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Gribben, C., & Whitla, D. (Accepted/In press). “Preaching and sermons”. In I. Hazlett (Ed.), *A companion to the Scottish reformation* Brill.

Published in:
A companion to the Scottish reformation

Document Version:
Peer reviewed version

Queen's University Belfast - Research Portal:
Link to publication record in Queen's University Belfast Research Portal

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Download date:19. Oct. 2021

Preaching and Sermons

David Whitla and Crawford Gribben

INTRODUCTION

The reformation that swept through the Scottish church in the middle and later sixteenth century, which shaped its structures as much as the beliefs and behaviours of its adherents, made possible, and was made possible by, a renewed emphasis upon preaching.[1] Church leaders and opinion formers promoted their preferred varieties of reform in the pulpits of the national church. Among protestants, preaching became so central as to become explicitly connected with the *verbum dei*: while sermons never took the place of Scripture, the preaching of the word of God was commonly recognised as being the word of God. Over time, the architecture of parish churches changed to take account of the sermon's new centrality. The clerical offices of the church were redesigned to support the activity of preaching. As the medium became a popular form, talented preachers were recognised as religious celebrities. Sermons were published, as the culture of Scottish print, always economically vulnerable in early modernity, became better capitalised, with well-known preachers turning out anthologies of their most effective work, sometimes as part of ambitious programmes to provide popular-level commentary on large sections of the biblical canon. And the medium itself continued to change. Pre-reformation homilies were replaced by intellectually demanding and theologically sophisticated expositions, reflecting the improving pastoral training of the Scottish universities and the increasing theological sophistication of well-catechised parish populations. Some preaching continued outside the ranks of the clergy: the informal meetings for Bible study and prayer that had consolidated and supported Lollardy and Lutheranism before the legislative beginnings of the Scottish reformation continued to provide opportunities for exhortation from men and, occasionally, women. Catholic preaching continued, changing to address new theological disputes in the secluded contexts in which traditional patterns of Christian worship could endure. After the

[1] For another discussion of preaching during the Scottish reformation, see Crawford Gribben, "Preaching the Scottish Reformation, 1560-1707," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Peter E. McCullough and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 271–86.

Cromwellian invasion, in the summer of 1650, new 'sectarian' movements opened up a religious marketplace, and promoted distinctive ideas in preaching that competed with the claims of the established church, often in venues in which the clergy of the establishment had been supplanted. And after the Restoration, in the 1660s and beyond, the preaching that most closely reflected the claims of the kirk during its 'second reformation' were more often to be found in the open-air conventicles of harassed Covenanters than in the parish churches the Covenanting movement had once controlled, while the bishops of the Scottish church pushed Presbyterians to the margins and called for another homiletical revolution. Across the first century of reformation, among Gaelic-speaking highlanders, in the Scots- and English-speaking lowlands, in the Latinate environment of the universities, in contexts of expansion and consolidation, and in pulpits in locations as far apart as London and the north and west of Ireland, Scottish preachers created new religious worlds, which they struggled to sustain.

PRACTITIONERS

In the century that followed the legislative beginning of its reformation, the worship services of the Scottish church transitioned from being centred upon the ministry of sacraments to being centred upon the ministry of the word. John Knox considered this changing emphasis to be at the heart of the reformation programme:

> It is not, nor wil not be, the chanting or mumbling over of certeyne Psalms, the reading of chapiters for Mattens and Even-song, or of Homelies onely, be they never so godly, that fede the soules of the hungrie shepe. Christ Jesus himself, his holy Apostles, and that elected vessel, Paul, do teach us another lesson, all commanding us to preach, to preach, and that to preach Christ Jesus crucified, &c. What efficacie hath the lyvinge voice above the bare letter red, the hungry and thirstie do feele to their comfort. But the other maketh for Master Parson's purpose, who … appointeth suche in his place as are altogether destitute of the gifte of preaching. But let all suche belly-gods be whypt out of God's holy temple.[2]

Knox's demand for the expulsion of the 'belly-gods' was not easily implemented. It was easier to condemn inadequate preachers than to replace them, and easier still to assume that Catholic preachers stood guilty as charged. But theology determined this aspect of reform.

[2] John Knox, *Works* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1861), 5:519.

