, Charteris Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 58.
Kinfauns Kirk, Charteris Aisle interior,
EAS, vol. 3, 516.



Fig. 1478.—Kinfauns Church. The "Grey Aisle," looking West.

Fig. 59.
Kinfauns Kirk, Charteris Aisle monuments, *EAS*, vol. 3, 517.

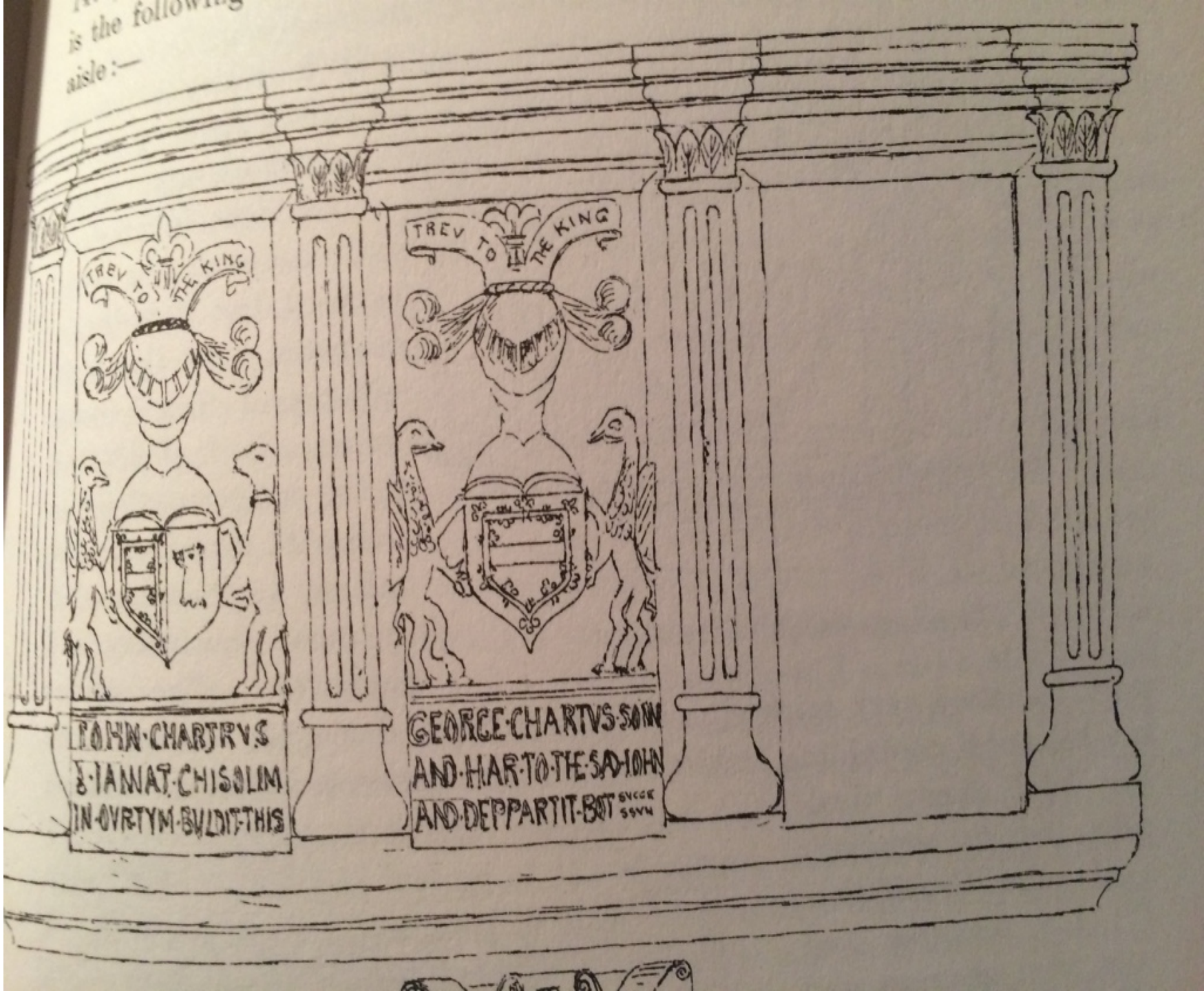
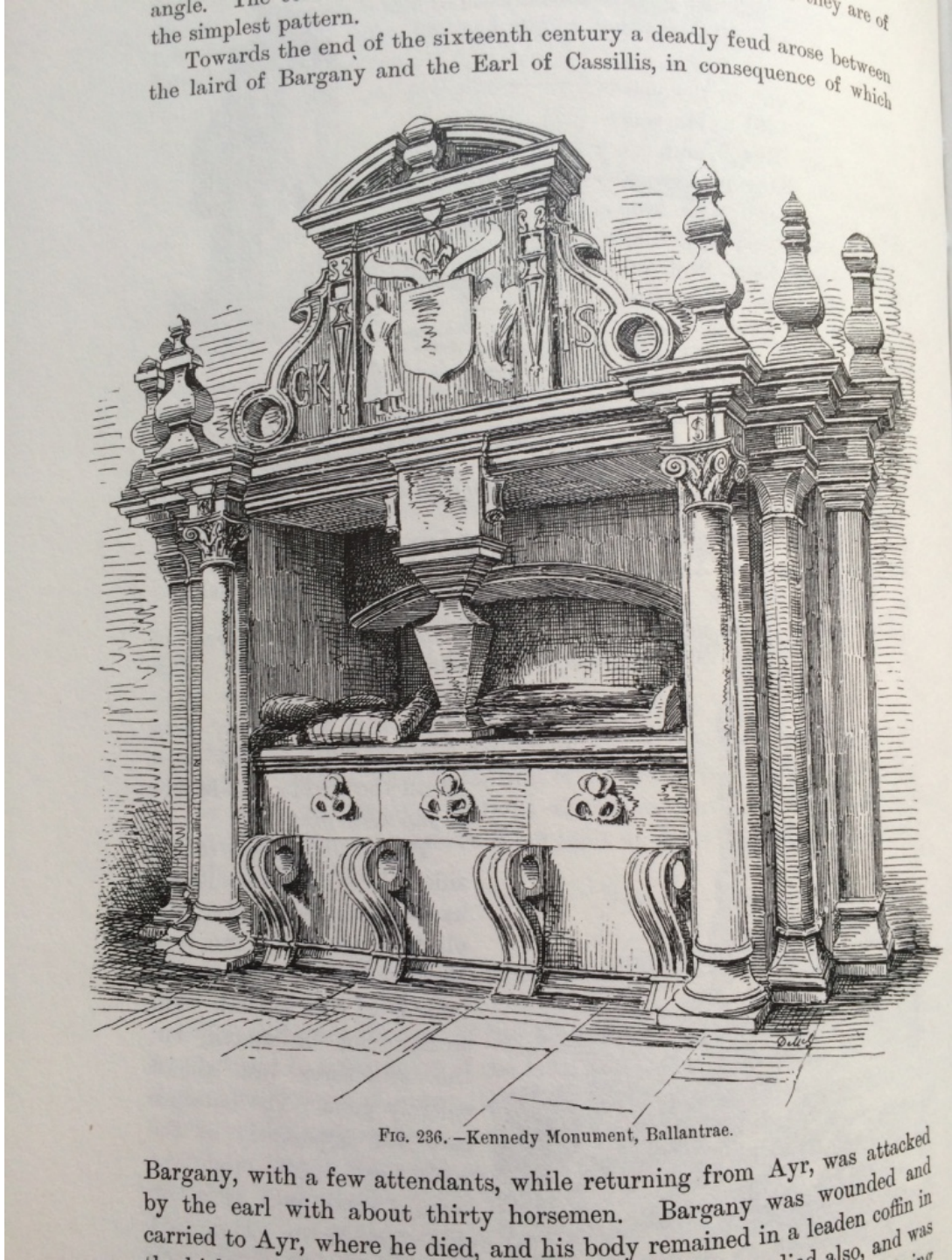


Fig. 60.
Ballantrae Old Kirk, Kennedy Aisle.
<http://www.ballantraeparishchurch.org.uk/ballantrae/ballantrae_history_page2.html> [accessed 20th November, 2016].



Fig. 61.
Kennedy Monument, Ballantrae Old Kirk (c.1605). D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1889), 304.



the simplest pattern.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century a deadly feud arose between the laird of Bargany and the Earl of Cassillis, in consequence of which

FIG. 236.—Kennedy Monument, Ballantrae.

Bargany, with a few attendants, while returning from Ayr, was attacked by the earl with about thirty horsemen. Bargany was wounded and carried to Ayr, where he died, and his body remained in a leaden coffin in

Fig.62.
Maclellan Tomb, Maclellan's House, Kirkcudbright (formerly in Kirkcudbright Old Kirk). D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. 2, 155.

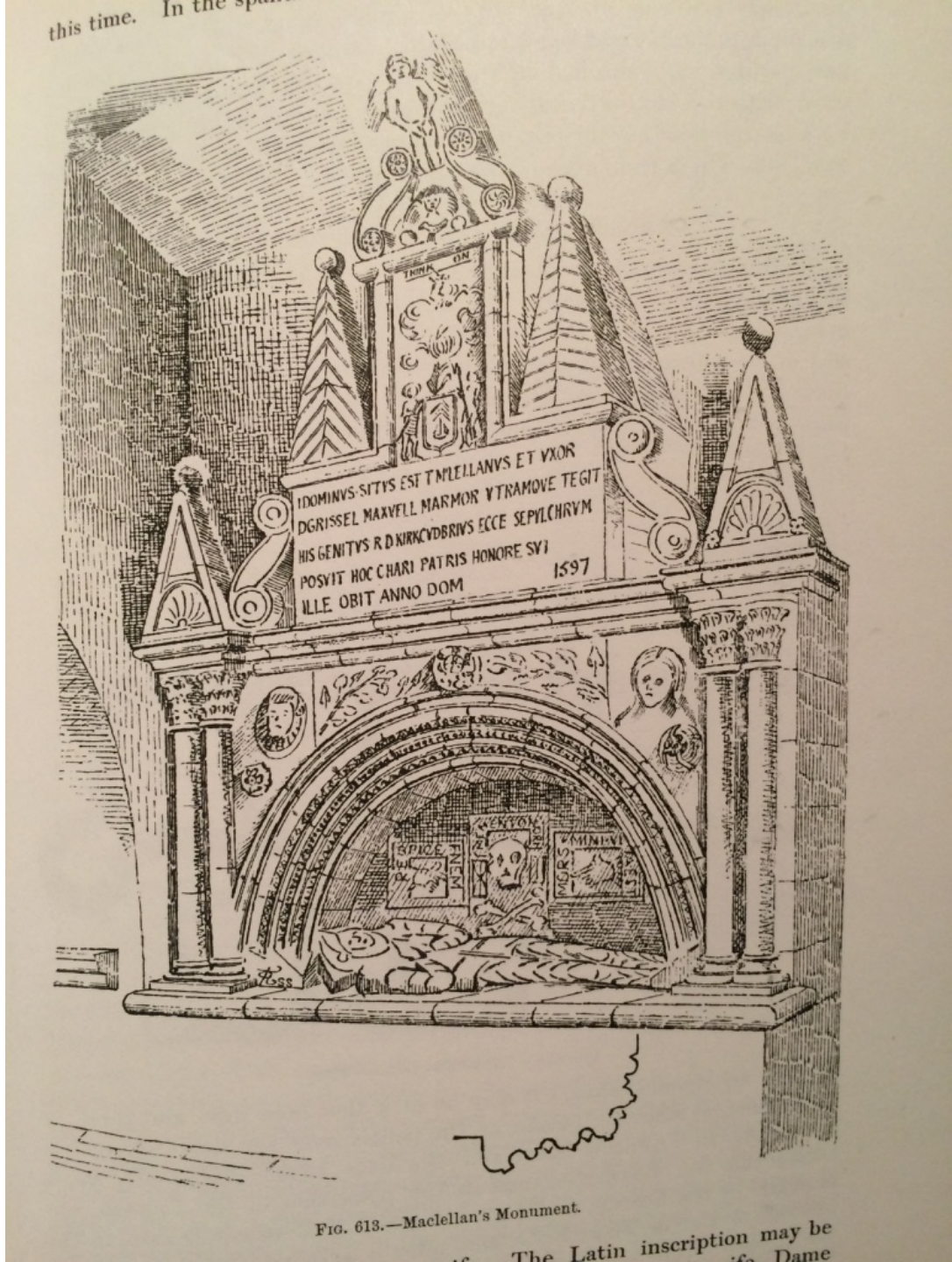


Fig. 613.—Maclellan's Monument.

Fig. 63.
Stormont Pew, originally in Scone Old Kirk (1616).
<http://canmore.org.uk/collection/1029125>
[accessed 25 October, 2016].



Fig. 64.
Abdie Kirk, nave looking west with transeptal Laird's aisle to the north.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 65.
Forgan Kirk nave looking east with transeptal Laird's aisle to the north.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 66.
Forgan Kirk Laird's aisle arch (1600).
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 67.
Forgan Kirk, looking into the nave from the Laird’s aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 68.
Pitsligo Kirk Laird's Loft
D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1892), vol. 5, 180.

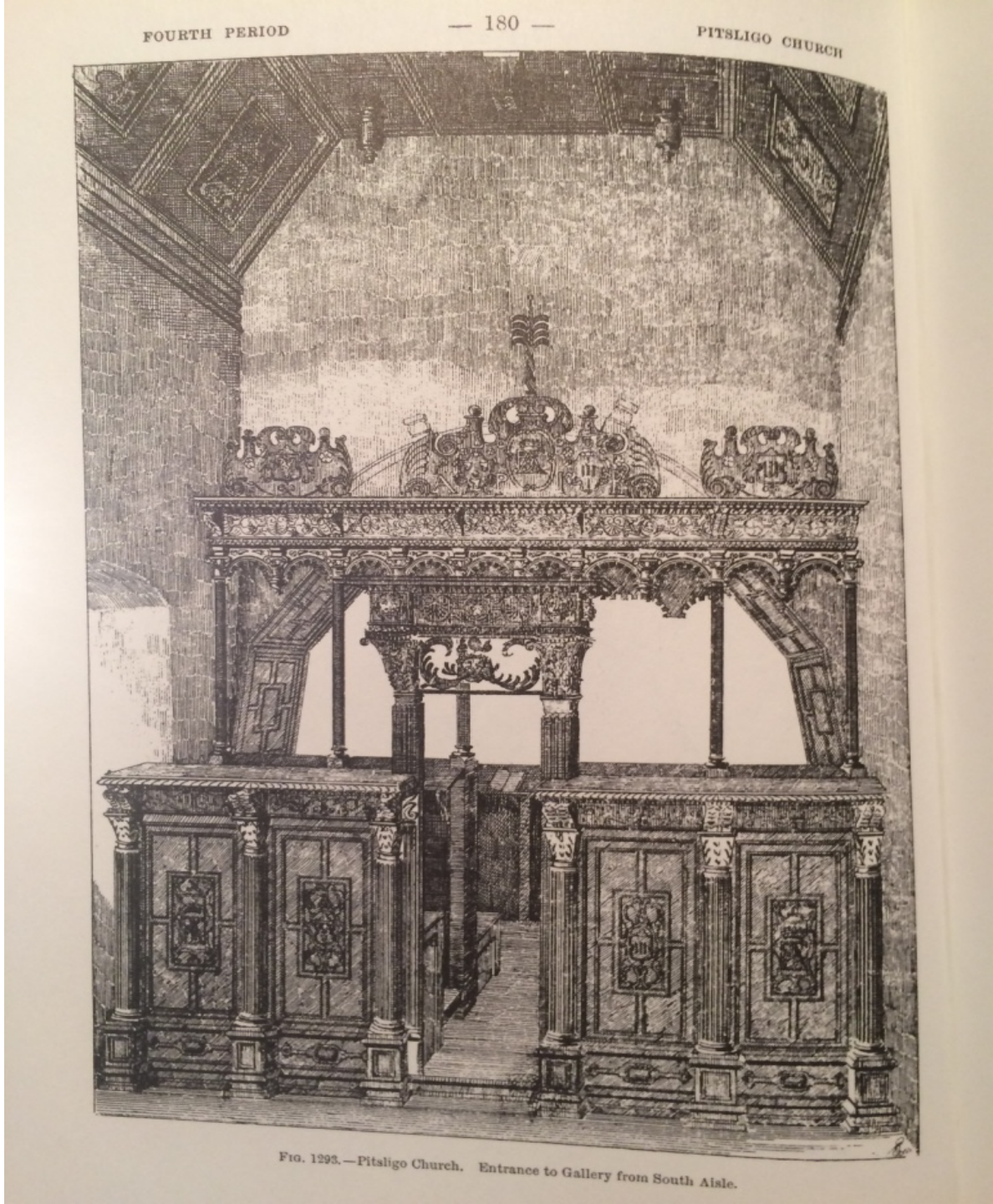


FIG. 1293.—Pitsligo Church. Entrance to Gallery from South Aisle.

Fig. 69.
Pitsligo Kirk Laird's Loft
D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* , vol. 5, 181.

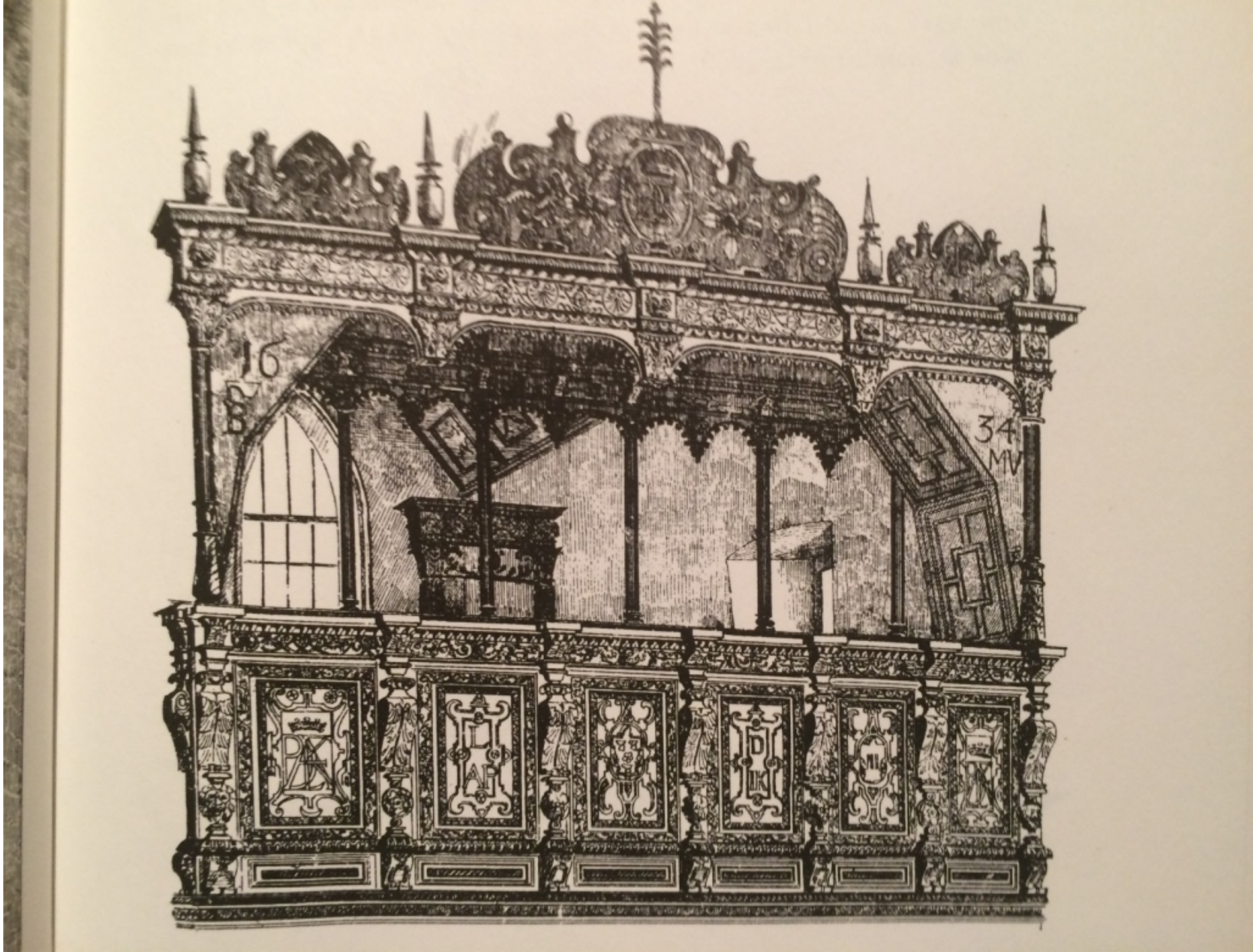


Fig.70. Newburn Old Kirk, looking east with Laird's Loft to the north.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 71.
Crawford Loft, Kilbirnie Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 72.
Laird's Loft, Bowden Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 73.
Kinkell Old Kirk Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 74.
Deskford Old Kirk Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 75.
Deskford Old Kirk
Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 76.
Deskford Old Kirk Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 77.
Deskford Old Kirk
Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 78.
Deskford Old Kirk Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 79.
Kintore Sacrament House.
Logan's Collections, ed. J. Cruickshank, Third Spalding Club 11 (Aberdeen, 1941), 139.

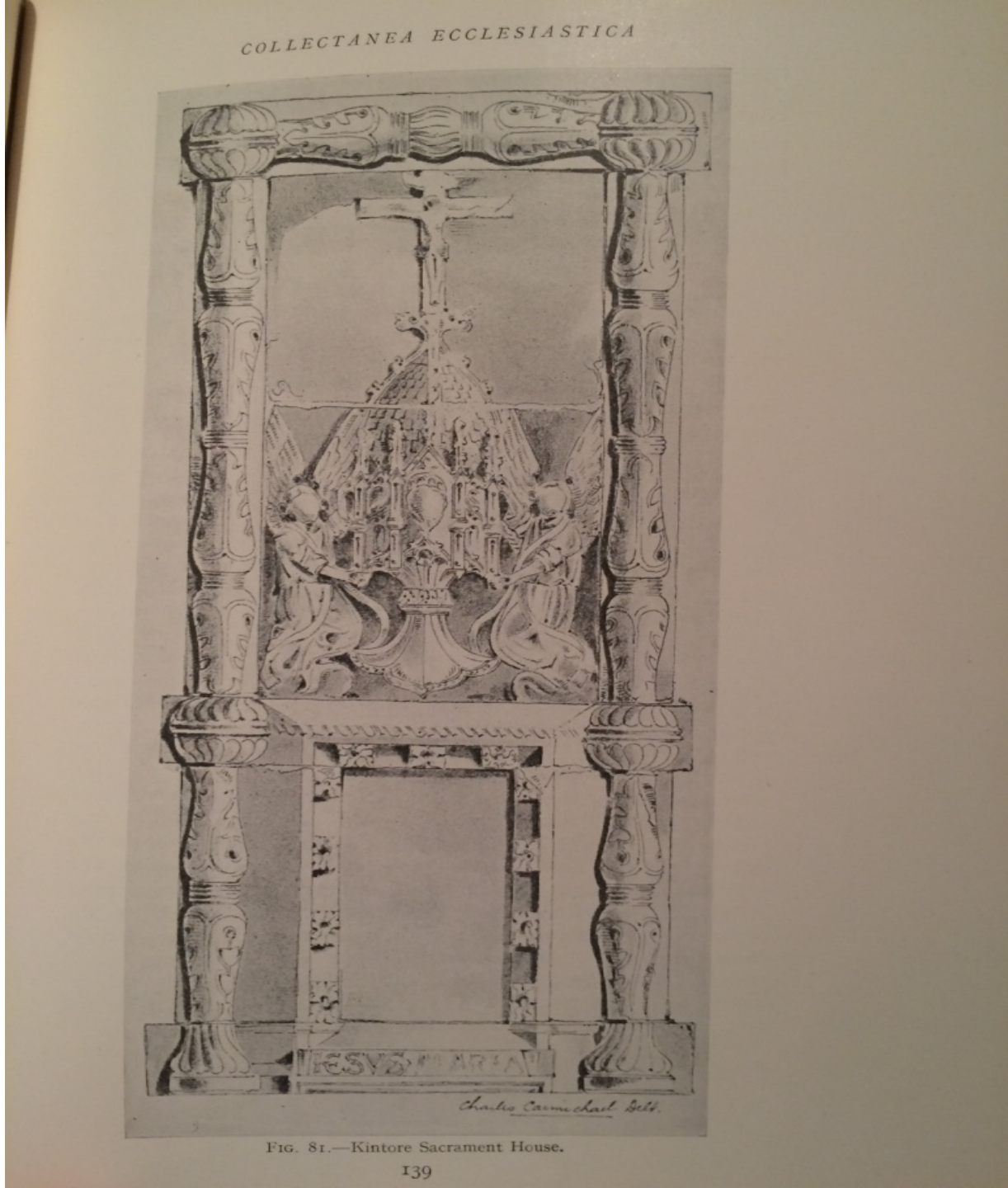


FIG. 81.—Kintore Sacrament House.

Fig. 80.
Fowlis Easter Kirk
Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 81.
Fowlis Easter Kirk Sacrament House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 82.
Fowlis Easter Kirk looking east through former rood screen doors into nave.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 83.
Fowlis Easter Kirk rood screen paintings.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 84.
Fowlis Easter Kirk rood screen paintings.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 85.
Fowlis Easter
Kirk rood screen
Paintings.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 86.
St Mary’s Kirk, Haddington, Five Wounds Image at west door.
Martin Ritchie.



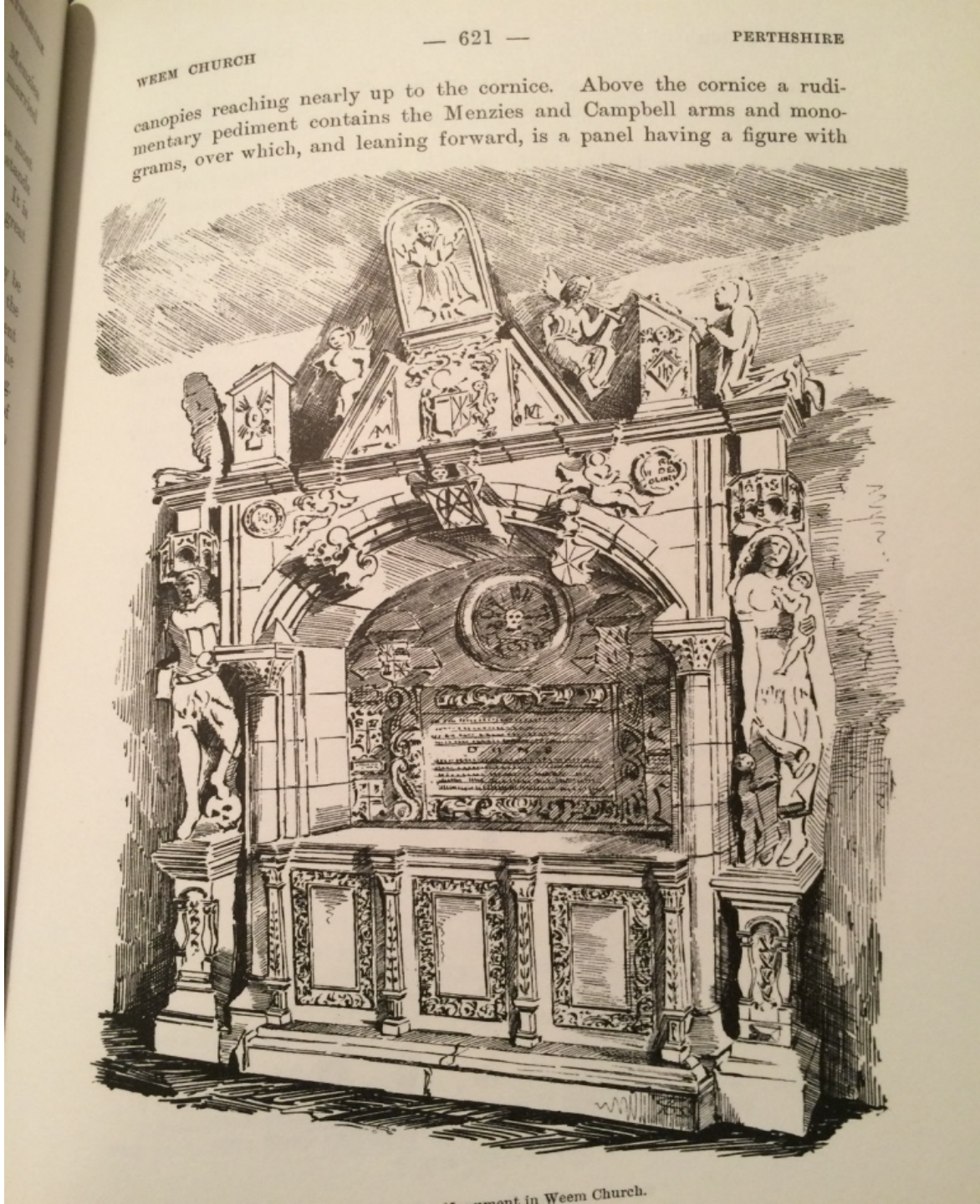


Fig. 87.
Ormiston Old Kirk, funeral brass.
National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Photograph
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 88.
Ormiston Old Kirk, funeral brass and tomb. *EAS*, vol.3, 598.



Fig. 89.
Weem Kirk, Menzies Monument, EAS, vol.3, 621.



canopies reaching nearly up to the cornice. Above the cornice a rudimentary pediment contains the Menzies and Campbell arms and monograms, over which, and leaning forward, is a panel having a figure with

Fig. 90.
Pencaitland Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 91
Pencaitland Kirk nave looking east.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 92.
Pencaitland Kirk, west gallery.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 93.
Pencaitland Kirk, pews.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 94.
Pencaitland
Kirk pews.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 95.
Ground plan of Burntisland Kirk.
ASPRC, 33.

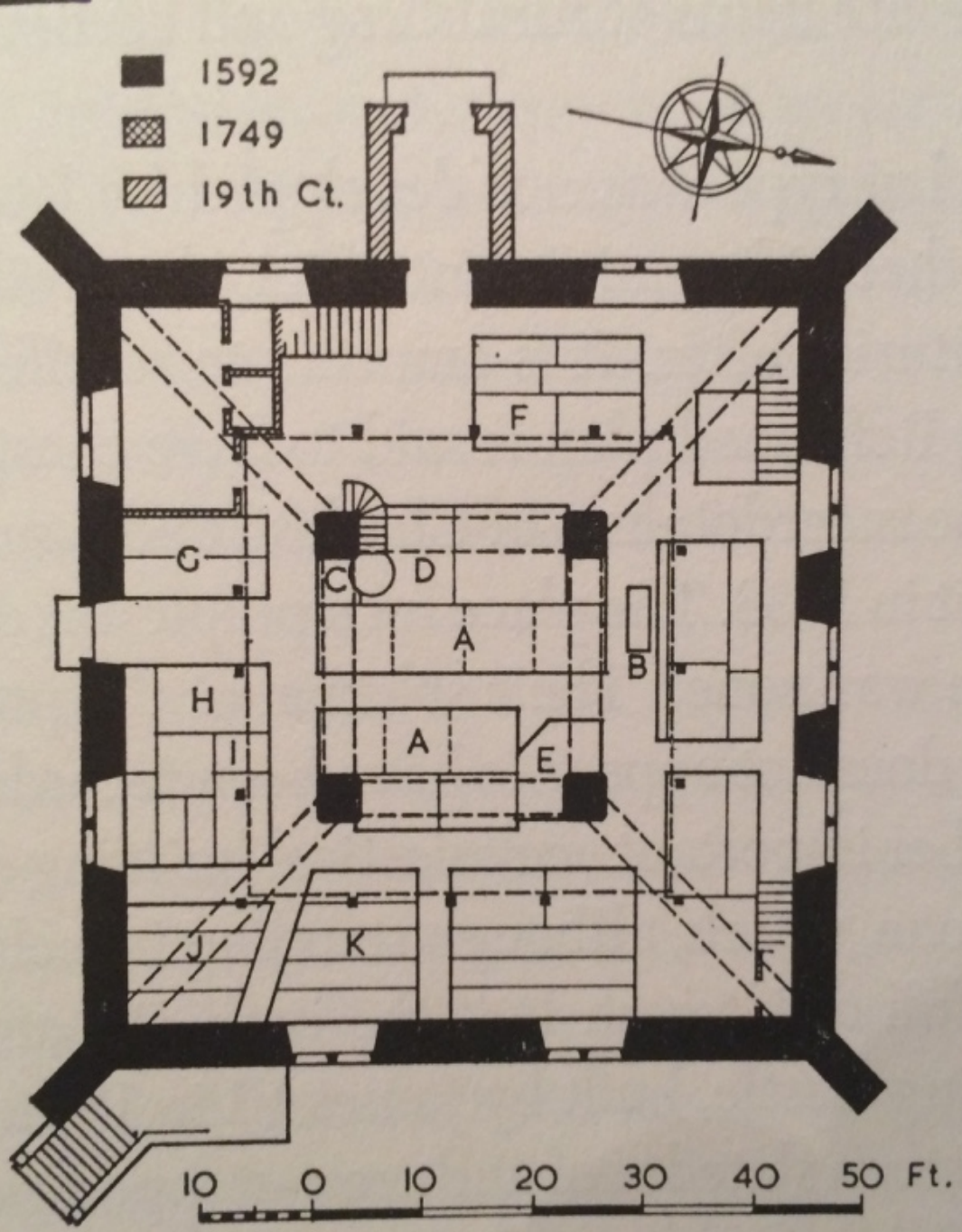


FIG. 6. Burntisland, Fife: Plan and section show-

Fig. 96.
Burntisland Kirk exterior loft staircase on east side.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 97.
Burntisland Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 98.
Burntisland Kirk Laird’s pew (1606).
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 99.
Burntisland Kirk, Laird's pew.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 100.
Burntisland Kirk, Laird's pew.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 101.
Burntisland Kirk lofts.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 102.
Burntisland Kirk lofts.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 103.
Burntisland Kirk lofts.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 104.
Burntisland Kirk lofts.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 105.
Burntisland Kirk lofts.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 106.
Burntisland Kirk, timber panel.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 107.
Burntisland Kirk, loft front.
Martin Ritchie.

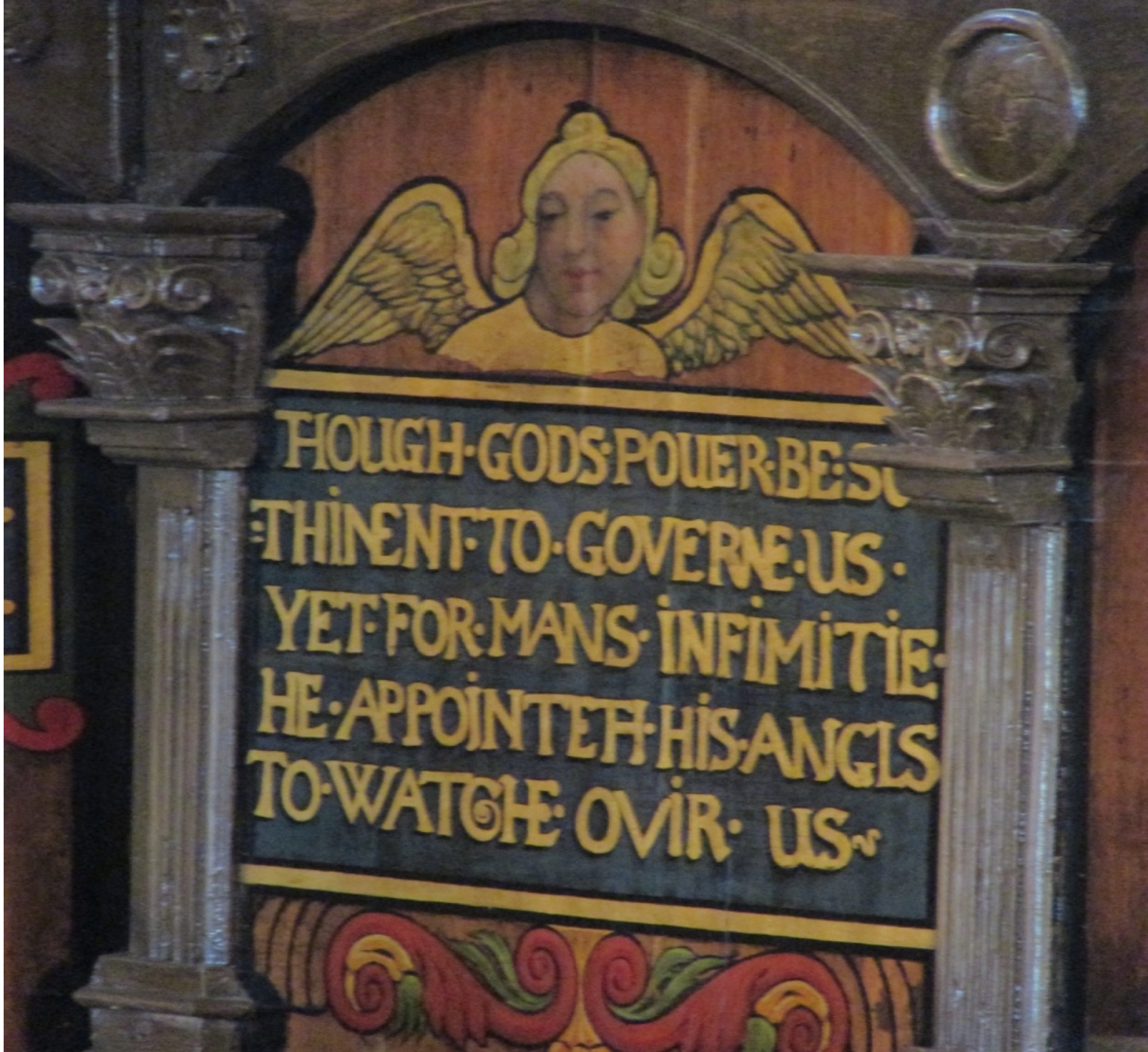


Fig. 108.
Burntisland Kirk, loft front.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 109.
Burntisland Kirk loft front.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 110.
Burntisland Kirk loft front.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 111.
Prospect of St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen in J. Gordon, *Abredoniae Utriusque Descriptio. A Description of both touns of Aberdeen. By James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay,* ed., C. Innes, Spalding Club 5 (Edinburgh, 1842).