The *Book of Discipline* (1560) conceded that 'the most part of the Kirks shall have no Minister at all' until dedicated steps should be taken to train a new generation of committed Protestant preachers, and, as late as 1574, as few as 289 ministers were serving the nation's 988 parishes.[3] While the immediate crisis was mitigated by temporary local measures – including the deployment of scores of readers, lay exhorters, and the circuit preaching of superintendents – a more systemic solution to the problem of clerical supply required the reformation of theological education.[4] Consequently, in the century following the Reformation, Knox's agenda for the renewal of worship – which set up, not entirely accurately, a distinction between the preaching minister and the non-preaching priest – impacted upon the Scottish universities.[5] During the same period, these institutions facilitated the rise and triumph of Protestant scholasticism, which, with its Ramist articulation of covenant theology, shaped the style and content of Scottish Reformed theology as it was distilled into homiletical outputs.[6] After the union of Crowns, the universities became a battleground for policies that threatened to hijack or even derail this programme for ministerial reform. The imposition in the mid-1630s of the English theology and liturgical style preferred by the controversial archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, was reversed in the General Assembly of 1638 and then in the 1640s by the purge of the universities that was led by the party that would become known as the

[3] Duncan Shaw, *The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1600: Their Origins and Development* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1964), 180-205. Cite also Cameron ed, *The First Book of Discipline* [*FBD*]

[4] See Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 24-6; William MacMillan, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638* (London: James Clarke & Company, 1931), 111-3, 136-46.

[5] For an account of the Catholic reformation, see R. Scott Spurlock, "Catholics in a Puritan Atlantic: The Liminality of Empire's Edge," in *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World 1600–1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan , 2015), 21–46; id., "'I Do Disclaim Both Ecclesiasticke and Politick Popery': Lay Catholic Identity in Early Modern Scotland," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 38 (2008): 5–22.

[6] See Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013); Steven J. Reid, "Reformed Scholasticism, Prot-Empiricism and the Intellectual 'Long Reformation' in Scotland: The Philosophy of the 'Aberdeen Doctors', C. 1619-1640," in *Scotland's Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c.1500-1660*, ed. John McCallum (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 149–78; Jack C. Whytock, *An Educated Clergy: Scottish Theological Education and Training in the Kirk and Secession, 1560-1850* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007). A previous generation of scholars led by Torrance portrayed Scottish Protestant scholasticism as virtually synonymous with high Calvinist doctrine, and thus a radical departure from the theological heritage of Calvin, Knox and the first generation of Reformers. This 'Knox vs. the Knoxians' thesis has been robustly countered by Richard Muller and others, who argue instead that Scottish scholasticism was fundamentally a theological *method*, employed to articulate and convey the dogma of Reformed orthodoxy much as it had the medieval dogma before it. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition*; P.G. Ryken, "Scottish Reformed Scholasticism," in *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment*, ed. Carl R. Trueman and R. Scott Clark (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 1999), 196–210.

'Covenanters.'[7] But the formidable theological and political movement that was underpinned by the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) came to grief during the Cromwellian period, during which some preachers reacted to the century-long scholastic consensus, and the gradual professionalization of the ministerial vocation, by popularising a pietistic approach to theological education and pastoral formation.[8] As scholastic preaching formulae became increasingly unfashionable, popular ministers developed a more *ex tempore* homiletical style, maintaining the Calvinist orthodoxy by which it had been marked while shedding the copious and often insensitively imposed schema of 'doctrines, proofs and uses' that had marked Scottish preaching for the previous century.[9] These 'looser' forms of sermon structure were not entirely new, bearing a close resemblance to the preaching of Robert Blair and John Livingstone, who had brought a strain of revivalist fervour from Sixmilewater, in county Antrim, to Shotts and Stewarton, on the other side of the Irish Channel, upon their ejection from Ireland in the mid-1630s. But by the 1650s, the foremost practitioners of what some traditionalists dismissed as 'skimming the text' were Robert Leighton, Robert Douglas, Andrew Gray and Hugh Binning. Leighton (1611-84) had developed his homilectical style in the 1640s, during his ministry in Newbattle, where he preached the sermons that would be published as his celebrated commentary on 1 Peter. In 1653, he was appointed as a professor of divinity at the University of Edinburgh, sharing the responsibility for theological education with David Dickson, alongside whom he would teach until 1662.[10] While the two men had commited themselves to the political cause of the Solemn League and Covenant, and shared the same theological platform, their lectures illustrated the increasing religious diversity of the Cromwellian period. Dickson's lectures, *Prælectiones in Confessionem Fidei* (1684), were published as the first full commentary on the Westminster

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[7] MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity, and Liturgy*; Steven J. Reid, "'Ane Uniformitie in Doctrine and Good Order': The Scottish Universities in the Age of the Covenant, 1638–1649," in *History of the Universities, Volume XIX/2*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 13–41.
[8] Crawford Gribben, "Robert Leighton, Edinburgh Theology and the Collapse of the Presbyterian Consensus," in *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700*, eds Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 159–83.
[9] See P.G. Ryken, "Scottish Reformed Scholasticism", 196–210; Iain H. Murray, *A Scottish Christian Heritage* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2006), 311-37; William G. Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1888), 132-40. For examples of progressive and retentionist theological trajectories in the gradual decline of Scottish Protestant scholasticism, compare Robert Leighton and Hugh Binning, respectively. Gribben, "Robert Leighton, Edinburgh Theology and the Collapse of the Presbyterian Consensus"; Donald John MacLean, "Missing, Presumed Misclassified: Hugh Binning (1627-1653), the Lost Federal Theologian," *Westminster Theological Journal* 75 (2013): 261–78.
[10] Torrance, *Scottish Theology* (1996), pp. 111-22.