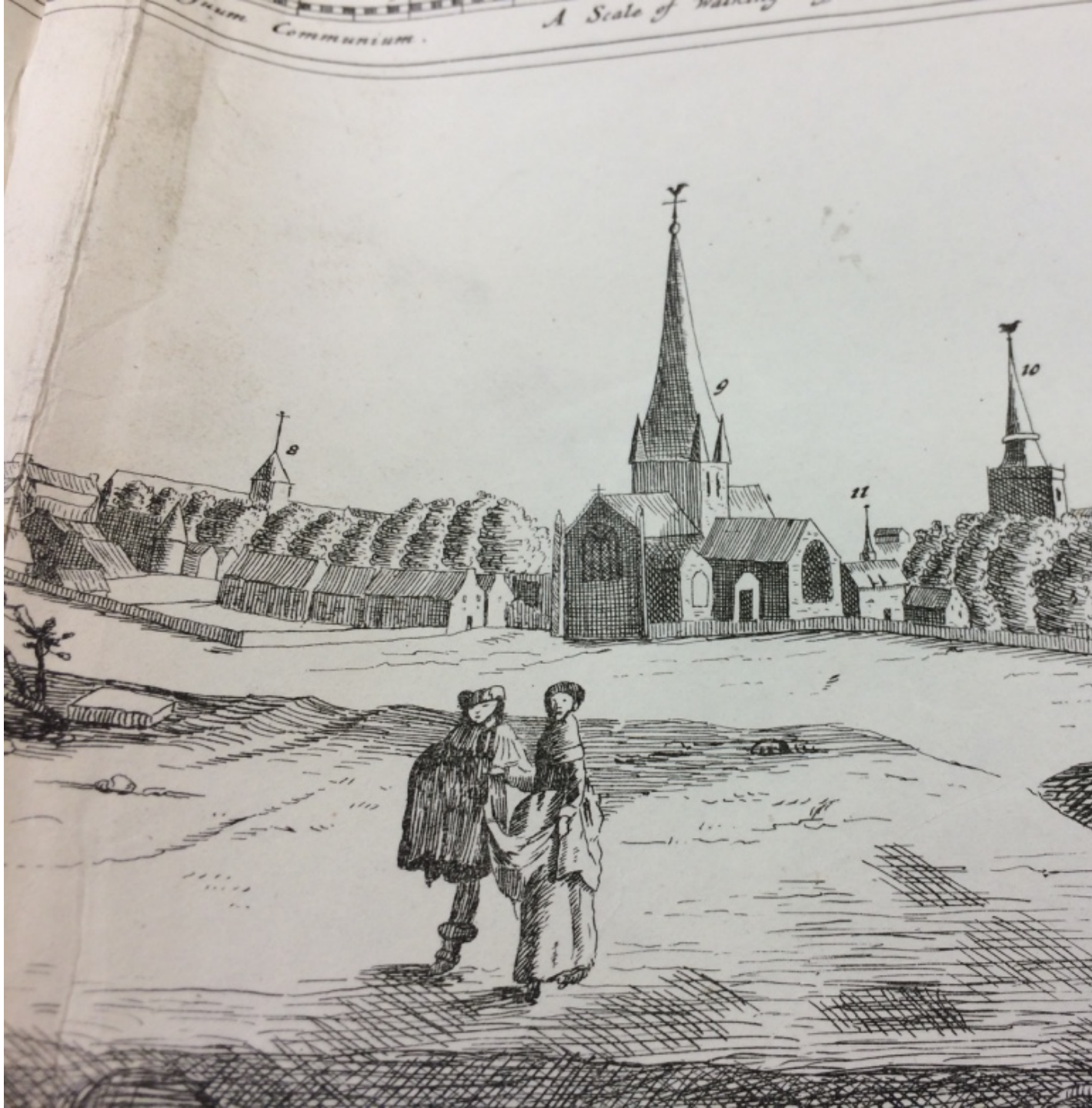


Fig. 112.
St Nicholas East Kirk, Aberdeen. Drawing by Joseph Robertson of the ceiling prior to reconstruction in 1835. J. Sharples, D.W. Walker and M. Woodworth, eds., The Buildings of Scotland, *Aberdeenshire: South and Aberdeen* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2015), 122.

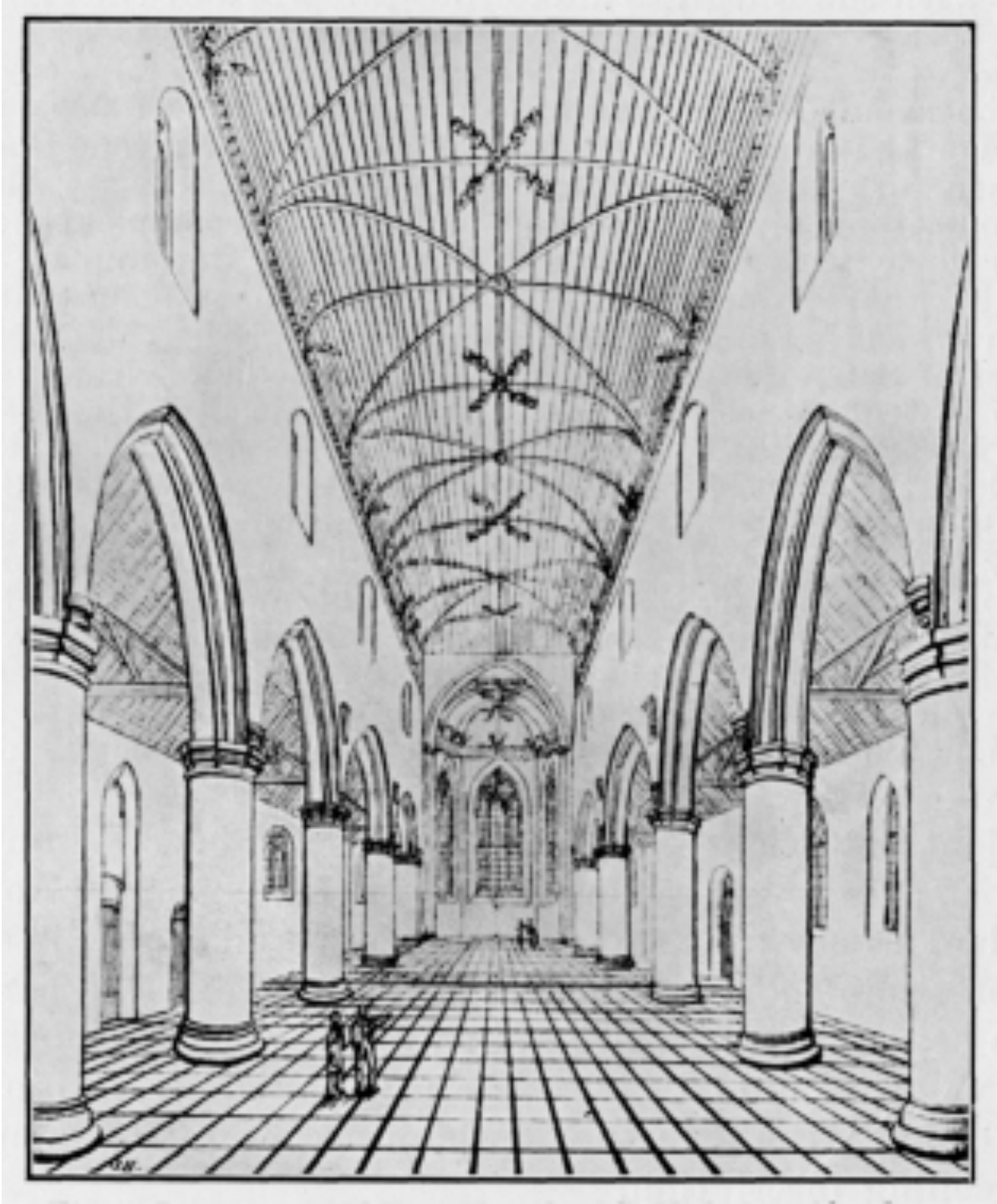


Fig. 113.
Ceiling of the apse of St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
NLS, Hutton Collection.
Adv. Ms. 30.5.22 (6a).

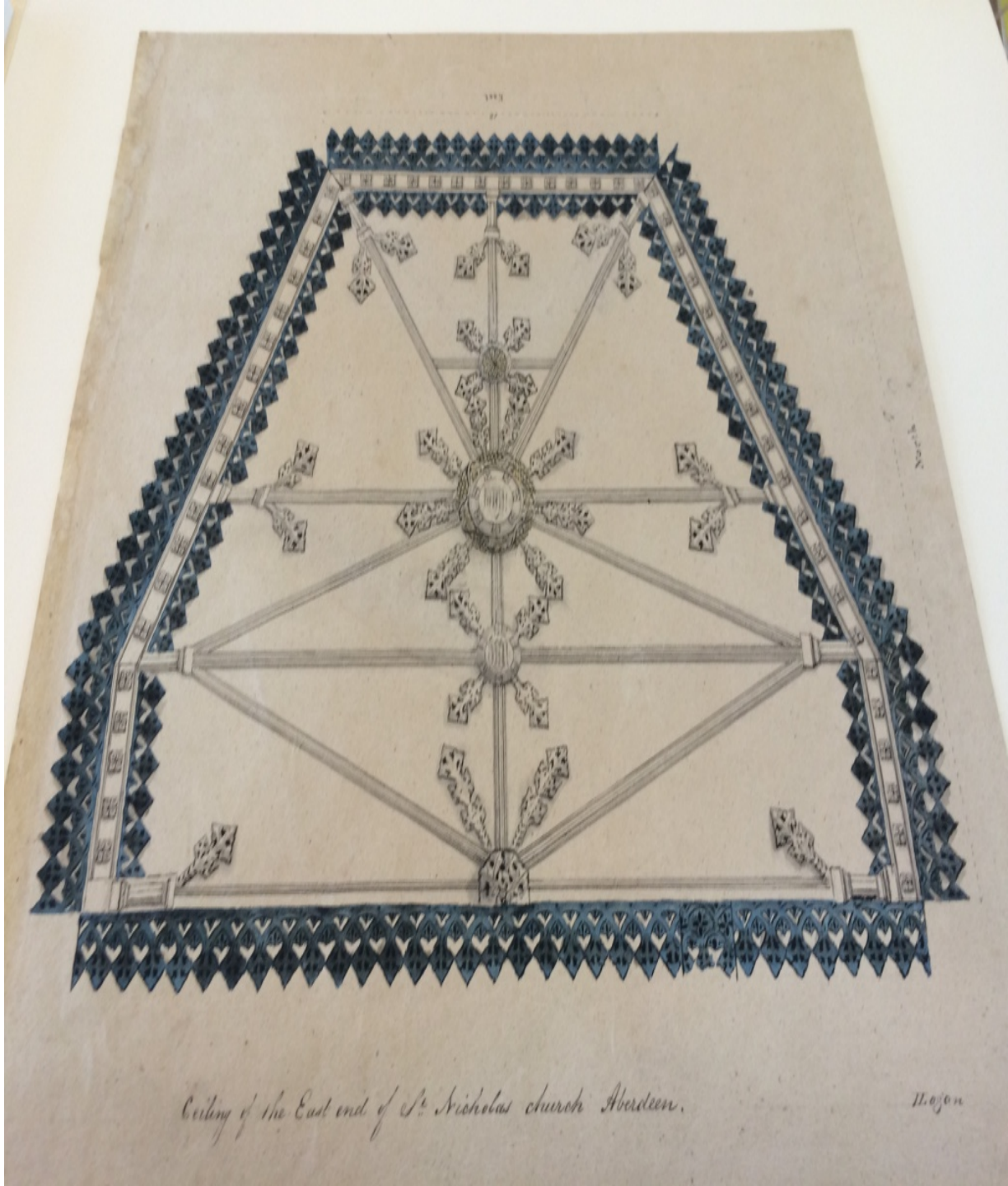


Fig. 114.
Ceiling of Kings College Chapel, Aberdeen.
R.W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, ed. A.W. Wiston-Glynn (Edinburgh, T.N. Foulis, 1909), vol. 1, 16.

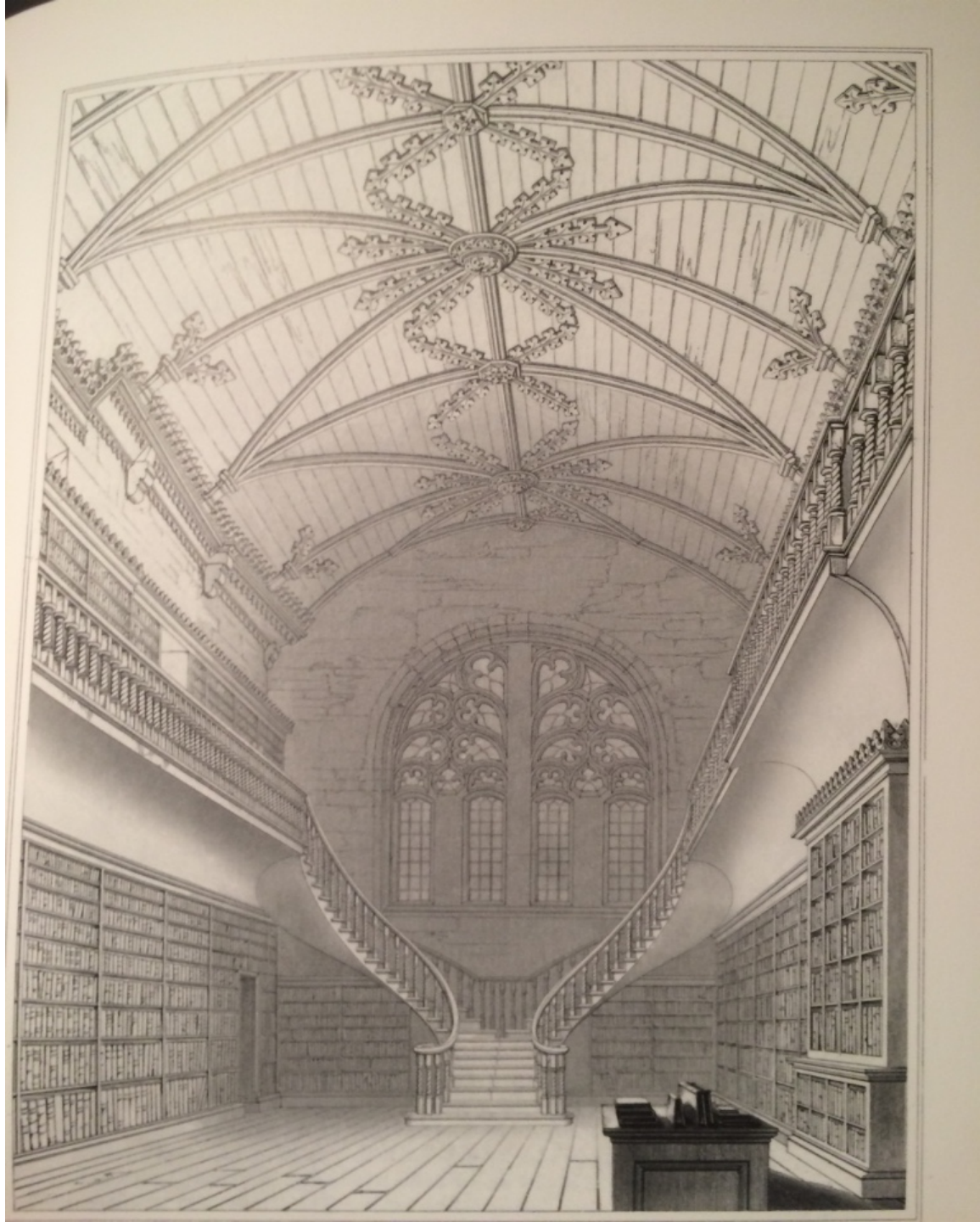


Fig. 115.
Logan's 1818 Drawing of St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen, Aberdeen City Archives.
<http://www.aberdeencity.gov.uk/education_learning/localhistory/archives/loc_docmonthmay2009.asp>
[accessed 14th August, 2016].



Fig. 116.
St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen. Timber recycled into domestic furniture. Image in St Nicholas Kirk Archives.



Fig. 117
St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen. Timber recycled into domestic furniture.
Image in St Nicholas Kirk Archives.



Fig. 118.
St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen. Timber recycled into domestic furniture. Image in St Nicholas Kirk Archives.



Fig. 119.
St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen. Timber recycled into domestic furniture. Image in St Nicholas Kirk Archives.



Fig. 120.
Deacon Convener's Chair, Aberdeen.

Created with a segment of the St Nicholas choir stalls

Photograph Martin Ritchie, with thanks to The Master of Trades Hospital, The Seven Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen.



Fig. 121.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 122.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 123.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 124.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 125.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 126.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 127.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 128.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 129.
St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen, composite canopied desk.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig 130.
St Nicholas Kirk,
Aberdeen, canopied desk.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 131.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 132.
Fragment of St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen, choir stalls. In National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Photograph Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 133.
Desk at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 134.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 135. Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 136.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.







Fig. 137.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 138.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 139.
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 140
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 141
Woodwork at St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig.142
Pulpit at Holy Rood Kirk, Stirling.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/media/images/46871000/jpg/_46871957_church_holyrude6_bbc_341.jpg>
[accessed 10th December, 2016].



Fig. 143.
Pencaitland Kirk pulpit.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 144. Pencaitland Kirk pulpit detail. Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 145.
Gifford Kirk pulpit.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 146.
Dun Kirk pulpit.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 147
Dun Kirk pulpit.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 148, Dun Kirk pulpit. Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 149. Parton Kirk pulpit
National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 150.
Parton Kirk pulpit,
National Museum of
Scotland, Edinburgh.
Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 151.
Parton Kirk pulpit
National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Photograph, Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 152.
Culross Abbey pulpit.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 153.
Culross Abbey pulpit detail.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 154.
Pulpit in storage at Kirkwall Cathedral.
RCAHMS.



Fig. 155.
Kirkwall Cathedral, throne and loft in the choir, in R.W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, ed. A.W. Wiston-Glynn, (Edinburgh, T.N. Foulis, 1909), vol. 3, 331.

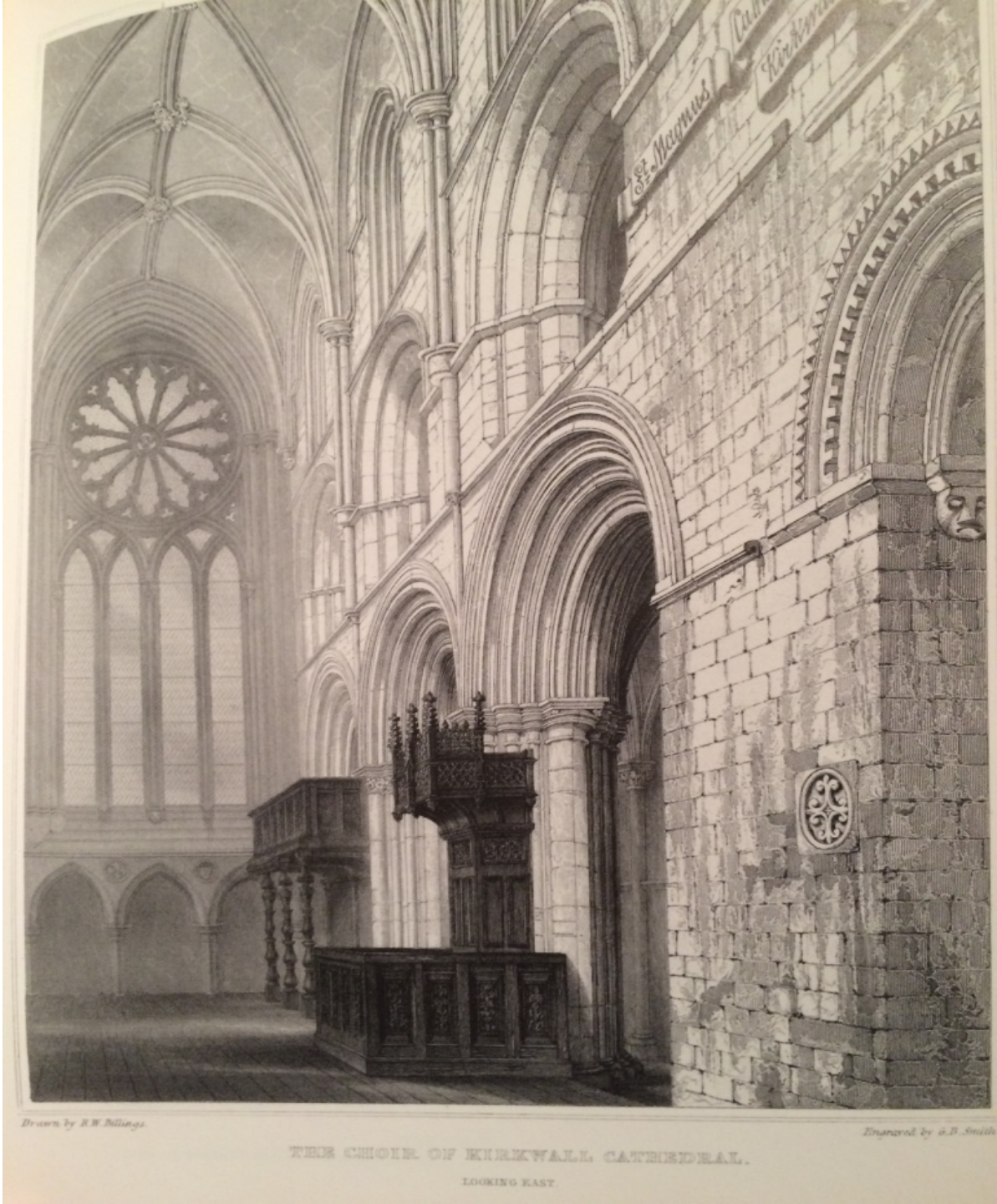


Fig. 156.
Kirkwall Cathedral, throne and loft in the choir, in R.W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, ed. A.W. Wiston-Glynn, (Edinburgh, T.N. Foulis, 1909), vol. 3, 331.

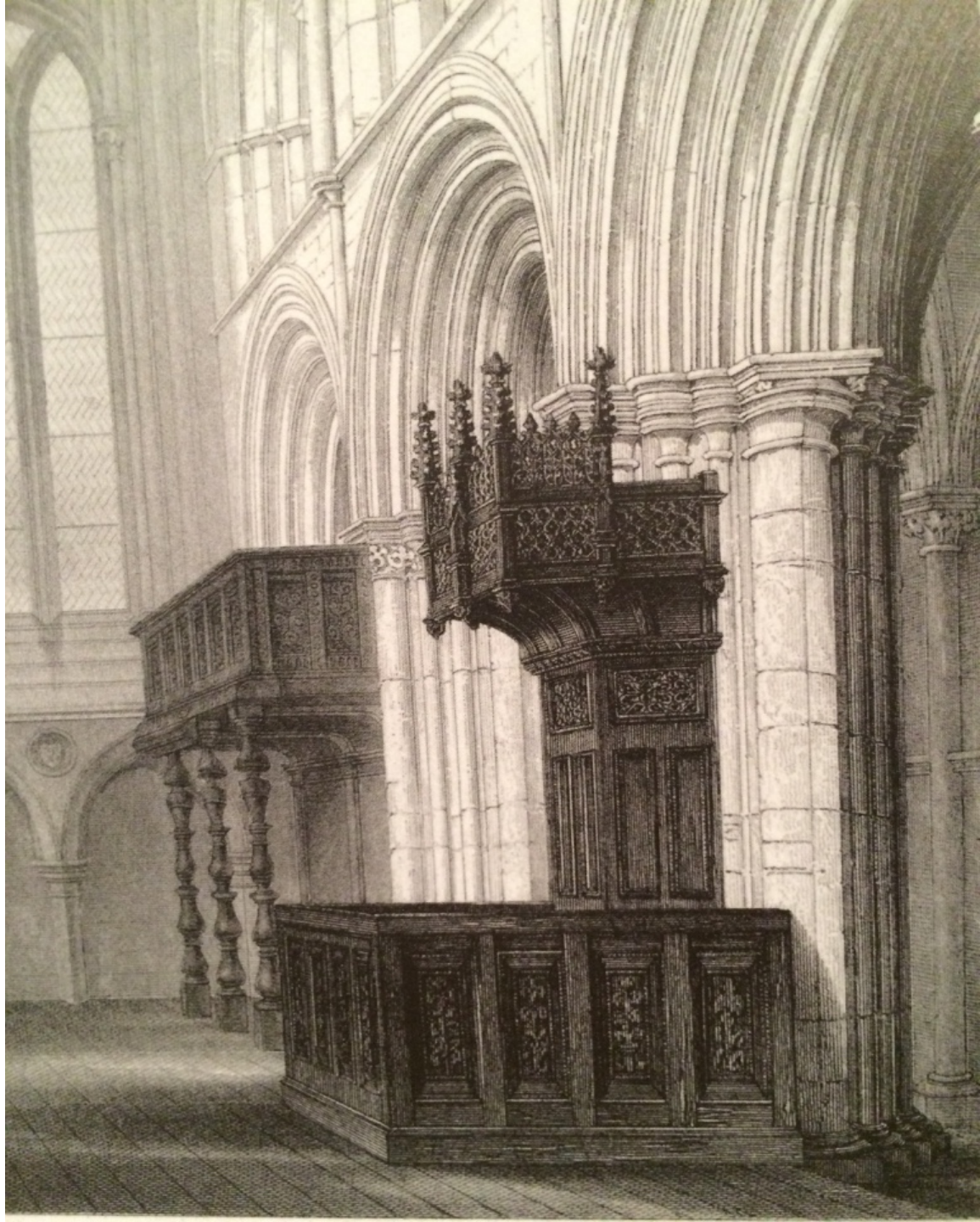


Fig. 157.
Udny Kirk, in *Logan's collections*, ed. J. Cruickshank, Third Spalding club 11 (Aberdeen, 1941), 12.

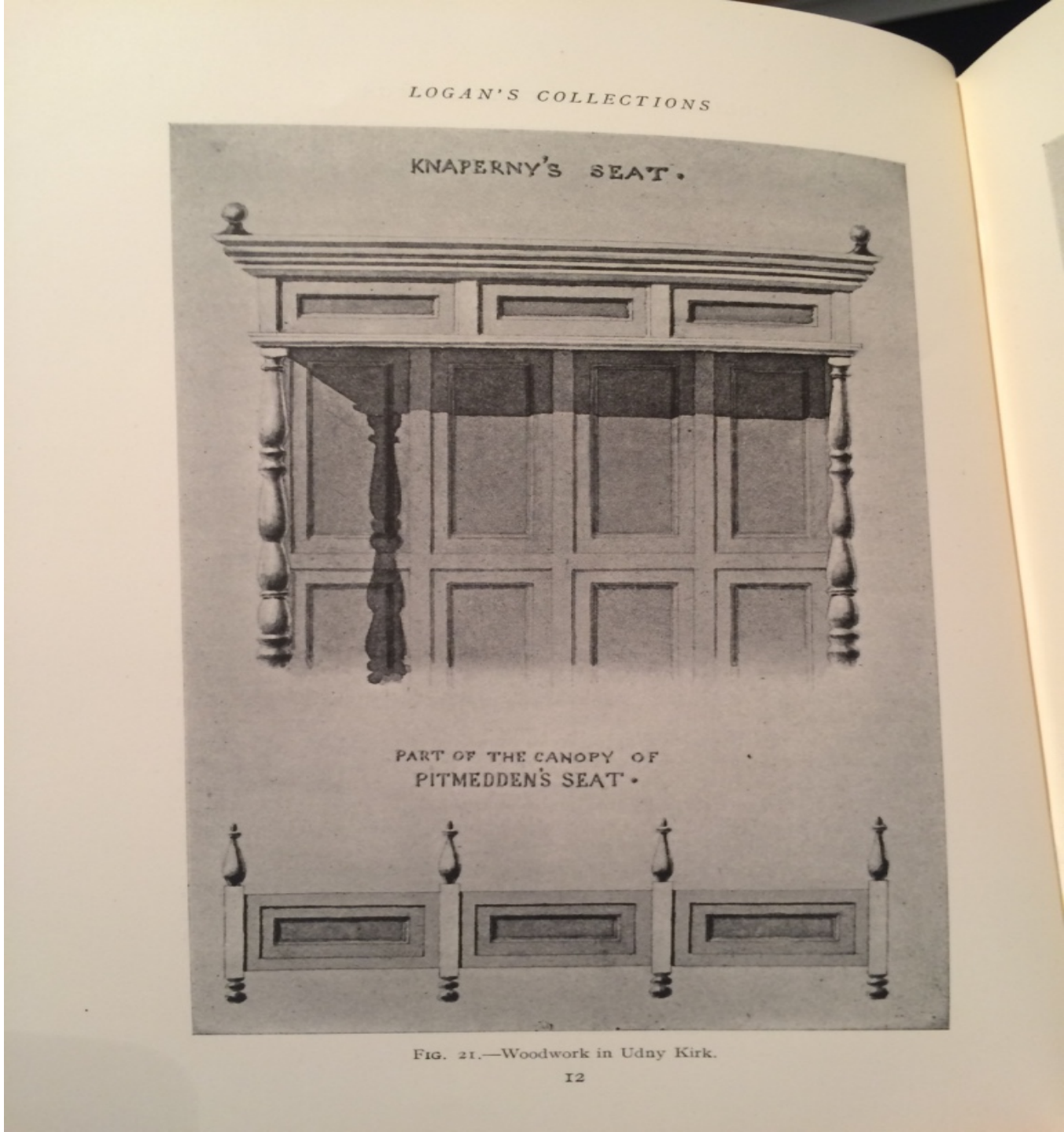
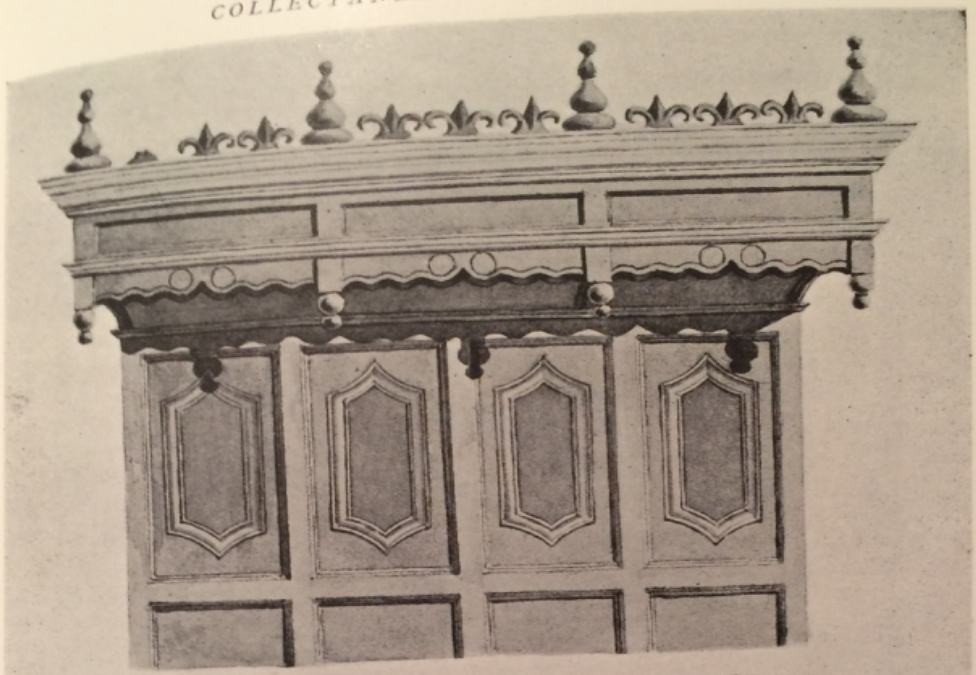
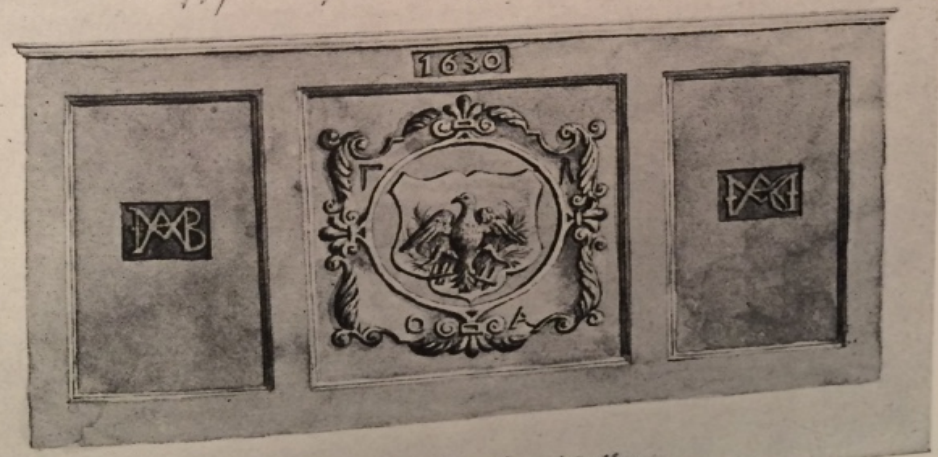


Fig. 158.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*., 13.



Canopy of the Pew of the seat belonging to the Stons of Pitmedden.



The Back of a pew below the west gallery

FIG. 22.—Woodwork in Udny Kirk.

Fig. 159.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*., 14.

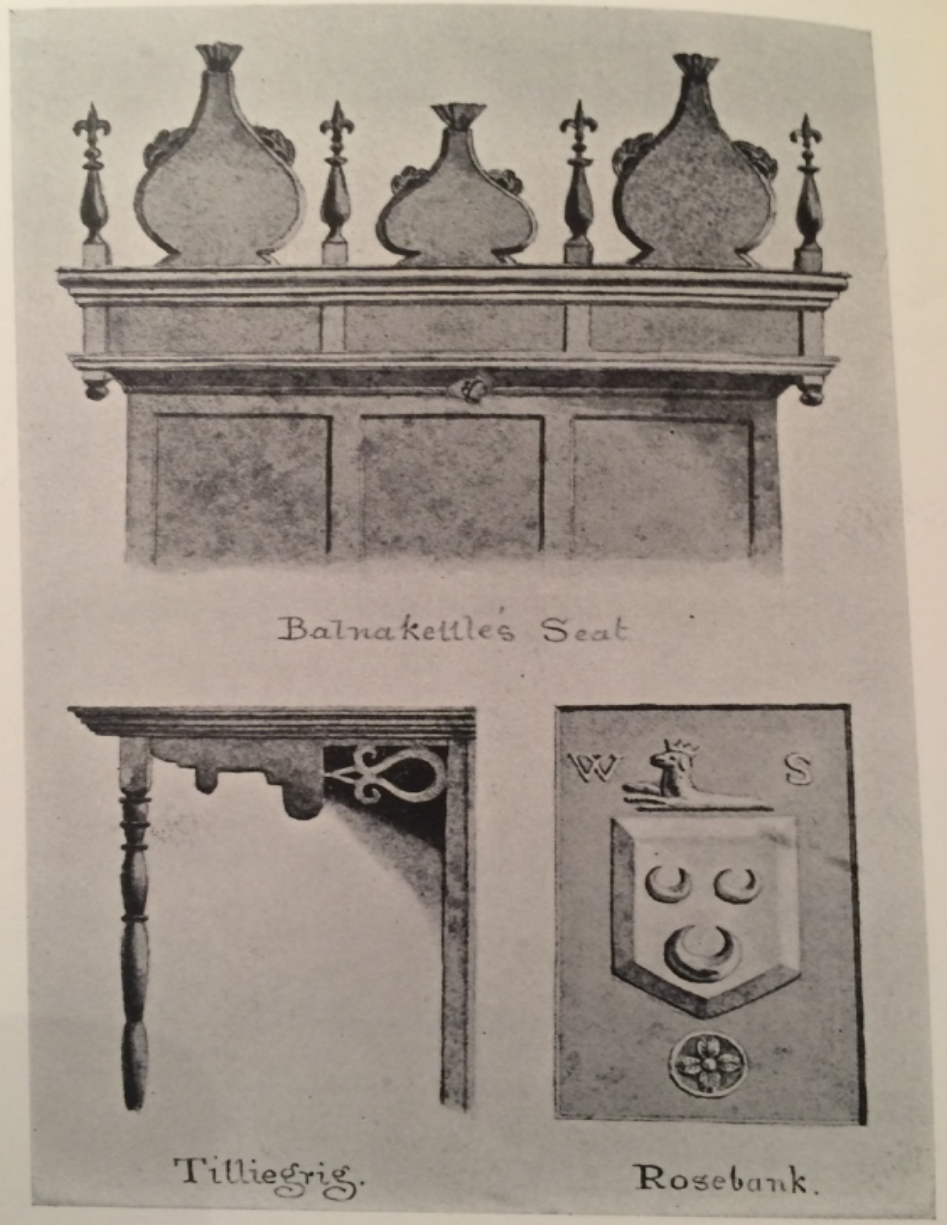


FIG. 23.—Woodwork in Udny Kirk.

Fig. 160.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*., 15.



Woodwork in Udny Kirk

Fig. 161.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*., 15.



FIG. 24.—Painted Roof of the Pitrichie Pew, Udny Kirk.

Fig. 162.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*., 16.

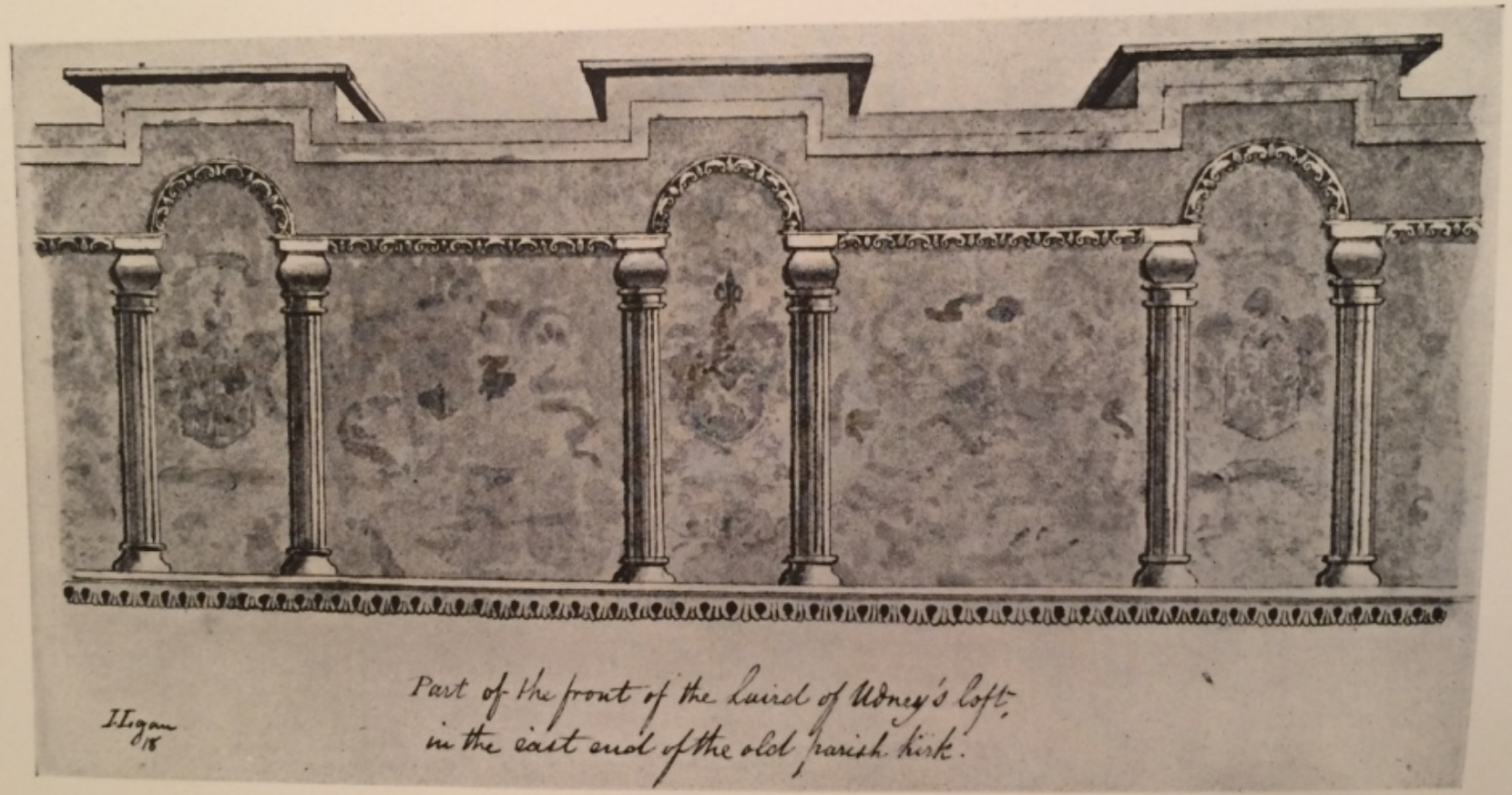


FIG. 25.—Front of the Laird's Loft, Udny Kirk.