Confession. Thirty-five of Leighton's lectures were published as *Praelectiones theologiae in auditorio publico academiae Edinburgenae* (1693), and are perhaps the only set of his documents that can be accurately dated.[11] Leighton's divergence in both content and method from the most common articulations of Westminster orthodoxy is striking. His approach was to begin with questions *De felicitatis* ('Of Happiness'), *De felicitate humanâ* ('Of the Happiness of Man'), and *De vitæ futuræ felicitate* ('Of the Happiness of the Life to Come'), reflecting his interest in neo-Stoicism as much as in Reformed understandings of Scripture.[12] This might explain why one of Leighton's students, Robert Sibbald, later noted that his appeal during this period was essentially moralistic.[13] But Leighton's most obvious eccentricity was his adoption of the homiletical style that had been developed in the Presbyterian communities in Ulster in the earlier part of the century.[14] It was Leighton's preaching style, rather than the substance of his theology, that caused William Baillie to lament his appointment to Edinburgh, fearing that 'all our Colledges are quicklie like to be undone.'[15] Baillie blamed Leighton and Hugh Binning, the divinity professor at Glasgow, for making fashionable a 'new guyse of preaching … contemning the ordinarie way of exponing and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses', instead preaching 'on some common head, in a high, romancing, unscripturall style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, bot leaving … little or nought to the memorie and understanding.'[16] And Baillie was right to be concerned: the new homiletical style would capture the imagination of a generation of Scottish preachers and consolidate the movement away from Ramist structures of knowledge and scholastic theological content to the more fluent and synthetic expository style preferred in the later period. Whatever revolution these developments might have signalled for the Scottish pulpit, the Rescissory Act (1661) brought for the Covenanting remnant the return of Knox's 'belly-gods' to God's holy temple, as a revived emphasis upon sacramental piety eclipsed the centrality of expository preaching in the post-Restoration Kirk, pushing Leighton and Dickson from

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[11] Knox, *Robert Leighton* (n.d. [1930?]), pp. 155-6. See the discussion of these lectures in Torrance, *Scottish Theology* (1996), pp. 157-80.

[12] David Allan, 'Reconciliation and Retirement in the Restoration Scottish Church: The Neo-Stoicism of Robert Leighton', *JEH* 50:2 (1999), pp. 251-278; idem, *Philosophy and Politics in Later Stuart Scotland: Neo-Stoicism, Culture and Ideology in an Age of Crisis, 1540-1690* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

[13] F.P. Hett, *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald* (London, 1932), pp. 53-5, quoted in Bevan, 'Seventeenth-Century Students and their Books' (1983), p. 22.

[14] Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity* (1988), p. 51.

[15] Ryken, 'Scottish Reformed Scholasticism' (1999), p. 206-7.

[16] Letter to William Spang, 19 July 1654, in Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (1841-2), iii. 244, 258.

their university posts and revivalist preaching from parish pulpits into secluded conventicles.

From the beginning of the Scottish Reformation, however, the pulpit was understood to be at the centre of national life, where, by means of Andrew Melville's theory of 'two kingdoms', it played a key role in fuelling the fires of the enduring conflict between church and state. As Christ's herald to the nation, the preacher wielded a prophetic power that surpassed any spiritual authority claimed by temporal kings over their subjects in the pews. In the turbulent century of reformation, the interests of these 'kingdoms' regularly collided. In his role as the first principal of Edinburgh University, and instructor of a generation of the kirk's preachers, Robert Rollock (1555-1598) anticipated how subversive the pulpit would be of the high claims of Stuart political theory. While men thought the 'ministry of the Gospel' to be 'base', and 'esteem it, of all callings in the world, to be the most vile and contemptible,' he explained to his students, 'yet it is grounded upon such a power as far surpasses all the power of all the kings and monarchs of the earth.'[17] The seeds of the mid-seventeenth century Scottish revolution were sown in Rollock's elevation of the pulpit over the throne.

This radical thinking about the significance and character of protestant preaching can be traced to the 'fathers' of the Scottish Reformation, most notably to George Wishart and John Knox. Their merging of the 'ordinary' office of preacher with the 'extraordinary' office of prophet became an occasional feature of the ministries of their successors, and it came to the fore most frequently when the kirk faced serious intrusions from the state.[18] Yet while scholars of the Scottish pulpit might focus on the sensationalism of occasional instances of political invective and 'prophetic' utterance, we should not fail to make central to our analysis of preaching and sermons the ministry that some of Rollock's contemporaries 'count[ed] very basely', and thought 'most vile and contemptible', but which constituted the bread and butter of the kirk's ordinances - that is, the regular, weekly exposition of Scripture in parish worship.

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[17] Robert Rollock, *The Select Works of Robert Rollock* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844), 2:657.

[18] Jane Dawson, *John Knox* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 16-19, 28-37. Prophetic utterances are recorded in the ministries of other notable preachers such as Robert Bruce, Robert Blair, John Welsh and John Davidson. See Dean R. Smith, "The Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters: A Continuationist Experience in a Cessationist Theology," *Westminster Theological Journal* 63, no. 1 (2001): 39–63; Louise Yeoman, "Away with the Fairies," in *Fantastical Imaginations: The Supernatural in Scottish History and Culture*, ed. Lizanne Henderson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2009), 29–46. It should be noted that for many Puritans, the ordinance of preaching was often called 'prophesying', which should be distinguished contextually from the often ecstatic 'prophecies' that claimed to foretell future events. For instance, William Perkins's bestselling work, 'The Arte of Prophesying' (1607) was a manual for homiletical technique, not ecstatic utterances.

The weekly sermon was expected to provide more than an academic exposition of the biblical canon. Preaching was much more than an intellectual exercise. Zachary Boyd, minister of the Barony church in Glasgow, had once thought that ‘any learned man might easily be a minister’. After all, he reflected, ‘many thinke that if a man be a learned man, well vnderstood in his philosophie & in the tongues, that he is more then sufficient for to be a minister’. But ‘heere is my retractions,’ he continued: ‘Heere I confesse my ignorance. A good minister is a raire man: he is Gods interpreter. There be many learned men in the land, but I will assure thee that God hath not many interpreters.’[19] As God’s interpreter, the preacher’s craft was to be the medium of a supernatural encounter. This doctrinal claim was reflected in physical posture, by the routinization of a very public expression of humility. Conscious of their dependence on the Spirit, Scottish ministers regularly ‘bowed in the pulpit’, kneeling for a moment of silent prayer before preaching - a surprising physical drama in a kirk that showed general antipathy towards all acts of genuflection. Although this practice was first recorded by John Row in 1586, MacMillan has suggested it had its origins in priestly prayer before Mass.[20] The sermon that followed this prostration was expected to dramatize the claims it assumed, expositing Scripture to direct arguments at its listeners’ heads and hearts, in a performance of revivalist fervour. The field preacher Donald Cargill summarized the ideal in 1681, when he confessed, ‘I never dared pray and preach with my gifts, and where my heart is not affected, and comes not up with my mouth, I always thought it time for me to quit it. What comes not from my heart, I have little hope that it will go to the heart of others’.[21] In early modern Scotland, parish ministers and field preachers alike idealised the sermon as enunciating the *verbum dei*, and promoted preaching as a divine encounter. Preachers made, and were made by, the Scottish reformation.

AUDIENCES

These expectations about ministers’ performance in the pulpit were paralleled by expectations of how listeners should participate in this means of grace. Scottish preaching, centred as it was around a monologue delivered from a pulpit that was typically ‘six feet above contradiction’, nevertheless called for a holy dialectic, in which listeners received the

[19] Zachary Boyd, *Selected Sermons of Zachary Boyd*, ed. David W. Atkinson (Aberdeen, 1989), 11.
[20] MacMillan, *Worship*, pp. 161-2. For the debate over this tradition in the 1640s, see David Stevenson, “The Radical Party in the Kirk, 1637–45,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 25:2 (1974): 141-2, 153, 157-9.
[21] Cited in Maurice Grant, *No King But Christ: The Story of Donald Cargill* (Darlington: Evangelical Press, 1988), 168.

preacher as ‘the ambassador of Christ’.[22] On the one hand, the preacher was expected, as Christ’s mouthpiece, to be adequately prepared by his own spiritual exercises for strenuous pulpit labours on the Sabbath. John Livingstone counselled his students to pursue ‘earnest faith and prayer, a single aime at the glory of God, and good of the people’, on the basis that ‘a sanctified heart and carriage, shall availe much for right preaching’.[23] But those who received the preached Word were also expected to exert spiritual effort. Listeners were expected to prepare for public worship, in order better to hear the voice of Christ in the Word, and thus to accrue spiritual profit from the ordinance. This holy dialectic was spelled out clearly by the Westminster Confession of Faith, adopted by the General Assembly of the Kirk in 1647, which explained that ‘the sound preaching and conscionable hearing of the Word, in obedience unto God, with understanding, faith and reverence … are all parts of the ordinary religious worship of God’.[24] The preacher was expected to work at his preaching, just as the listeners were expected to work at their hearing, and those who took this article of their faith most seriously engaged in the task with great diligence, in notetaking, private reflection, and in conference with like-minded congregants. Archibald Johnston of Wariston (1611-63) was this kind of diligent listener, and his diary provides several examples of this dialectic between preacher and hearer.