Fig. 163.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*.,16.

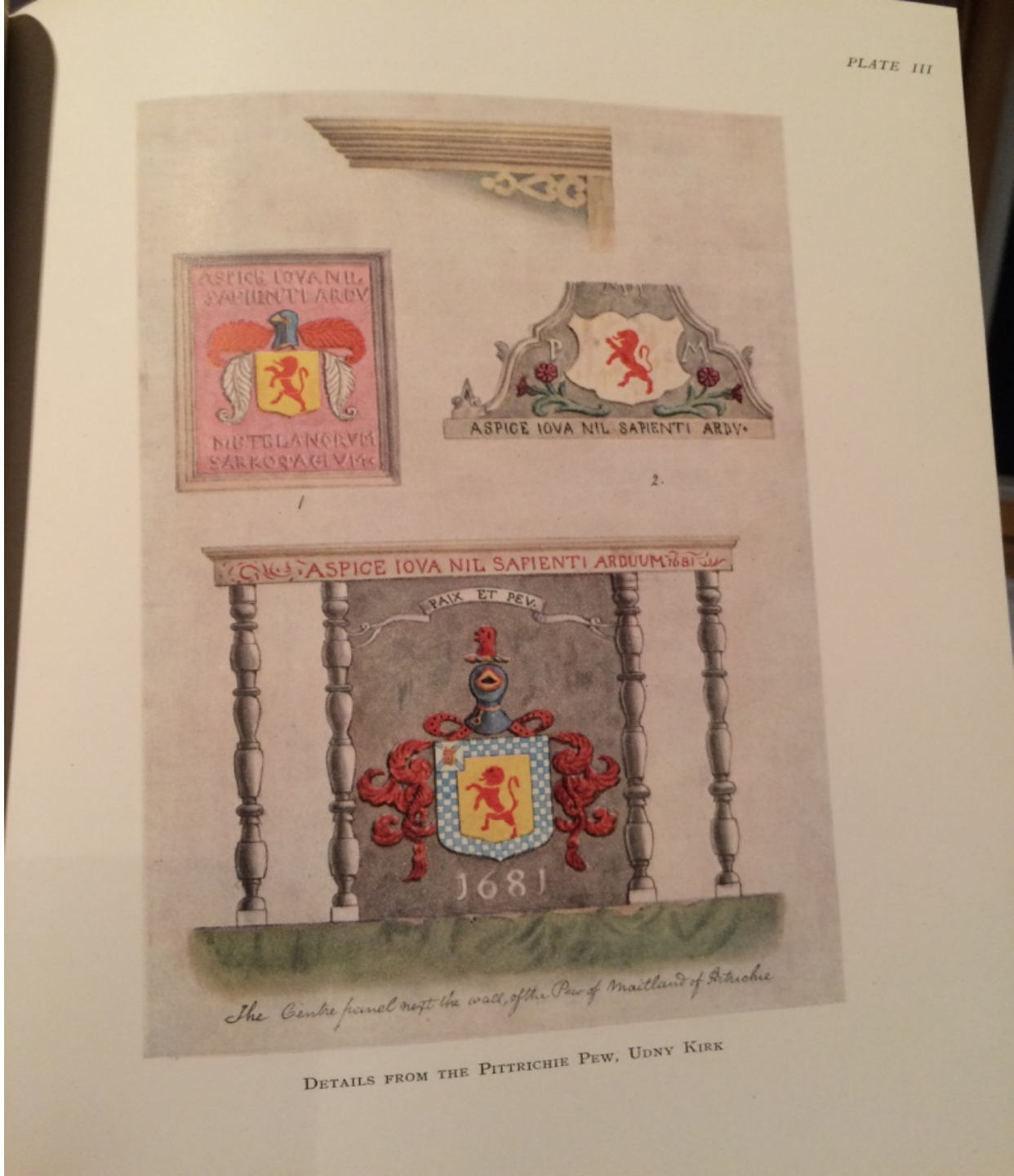
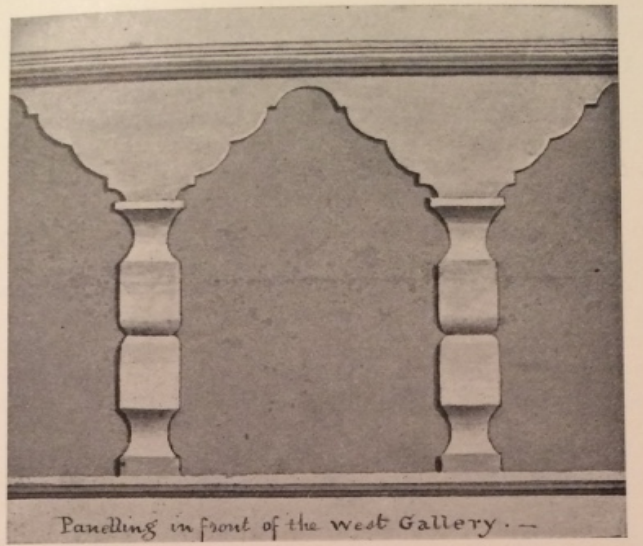
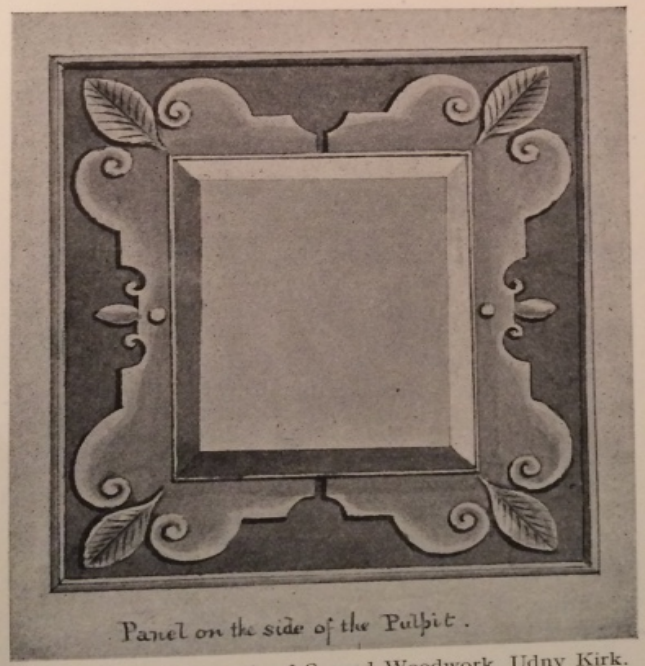


Fig. 164.
Udny Kirk, *ibid*., 17.



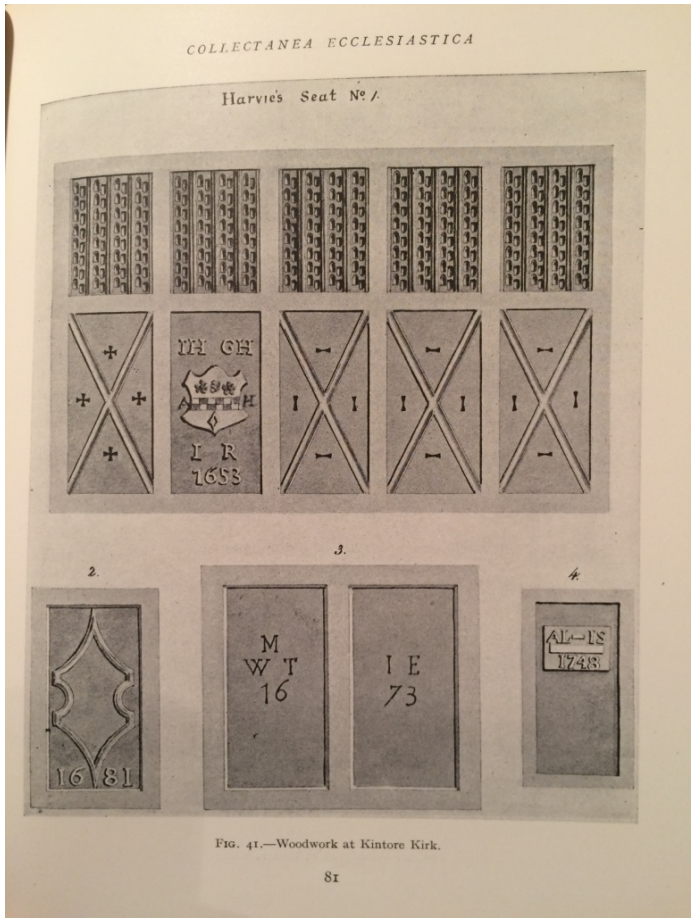
Panelling in front of the West Gallery.—



Panel on the side of the Pulpit.

FIGS. 26, 27.—Details of Carved Woodwork, Udny Kirk.

Fig. 165. Kintore Kirk, *ibid*., 81.



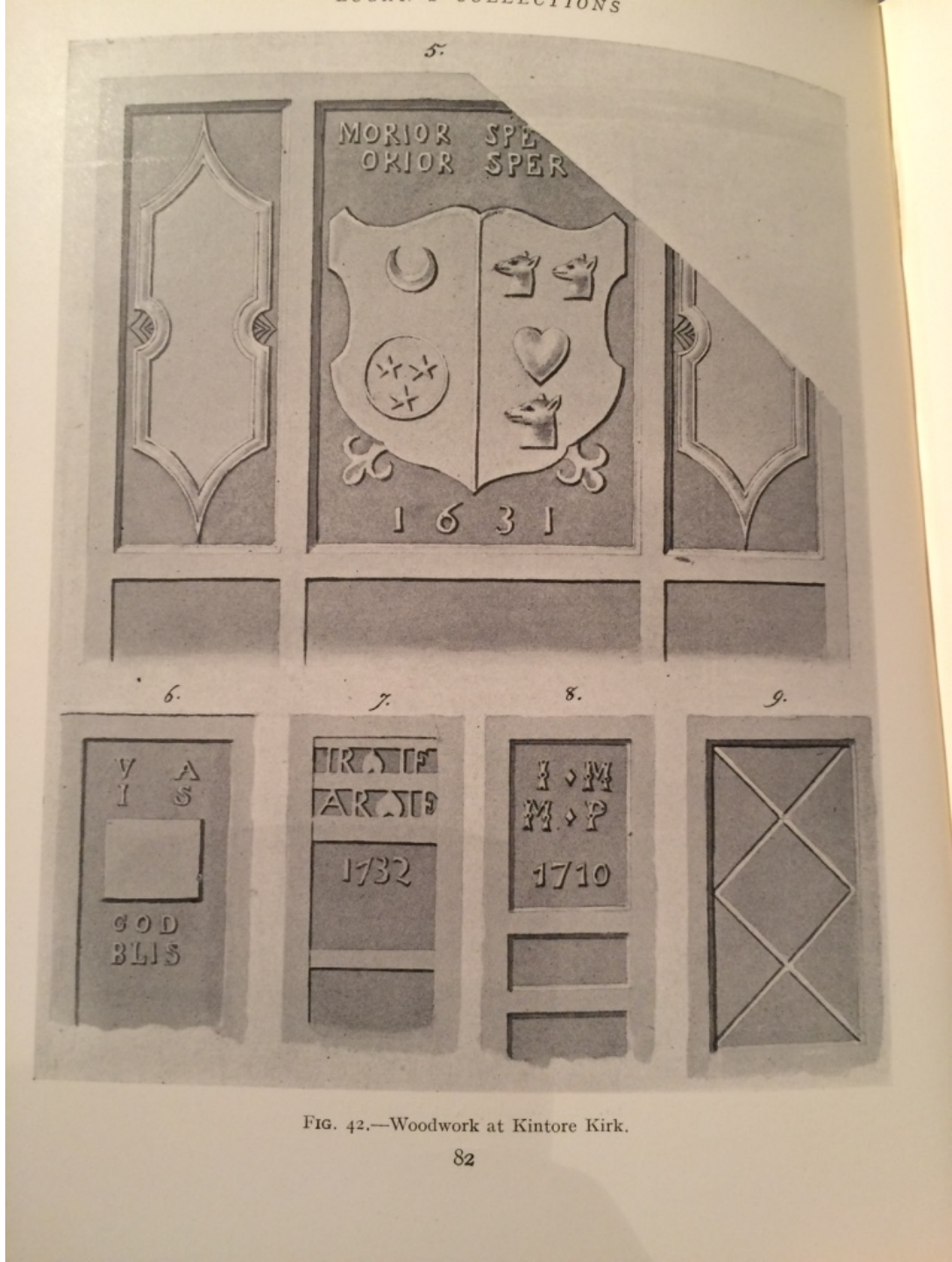
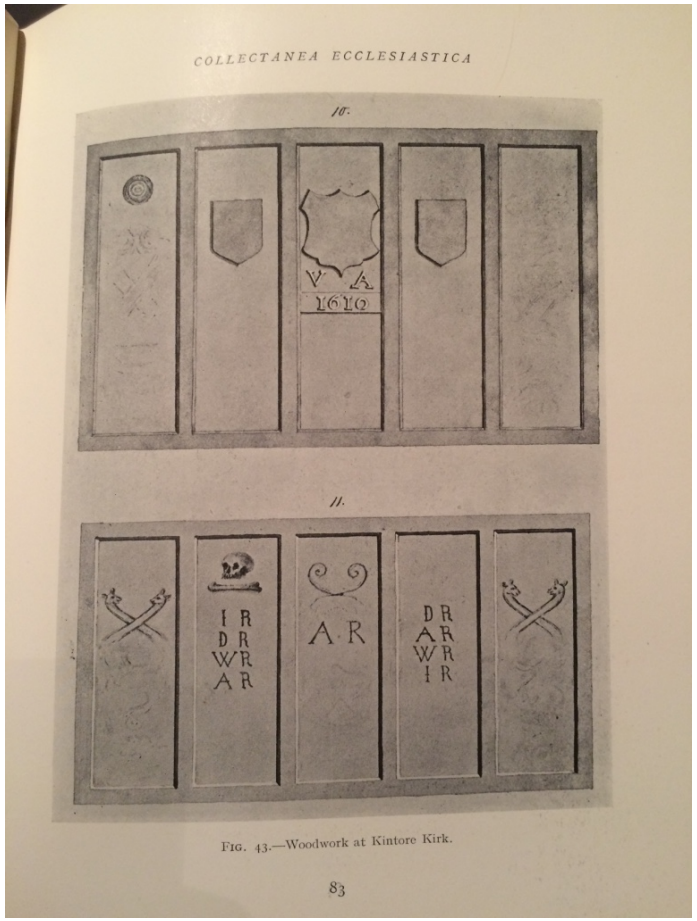


Fig. 166, Kintore Kirk, *ibid*., 83.



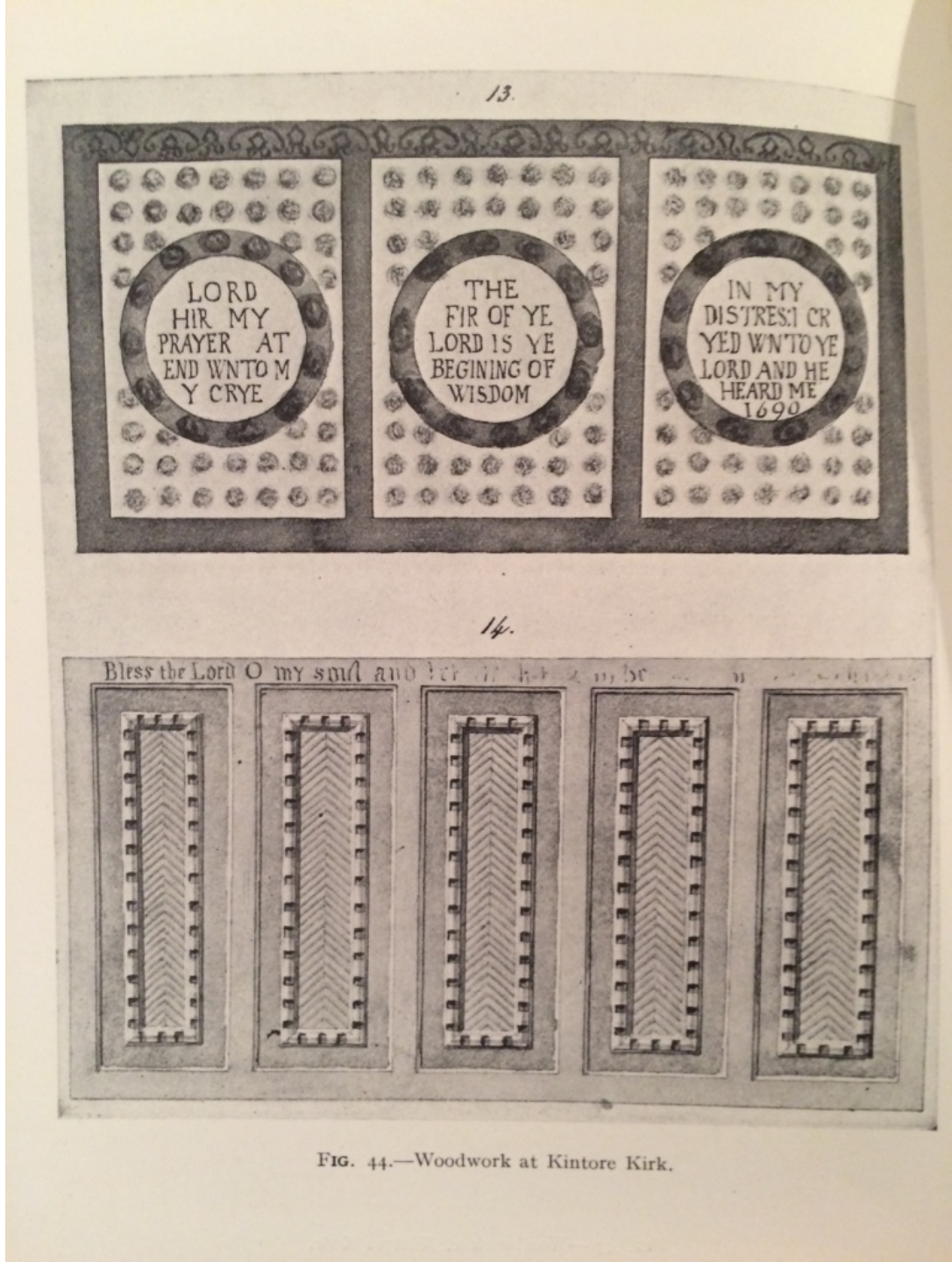
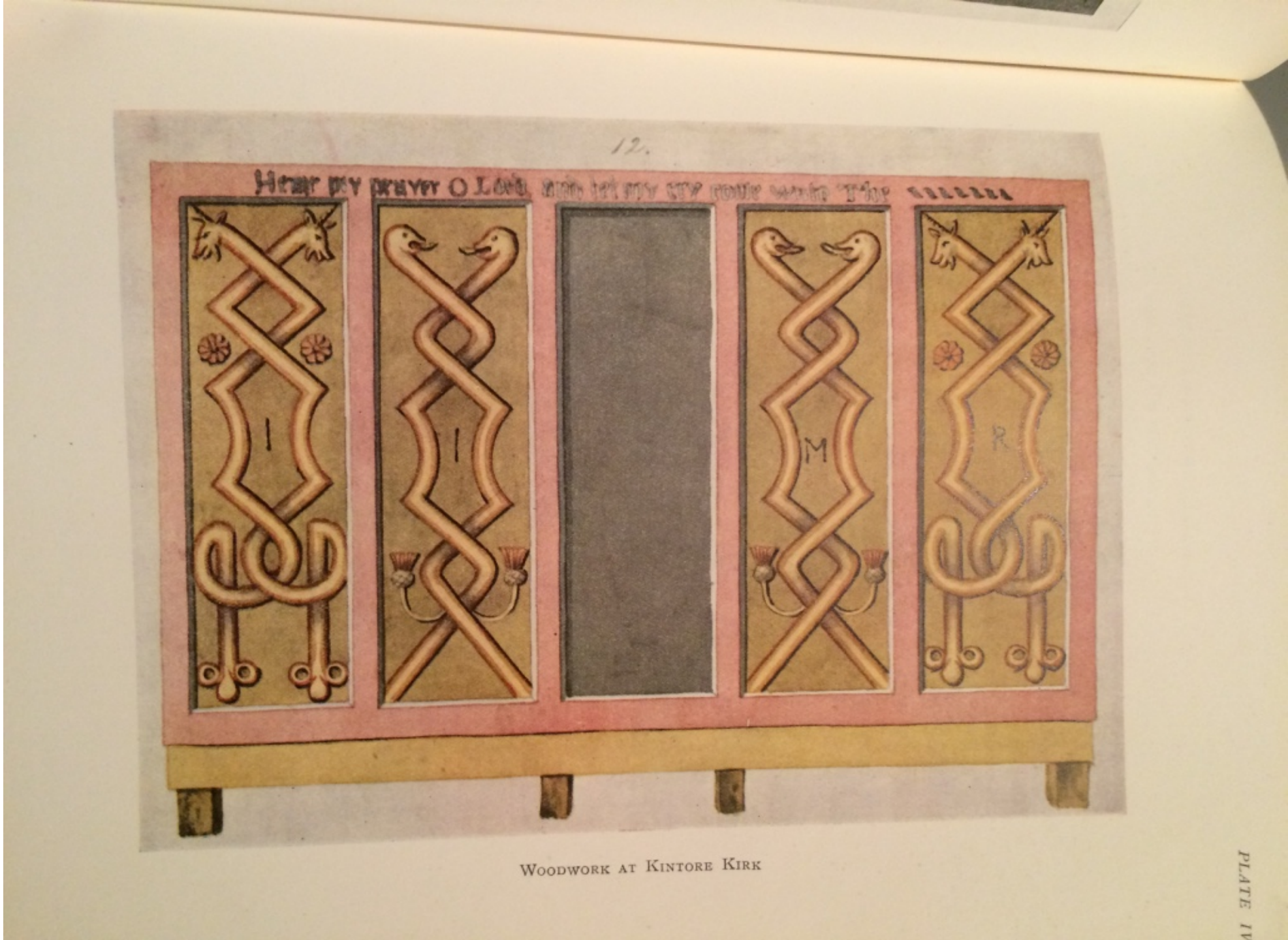


Fig. 167.
Kintore Kirk, *ibid*., 84.



Woodwork at Kintore Kirk

PLATE IV

Fig. 168.
1623 Chandelier from Montrose Old Kirk, in *ASPRC*, Plate 36c.



a. Montrose Town Kirk. Chandelier, 1623



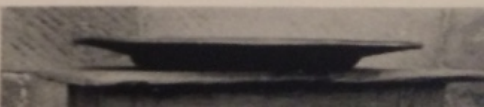


Fig. 169.
Salt-Preston Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 170.
Salt-Preston Gallery, *EAS*, vol. 3, 603.

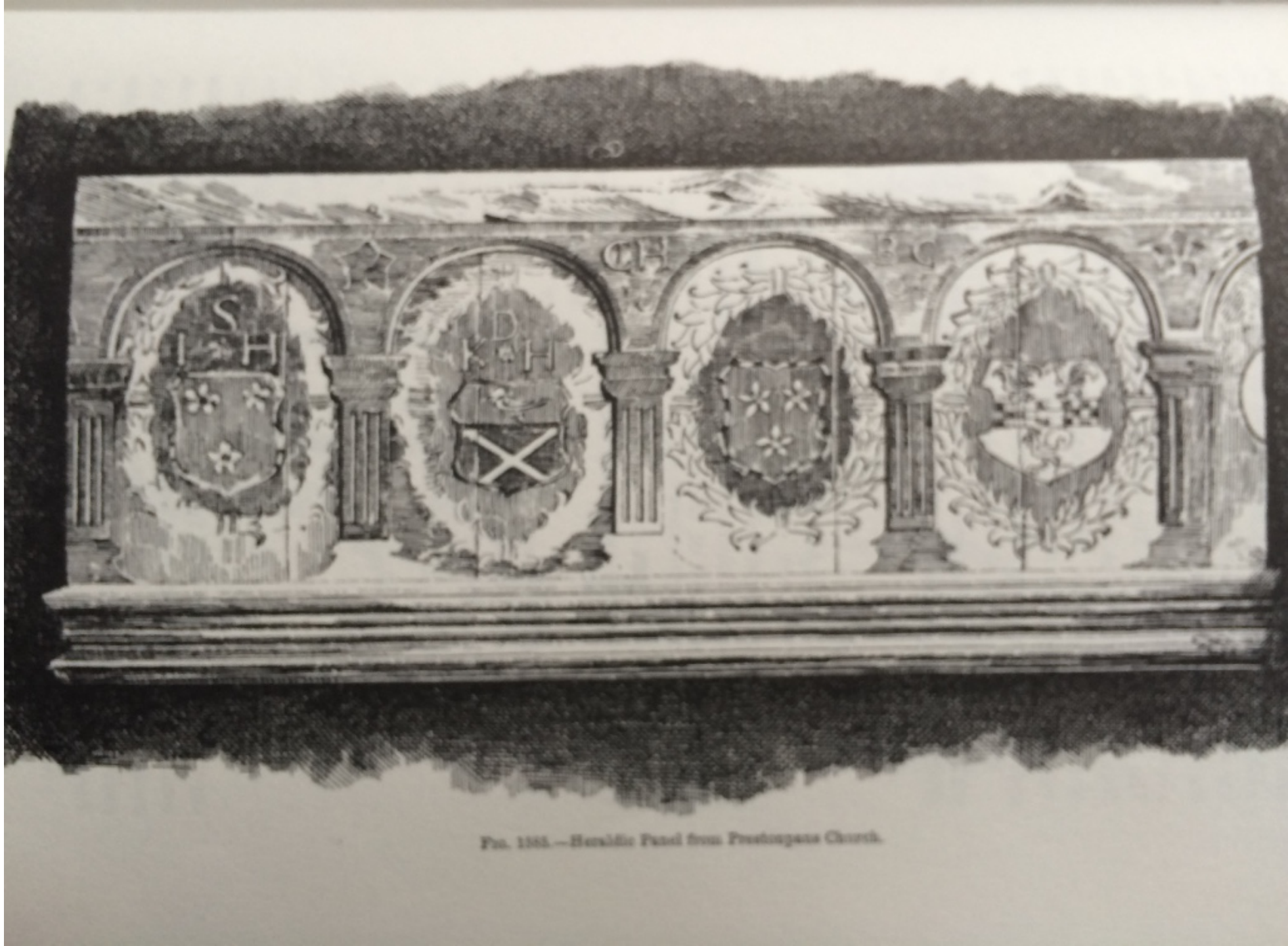


Fig. 171.
Anstruther Wester Kirk.
Medieval tower and later rebuild of the sanctuary.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 172.
Anstruther Wester Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 173.
Anstruther Wester Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 174.

St John's Kirk, Perth prior to "restorations," *EAS*, vol.3, 110.



Fig. 175.
Kilrenny Kirk, medieval tower.
Martin Ritchie.



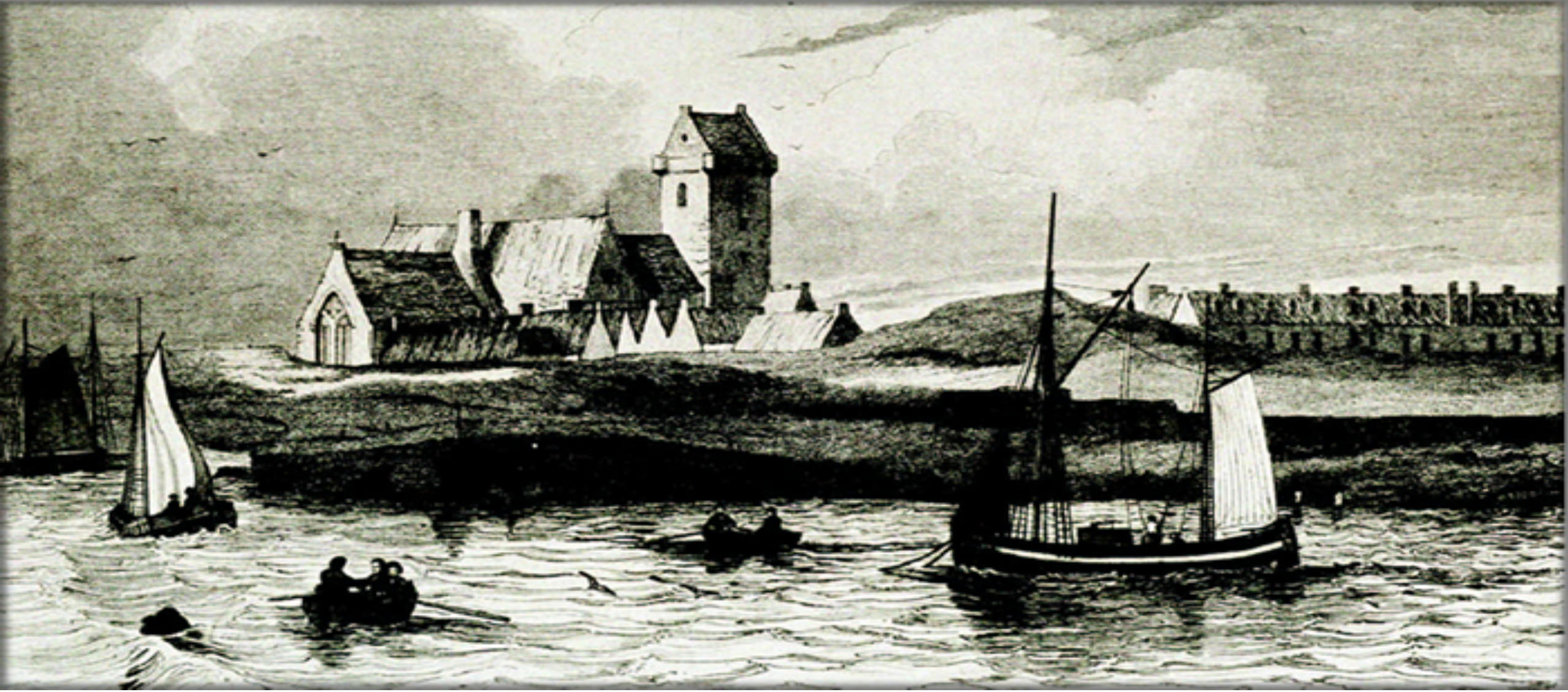
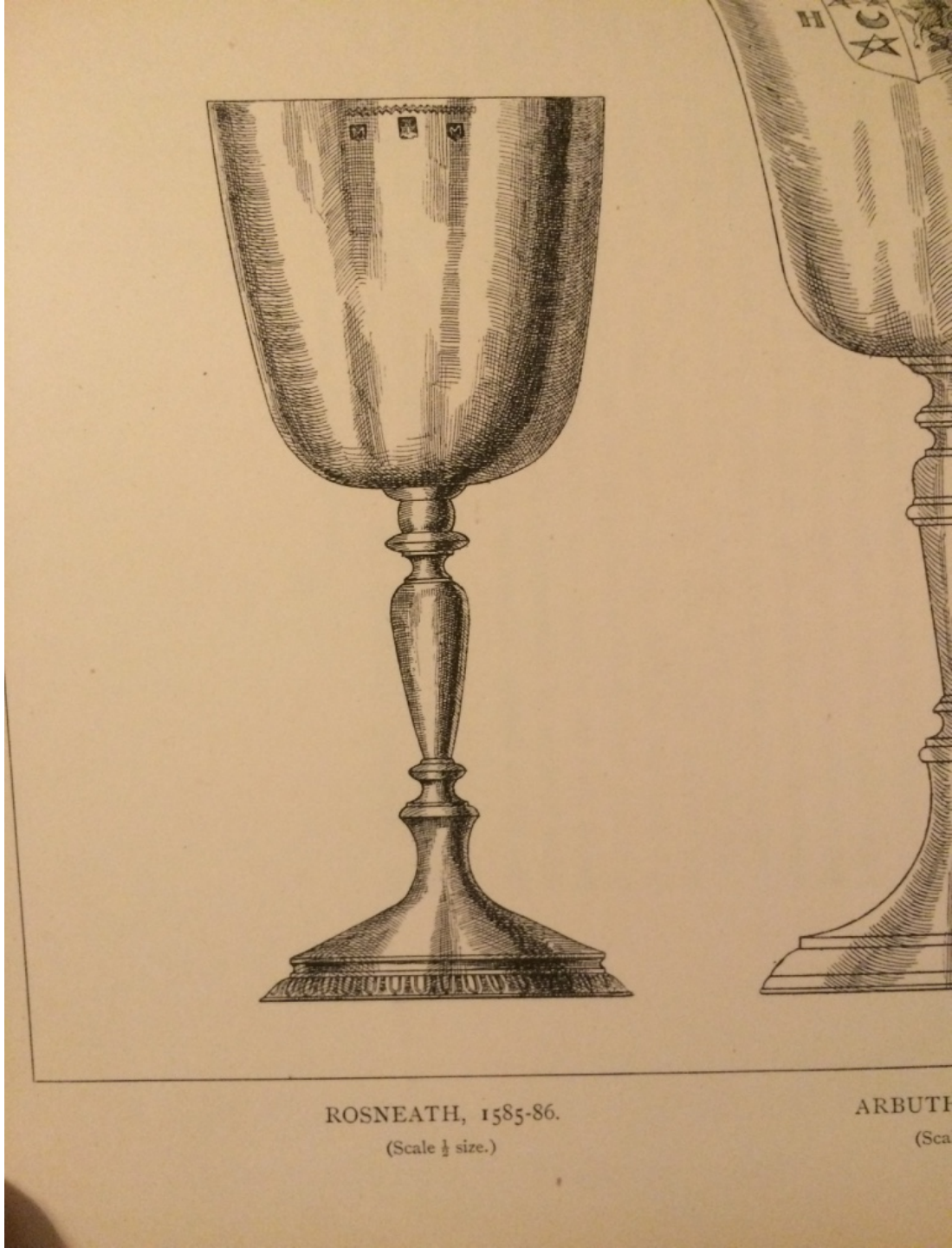


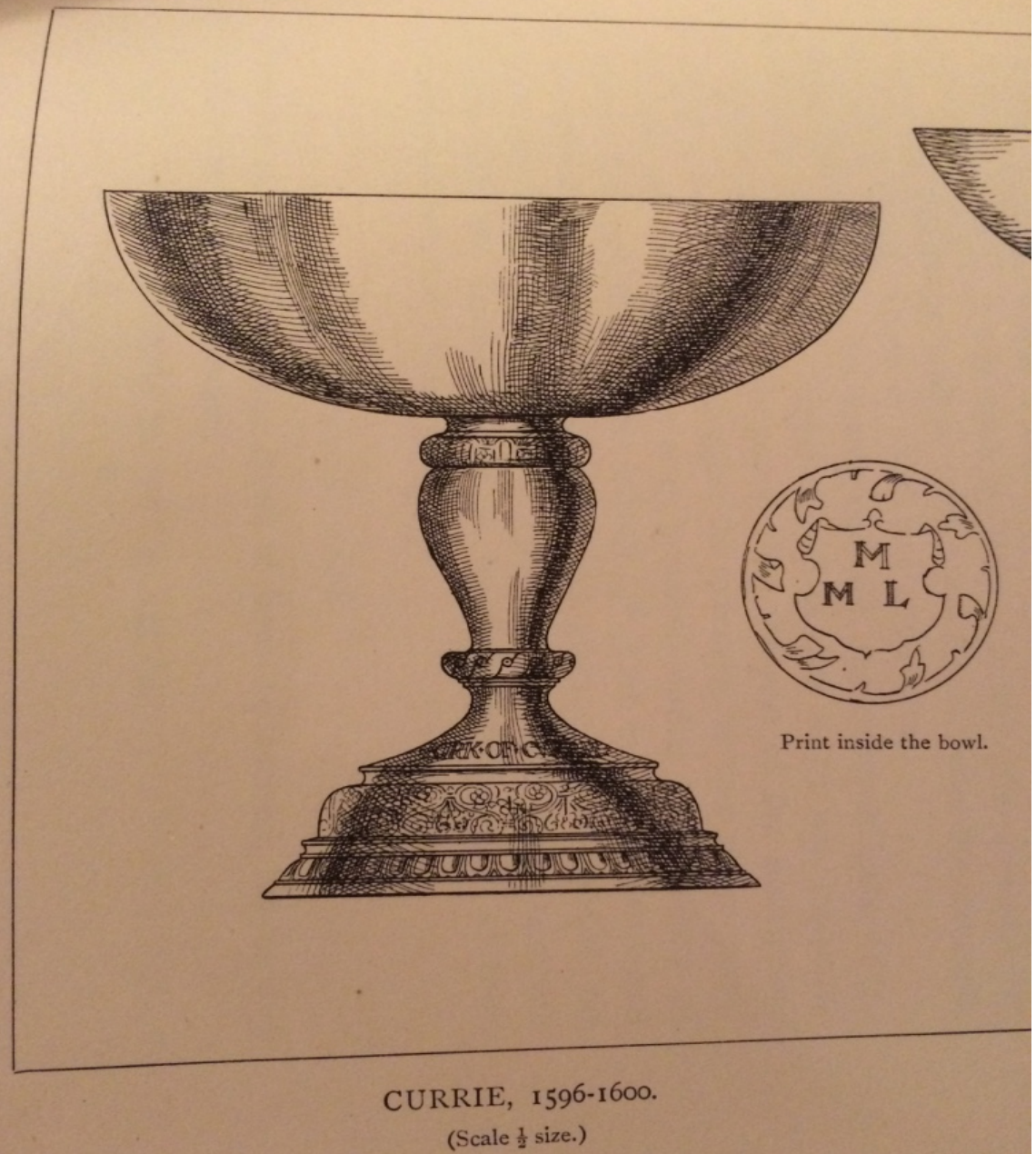
Fig. 176. Ayr, St John's Kirk < http://www.ruleworks.co.uk/ayrshire/st-johns-tower.asp> [accessed 1 June, 2016].

Fig. 177. Ayr, St. John's Kirk c. 1693, from Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, in J.H. Pagan, *The Annals of Ayr in the Olden Time, 1560-1692* (Ayr, Alex Fergusson, 1897), frontspiece.



Fig. 178.
Rosneath Cup, 1585-6.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* (Edinburgh, R&R Clark, 1892), 272.





Print inside the bowl.

CURRIE, 1596-1600.

(Scale ½ size.)