> Oh saule, to Gods glory and thy comfort rememember [sic] that, thou haiving written quhat precedeth in this page befor thy going to the kirk in thy auine chalmer, thou went therafter to the Greifrears churche, and fand thair God beginning thy comfort … and thair, not without ane special providence, hard Mr. Andro preatch most comfortably upon the 8 and 9 vs. of the 5 ch. of the 1 to the Thessaloniens.[25]

Wariston may represent this version of Scottish Presbyterian piety at its most extreme, but the diary entry reflects the habit of preparation that preachers encouraged. Before public worship commenced, Wariston was preparing to hear God speak to him personally, through his

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[22] George Gillespie, *A Treatise of Miscellany Questions Wherein Many Usefull Questions and Cases of Conscience Are Discussed and Resolved* (Edinburgh: Gideon Lithgow, 1649), 1-8.
[23] John Livingstone, “Remarks on Preaching and Praying in Publick” not in Biblio?; W.K. Tweedie, ed., *Select Biographies* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1845), 2:287.
[24] Westminster Confession of Faith, XXI.5. in? you could allude to a modern text edn (Dennison) but also indispensably the modern text-critical edition of it by Torrance Kirby (2016), in ***RB*** 3/2, 201-273 (here: 250). For RB see abbreviations lsit.
[25] Wariston, *Diary*, 1:33.

ordained ambassador in the pulpit, so that the issues of his private life that he had confided to his diary would be addressed, in the exposition of a biblical text, that the minister would choose, 'by ane special providence', to be preached on that particular occasion. Those who listened to sermons were expected to reflect upon their content after the event, individually and in daily gatherings for family worship. And Wariston did so, writing to himself rather awkwardly in the third person, as he remembered that after 'going home [from the sermon] … in thy sisters chalmer, told thou over unto the Lord with many tears, sighs, and sobs al thy three unsupportable burdens, and al the three remedies quherof he had spokin to the[e] in his word'.[26] This pulpit-pew dialectic was not to be understood as a routine, mechanical process of data input and ethical output. Instead it possessed the more organic dynamic of a covenant relationship between the recipient and Christ, mediated by his ordained minister, which was regularly expounded in allegorical interpretations of the Song of Solomon:[27] 'The subject thereof is to hold forth the mutual and interchangeable exercise, and out-lettings of love as well betwixt Christ and particular believers, as betwixt him and the church'.[28] This holy dialectic between Christ, the bridegroom, and his bride, the church, was mediated by ministers under the typological character of the 'watchmen' in their ministerial office (Song 2:15, 3:3). Christ was expected to address the concerns of his bride through the preaching of his ministerial 'watchmen'. The Covenanting minister James Durham imagined how Christ's 'watch-men' 'spoke to her condition, and by their searching and particular application, made the two-edged sword of the Word reach her, as if they had discernibly pointed her out, beyond all the rest of the congregation … God made some watchmen speak to my condition particularly, as if one had acquainted them with it'.[29] Thus, while the *ex opere operato* sacramental transactions of the pre-Reformation Church provided for the automatic conferral of grace, the pulpit-pew dialectic of the Scottish reformed kirk was inherently dynamic - its language was not that of rote but romance. The Christian life was imbued with the relational complexity of a marital covenant, in which passion peaked and waned. This trope helped godly Scots understand their fluctuating spiritual emotions - to understand why, for instance,

[26] *Ibid.*, 1:35. Not itals

[27] See Guy M. Richard, "Clavis Cantici: A 'Key' to the Reformation in Early Modern Scotland?," in *Reformed Orthodoxy in Scotland: Essays on Scottish Theology, 1560-1775*, ed. Aaron Clay Denlinger (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2015), 157–74; John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 84-9, 104-9; Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 64-76.

[28] James Durham, *Clavis Cantici, Or, An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (Edinburgh: George Swintoun and James Glen, 1668), 38.

[29] *Ibid* not itals, 160-1. Italics original.

they might not find the intimacy of their spiritual husband as frequently in the preaching ordinance as they desired. As Samuel Rutherford explained in another sermon on Song of Solomon, such 'desertions' might be due to a tendency to regard the spiritual benefits of the hour of public worship in a formulaic way: 'ye are far in the wrong to Christ who tie Christ and His graces to the running of a sand-glass, and the time of preaching … He can work by His hand when He is absent Himself, and preaching is sowing time, and sowing and harvest, yea, sowing time and growing time, are not aye together'.[30] Since the spiritual 'growth' of the recipient might not necessarily be tied to the act of homiletical 'sowing' at church (which Rutherford described, channelling his less interested auditors, as 'the running of the sand-glass'), a great many recipients of preaching sought to increase its likelihood by keeping personal 'sermon notebooks' (often bound with personal diaries) as devotional manuals.