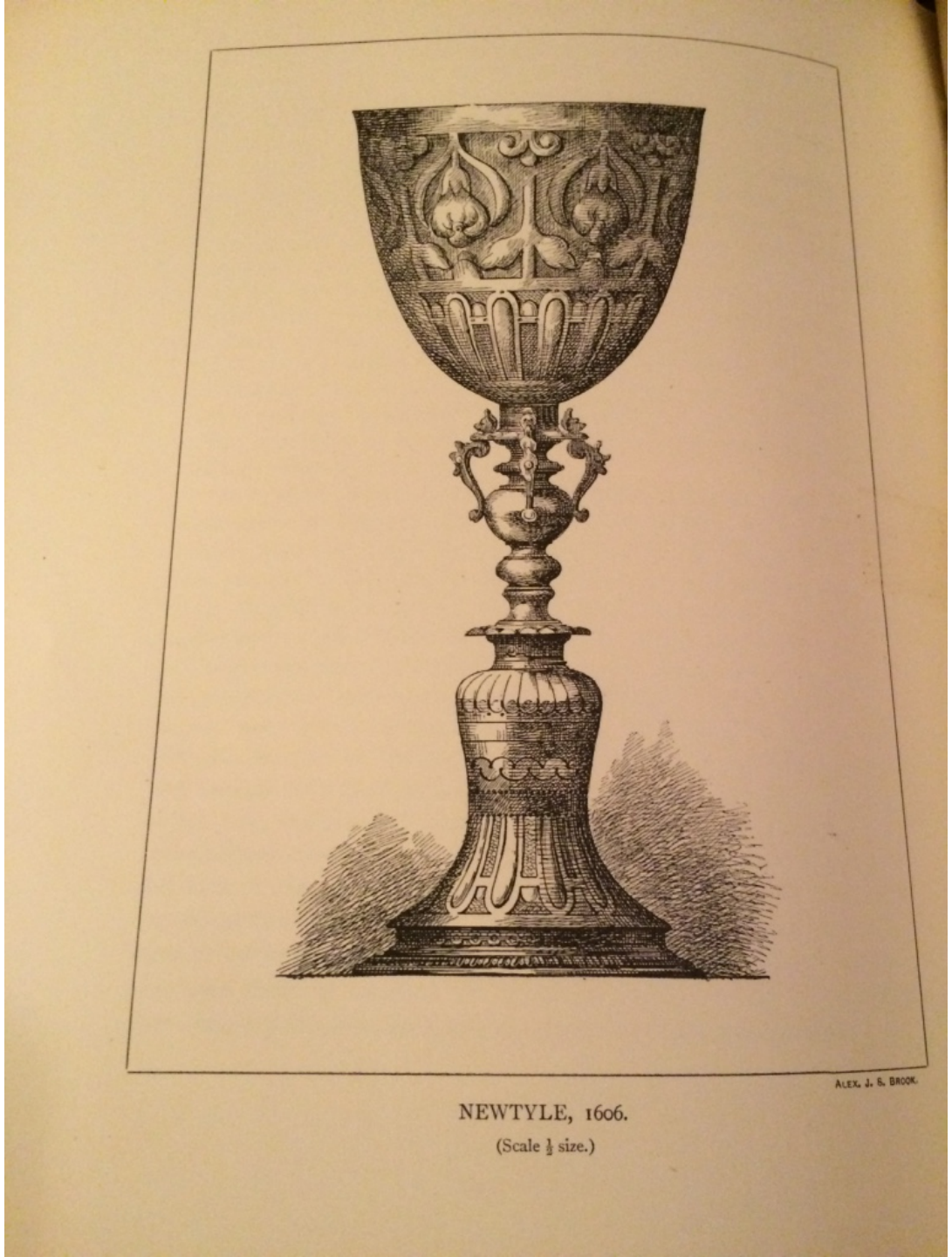
Fig. 179.

Currie Kirk,

made 1596-1600.

T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 209.

Fig. 180.
Newtyle, 1606-7.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 419.



ALEX. J. S. BROOK.

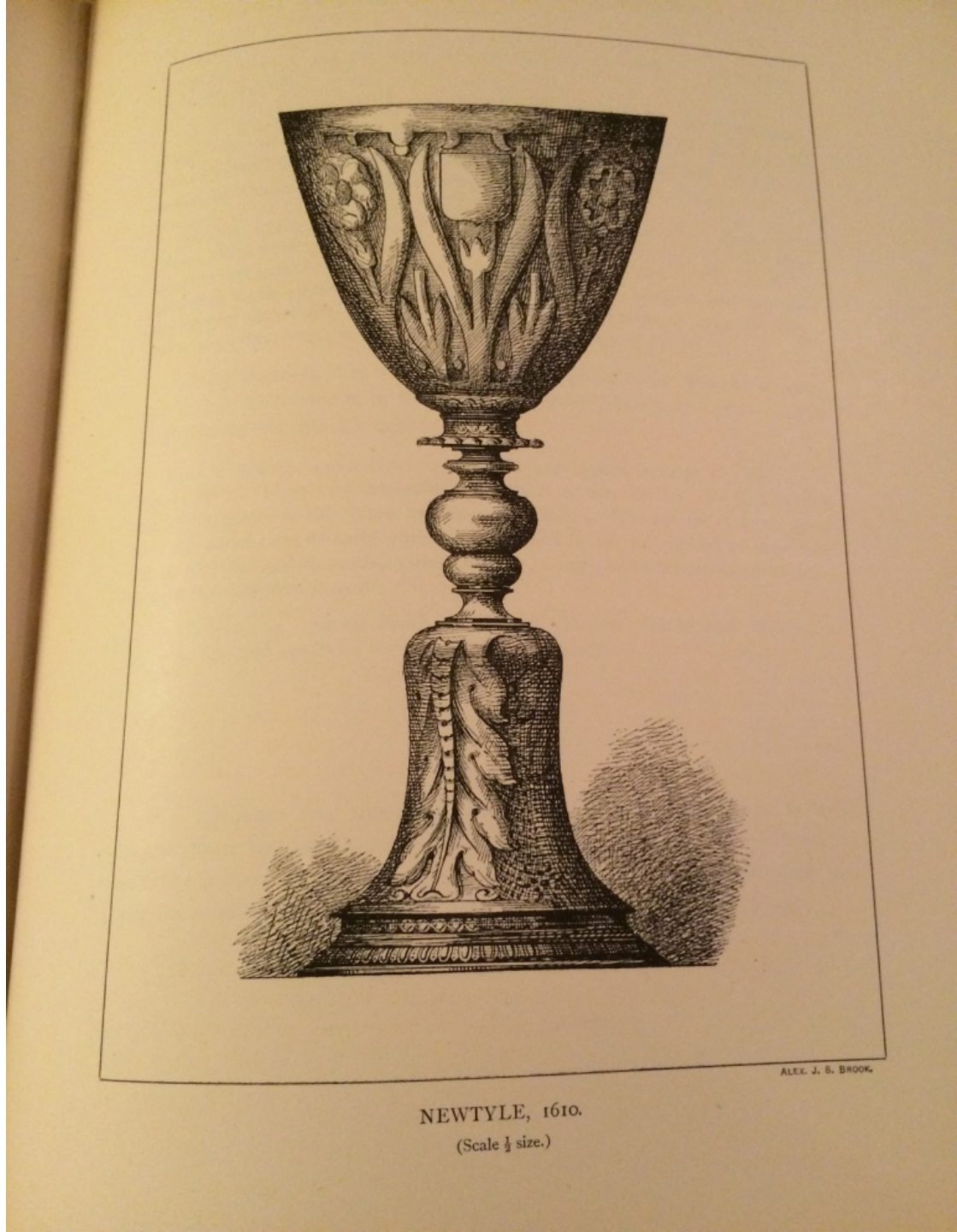
NEWTYLE, 1606.

(Scale ½ size.)

Fig. 181.
Arbirlot, 1608.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 294.



Fig. 182.
Newtyle, 1610-11.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 420.



NEWTYLE, 1610.
(Scale ½ size.)

Fig. 183.
Duirinish Bracadale, 1613.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 417.

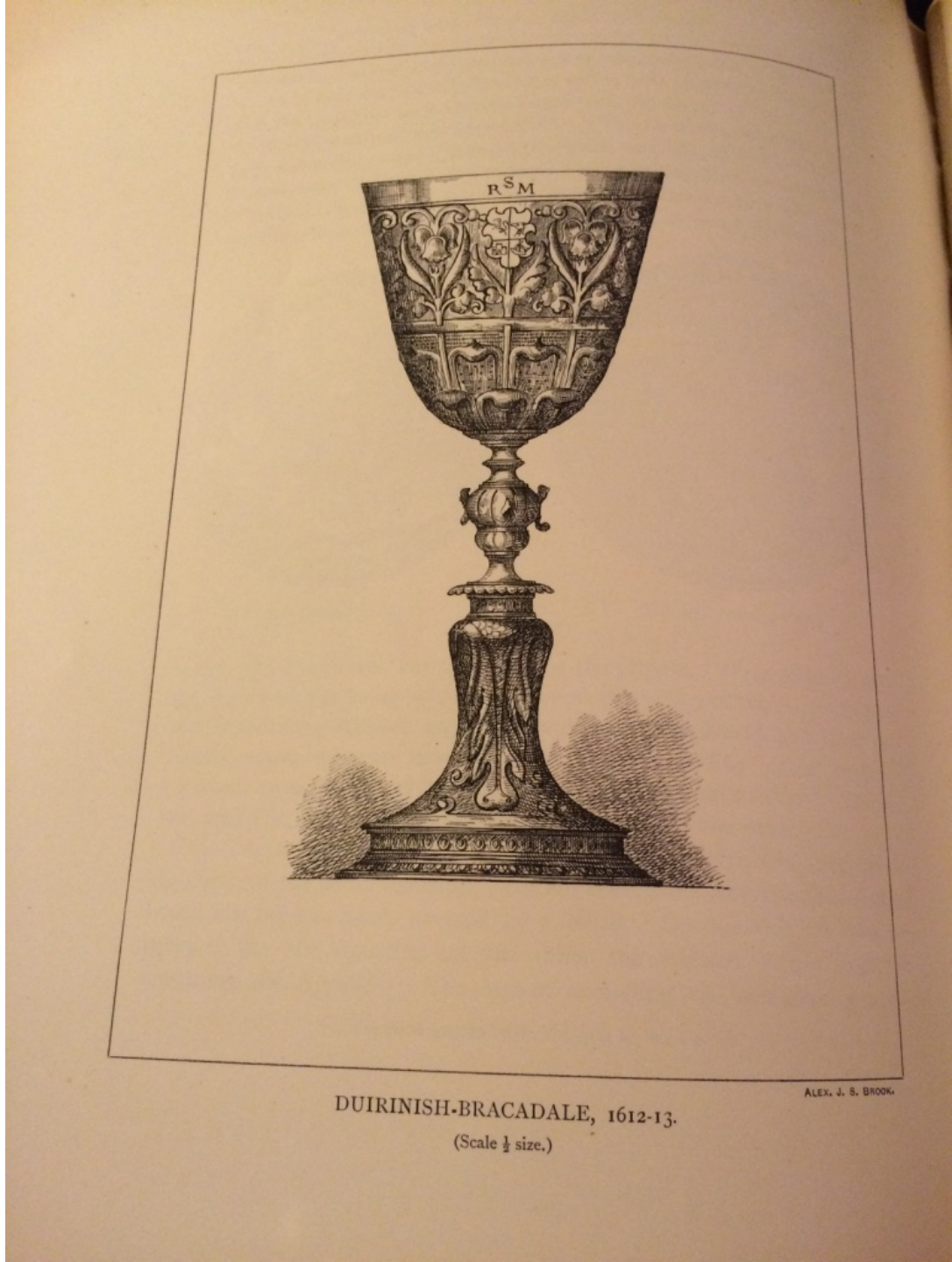


Fig 184.
Soutray [Fala and Soutra], 1611-13.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate,* 60.

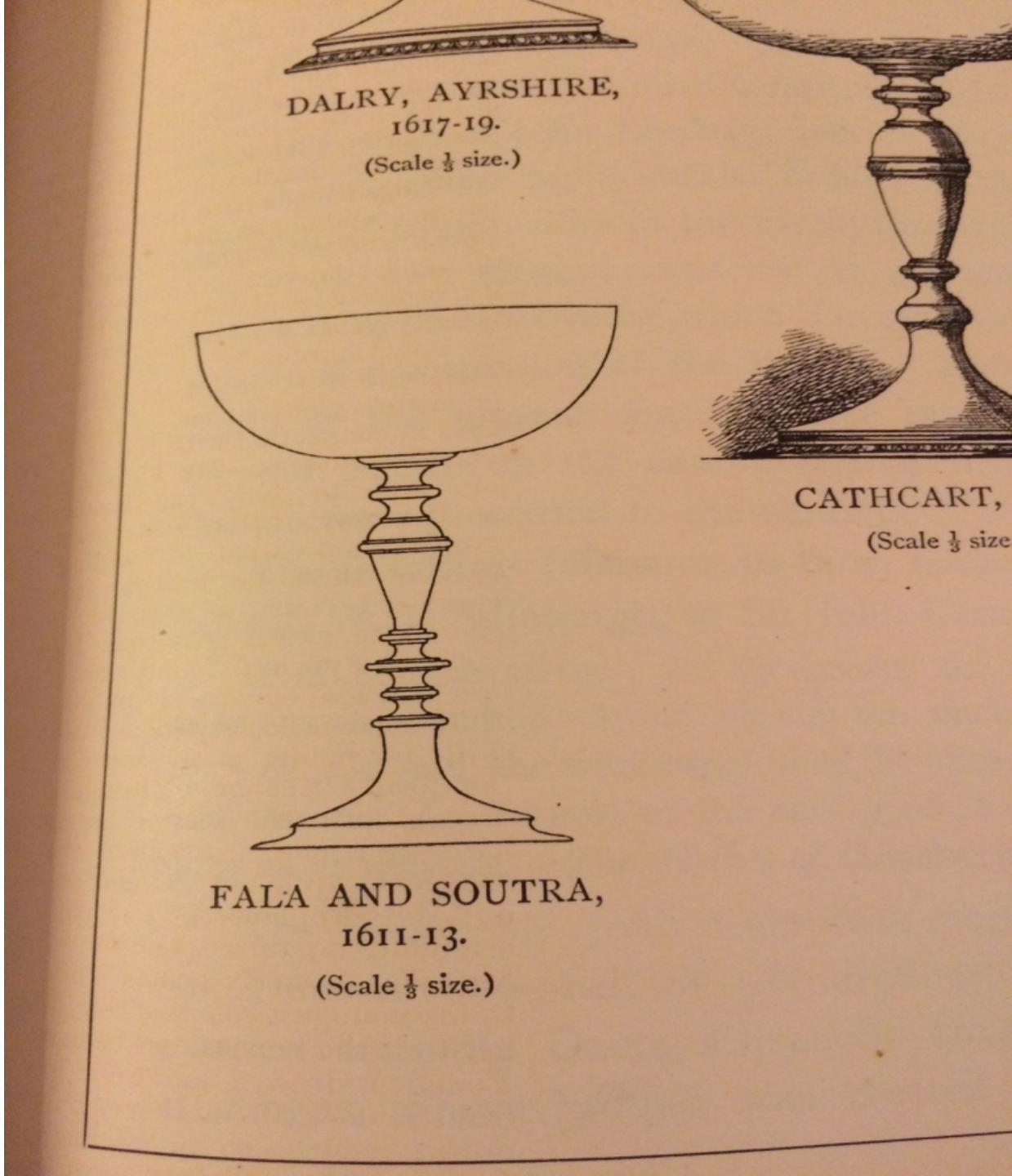


Fig. 185. Dalrymple Hay Cup, 1615-17. T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 263.

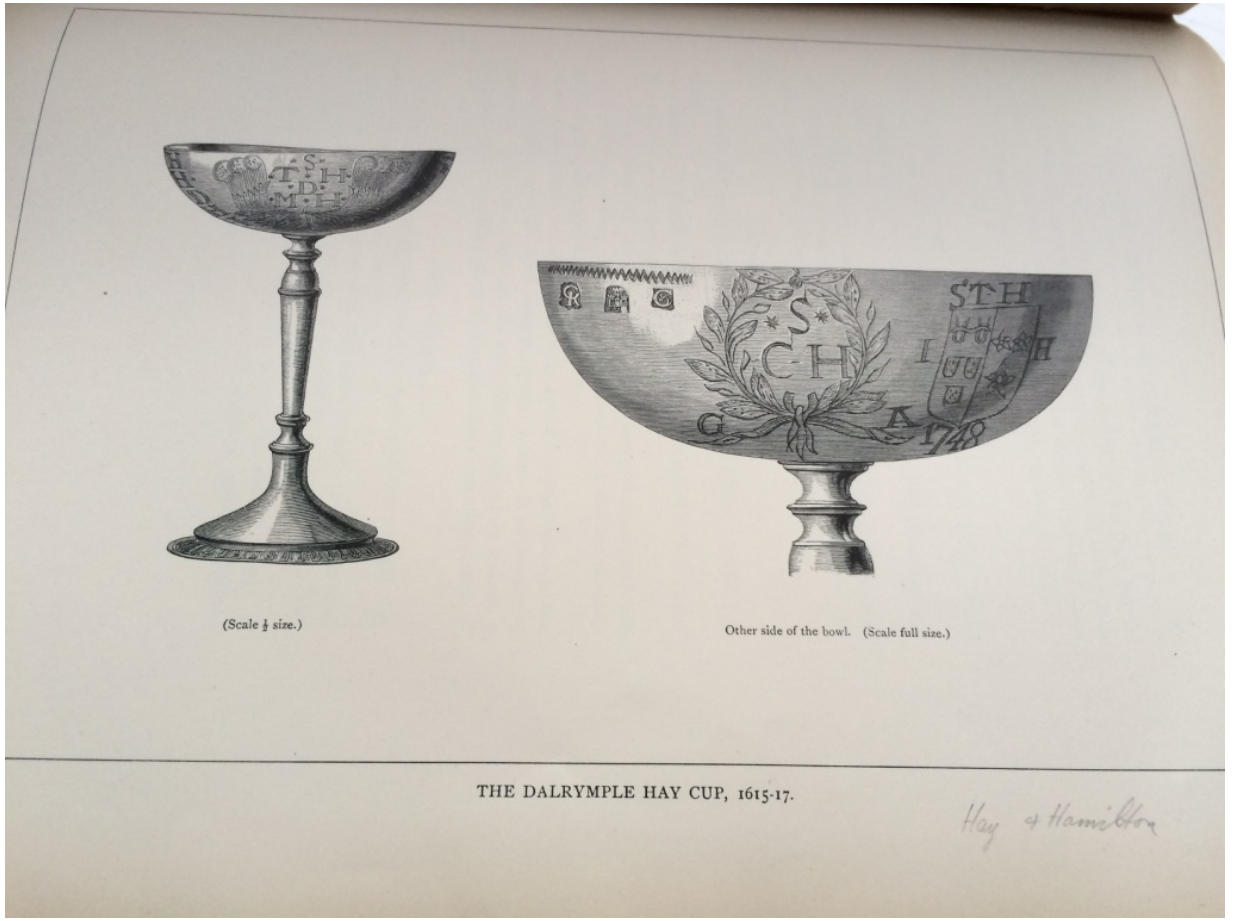


Fig. 186.
Dalry, 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 260.

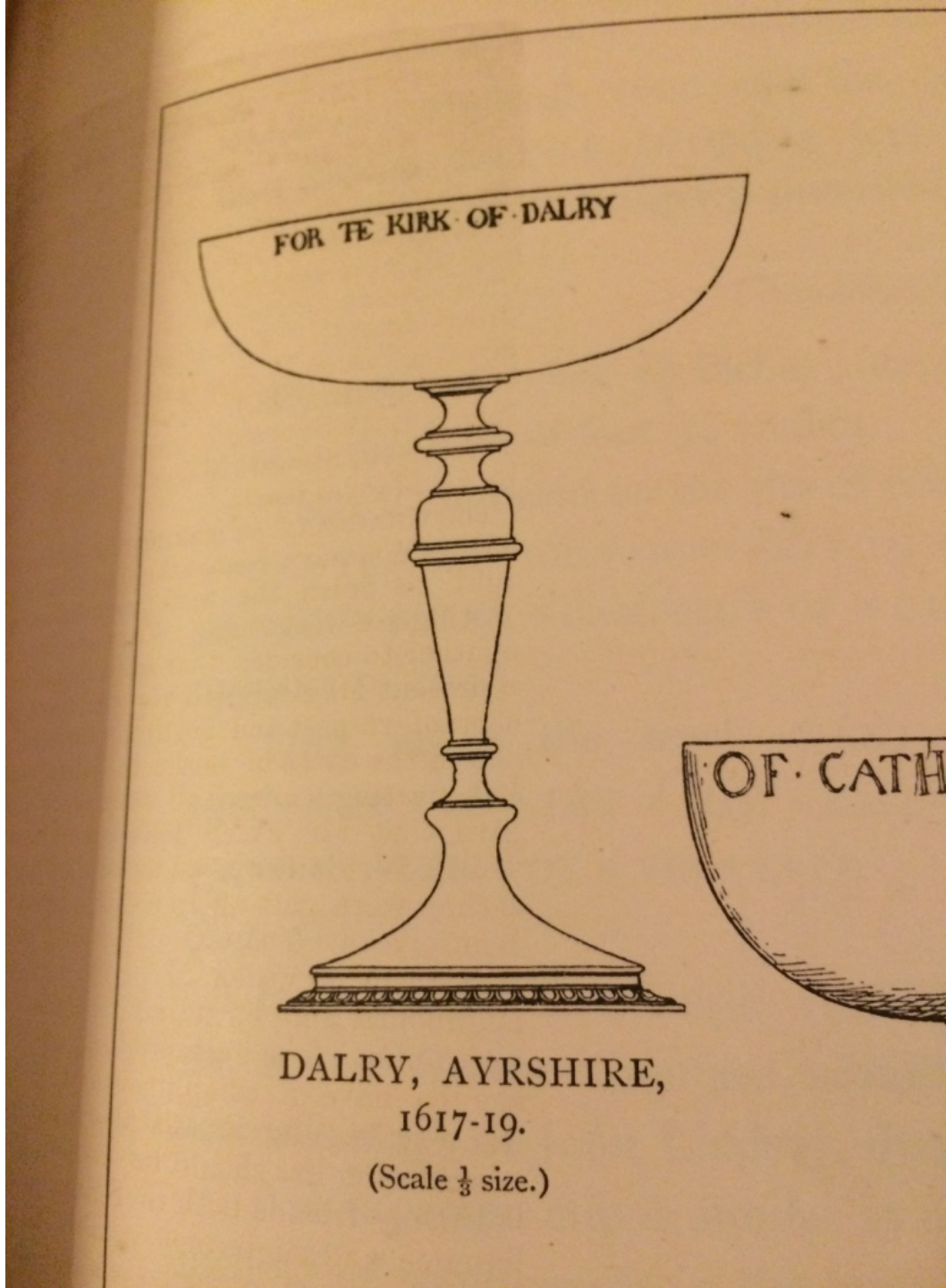


Fig. 187.
Blantyr, [Blantyre] 1613-44 (most likely 1617).
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 268.

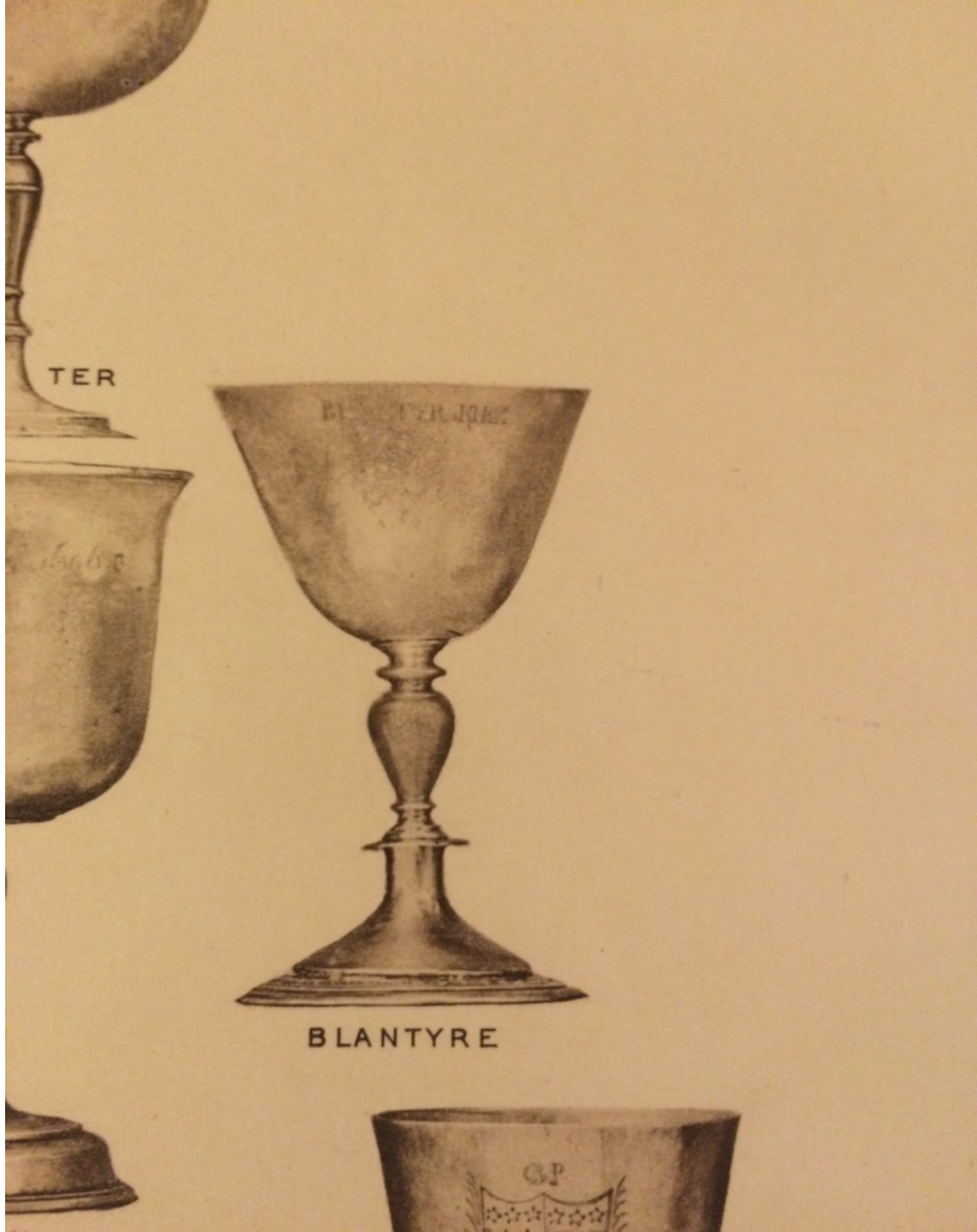


Fig. 188.
Middilbie (Middlebie), 1617.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 266.

These two cups were probably gifted by

Middlebie, Ecclefech

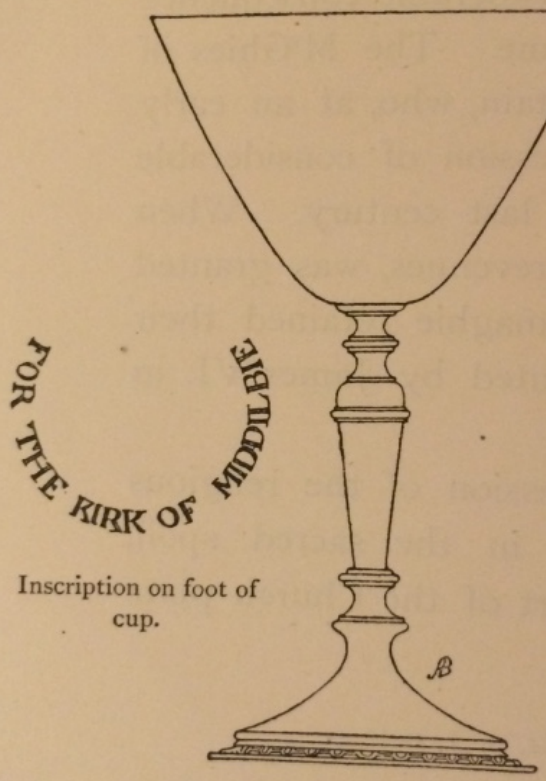
Diameter of bowl $4\frac{11}{16}$ inches; dep
inches; diameter of foot $3\frac{5}{16}$ inches (Fi

Engraved
THE KIRK

They bea
the initials o
admitted 16
John Lindsay

From the
M.A., was mi
were evidentl
Act of Parli
that every p
celebration o

[1] *Act. Pa*



Inscription on foot of cup.

FIG. 42.—MIDDLEBIE.
(Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ size.)

Fig. 189.
Tynron, 1617.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 276.

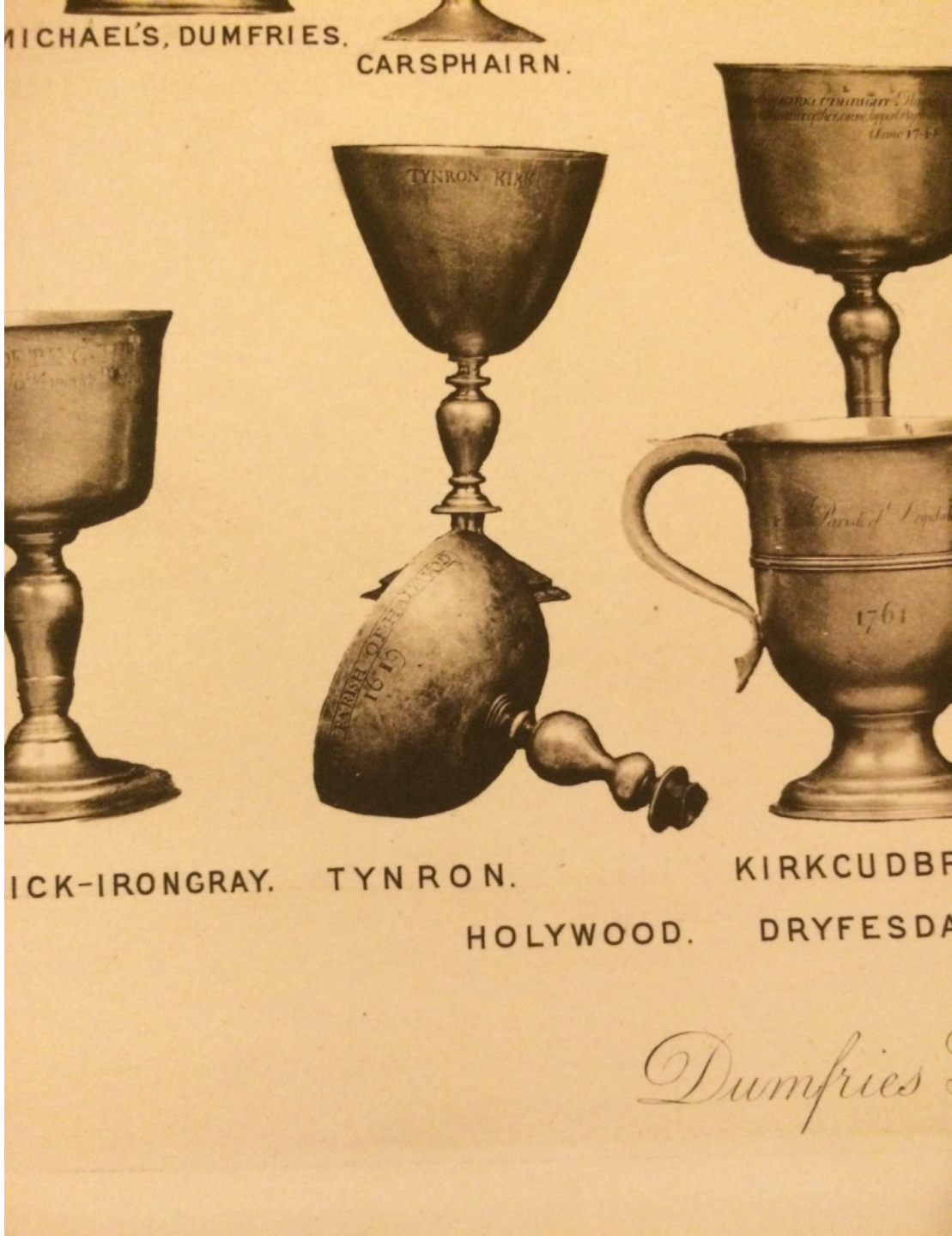


Fig. 190.
Durisdeer, 1617.
Photograph: Kirkpatrick Dobie (not in Burns).



Fig. 191.
Dalgarno and Closeburn, 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 276.

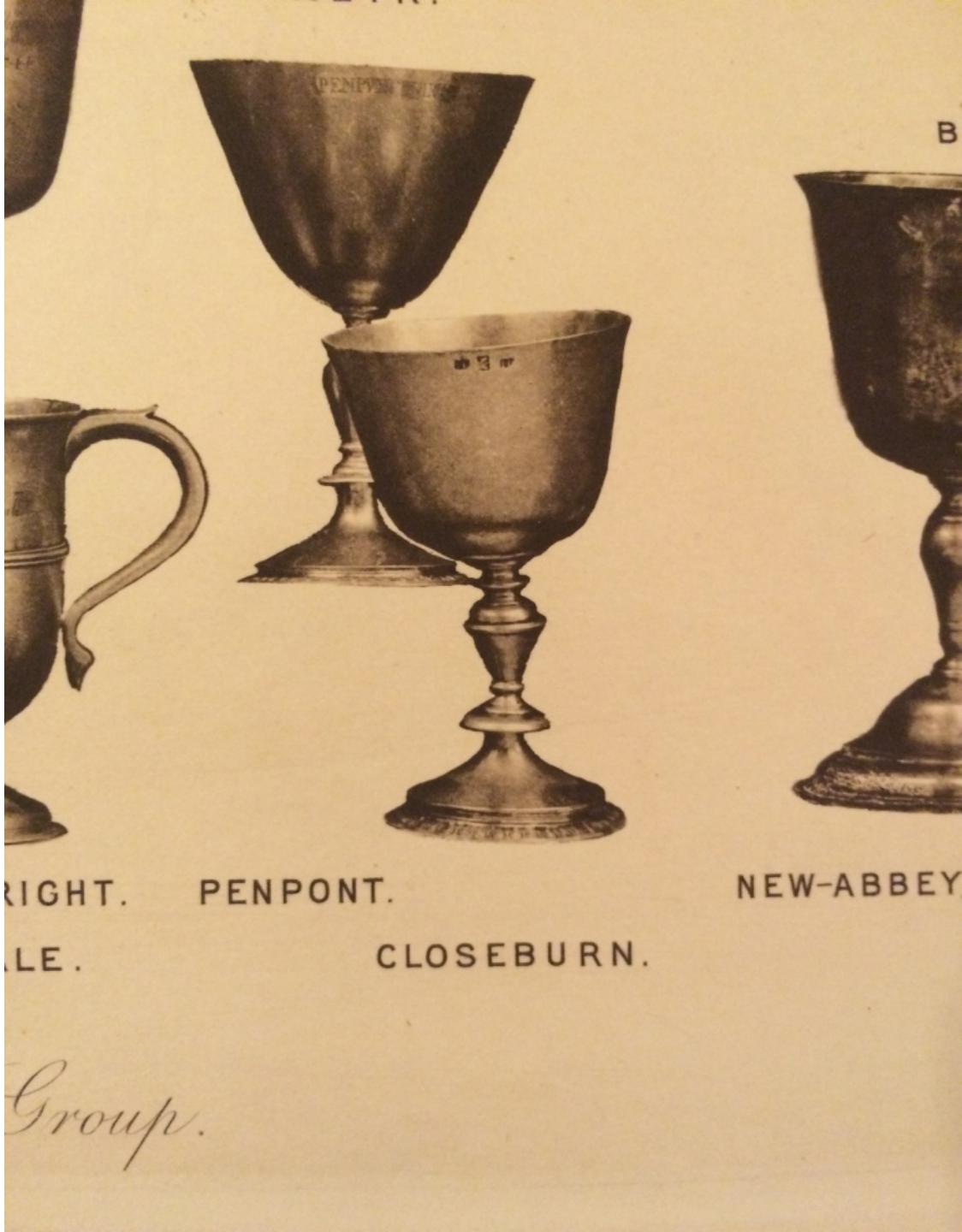


Fig. 192.
Balmaghie, 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 276.

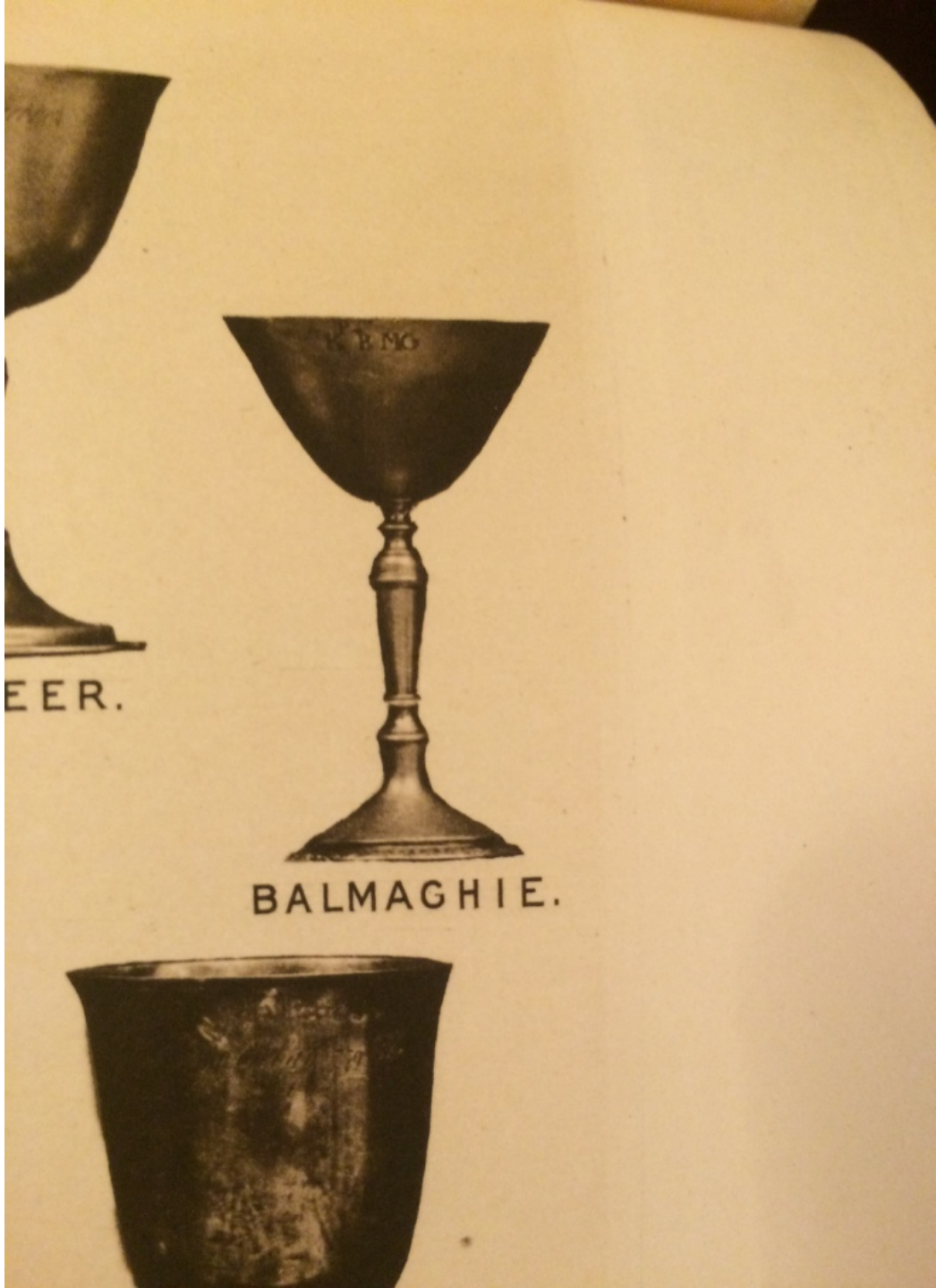


Fig. 193.
Coulter, 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 262.

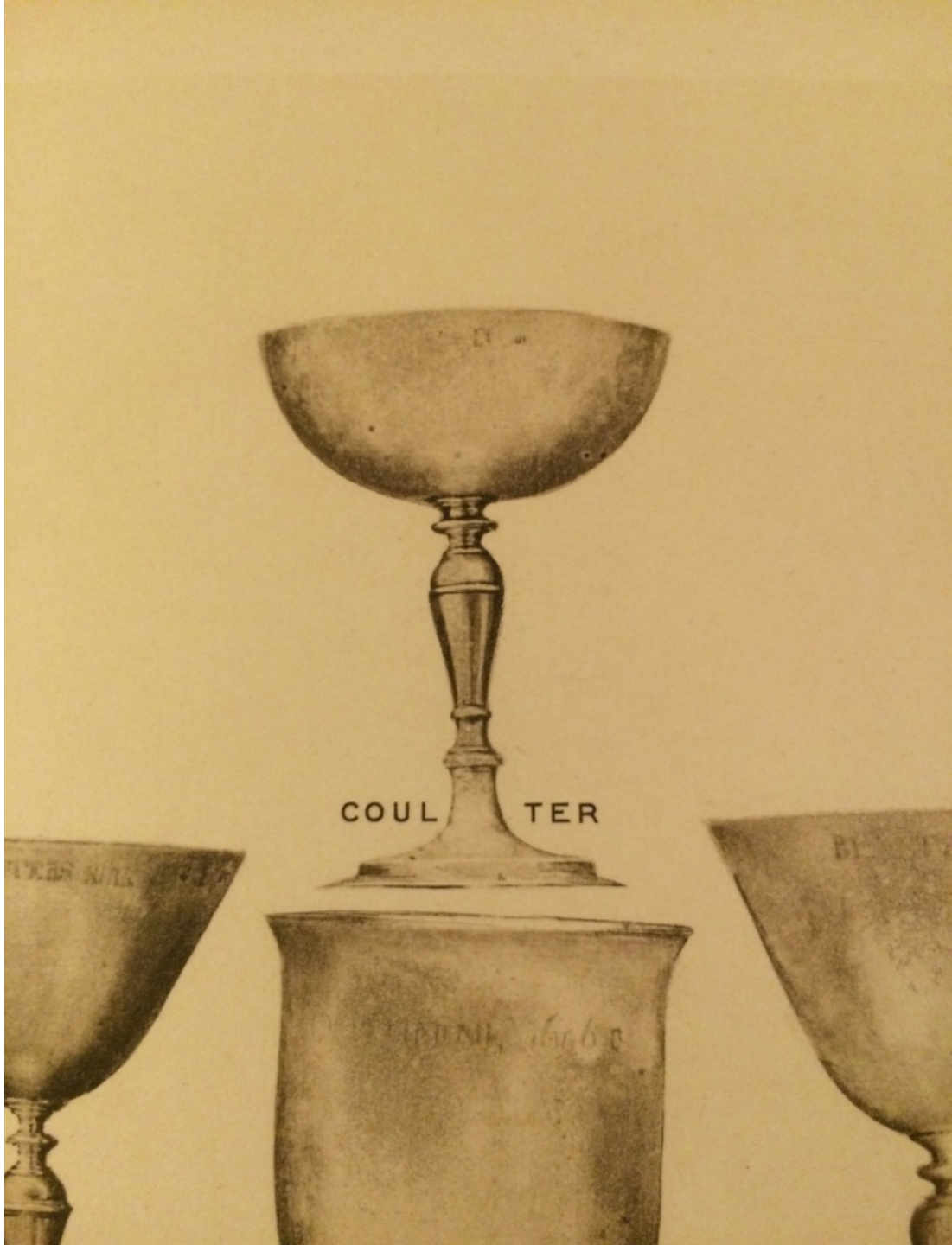


Fig. 194.
Carstairs, 1617.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 266.

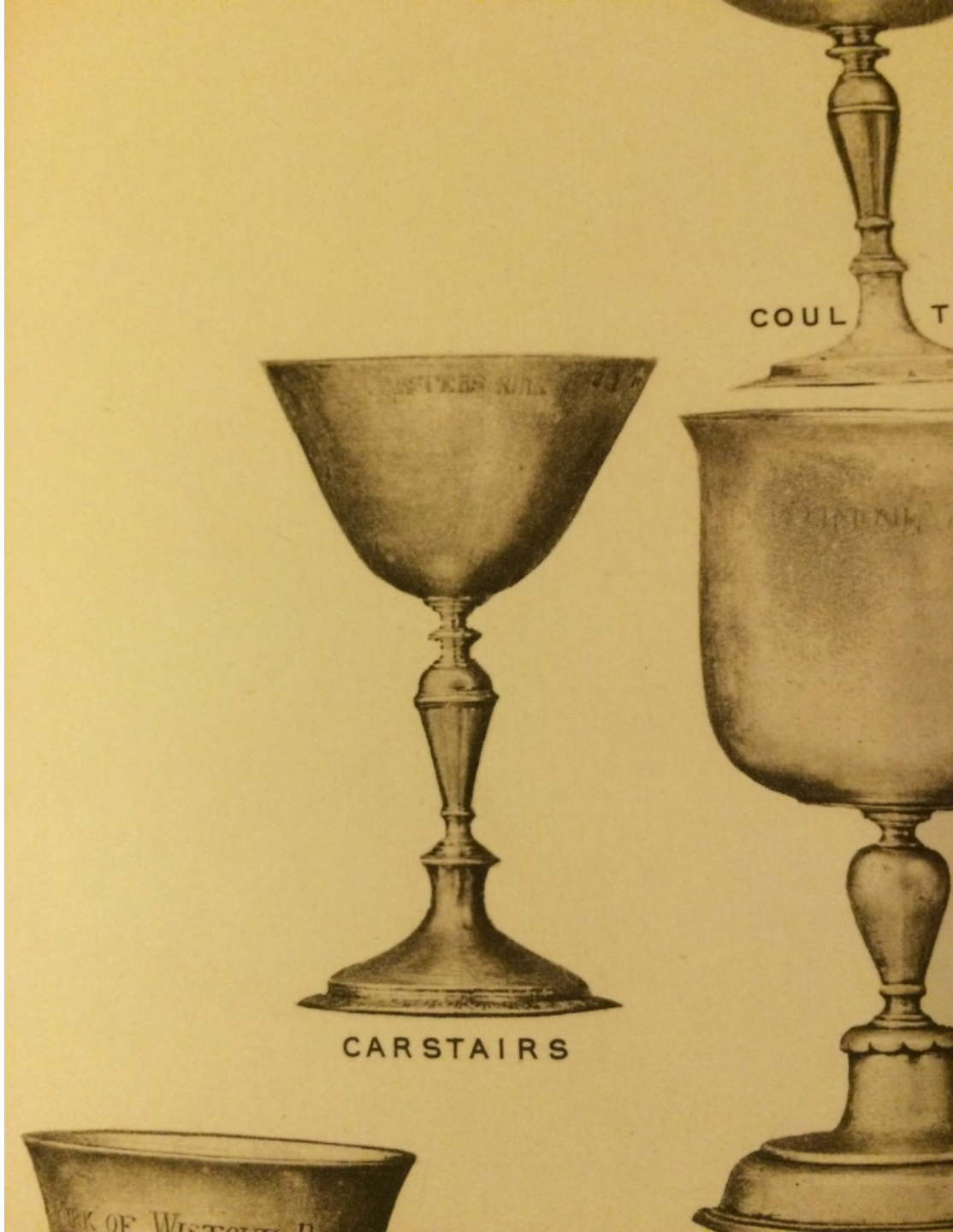


Fig. 195.
Kirkwall, 1617.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*
269.

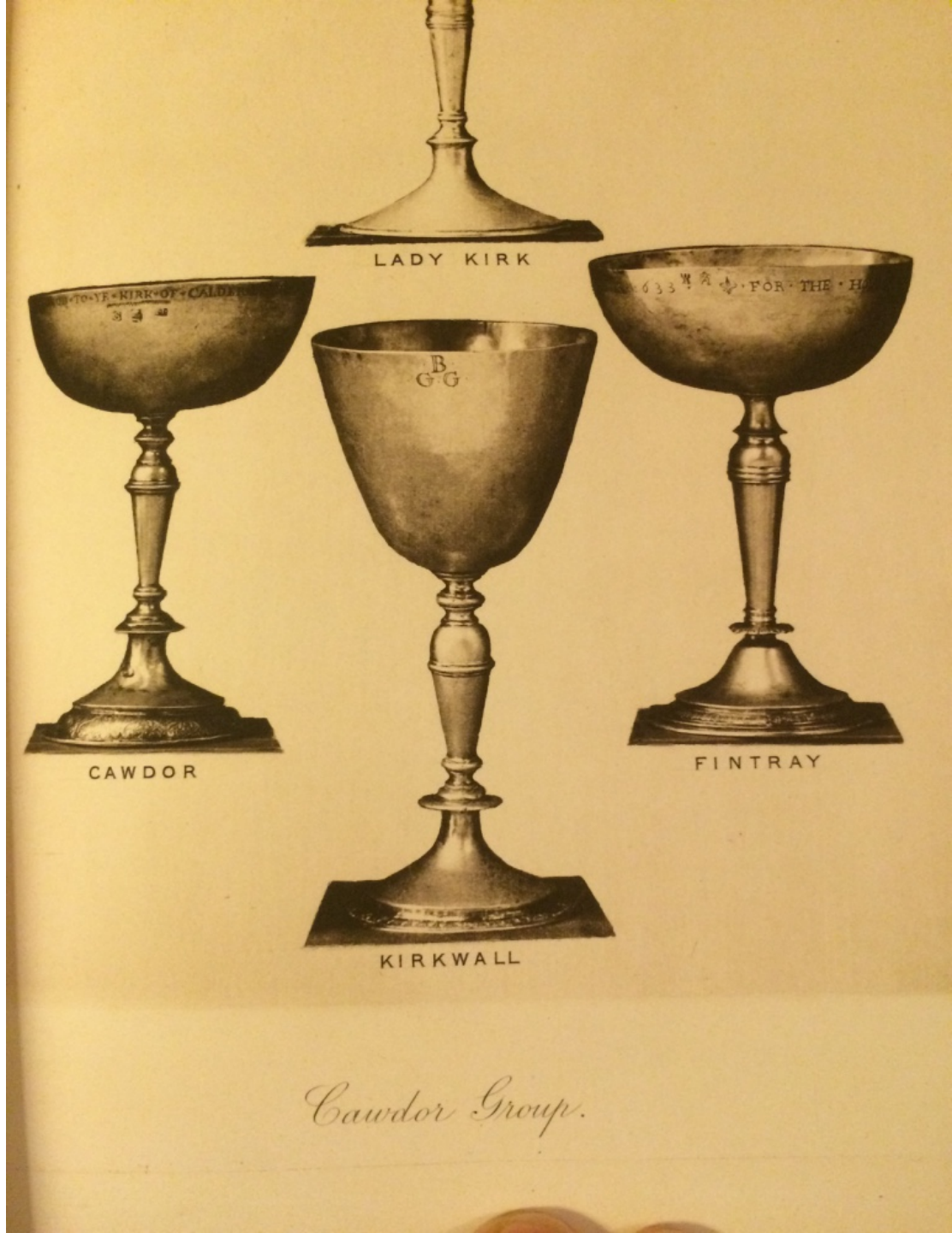


Fig. 196.
Tranent, 1617-18.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 197. Tranent, 1617-18. Martin Ritchie.

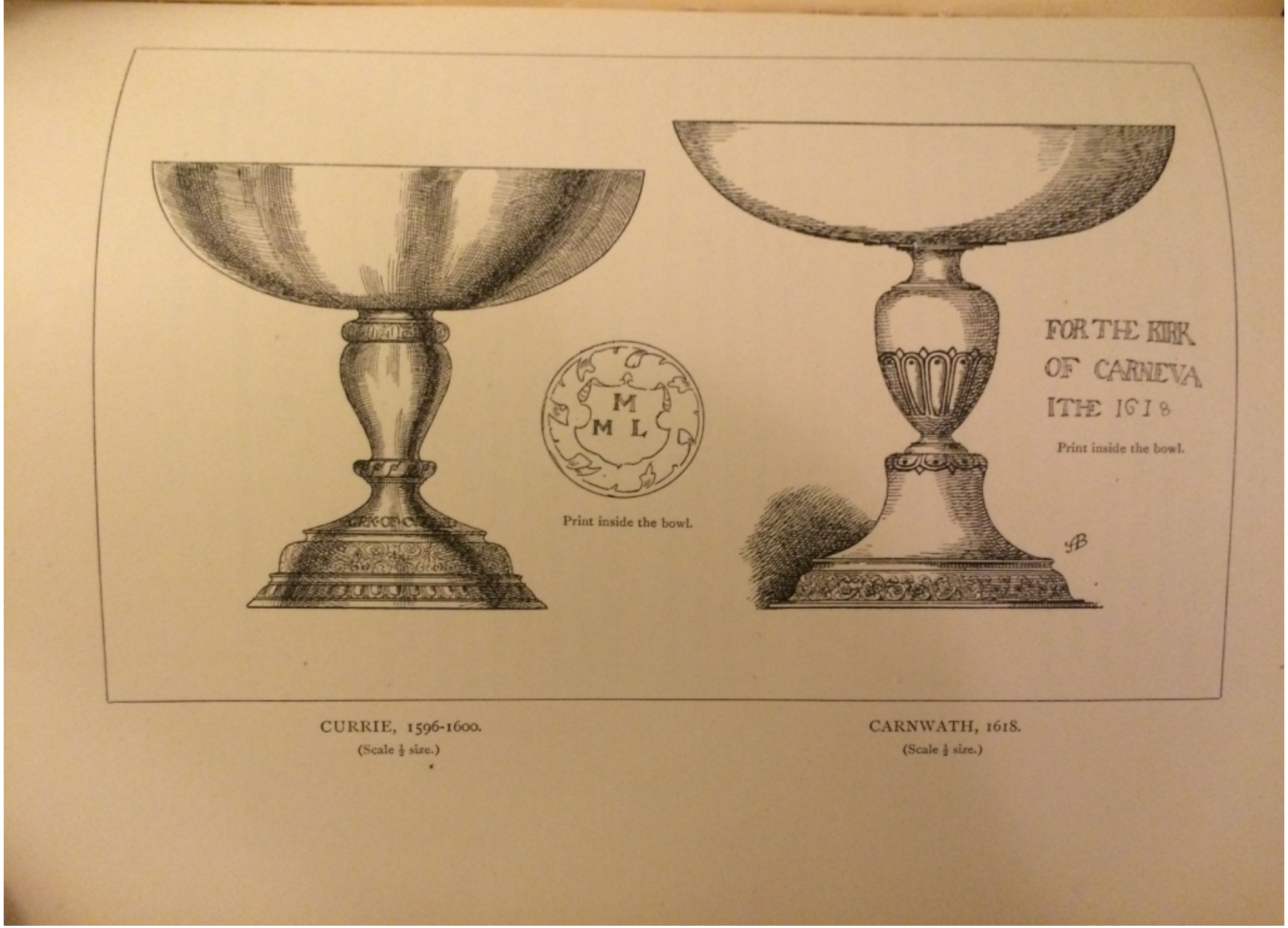


Fig. 198. Carnwath, 1618. T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 209.

Fig. 199.
Stonehouse, 1617-19.
Photograph: Kirkpatrick Dobie
(Not in Burns).



Fig. 200.
Cambuslang and Fyvie, 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 268.



FYVIE, 1617-19.
(Scale ½ size).

CAMBUSLANG, 1617-19.
(Scale ½ size.

BLANTYRE, 1613-44.
(Scale ½ size.)

Fig. 201.
Glencarn [Glencairn], 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 276.

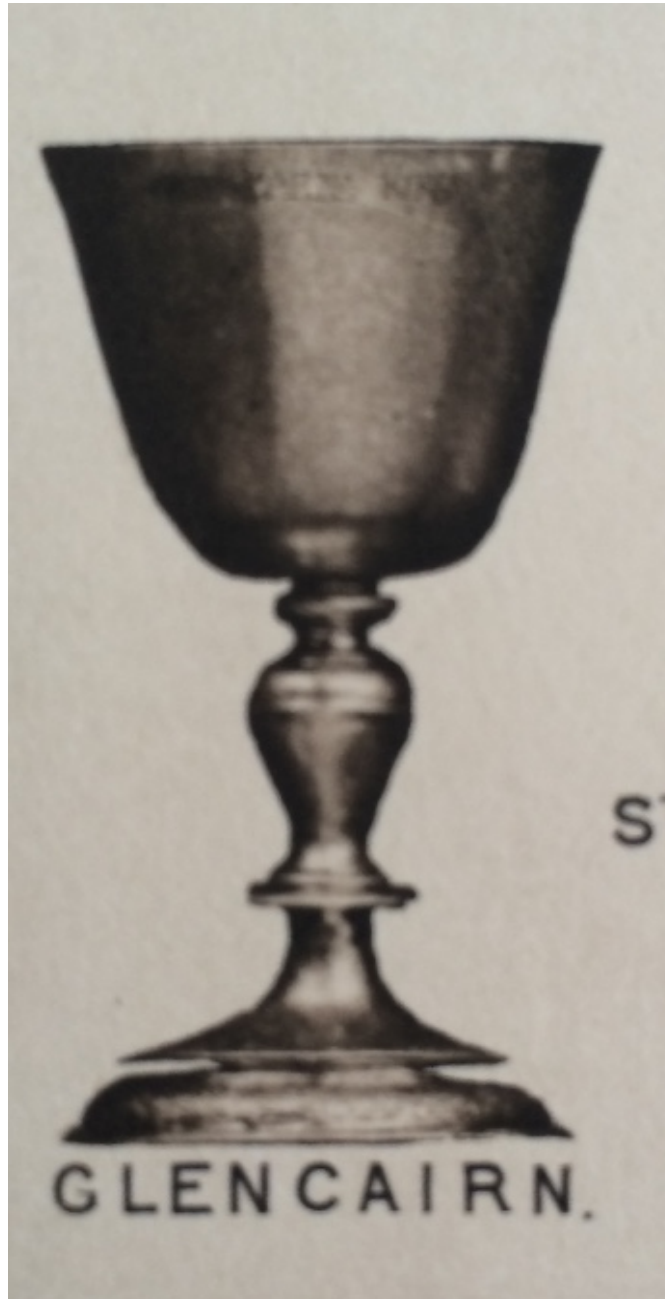


Fig. 202.
Penpont, 1617-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 276.



Fig. 203.
Lady Kirk, Sanday, Orkney, after 1617.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 264.



Fig. 204. Calder [Cawdor], 1617-19. T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* 261+4.

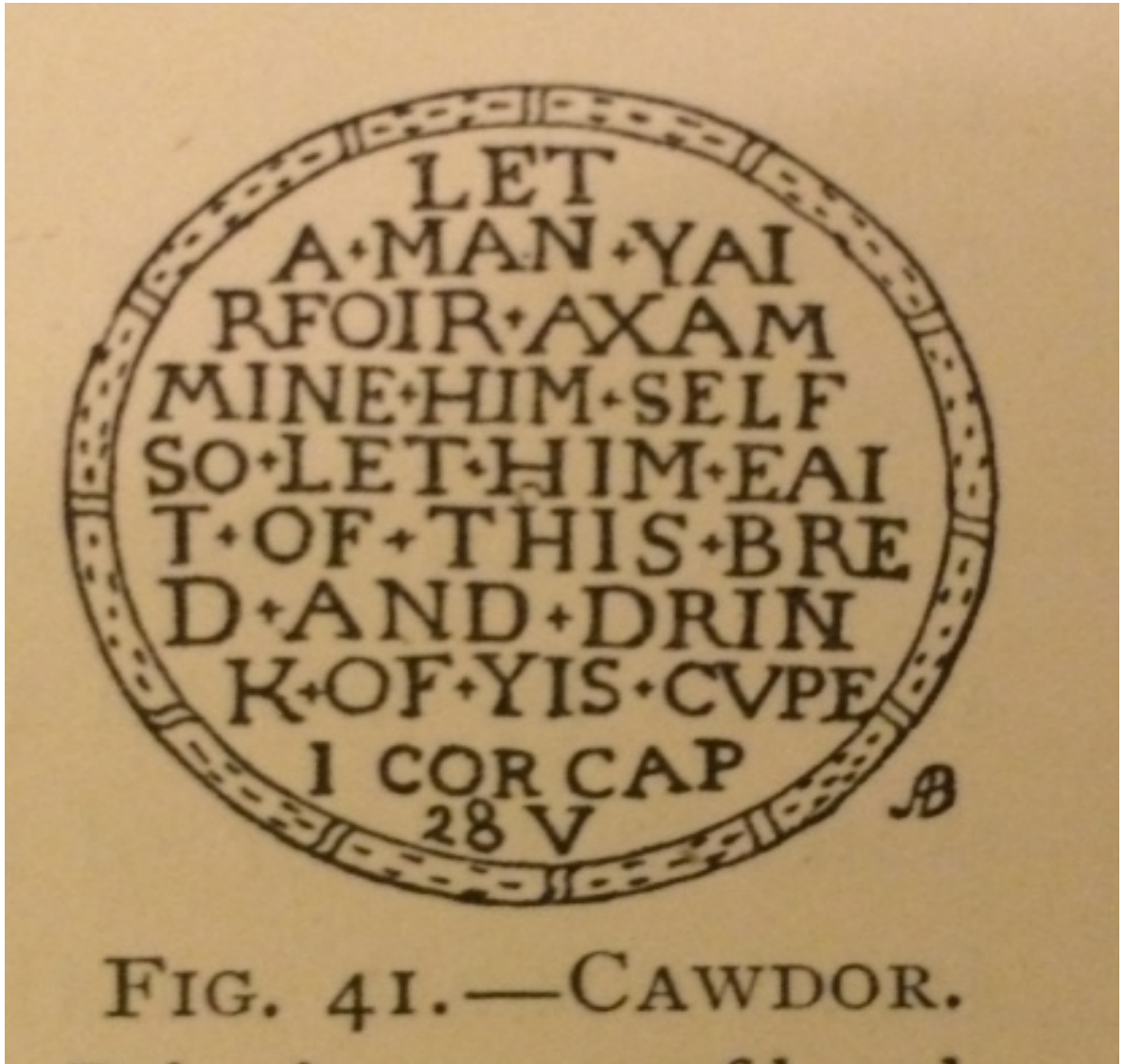


FIG. 41.—CAWDOR.

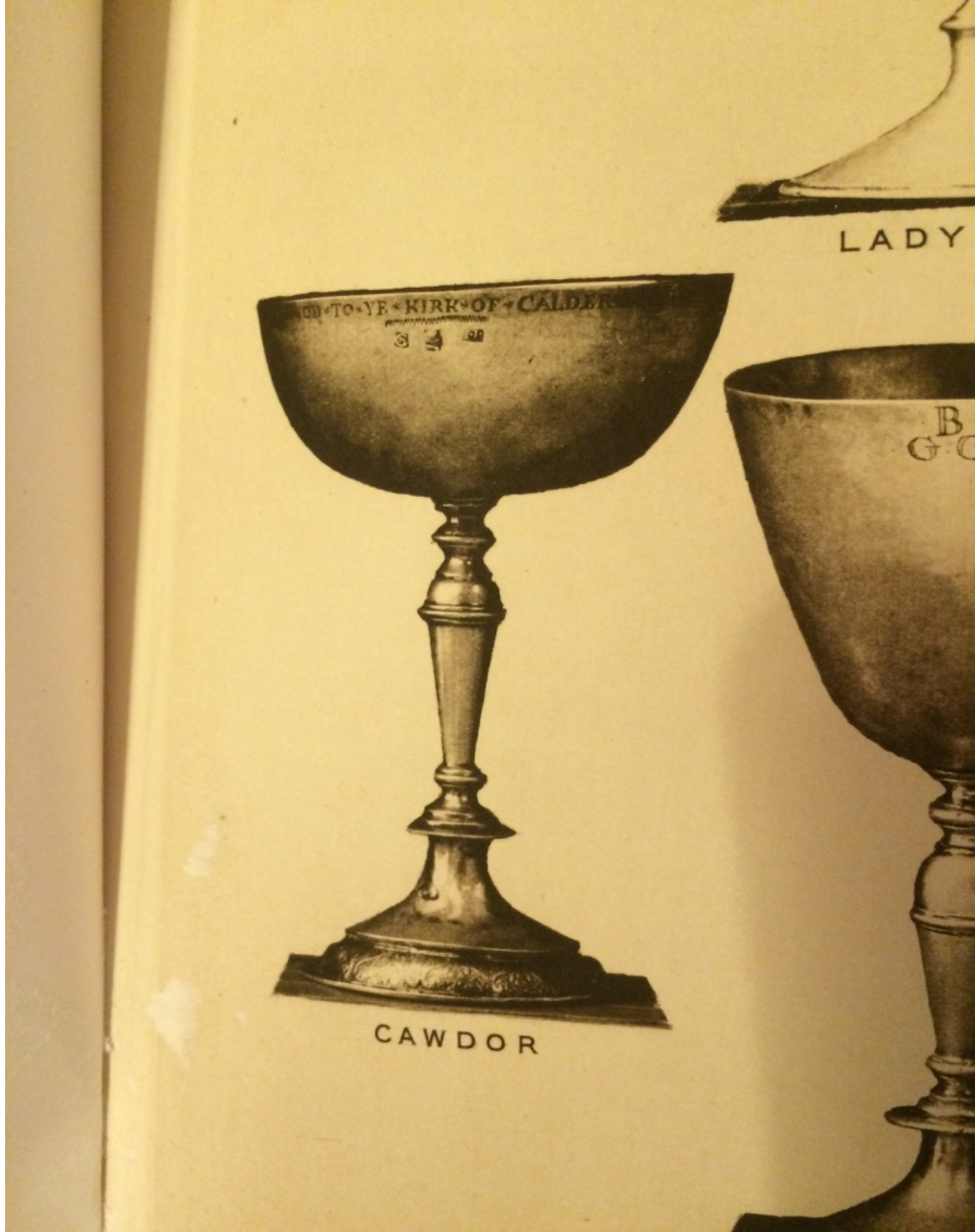


Fig. 205. Tarves, 1618.
Photograph: Kirkpatrick Dobie
(not in Burns).



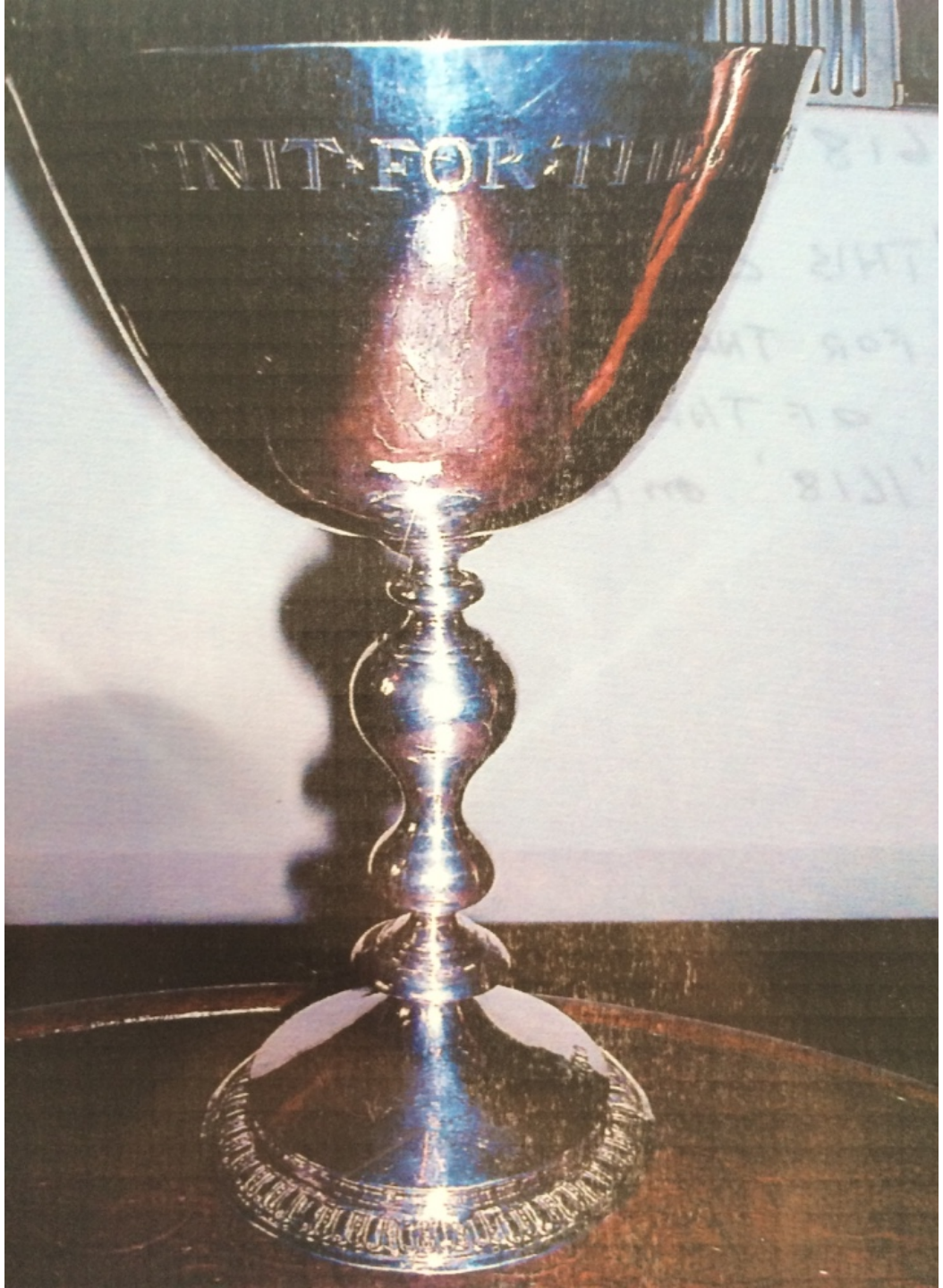
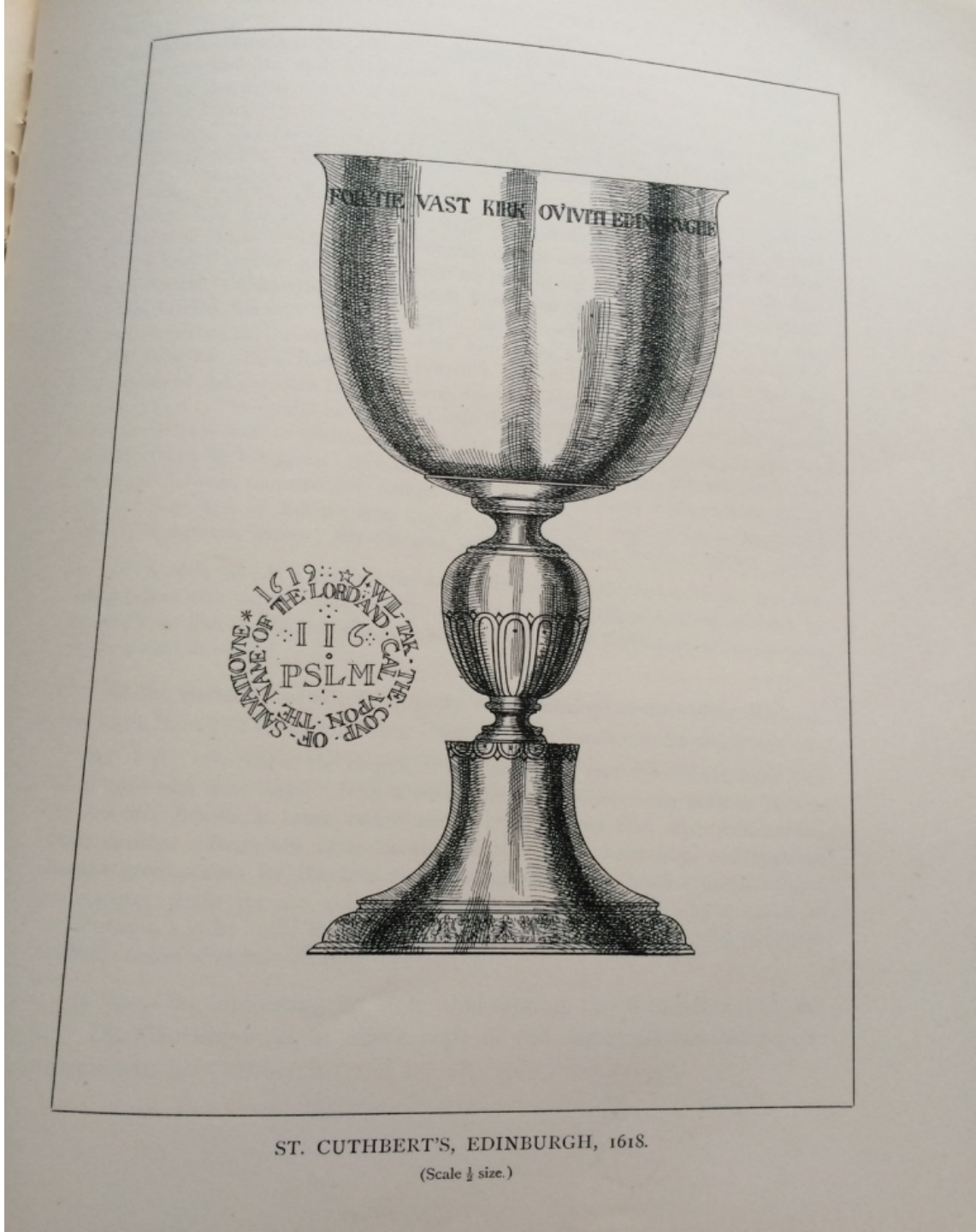


Fig. 206.
West Church, St Cuthbert's Edinburgh, 1618-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 211.



ST. CUTHBERT'S, EDINBURGH, 1618.
(Scale ½ size.)

Fig. 207. West Church, St Cuthbert's Edinburgh, 1618-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 211.

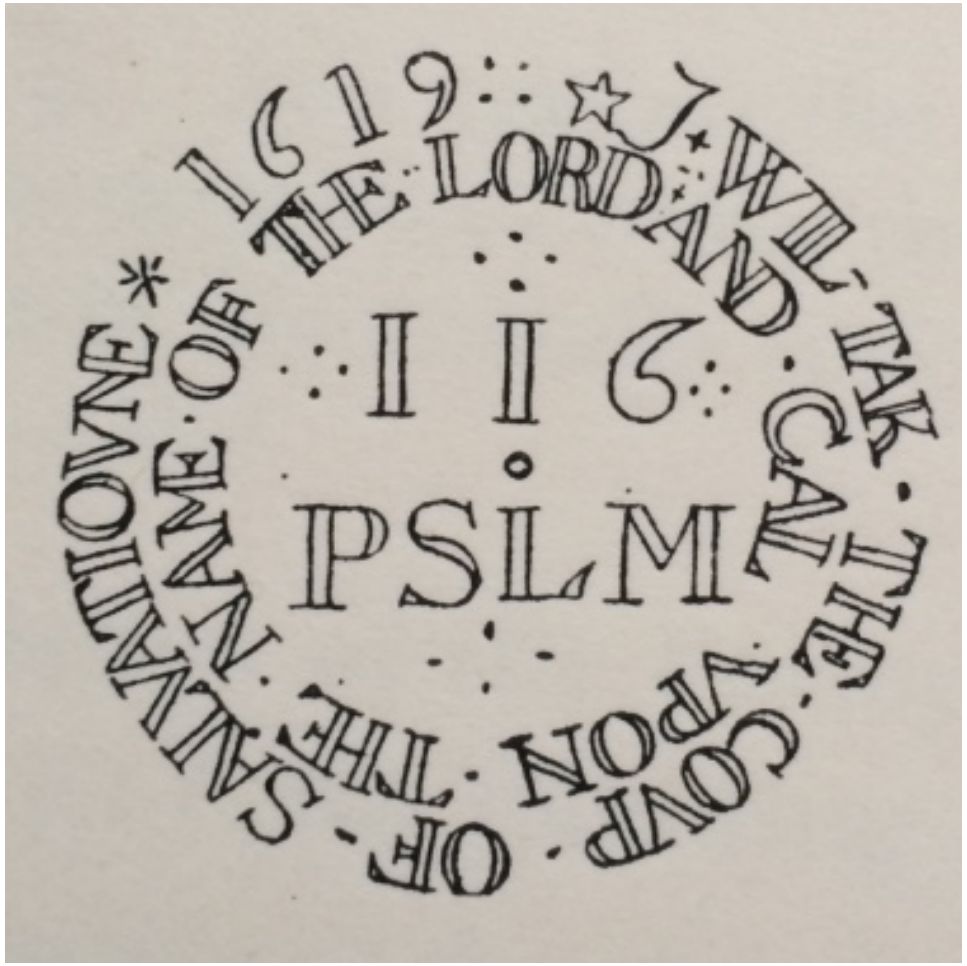


Fig. 208. Halywood [Holywood], 1619; West Church, St Cuthbert's Edinburgh, 1618-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate,* 263.

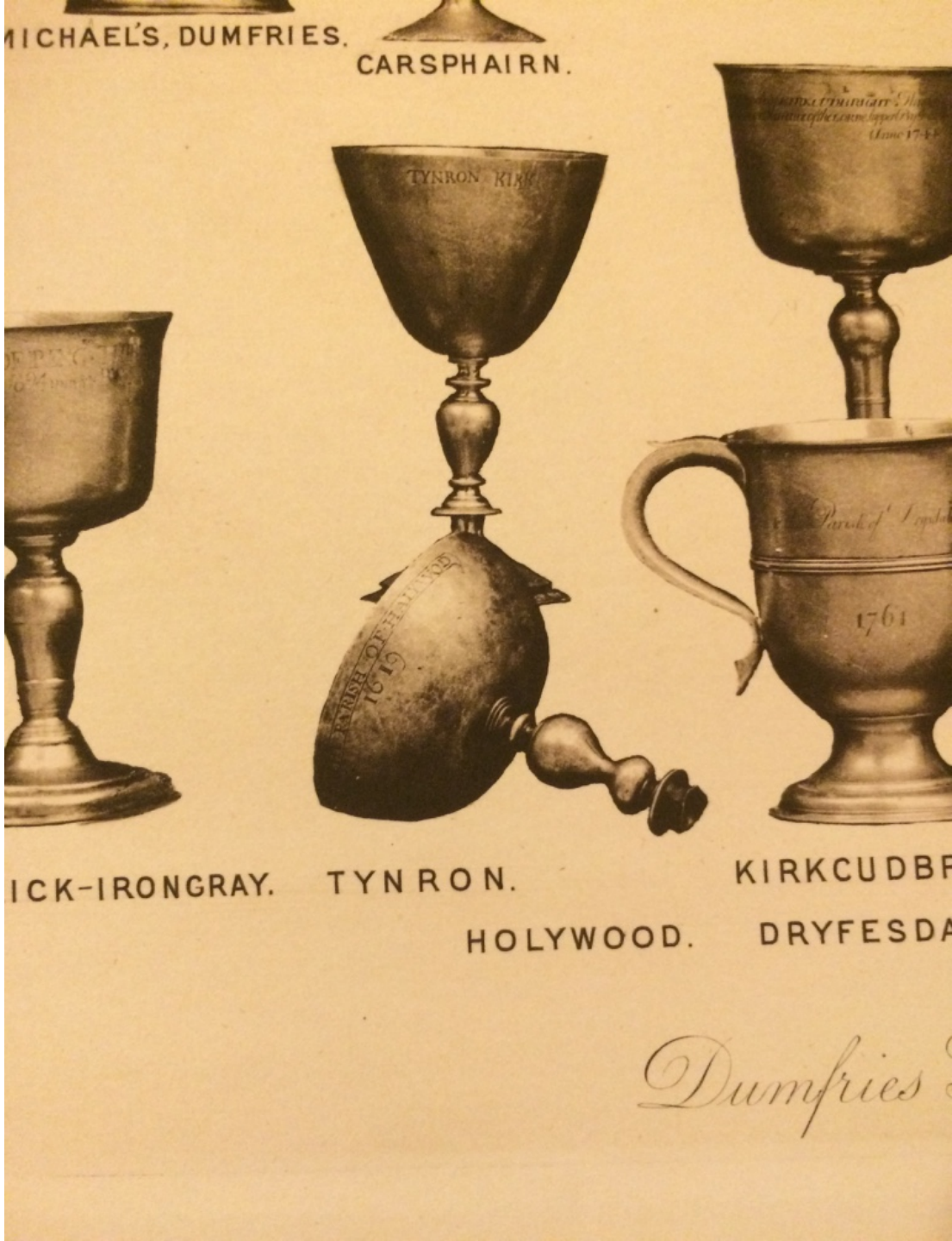


Fig. 209.
King Edward, 1619; West Church, St Cuthbert's Edinburgh, 1618-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 311.