For godly Scots, these kinds of participation in the culture of preaching followed upon the reformation of the pulpit, and provide a window into the relationship between preacher and auditor. The most enthusiastic sermon auditors did not consider the laborious discipline of note-taking incompatible with the heightened spiritual emotions that pulpit rhetoric could encourage. The young James Melville gained as much as he could from listening to John Knox: 'I haid my pen and my litle book, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening upe of his text he was moderat the space of an half houre; bot when he enterit to application, he maid me sa to grew and tremble, that I could nocht hald a pen to wryt'.[31] One generation later, Archibald Johnston of Wariston continued to take notes on sermons, either in dedicated notebooks or in the margin of his Bible, noting in 1633 his vow that 'at every sermon hencefoorth, with my killoveyne penne to remarque the doctrines for informing my jugement; and to remarque the uses for reforming of my lyfe to Gods glory, the weal of uthers, and salvation of my sillie saule'.[32] This practice of notetaking was thought to improve listeners' concentration during the long hour of worship but also provided material for pious meditation and godly discourse afterwards.[33] In this way, an individual could continue to enjoy the afterglow of the intimacy with Christ that he had experienced while listening to the preaching: 'after

[30] Samuel Rutherford, *Quaint Sermons of Samuel Rutherford Hitherto Unpublished*, ed. A.A. Bonar (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885), 102-3.
[31] *Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 26.
[32] Wariston, *Diary*, 1:132-3. For an example, see University of Edinburgh, Laing III, 263.4. 'A Part of the Lord Wariston's Diary at two Communions, 1650'. A 'keelivine' is defined in the author/ed? *Concise Scottish Dictionary* and add to biblio as a lead pencil.
[33] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 358-62. For characteristic examples, see National Library of Scotland, Acc.9270 nos. 3-5; Wodrow Mss. VIII; Wodrow Octavo XLVII.

sermon, in thy chalmer … I repeated both the sermons and then confessed al particularly unto God … Thairafter, in the [alley], the Sprit of God wonderfully melted my heart in tears, and brought thought upon thought, and neu tears, with every meditation quhilk wer al grounded on Mr. Alexanders Sermon'.[34] Such encounters with 'the Sprit of God' were highly subjective, but they were not considered mystical, being 'al grounded' in the very ordinary experience of the public exposition of the Scriptures. Nor were they confined to the solitary private exercises of the closet. The blind preacher of Edinburgh, Alexander Skeldee, took in the whole gambit of Scottish piety when he urged, 'O saule, if thou wald seak the Lord aright and find him, thou most first seak him wysly, to wit in earnest prayer, frequent meditation, hearing and reading of the word, comunicating at his taible, *and keaping conference with good Christians*'.[35] What had begun as the stop-gap measure of 'privy kirks' before the establishment of the Reformation in 1560 had by 1638 become an extensive network of conventicles, offering an additional (and in the eyes of the government, subversive) venue where the 'hotter sort' of Scottish Protestants could, among other devotional exercises, review and discuss their sermon notes.[36]

Ministers' sermon manuscripts and the notebooks and diaries of their hearers suggest how the Reformed intended the pulpit-pew dialectic to function, but they are not without their limitations as source material.[37] For one thing, they often supply an incomplete record of one individual's reception of the preached Word. A nineteenth-century editor of Hugh Binning's sermons had to rely exclusively on hearers' sermon notes, as did the editor of works by Andrew Gray, who bemoaned that sermon transcripts 'are, in many places, not very accurately handed down'.[38] Furthermore, contemporary literacy factors reduce the sample of the auditory represented by such sources according to

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[34] Wariston, *Diary*, 1:141-8, 150.
[35] *Ibid.*, 1:41. Our italics.
[36] Joanne J. Jung, *Godly Conversation: Rediscovering the Puritan Practice of Conference* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2011), 69-155. For discussion over the continuity or discontinuity of privy kirks and later conventicles, see Matthew Vogan, "Conventicles from the First to Second Reformation in Scotland," *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal* 6 (2016): 53–85; Alec Ryrie, "Congregations, Conventicles and the Nature of Early Scottish Protestantism," *Past & Present* 191:1 (2006): 45–76; David Stevenson, "Conventicles in the Kirk, 1619–37: The Emergence of a Radical Party," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 18 (1972): 99–114.
[37] *Pace* Margo Todd, who overstates the case when she opines that 'it is difficult to know precisely what was preached and even more difficult to discern how it was heard', 50.
[38] Hugh Binning, *The Works of the Rev. Hugh Binning*, ed. M. Leishman (Edinburgh, London and Dublin, 1858), xxxi-xxxii; Andrew Gray, *The Works of the Reverend and Pious Andrew Gray* (Aberdeen, 1839), 7. Though such nineteenth-century editions are not without their value, historians must nevertheless account for the fact that they have occasionally been edited in language and/or content to suit a modern readership, removing them yet another step from the original preaching event. See Gribben, "Preaching the Scottish Reformation, 1560-1707," 271–86; John Craig, "Sermon Reception" in *ibid.*, 178-97.

gender, social class, and region: high-ranking men in urban areas were most likely to have literacy skills, but no-one has yet pursued the analysis of extant sermon notebooks that would determine whether high-ranking men in urban areas were the most likely to take notes of sermons. This analysis should also take account of the physical space of parish churches: when most of those who attended early modern worship spent the time standing, those listeners who were most likely to take notes on sermons may have been those who could wield their quill and pen in the privileged situation of the pew.[39] But most significantly, these sources can only tell one side of the story – a narrative of the ideal response to preaching sought by the Reformers among the kirk's most affected members. To tell the other side of the story – the response of the 'cooler sort' – the historian must look elsewhere, and examine the minute books of local kirk sessions, which reveal another, much less engaged auditory.