Inscription cup 1: Sacro sancto Dominicae cenae usui in perpetuum Ecclesiae de King Edward decavit M. Gulielmus Guild Pastor ejusdim amatifsimus, 1619.

Inscription cup 2: Sacro sancto Dominicae cenae usui in perpetuum Ecclesiae de King Edward dicaveruent. Dominus Thomas Urquhart de Cromartie Miles, et Johannes Urquhart de Craigfintrie, 1619.

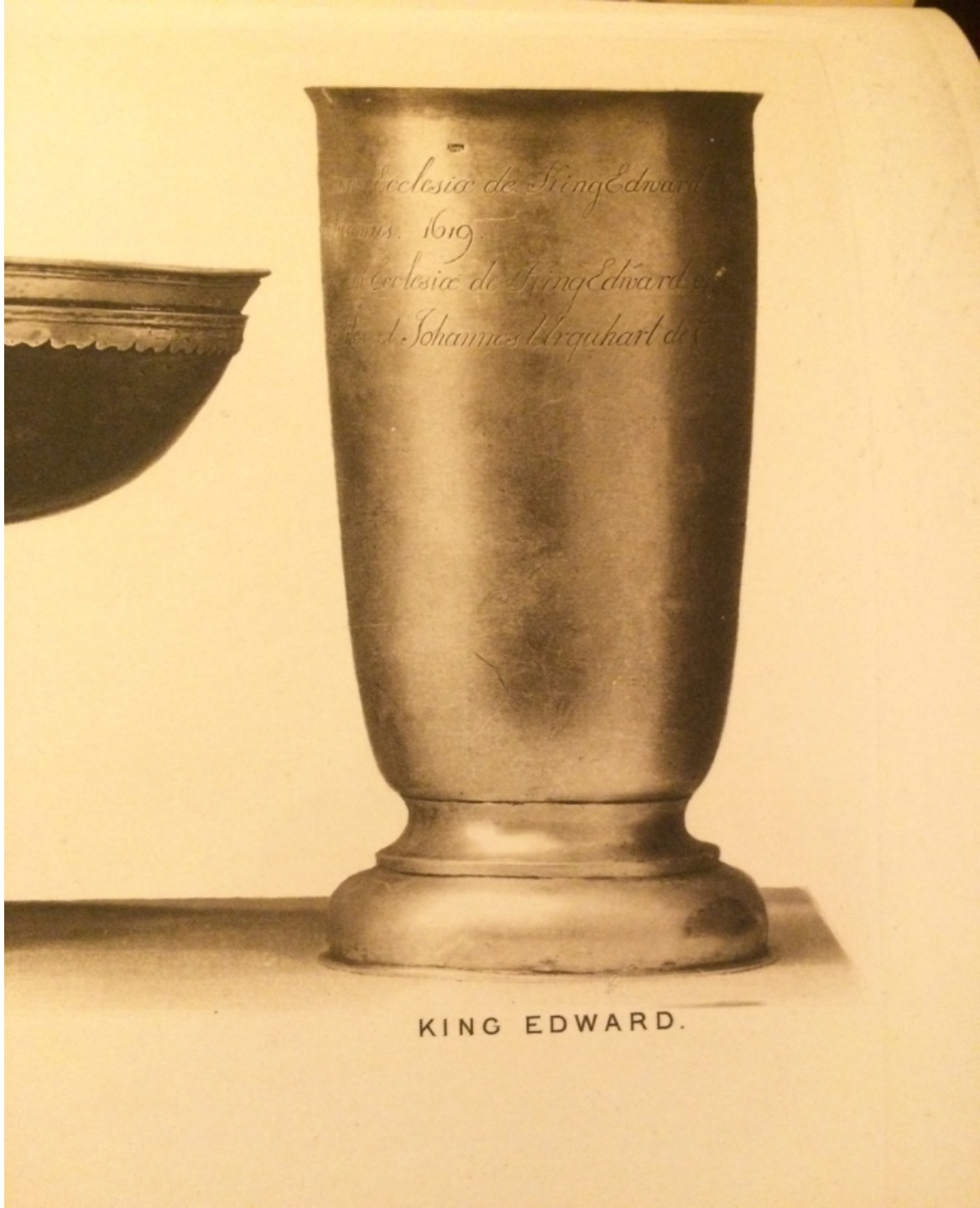


Fig. 210.
St Mary's College Mazer, St Andrews, 1567; West Church, St Cuthbert's Edinburgh, 1618-19.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 192.



Fig. 211.
St Mary's College Mazer, St Andrews, 1567.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 192.

Inscriptions inside bowl:
LEX.PER.MOISEN.DATA.EST.GRA.ET.
VERITAS.PER.IESU.CHRM.FACTA.EST.
[John 1: 17: The Law indeed was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ]

SIVE.MADVCATIS.SIVE.BIBITIS.VEL.ALIVD.QVID.FACIT
IS.OLA.IN.GLIAM.DEI.FACITE.1 CORIN.10 1567
[1 Corinthians 10: So, whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do everything for the glory of God]

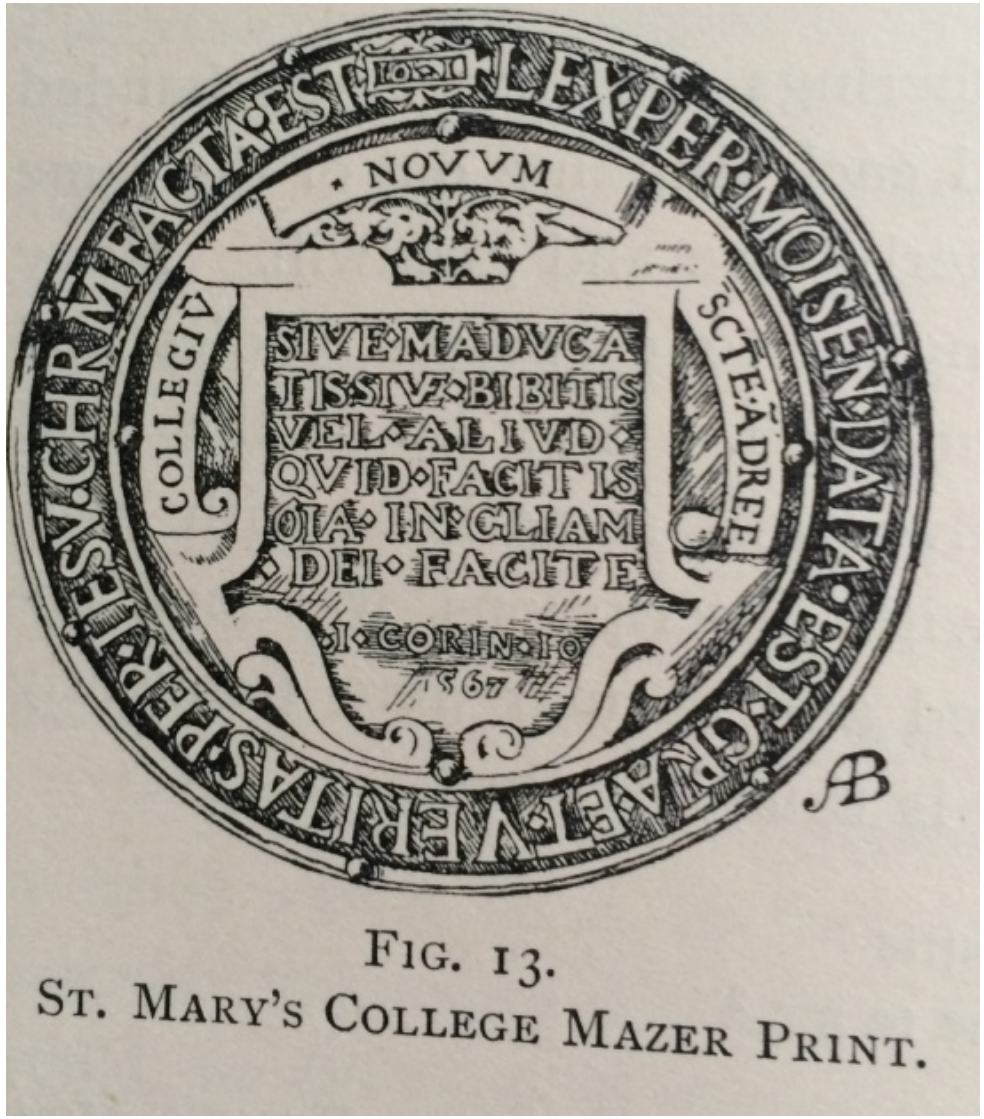
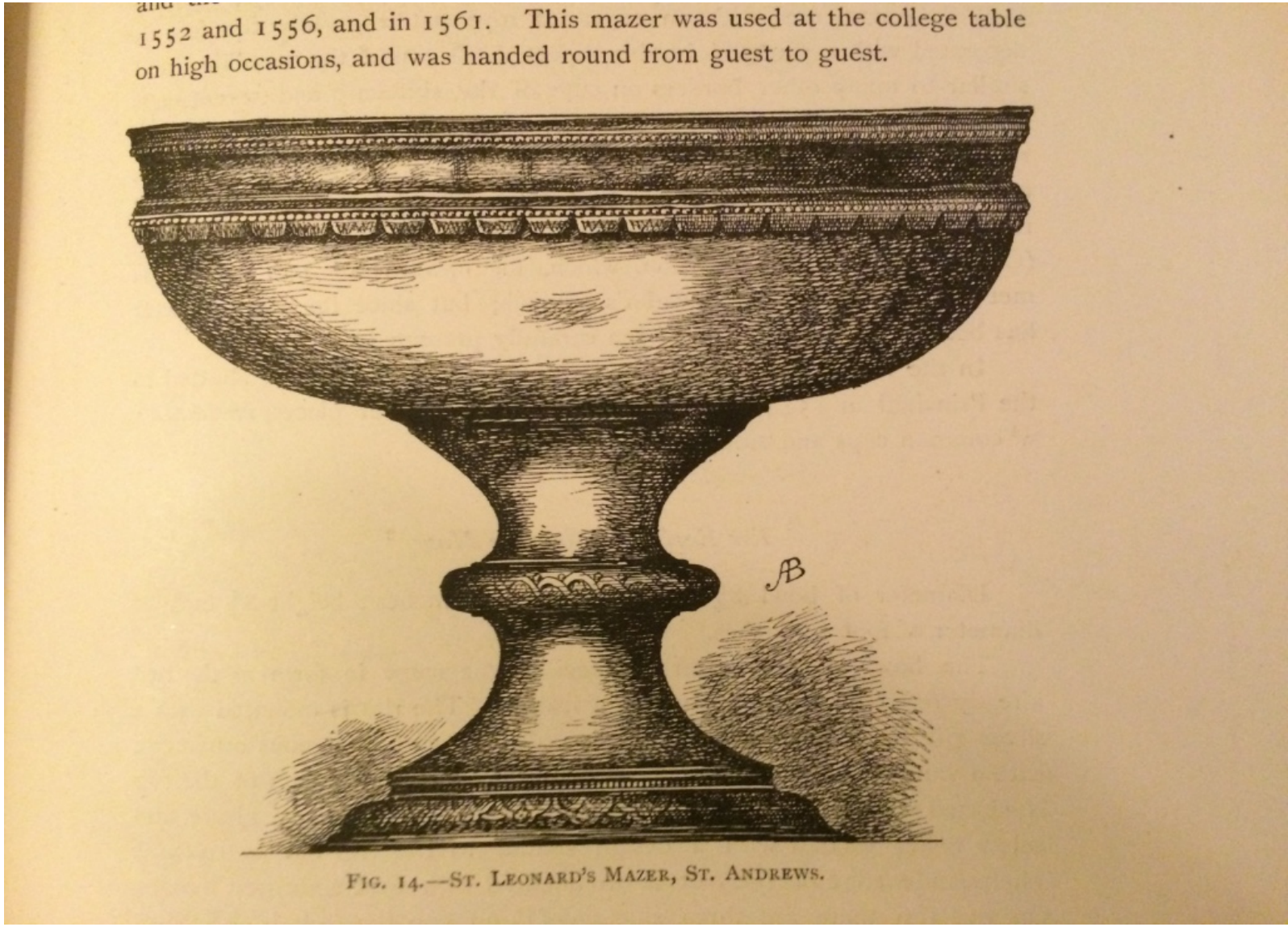


FIG. 13.
ST. MARY'S COLLEGE MAZER PRINT.

Fig. 212.
St Leonard's College Mazer, St Andrews, 1544(?).
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 193.



1552 and 1556, and in 1561. This mazer was used at the college table on high occasions, and was handed round from guest to guest.

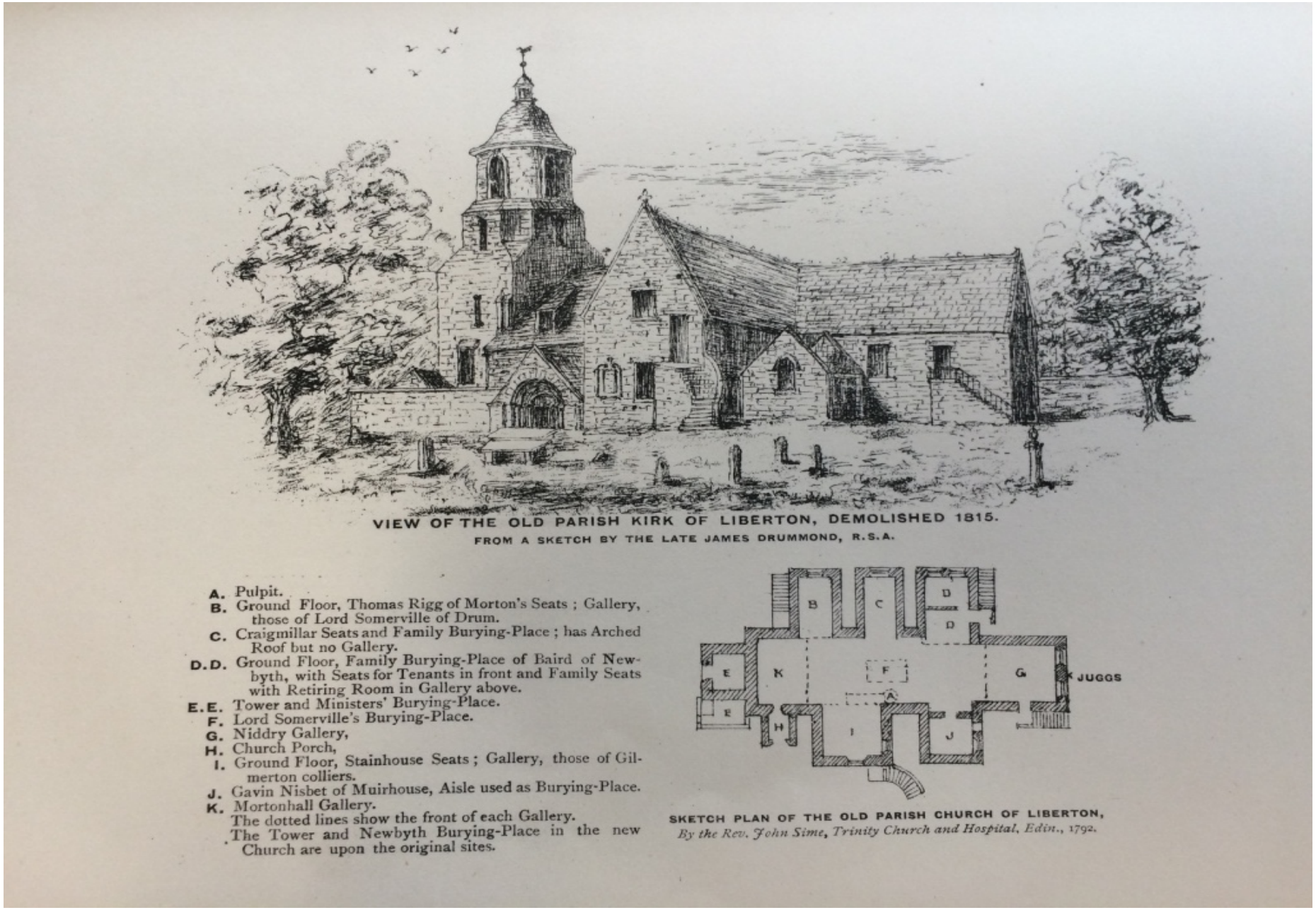
FIG. 14.—ST. LEONARD'S MAZER, ST. ANDREWS.

Fig. 213.
The Galloway Mazer, 1569.
T. Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, 194.

Inscription inside bowl:

Prouerb.22
Ane.good.mane.is.to.be.
chosen.Aboue.great.
riches.And.Louing.favour
Is.aboue.siluer.And.above.Moste.fyne
.golde.1569.





VIEW OF THE OLD PARISH KIRK OF LIBERTON, DEMOLISHED 1815.
FROM A SKETCH BY THE LATE JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A.

A. Pulpit.
B. Ground Floor, Thomas Rigg of Morton's Seats ; Gallery, those of Lord Somerville of Drum.
C. Craigmillar Seats and Family Burying-Place ; has Arched Roof but no Gallery.
D.D. Ground Floor, Family Burying-Place of Baird of Newbyth, with Seats for Tenants in front and Family Seats with Retiring Room in Gallery above.
E.E. Tower and Ministers' Burying-Place.
F. Lord Somerville's Burying-Place.
G. Niddry Gallery,
H. Church Porch,
I. Ground Floor, Stainhouse Seats ; Gallery, those of Gilmerton colliers.
J. Gavin Nisbet of Muirhouse, Aisle used as Burying-Place.
K. Mortonhall Gallery.
The dotted lines show the front of each Gallery.
The Tower and Newbyth Burying-Place in the new Church are upon the original sites.

SKETCH PLAN OF THE OLD PARISH CHURCH OF LIBERTON,
By the Rev. John Sime, Trinity Church and Hospital, Edin., 1792.

Fig. 214. Liberton Old Kirk c. 1792 in G. Good, *Liberton in Ancient and Modern Times* (Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, 1893), 11.

Fig. 215.
Airth Old Kirk Ground Plan,
EAS, vol.1, 465.

structure remains. The building as it now stands (Fig.

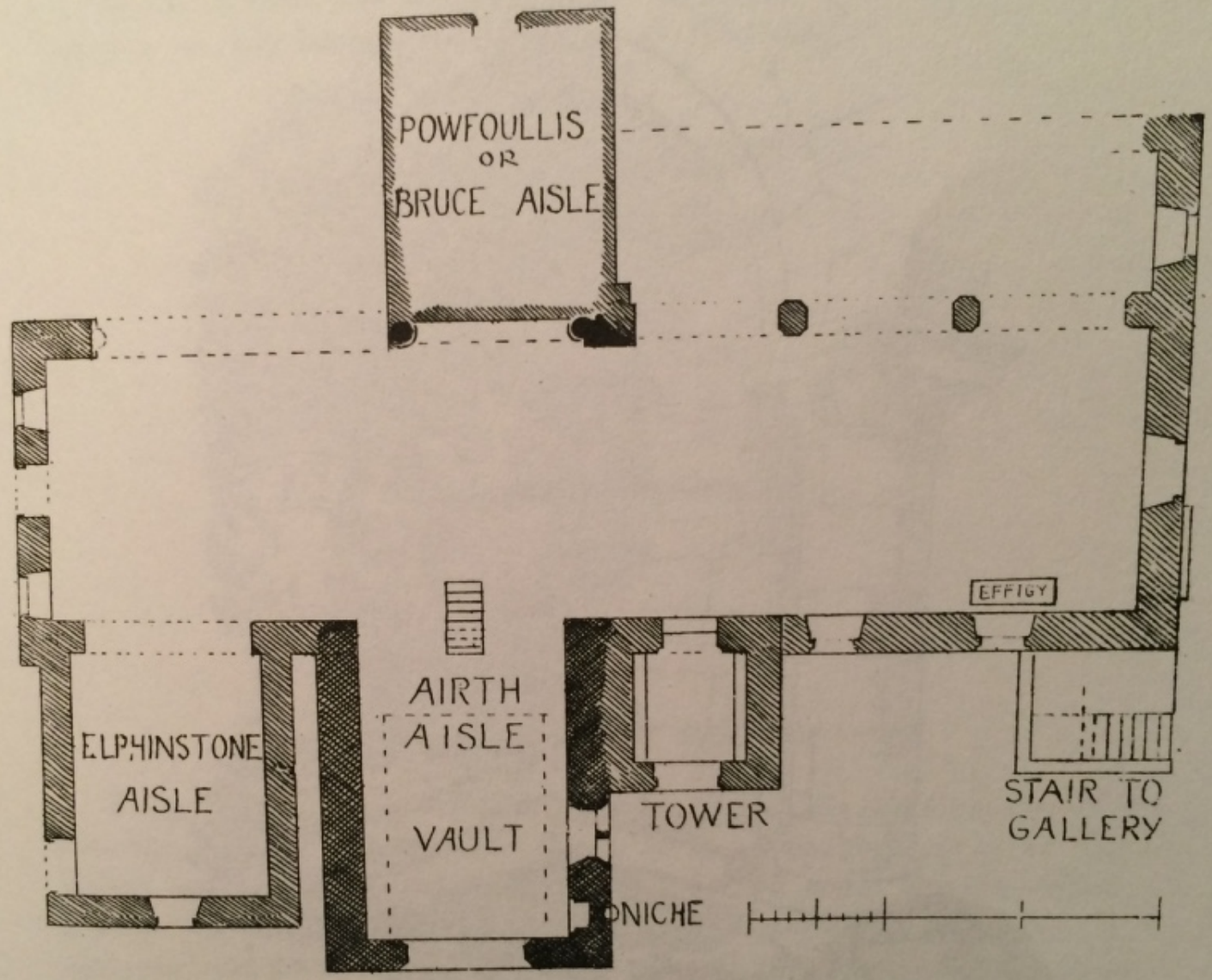


Fig. 423.—Airth Church. Plan.

nave and chancel, having a south wing or aisle, containing the Airth vault,

Fig. 216.
Airth Old Kirk, 1963. RCAHMS.



Fig. 217.
Airth Old Kirk,
looking east in nave.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 218.
Airth Old Kirk, nave aisle arcade.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 219.
Airth Old Kirk, looking west into the nave.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 220.
Airth Aisle (15th Century), Airth Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 221.
Recumbent effigy, Airth Aisle, Airth Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 222.
Airth Kirk, Bruce Aisle (1614), external entrance.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 223.
Airth Old Kirk, external gallery/loft staircase.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 224.
Airth Kirk, exterior of Airth aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 225.
Airth Kirk, looking into nave from the east end.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 226.
Airth Kirk, Canopied niche in Airth Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 227.
Airth Old Kirk, Elphinstone Aisle (1593).
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 228.
Airth Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 229.
Cullen Old Kirk, east end and Hay aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 230.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 231.
Cullen Old Kirk, Laird's Loft.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 232.
Cullen Old Kirk, Laird's Loft.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 233.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Laird's Loft.
Martin Ritchie



Fig 234.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Laird’s Loft.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 235.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Laird’s Loft.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 236.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 237.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 238.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 239.
Cullen Old Kirk, Hay Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 240.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 241.
Cullen Old Kirk,
Ogilvy Tomb.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 242.
Cullen Old Kirk, Ogilvy Tomb.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 243.
Cullen Old Kirk.
Hay Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 244.
Cullen Old Kirk, Hay Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.

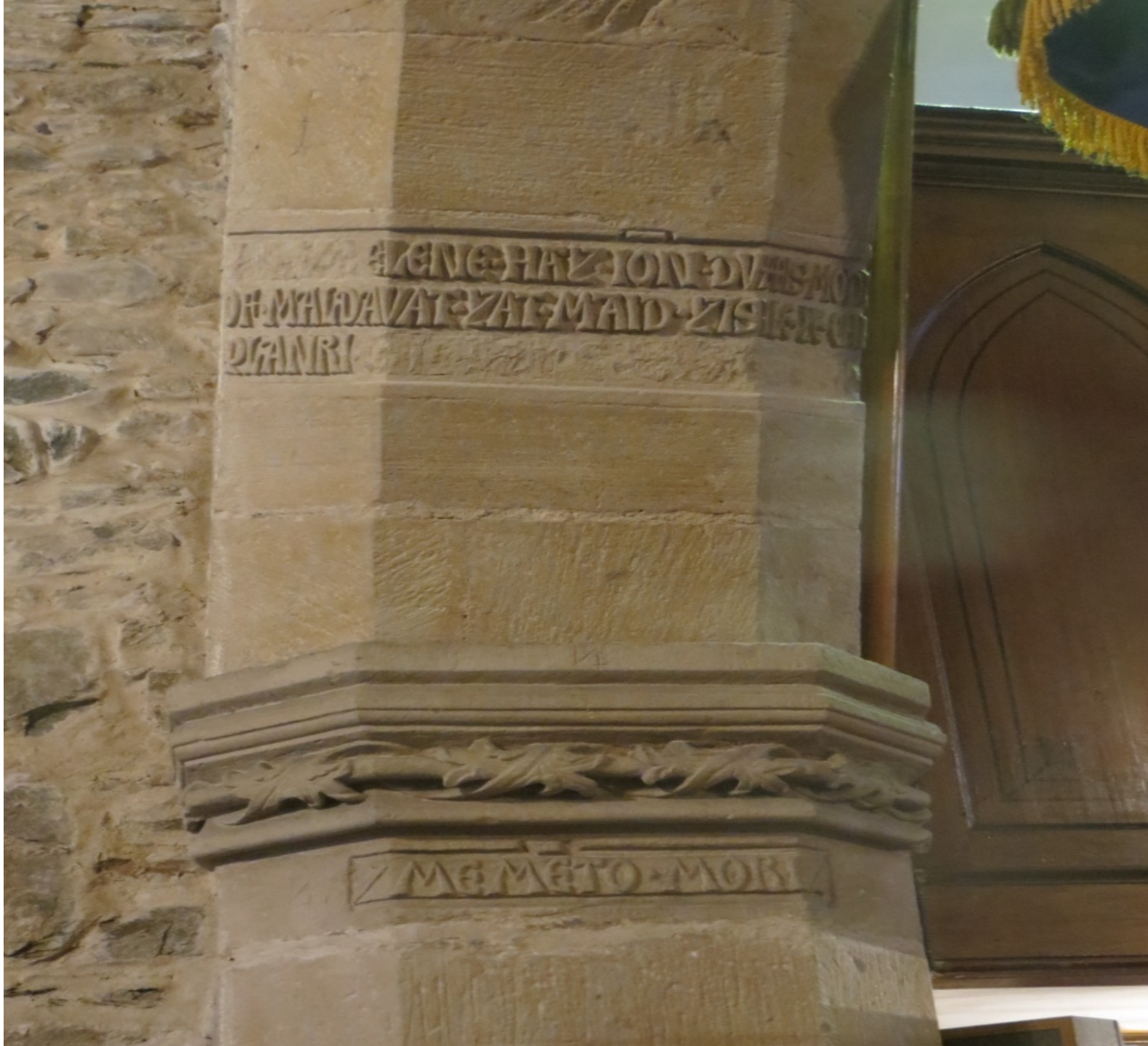


Fig. 245.
Cullen Old Kirk, Hay Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



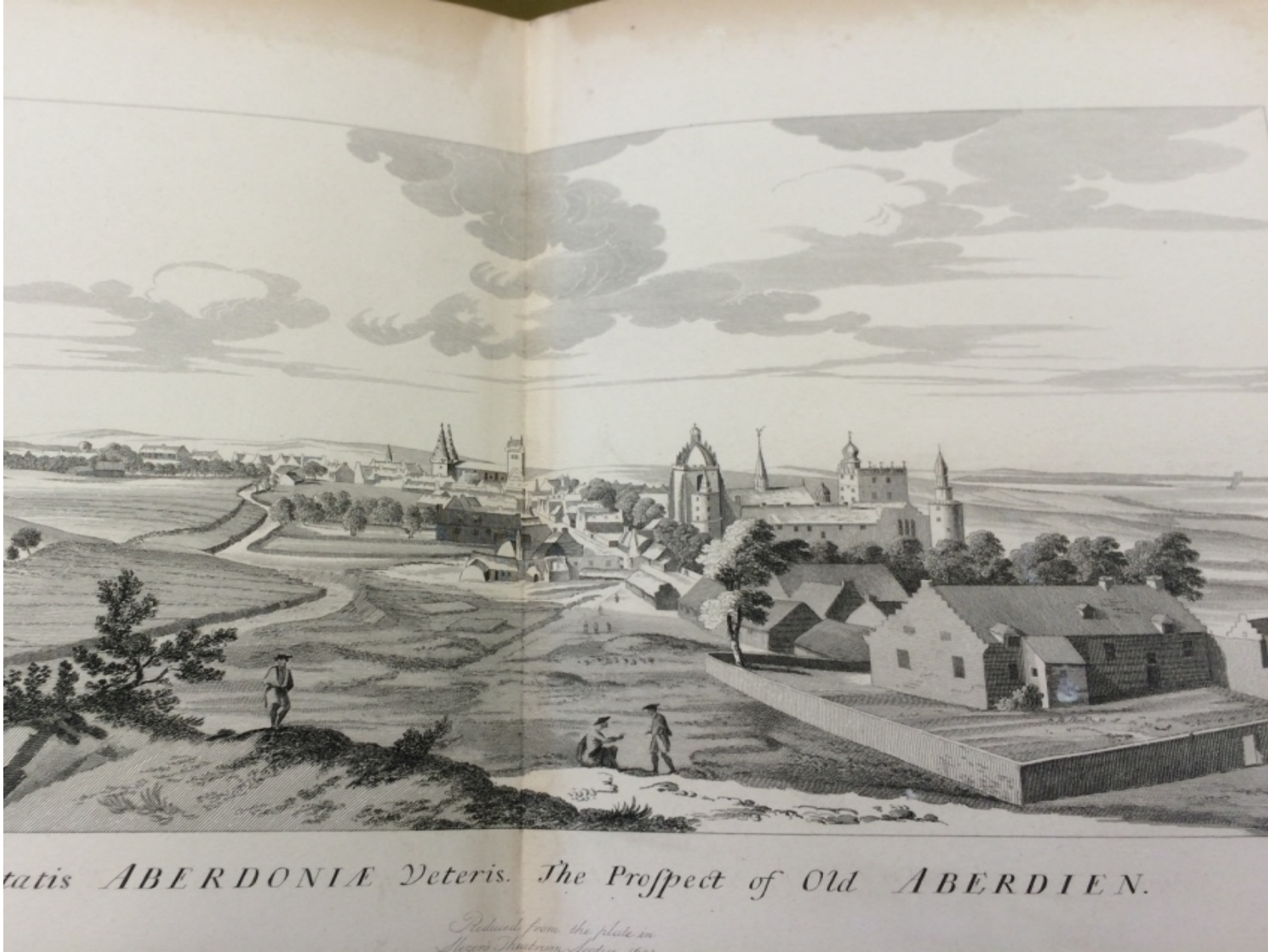
Fig. 246.
Cullen Old Kirk, Hay Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 247.
Cullen Kirk, Hay Aisle.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 248.
Perspective of Old Aberdeen with exterior of St Machar's Cathedral centre left, including surviving central tower. J. Gordon, *Abredoniae Utriusque Descriptio. A Description of both touns of Aberdeen. By James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay,* ed., C. Innes, Spalding Club 5 (Edinburgh, 1842), 26.



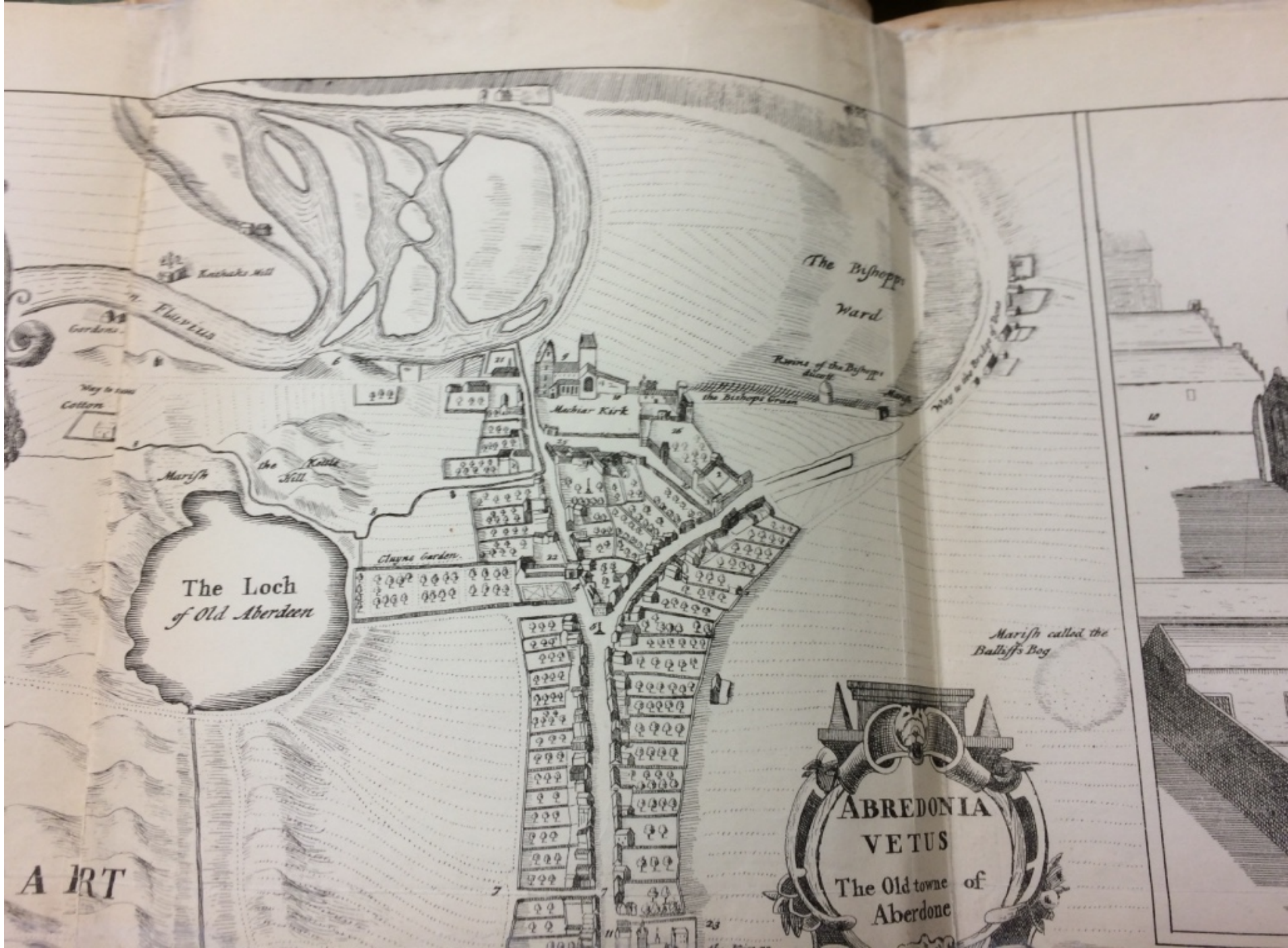


Fig. 249.
James Gordon, Map of Old Aberdeen in 1661, with drawing of St Machar's Cathedral showing crossing tower and remains of the choir. In *Abredoniae novae et veteris descriptio.* A description of new and of old Aberdeens, with the places neerest adjacent /auctore Jacobo Gordono (1661). <http://maps.nls.uk/towns/rec/209> [accessed 3 March, 2016].

Fig. 250. St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, nave ceiling.
<http://mcjazz.f2s.com/images/Artefacts/HeraldicCeiling101.jpg> [Accessed 8th September, 2016].