In 1653, when the General Assembly commissioned the retrospective report on the *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland*, they included 'slighting of, and absenting from the Publick Worship with the Congregation, which is a fault whereof many are guilty; *and not attending to the Word … when they are present*'.[40] It was not always easy to hear the sermon. Public worship was often disrupted by barking dogs, wailing children, congregants chattering at the back of the building. Ministers may have been most troubled by those who were not sufficiently interested even to disrupt worship – by rarely showing up at all. While a great many cases of absenteeism were excused on reasonable and compassionate grounds such as unavoidable employment or illness, those with less noble excuses for truancy could expect to face a certain measure of church discipline.[41] In practical terms, the Reformers sought to reduce such distractions borne of an assembly milling about the building by introducing a novelty in the kirks now denuded of their Roman Catholic trappings – congregational seating. The process of introducing pews was gradual, encountering restrictions of both space and finance;[42] initially, many kirks had a combination of fixed pews (or 'desks') for the prominent members of local society and,

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[39] Rab Houston, "The Literacy Myth?: Illiteracy in Scotland 1630-1760," *Past & Present* 96 (1982): 81–102. For similar challenges with the diarist literature, see David George Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early Modern Scotland* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 37-40.

[40] James Guthrie and Archibald Johnston of Wariston, *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1653), 15. Our italics.

[41] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 24-48.

[42] Urban churches such as St Giles, Edinburgh were more likely to have fixed pews, whereas the session minutes of smaller landward parishes, such as Mauchline, do not record pews for the whole congregation until the early 18th century. Andrew Edgar, *Old Church Life in Scotland: Lectures on Kirk-Session and Presbytery Records* (Paisley: A. Gardner, 1886), 14-26.

where applicable, city guilds, with movable stools to accommodate the rest of the congregation.[43] Session and presbytery minutes make clear that the primary goal of this innovation was to enhance the reception of the preached word – though there were undoubtedly the added benefits of simplicity in keeping attendance, and, in kirks which charged a pew rent, a supplement to the regular teinds. As a further measure to limit distraction, kirks maintained the medieval practice of segregation of the sexes, with women often receiving the 'premium seating' of the front and centre, while men were sent to the back or directed to the gallery.[44] This segregation in seating was ostensibly intended to prevent the distraction of the opposite sex in one of the few environments in early modern Scottish society where both sexes in the community would regularly assemble together. The diary of a hot-blooded young Archibald Johnston reveals that this segregation was not necessarily a groundless expression of clerical zealotry: 'Tuyse or thryse on Sundays and Wedensdays, I, going to my ordinar dask [pew] with my good fayther, by Gods providence was keaped and praeveined from offending by hir absence.'[45] Finding himself attracted to a particular young lady, he expressed relief when she was not at church.

Preaching services also took care to distinguish the sexes. With only men being permitted in the pulpit, and segregation in those kirks with seating, congregants were further distinguished into gendered groups by the practice of head covering. By long-standing tradition, and perhaps surprisingly as a mark of respect for the preached Word, men donned their hats during the time of sermon. When the custom was challenged by Laud's canons in 1636, the practice was defended by no less a rigorist than George Gillespie. 'Customable signs have likewise place in divine service', he considered; 'for so a man coming into one of our churches in time of public worship, if he see the hearers covered, he knows by this customable sign that sermon is begun'.[46] Women, on the other hand, were regularly forbidden to cover their heads - and this upon pain of discipline. This prohibition was remarkable, in view of the admonition in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 that women should cover their heads in public worship, though it is certainly the case that the annotations of the Geneva Bible (1560, 1599), which was the only Bible translation to be printed in Scotland for much of this period,

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[43] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism,* 318-27.

[44] Andrew Spicer, "'Accommodating of Thame Selfis to Heir the Worde': Preaching, Pews and Reformed Worship in Scotland, 1560-1638," *History* 88:291 (July 2003): 415-6. Noblewomen frequently had the benefit of their own pews; the young Archibald Johnston recalls worshipping 'on Sunday in the morning … in the Lady Curriehils dask'; Wariston, *Diary*, 1:185.

[45] Wariston, *Diary*, 1:162. For another example, see *ibid.* 1:7.