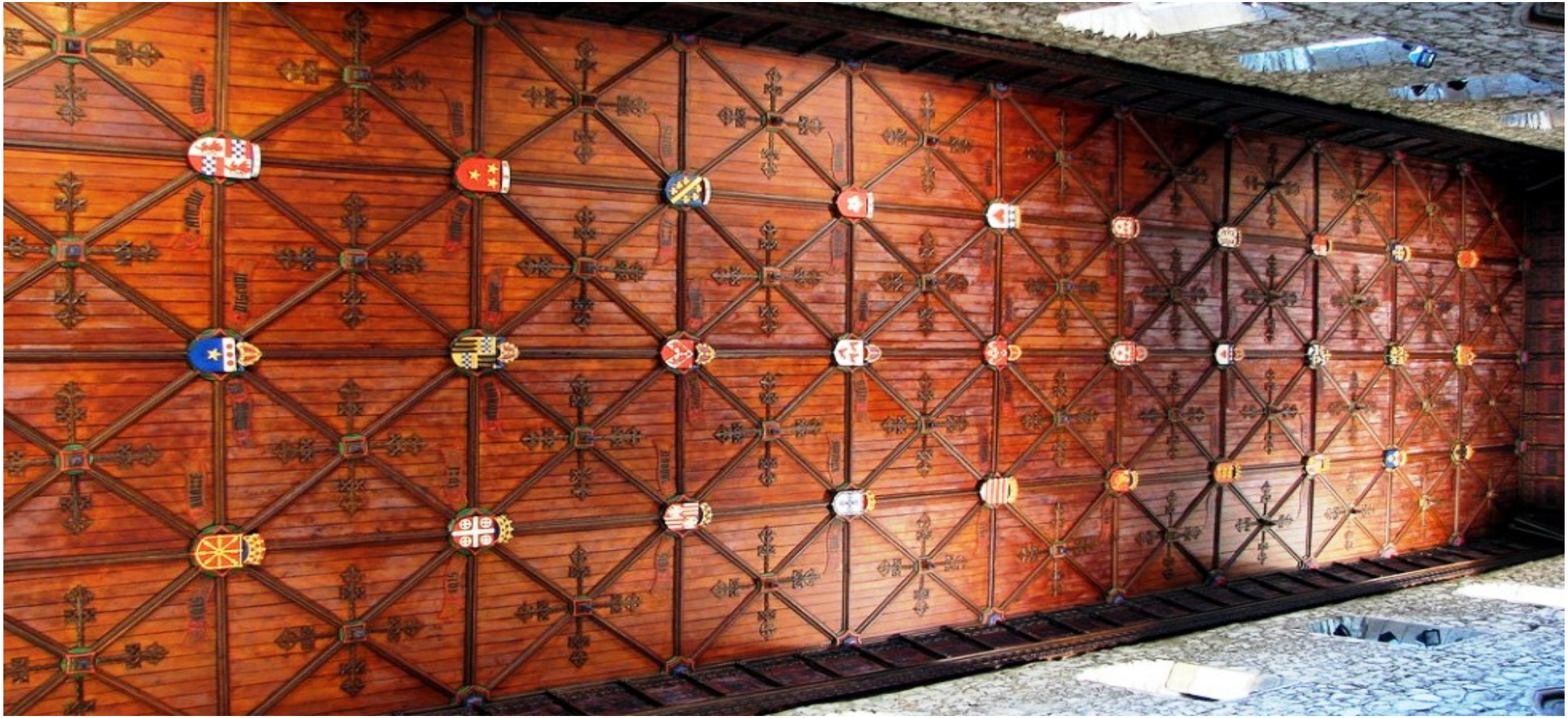
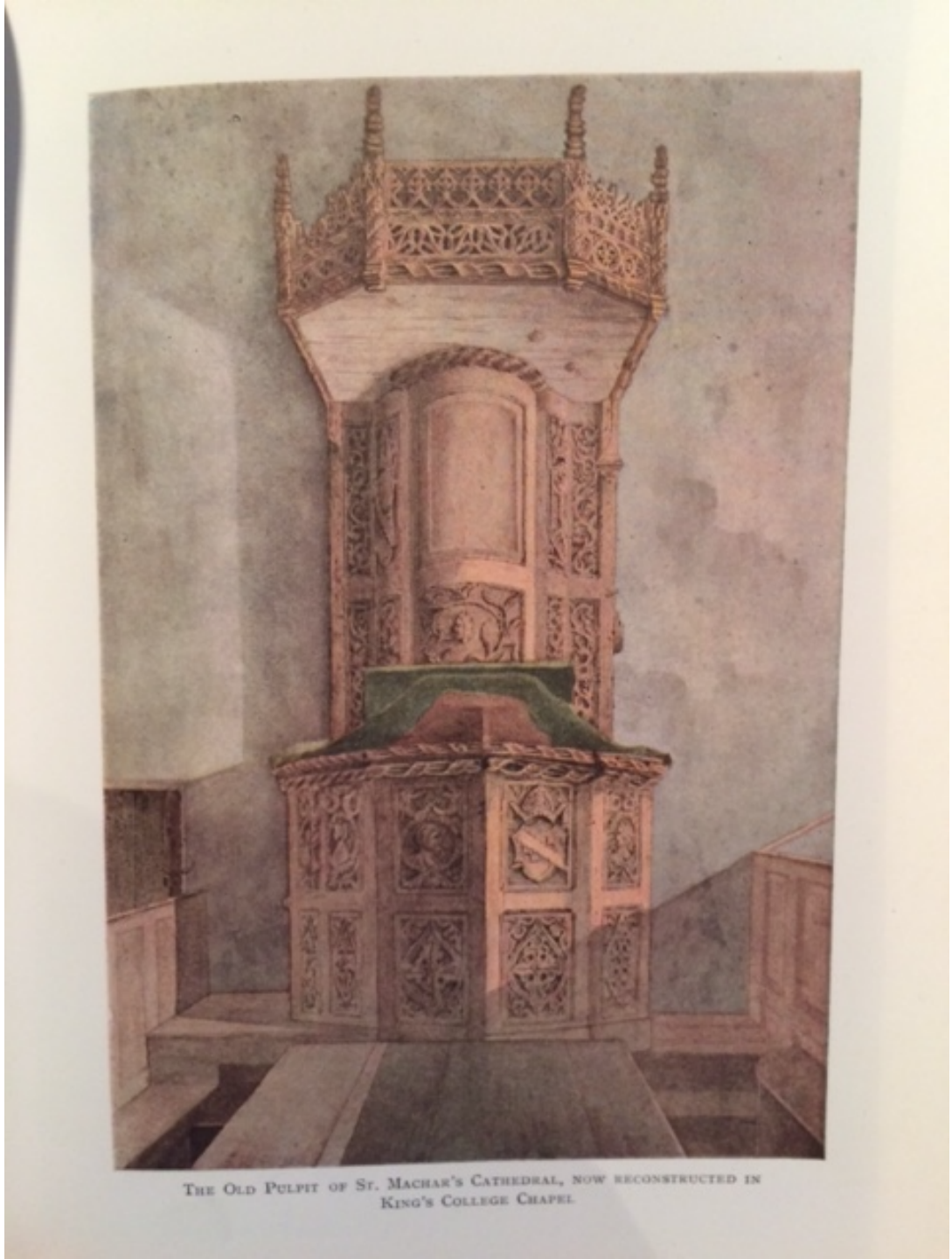


Fig. 251.
St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen. Bishop Stewart's Pulpit.
Logan's collections, ed. J. Cruickshank, Third Spalding club 11 (Aberdeen, 1941), 126.



THE OLD PULPIT OF ST. MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL, NOW RECONSTRUCTED IN KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL

Fig. 252.
Dunfermline Abbey from the south west.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (9a).



Fig. 253.
Dunfermline Abbey from the south after collapse of central and south west towers.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (9b).



Fig. 254.
Dunfermline Abbey, nave cross section and ground plan.
NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv. Ms. 30.5.23 (12a).

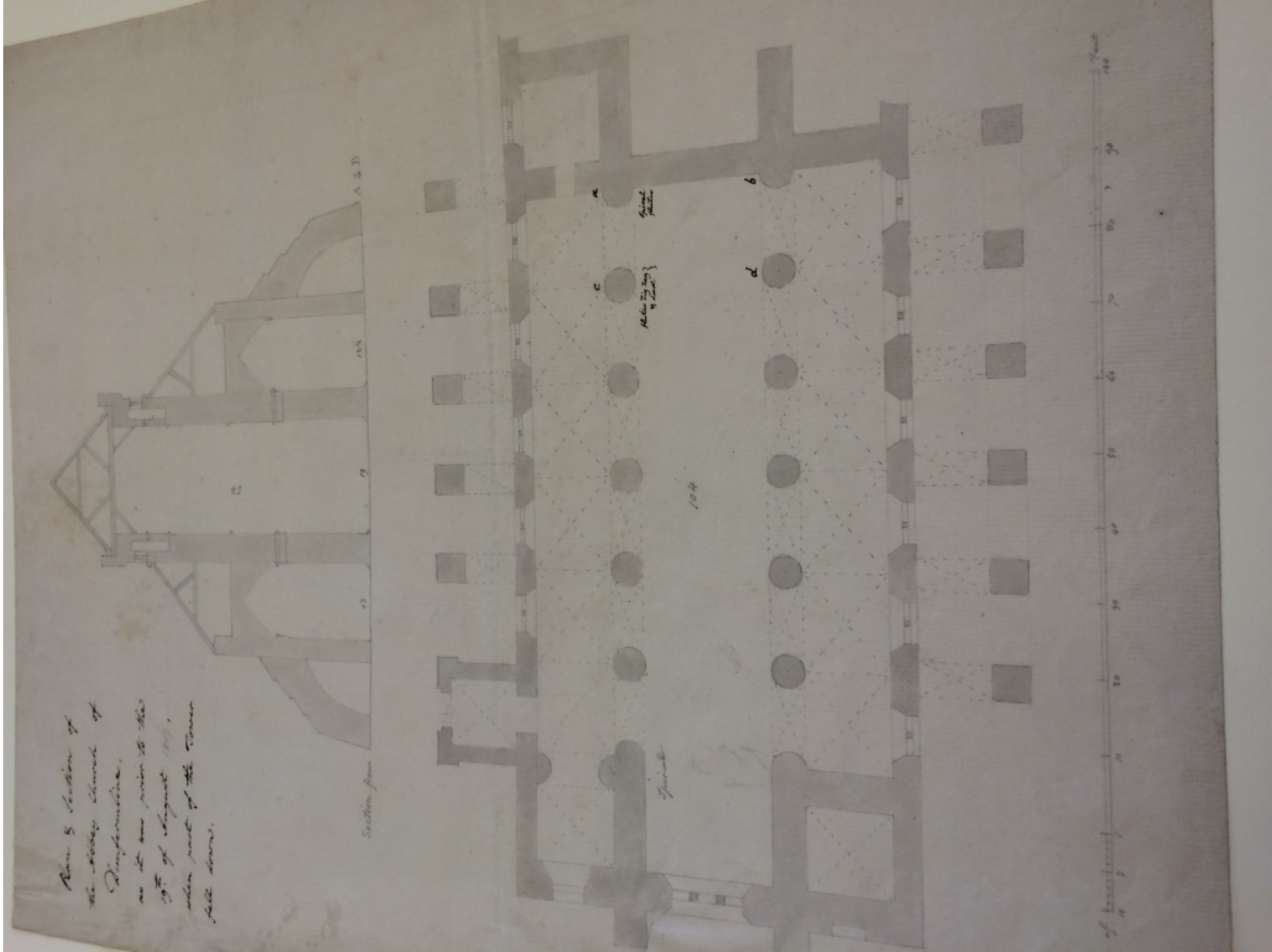
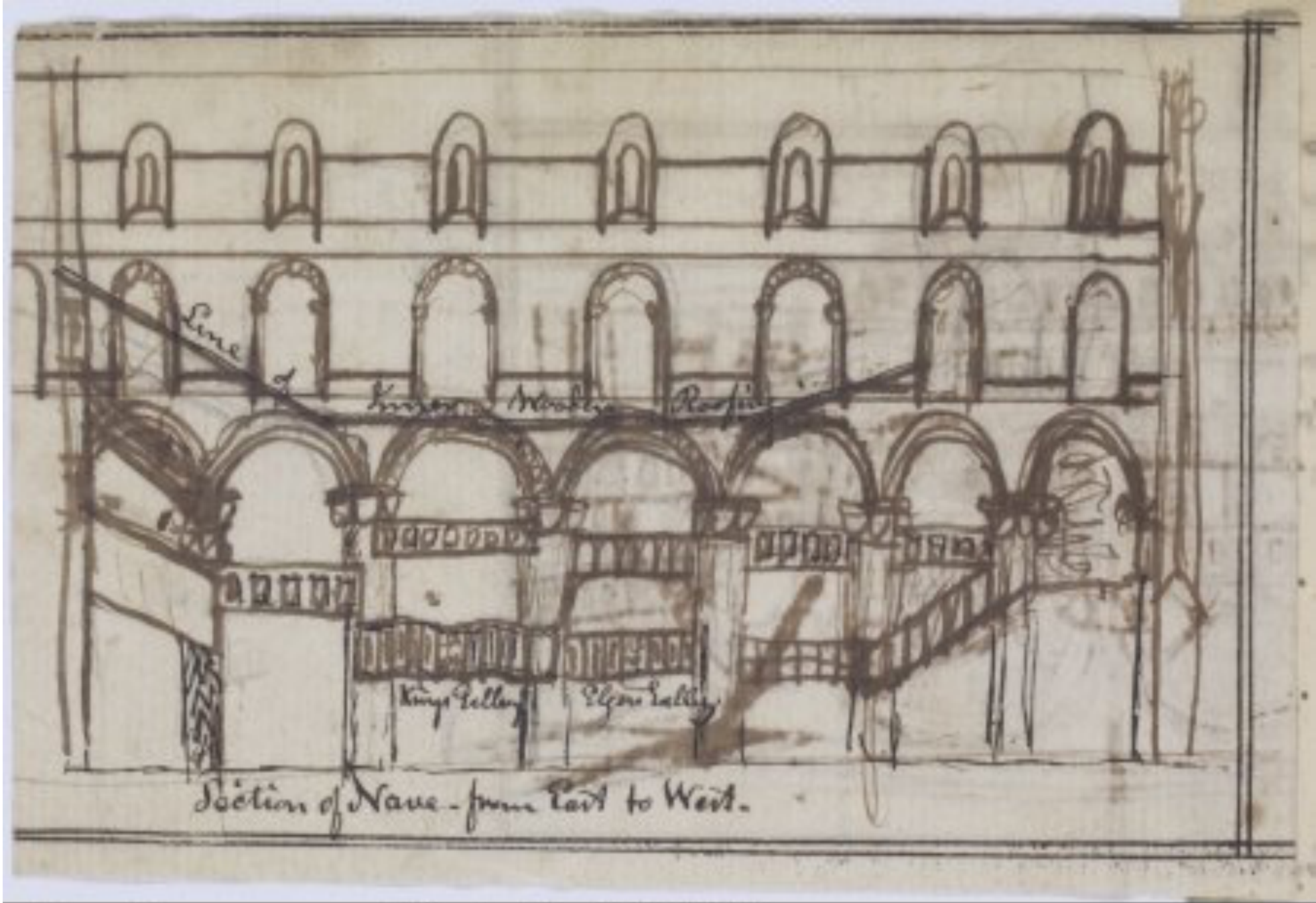


Fig. 255.
Ink sketch of details from the interior of Dunfermline Abbey nave drawn c.1805. In *Memorabilia, Jon. Sime*, Edinburgh, 1840. RCAHMS.



https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1087682

Fig. 256.
Ink sketch of details from the interior of Dunfermline Abbey nave drawn c.1805.
In *Memorabilia, Jon. Sime*, Edinburgh, 1840.
RCAHMS.

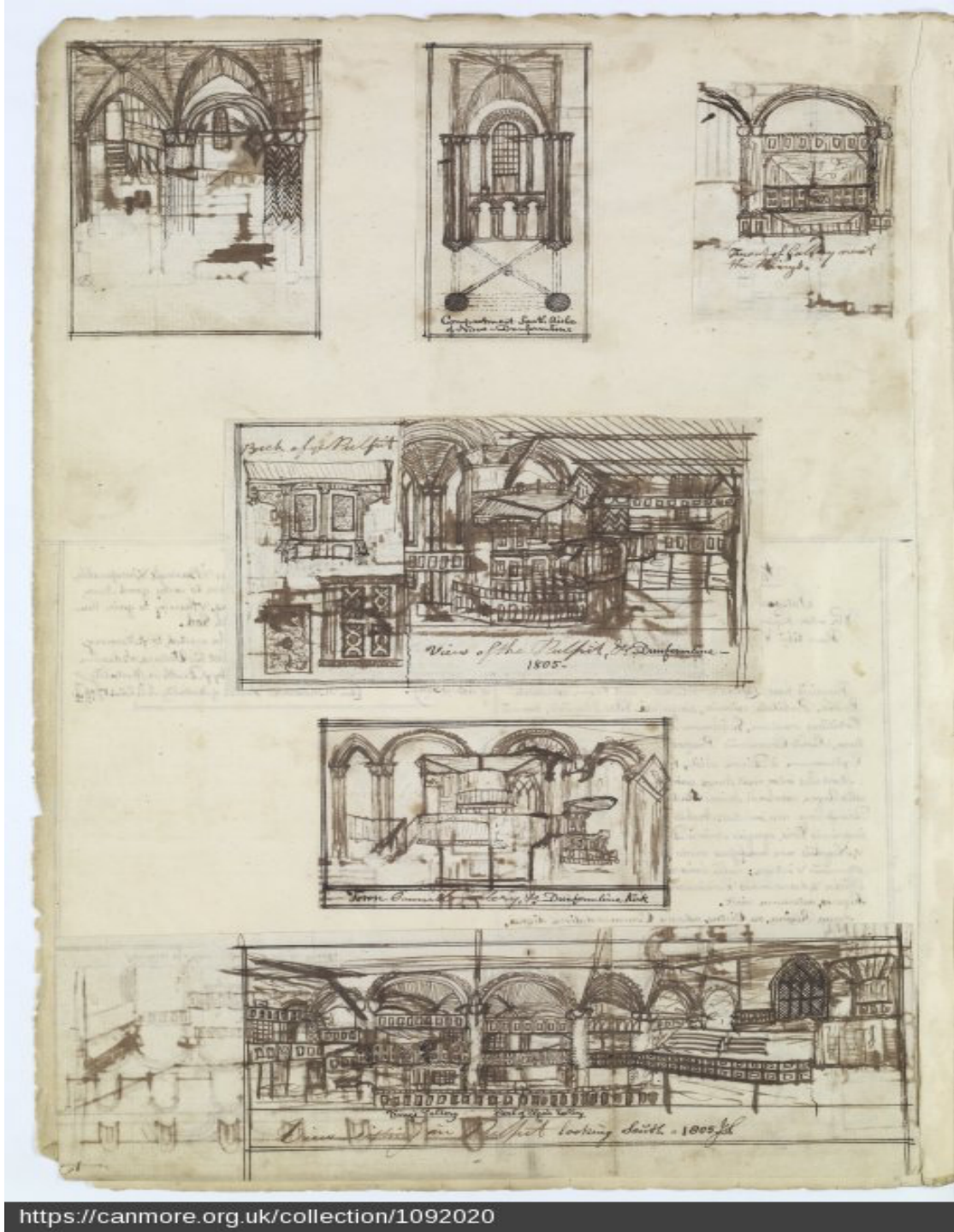
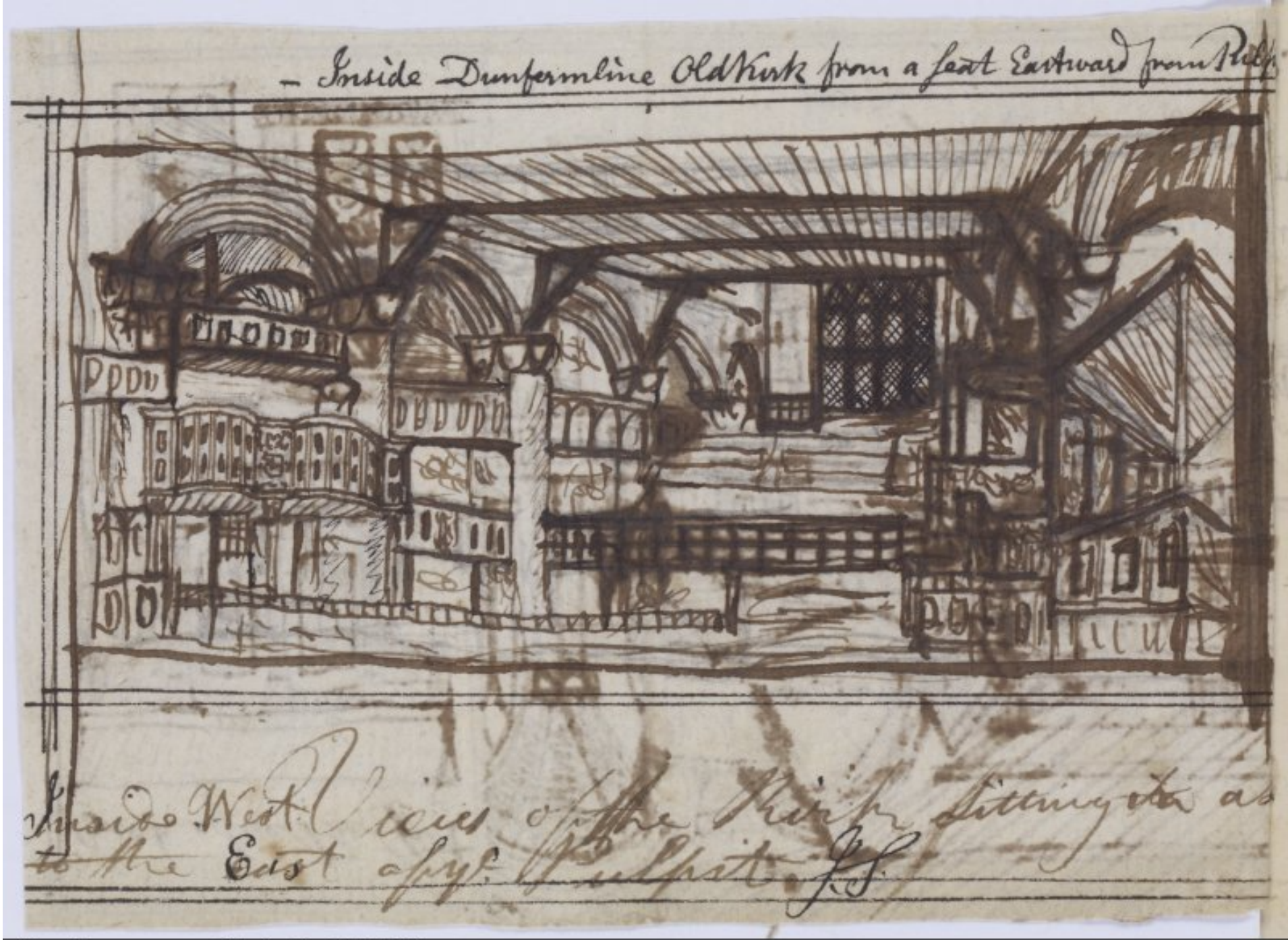


Fig. 257.
Ink sketch of details from the interior of Dunfermline Abbey nave drawn c.1805. In *Memorabilia, Jon. Sime*, Edinburgh, 1840. RCAHMS.



https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1087681

Fig. 258.
Dunfermline Abbey nave woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 259.
Dunfermline Abbey nave woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 260.
Dunfermline Abbey nave
woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 261.
Dunfermline Abbey nave woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 262.
Dunfermline Abbey nave woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.





Fig. 263.
Dunfermline Abbey nave woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 264.
Dunfermline Abbey nave Woodwork at Abbotsford House.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 265.
Fenwick Pulpit in D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. 5, 161.

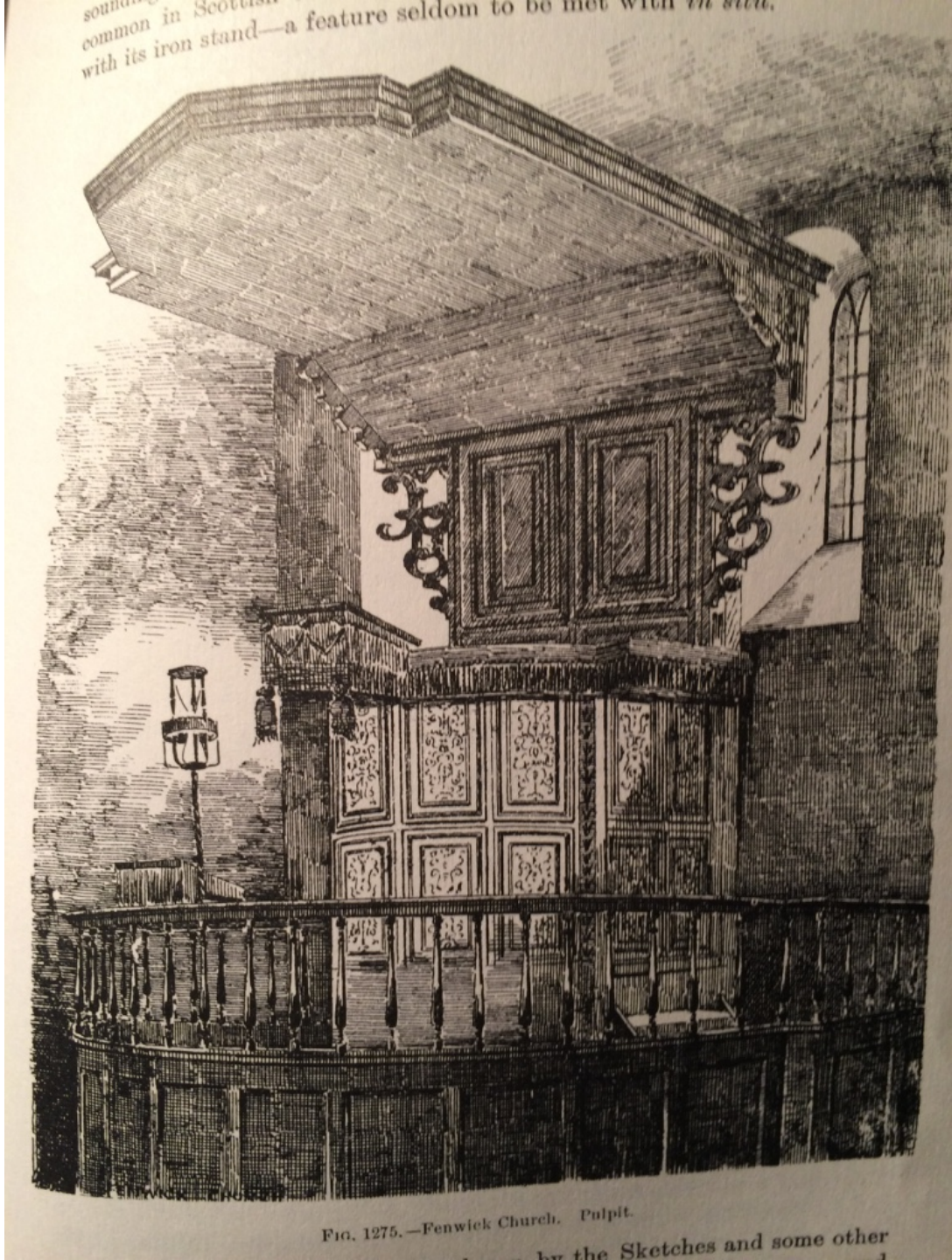

common in Scottish
with its iron stand—a feature seldom to be met with *in situ*.

Fig. 1275.—Fenwick Church. Pulpit.

by the Sketches and some other

Fig. 266.
North Berwick Old Kirk, south elevation.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 267.
Tulliallan Old Kirk, south elevation.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 268.
Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh.
Engraving in Greyfriars Kirk Museum.



Fig. 269.
Greyfriars Kirk, Edinburgh.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 270.
Weem Kirk, south elevation.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 271.
Weem Kirk, door lintel.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 272.
Weem Kirk, heraldic carving.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 273.
Kemback Old Kirk, interior looking north.
Martin Ritchie.

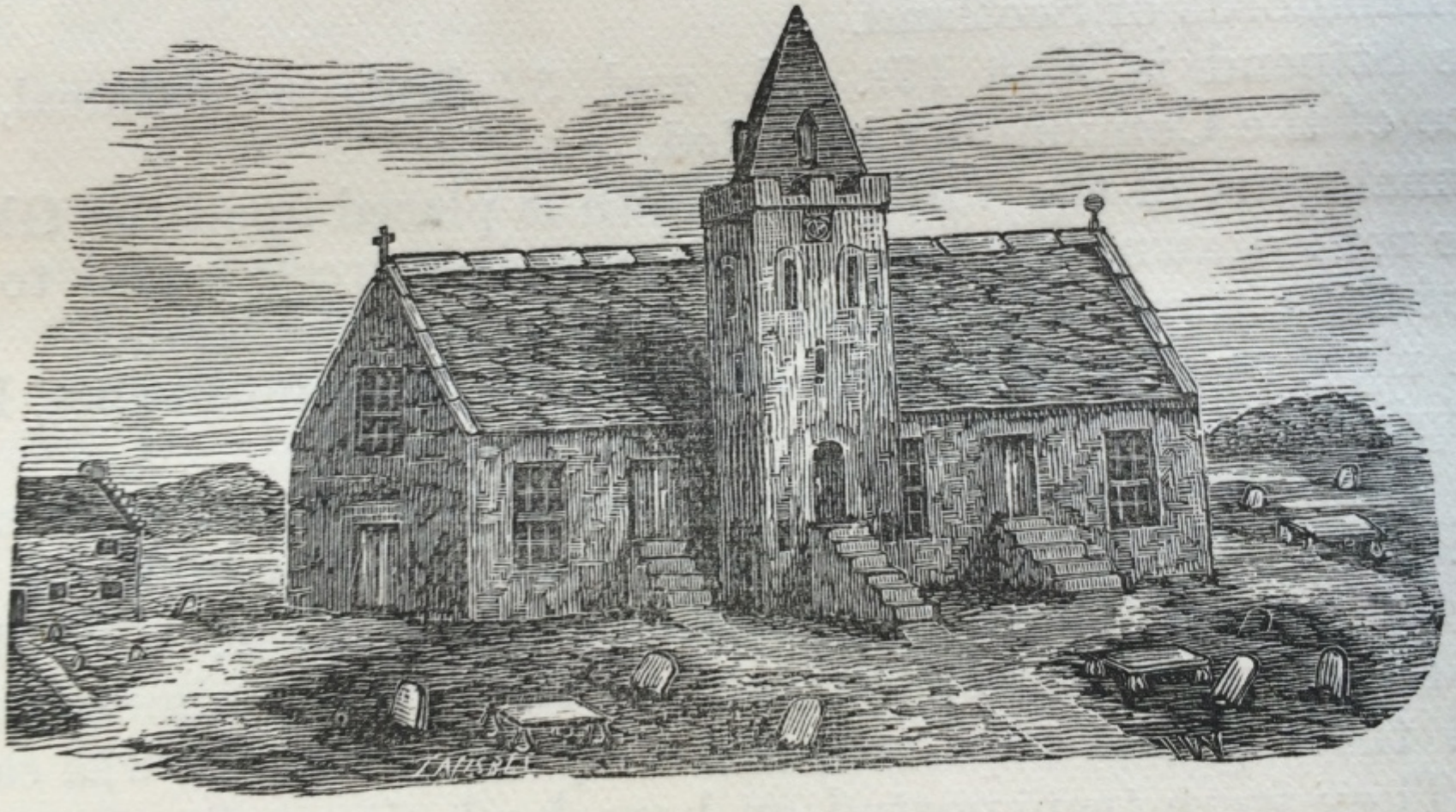


Fig. 274.
Kemback Old Kirk, west side.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 275.
Keith Kirk.
J.F.S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith* (Glasgow, Robert Forrester, 1880), 23.

even the Four Pleas of the Crown.* The Bailie was, in general, assisted by some of the Barons of the Regality as his Assessors. The Pannels were placed in a Window, still recognised by people acquainted with the Church under the name of the *Boss Window*.



OLD KIRK—Re-built in 1569; Tower lowered in 1797; taken down in 1819. Length, 100 ft.; Breadth, 28 ft.

Fig. 276a.
Gifford/Yester Kirk, *EAS*, vol. 3, 622.

of his two wives and of his maternal ancestors, beginning with his great-great-grandmother. The names of all these ladies, with the arms of their respective houses, adorn the monument, and need not be repeated here, as full information regarding them will be found in Mr. Millar's work, already cited.

YESTER CHURCH, HADDINGTONSHIRE.

The parish church of Yester stands at the north end of the village of Gifford, about four and a half miles south of Haddington. The

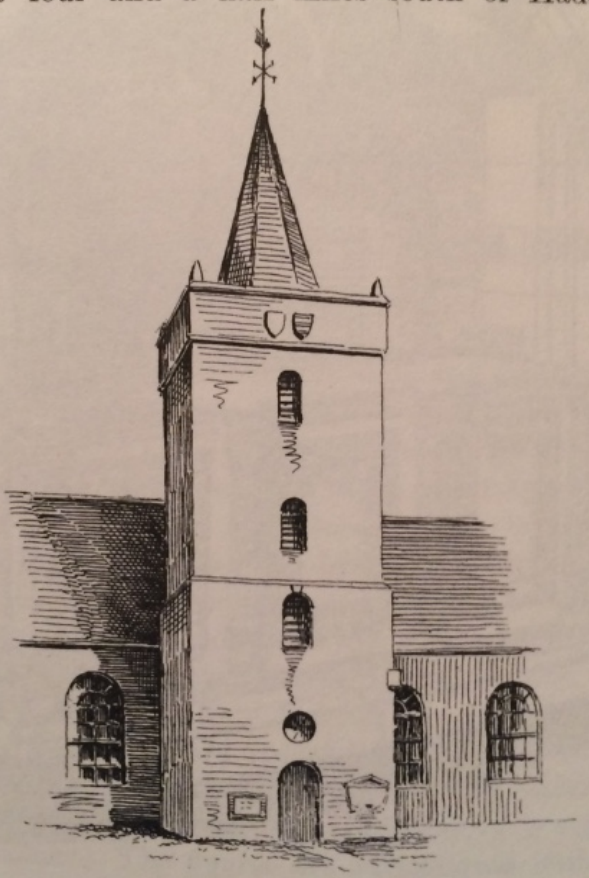


FIG. 1613.—Gifford Tower, from South-West.

Fig. 276b.
Dirleton Kirk
RCAHMS.



Fig. 277.

The CL Psalmes of David in Meter (London, Vautrollier, 1587, *STC* 16582). NCL, tpUR77.
Martin Ritchie.

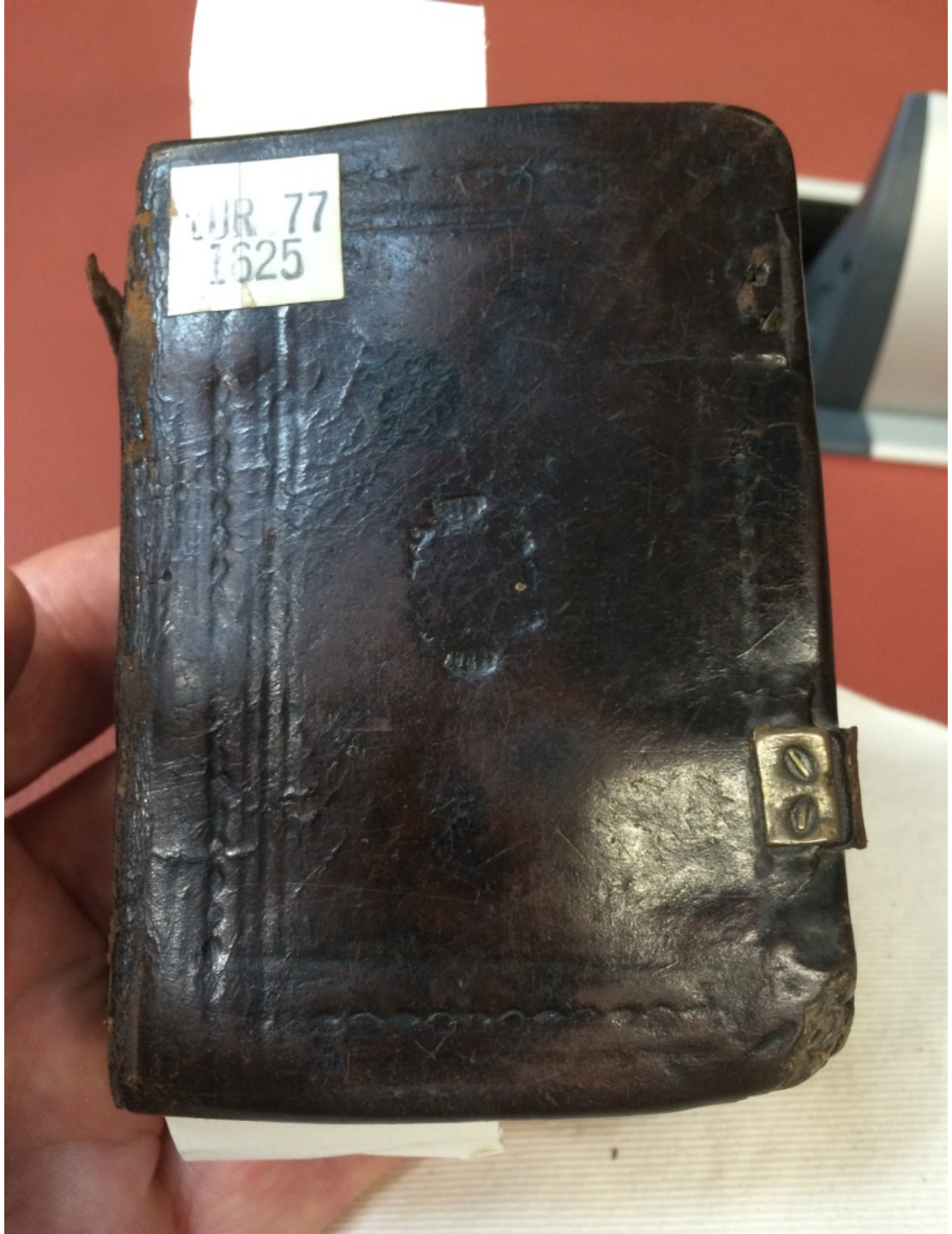


Fig. 278.
The CL Psalmes of David in Meter
(London, Vautrollier, 1587, *STC* 16582). NCL, tpUR77.
Martin Ritchie.

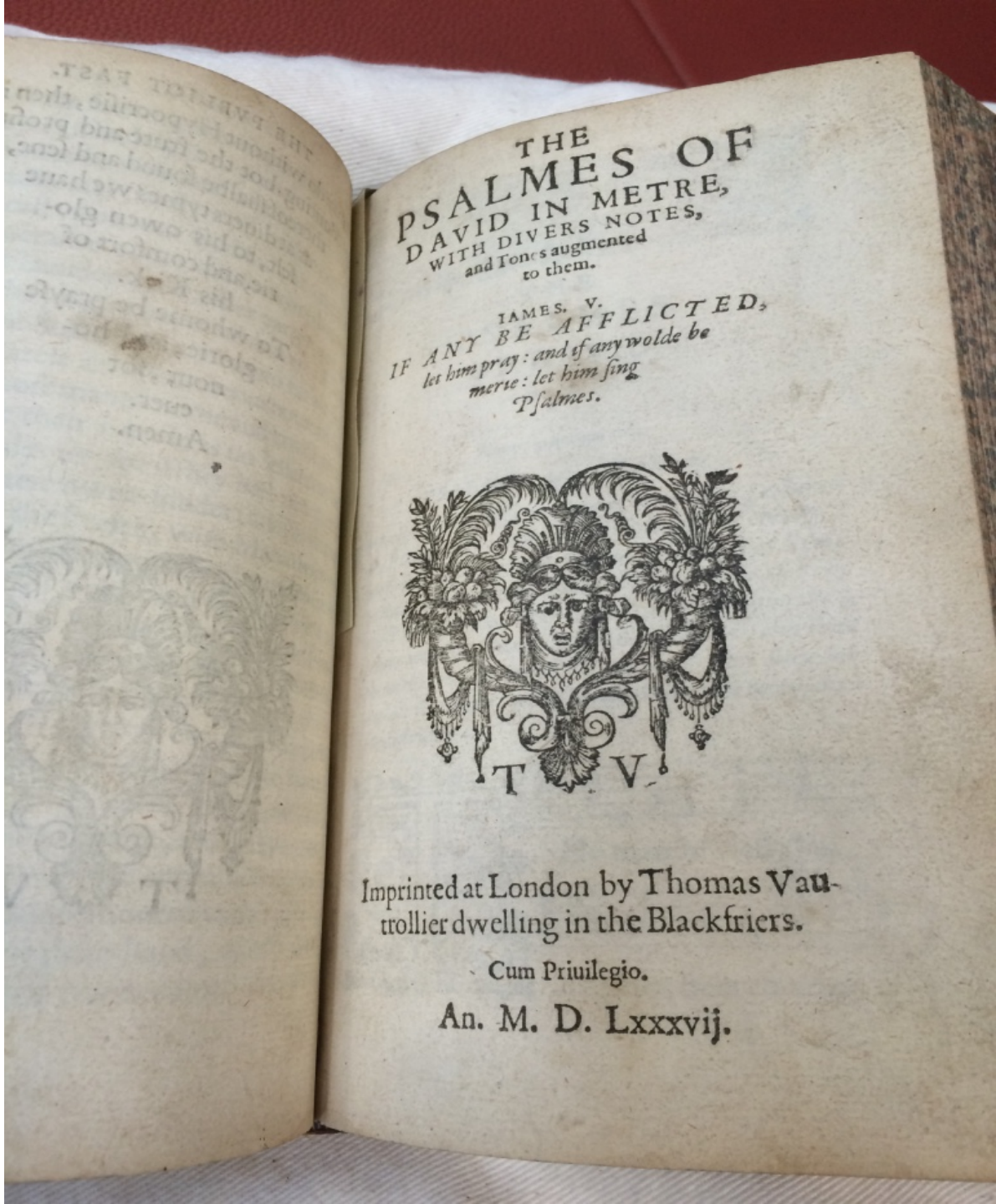


Fig. 279.
The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597). NCL, tUR77. Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 280.
The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597). NCL, tUR77.
Martin Ritchie.

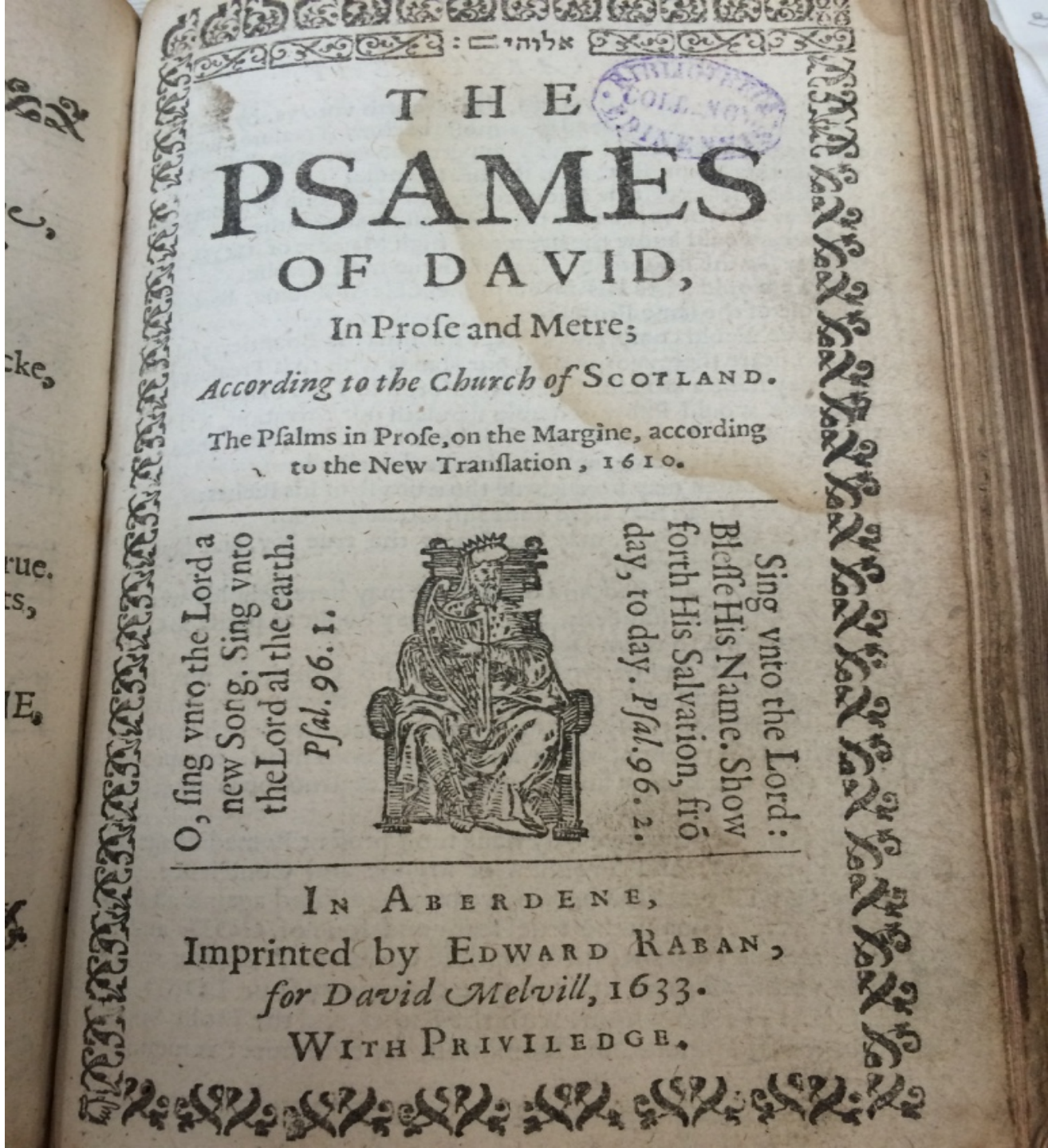


Fig. 281.
The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597).
Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 282.
The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597). Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 283.
The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597). Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh. Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 284. *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599).
Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh. Martin Ritchie.



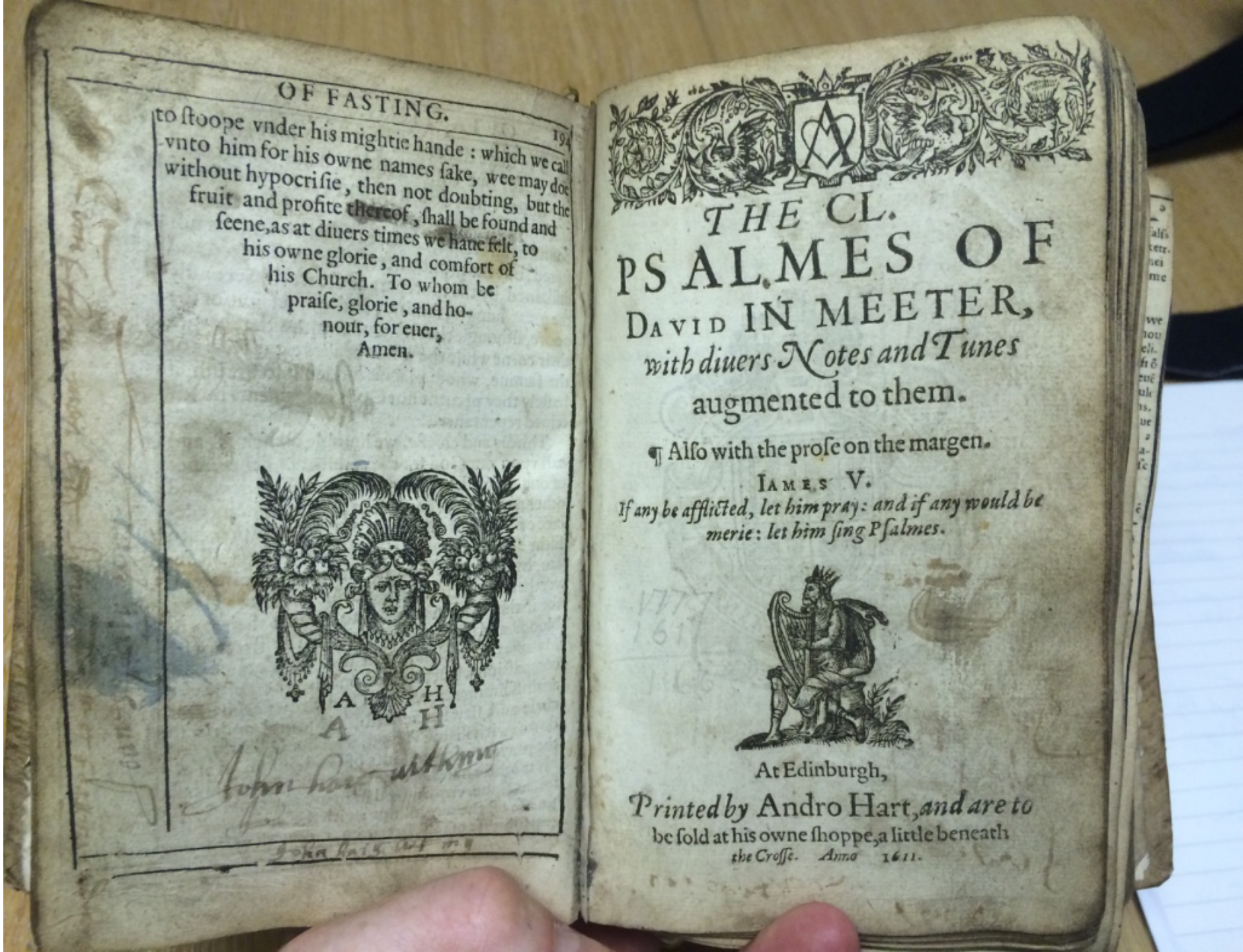
Fig. 285.
The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599).
Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 286.
The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter (Edinburgh, Hart, 1611, *STC* 16590). Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 287. *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter* (Edinburgh, Hart, 1611, *STC* 16590). Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
Martin Ritchie.



OF FASTING. 194

to ſtoope vnder his mightie hande : which we call vnto him for his owne names ſake, wee may doe without hypocriſie, then not doubting, but the fruit and profite thereof, ſhall be found and ſeene, as at diuers times we haue felt, to his owne glorie, and comfort of his Church. To whom be praiſe, glorie, and honour, for euer, Amen.

A H
A H

THE CL.
PSALMES OF
DAVID IN MEETER,
with diuers Notes and Tunes
augmented to them.

¶ Alſo with the proſe on the margen.

IAMES V.
If any be afflicted, let him pray: and if any would be merie: let him ſing Pſalmes.

At Edinburgh,
Printed by Andro Hart, *and are to*
be ſold at his owne ſhoppe, a little beneath
the Croſſe. Anno 1611.

Fig. 288.
Kalendar Annotations in *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter. With Prayers and Catechisme, according to the forme used in the Kirk of Scotland* (Charteris, Edinburgh, 1596, *STC* 16585).
Copy in NCL, tUR77.
Martin Ritchie.

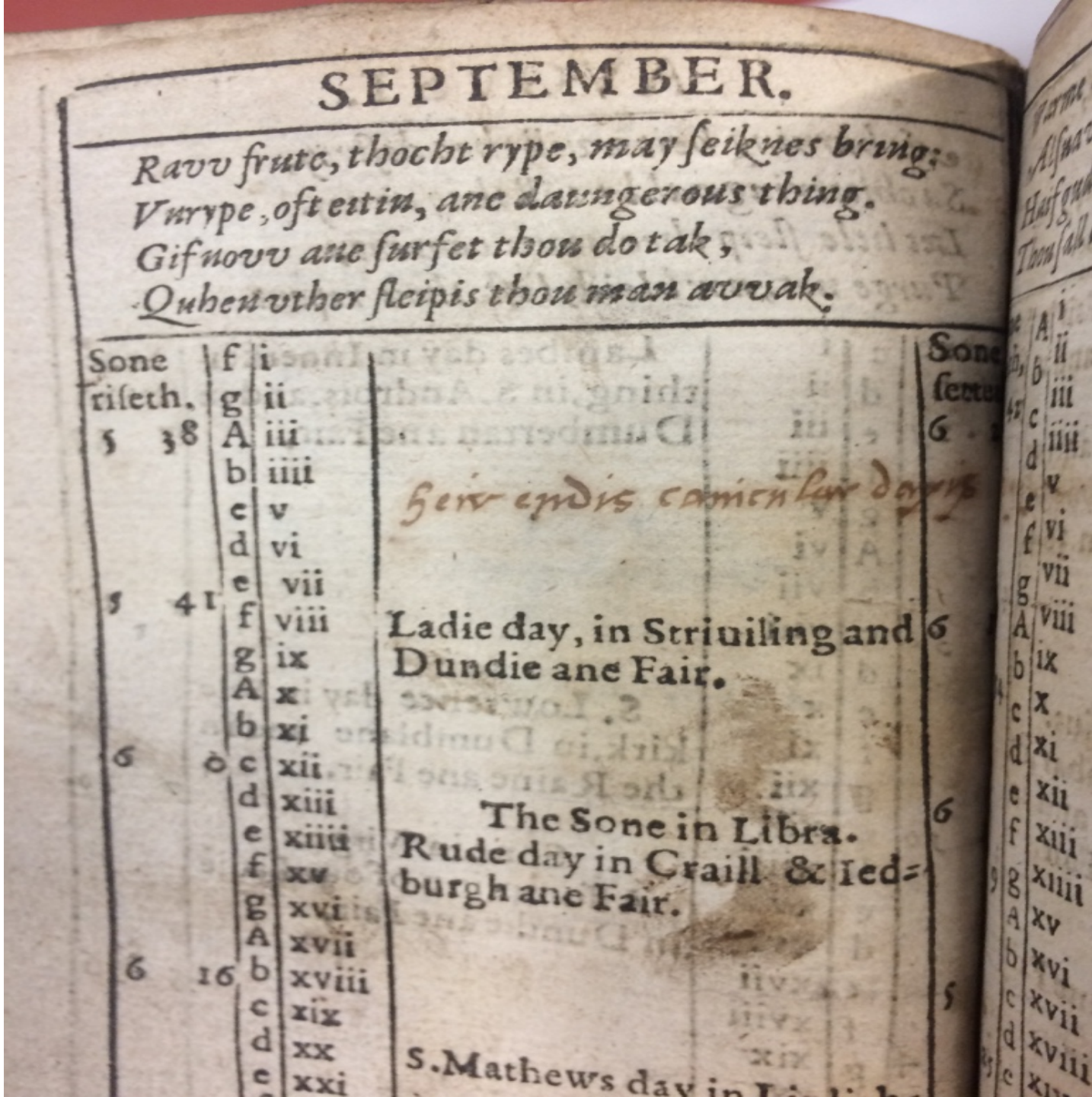


Fig. 289.
The CL Psalmes of Dauid in prose and meeter: With their whole usuall tunes newly corrected and amended (Edinburgh, Hart, 1634, STC 16598). NLS, Cwn.87.
Martin Ritchie.



Fig. 290.
The CL Psalmes of David in Meter (Edinburgh, Henrie Charteris, 1596, *STC* 16585.5) NLS, Cwn.752.
Annotations to Kalendar referring to death of King James VI.
Martin Ritchie.

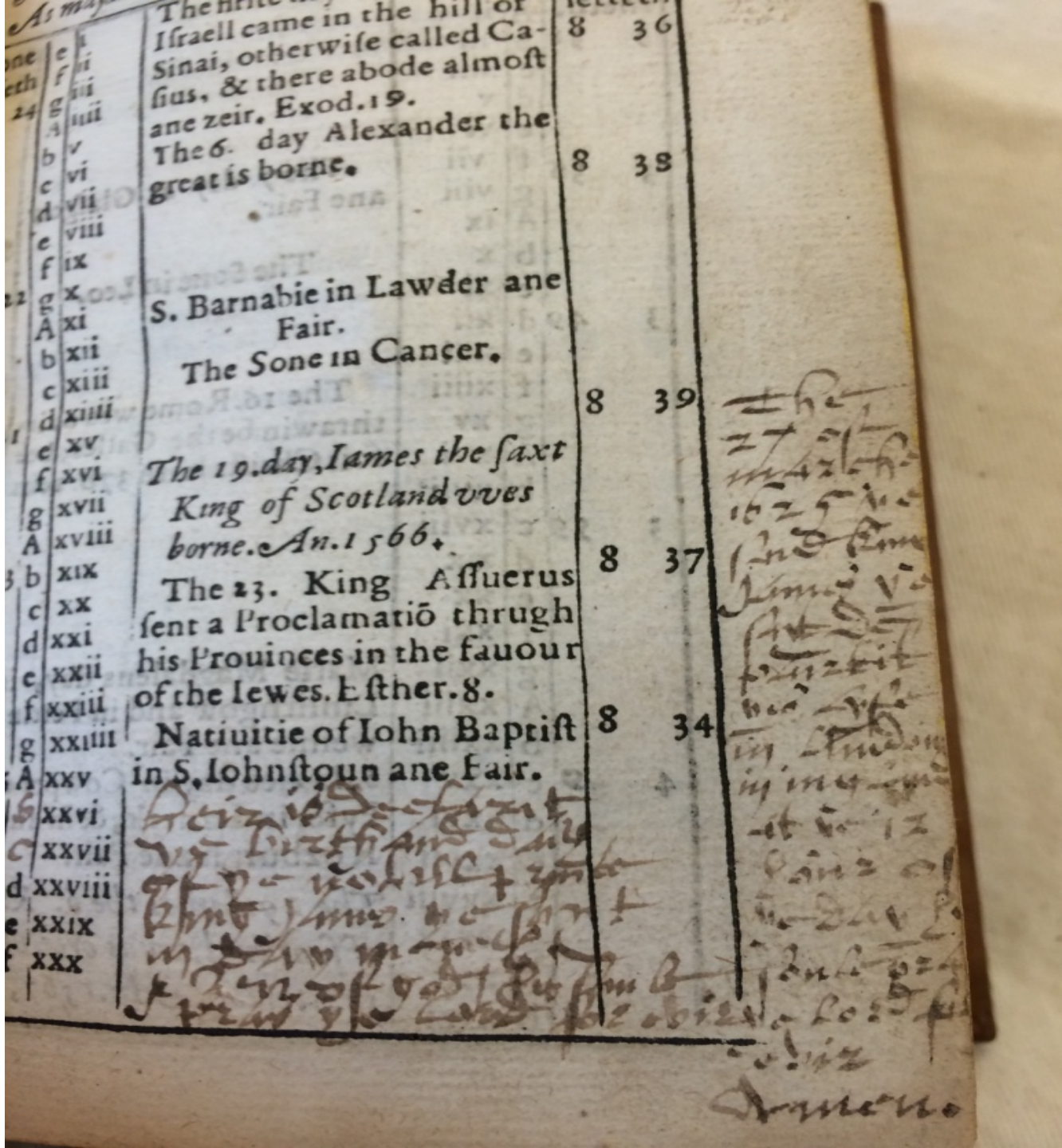
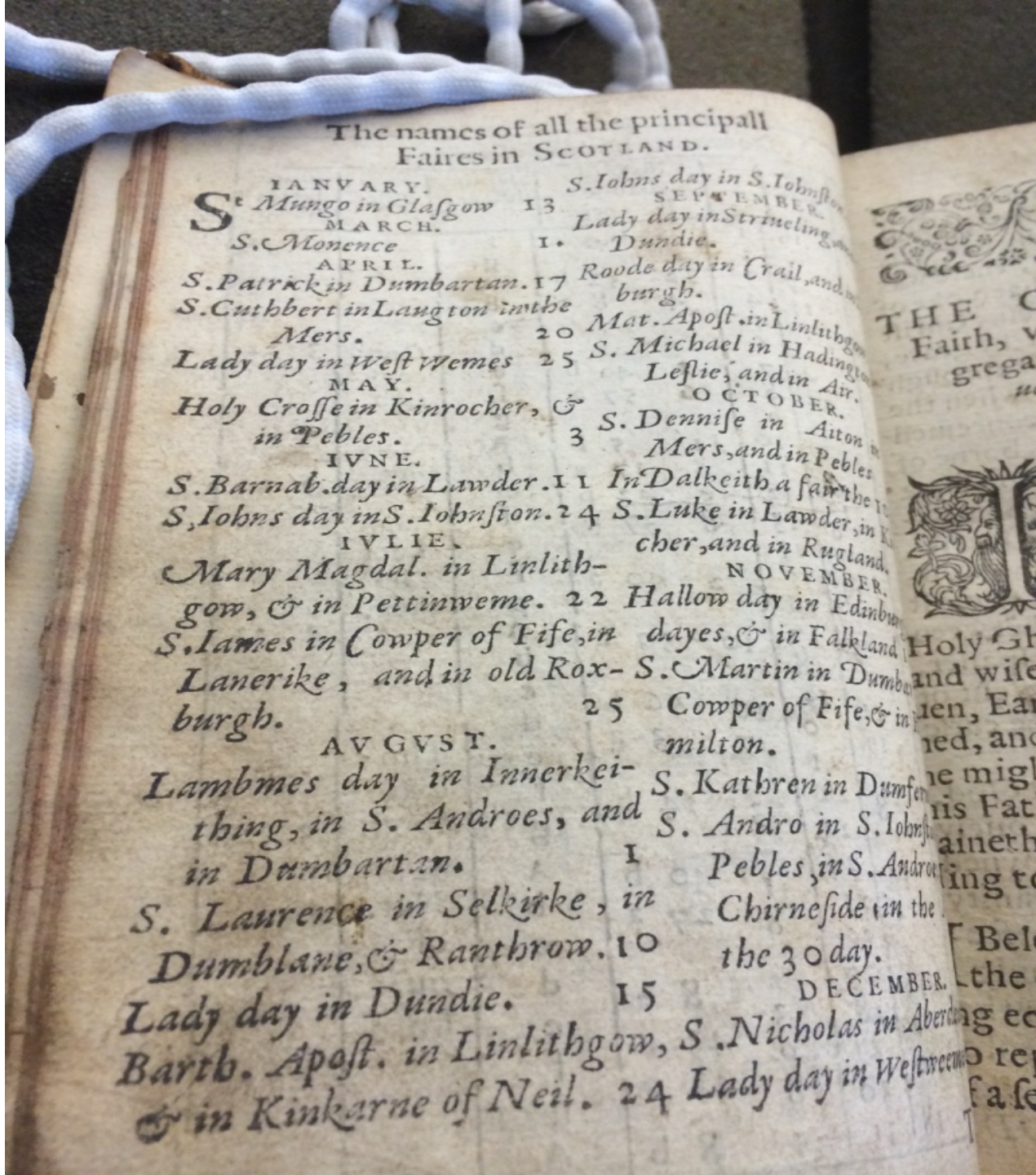
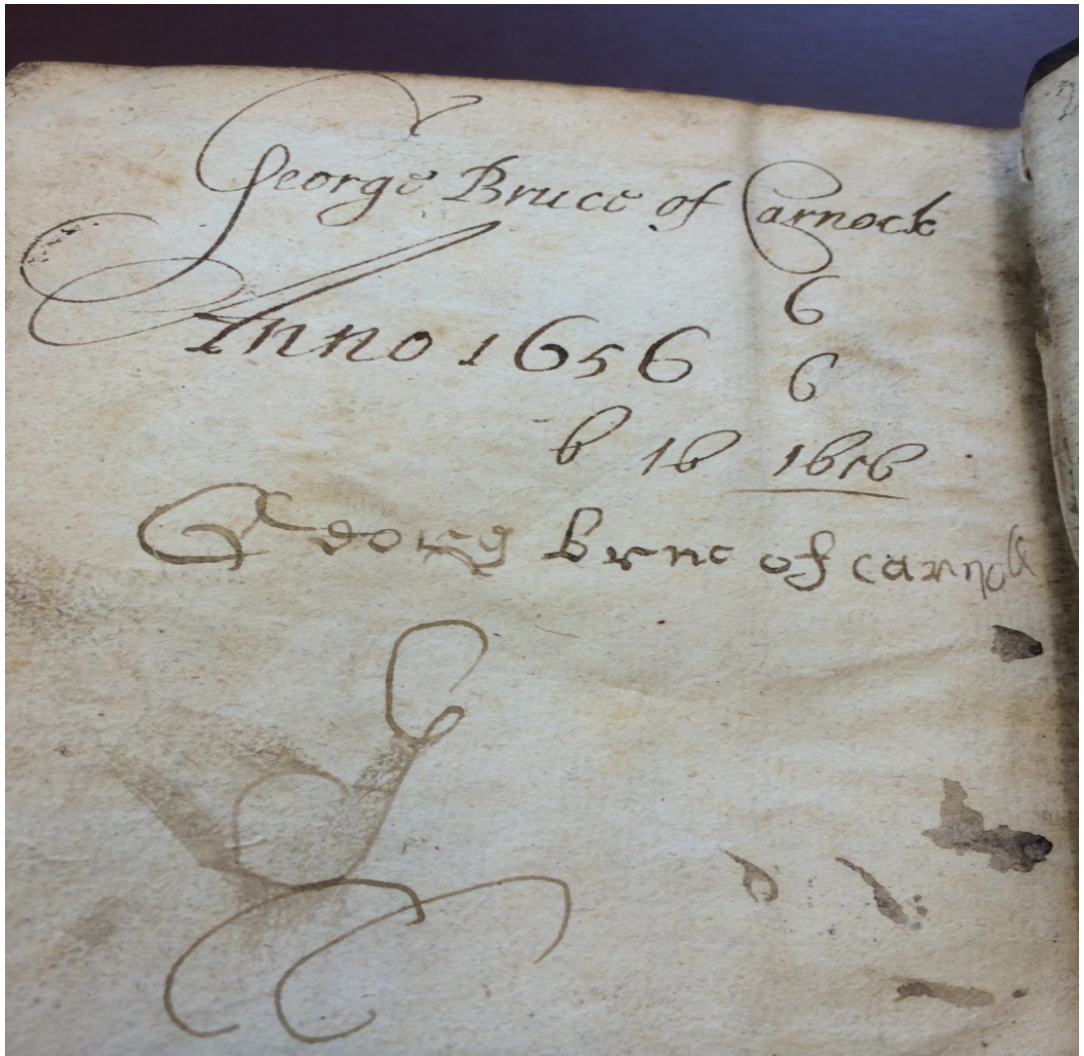


Fig. 291.
Kalendar of Fairs in *The CL Psalmes of David in Meter, With the Prose* (Middelburgh, Schilders, 1602, *STC* 16589) in
Princeton Theological Seminary Library, SCB #4561.
Martin Ritchie.


The names of all the principall Faires in SCOTLAND.

IANVARY.
St Mungo in Glasgow 13
MARCH.
S. Monence 1.
APRIL.
S. Patrick in Dumbartan. 17
S. Cuthbert in Langton in the Mers. 20
Lady day in West Wemes 25
MAY.
Holy Crosse in Kinrocher, & in Pebles. 3
IVNE.
S. Barnab. day in Lawder. 11
S. Iohns day in S. Iohnston. 24
IVLIE.
Mary Magdal. in Linlithgow, & in Pettinweme. 22
S. Iames in Cowper of Fife, in Lanerike, and in old Roxburgh. 25
AVGVST.
Lambmes day in Innerkeithing, in S. Androes, and in Dumbartan. 1
S. Laurence in Selkirke, in Dumblane, & Ranthrow. 10
Lady day in Dundie. 15
Barth. Apost. in Linlithgow, & in Kinkarne of Neil. 24
S. Iohns day in S. Iohnston
SEPTEMBER.
Lady day in Strmeling
Dundie.
Roode day in Crail, and burgh.
Mat. Apost. in Linlithgow
S. Michael in Hadingt
Leslie, and in Arr.
OCTOBER.
S. Dennise in Aiton Mers, and in Pebles
In Dalkeith a fair the
S. Luke in Lawder, in cher, and in Rugland.
NOVEMBER.
Hallow day in Edinbu dayes, & in Falkland
S. Martin in Dumba Cowper of Fife, & in milton.
S. Kathren in Dumfe
S. Andro in S. Iohns
Pebles, in S. Andro
Chirneside (in the the 30 day.
DECEMBER.
S. Nicholas in Aberd
Lady day in Westweem

Fig. 292. *The Psalms of David, In Prose and Metre: With the whole Forme of Discipline, and Prayers, according to the Church of Scotland* (Aberdeen, Raban, 1633, *STC* 16597). Princeton Theological Seminary Library copy with annotations, SCB #4563. Martin Ritchie.



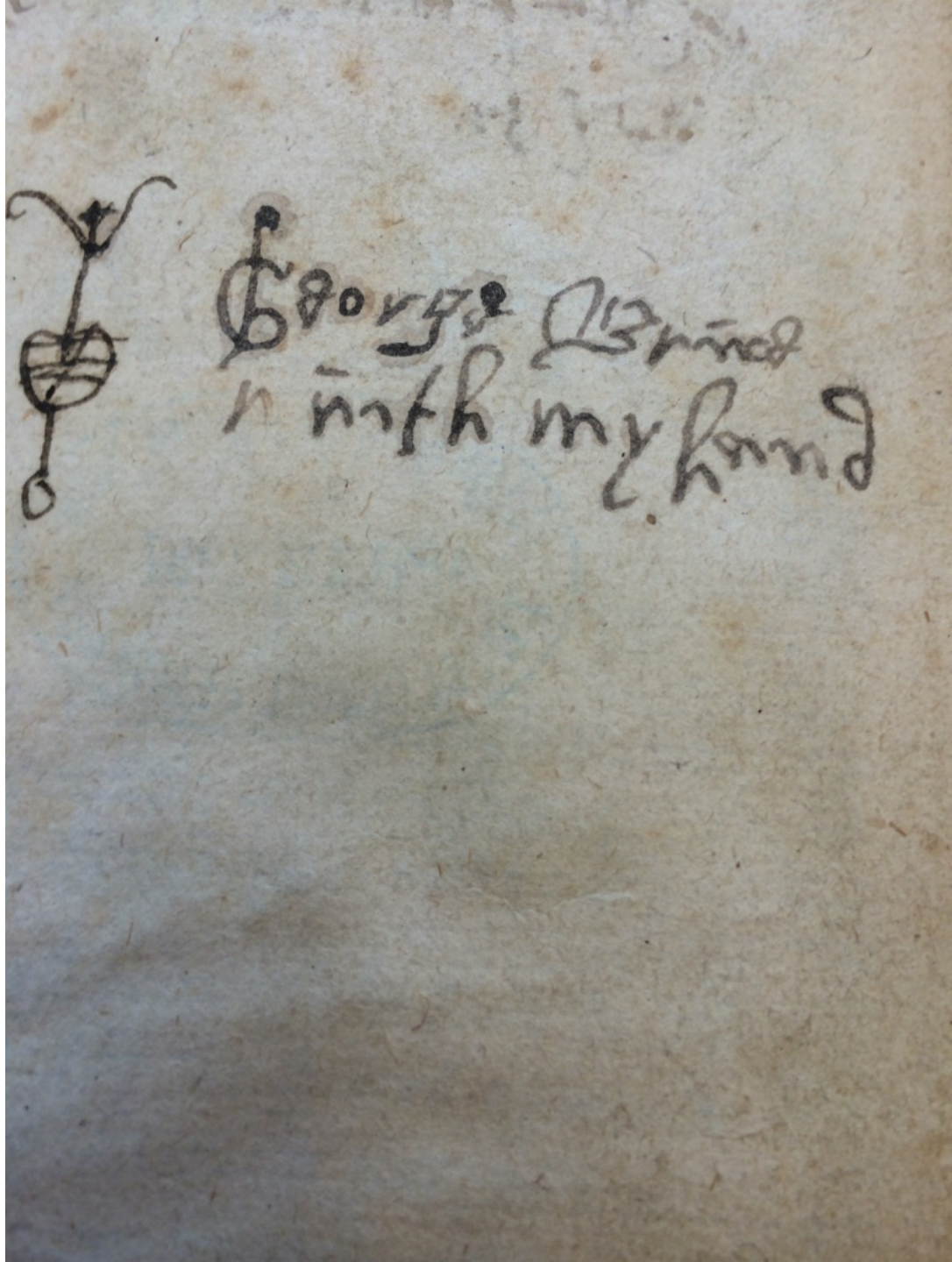
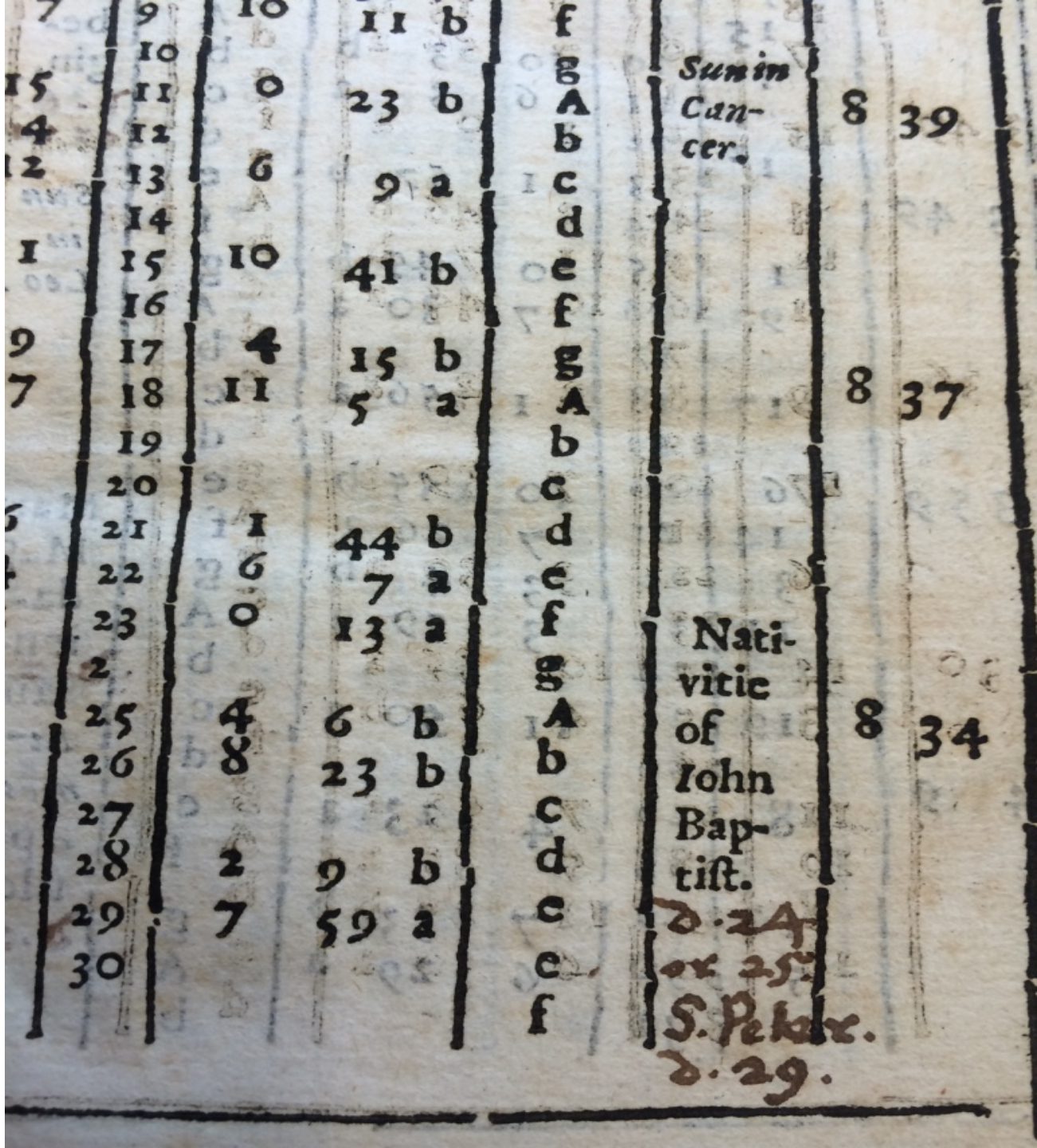


Fig. 293.
The CL Psalmes of David, in Prose and Meeter: With their whole usuall Tunes, newly corrected and amended. (Edinburgh, Hart, 1615 *STC* 16592). With annotations, NCL, tUR77.
Martin Ritchie.

Fig. 294
The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599). Princeton Theological Seminary Library, with Kalendar annotations, SCB #4545.
Martin Ritchie



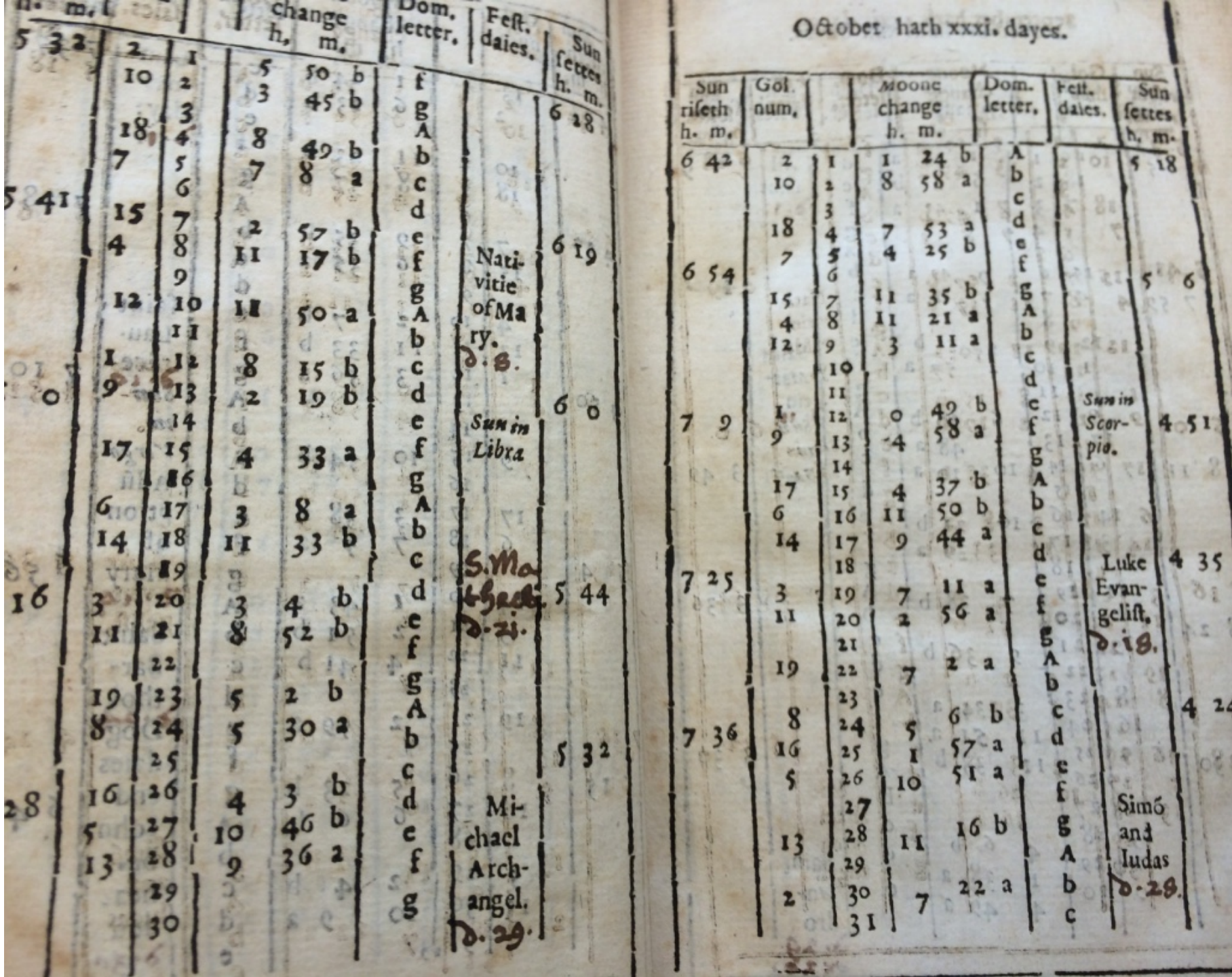


Fig. 295.
The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, With their whole Tunes in foure or mo parts, and some Psalmes in Reports (Edinburgh, Hart, 1635, *STC* 16599). Princeton Theological Seminary Library, with Kalendar annotations, SCB #4545.
Martin Ritchie



Fig. 296.
Singing the Reformation 2016 project, worship re-creation at St Mary's Kirk, Haddington. Jennifer Macrae.