[46] George Gillespie, *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies Obtruded on the Church of Scotland*, ed. Chris Coldwell (1637; rpr Dallas: Naphtali Press, 2013), 231.

understood this passage to be referring to a 'tradition … observed according to the time and place', and thus open to cultural accommodation.[47] In Scottish churches, the rationale for the forbidding of women's head-coverings may have been related to practical concerns about reducing opportunities for distraction. This rationale is also suggested by the utilitarian form of discipline occasionally employed – a sharp rap of the beadle's stick on the offender's nodding head.[48] For, as sermons often exceeded one turn of the hour glass, the draping of plaid over auditors' heads provided a convenient cover for sleeping.[49]

Much recent scholarship has been attracted to local session and presbytery minutes which, by their very nature, chiefly address discipline, the third 'mark of the Church', with entertaining accounts of jougs, repentance stools and misbehaving congregants.[50] But it should not be forgotten that there were three marks of the Church, and for the Scottish Reformers, discipline came third in priority after the Word and sacraments.[51] While renewed scholarly interest in the minute books is most welcome, until equal attention is given to Scottish manuscript sermons and their reception as recorded in the notebooks and diaries, our understanding of the Reformation in Scotland runs the risk of becoming imbalanced in favour of its disciplinary as opposed to the hortatory and sacramental elements, and the functional interdependence of the three marks of the kirk will be obscured. For example, a predictable preponderance of discipline cases in Scottish minute books leads Todd to conclude that the repentance stool was 'a rival piece of furniture' to the pulpit in terms of importance, and wonders, 'whether we have not perhaps over-stressed preaching at the expense of penitential display for this northern realm'.[52] Such a conclusion has not adequately accounted for the

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[47] 1 Cor.11:4, Geneva Bible (1560, 1599), note b; cf. notes f, l. The session book of Carnock records minister John Row's public charge to his female parishioners, forbidding them 'to cover their headis with their plaidis in tyme cuming in the kirk', or he 'suld reprove them opinlie, and a great penaltie suld be inflicted'; John Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Year 1558 to August 1637* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), abbreviation, see below xxiii-xxiv. See also Edgar, *Old Church Life in Scotland,* 111-3.

[48] MacMillan, *Worship*, 153-5; Edgar, *Old Church Life,* 113.

[49] Todd dismisses the caricature that all Scottish preaching was interminable; indeed, preachers were often fined by their presbyteries for excessively long sermons; Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 48-56.

[50] Chris R. Langley, "'In the Execution of his Office': Lay Officials and the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline in Scotland, c. 1600-1660," *The Seventeenth Century* 22 (2017), pp. 1-16; John McCallum, *Reforming the Parish Church: The Reformation in Fife, 15690-1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*.

[51] See e.g. The Scots Confession (1560), [XVIII]: Of the Notes by Which the True Kirk is Discerned from the False.in? James T. Dennison, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2010), 2:198-200. You can add the modern text-critical edn by Ian Hazlett (2009) ***RB*** 2/1, 209-300 (here: 271-77)

[52] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 130-1.

archival counterbalance of sermonic and devotional material which instead confirm Ryrie's assertion that 'the sermon was the defining event of early modern Protestant worship'.[53]

READERS

A natural outgrowth of the logo-centrism of post-Reformation Scotland was the gradual emergence of a native sermonic literary culture: another avenue of historical enquiry into the Scottish homiletical world which remains surprisingly under-appreciated. Relatively few sermons by first and second generation Reformers such as Knox, Bruce and Rollock ever made it to the Scottish presses, and while the practical reality of illiteracy may be partly responsible, there was also a point of practical theology to be weighed: whether, if 'faith cometh by hearing' (Romans 10:17), the written sermon was of equal efficacy as its aural reception in the moment of delivery.[54] Consequently, until the late 1630s, godly Scots secured sermonic literature from English puritans: Wariston records in his diary for 1632-34 his consumption of a great number of devotional volumes, many of which were sermonic publications, reflecting the extension of the homiletician's art into the home.[55] As subsequent Laudian liturgical reforms threatened to replace the well-established didactic elements of the kirk's expositional preaching with 'the expediency of holy days for imprinting on the minds of people the sense and knowledge of the benefits of redemption',[56] it was not surprising that the Covenanter movement should spawn a new industry of Scottish polemical print.[57] Alongside this new propagandist literature came a flurry of Scottish sermonic publications,

[53] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 351. Remarkably, Ryrie devotes only eleven pages of this work to the matter of the reception of preaching. Arnold Hunt has provided important pioneering work on the subject for the English context with *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). While Ryrie's volume is British in its scope, there are as yet no comparable studies for early modern Scotland.

[54] For the contemporary debate, see Alexander D. Campbell, *The Life and Works of Robert Baillie (1602-1662): Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping in the British Civil Wars* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 184-196. For a classic treatment of the transition from oral to print culture in early modern preaching, see D.F. McKenzie, "Speech-Manuscript-Print," *The Library Chronicle of the University of Texas at Austin.* 20:1/2 (1990): 87–109.

[55] Wariston records an impressive bibliography of 31 titles by some 27 authors for this three-year period, nearly two-thirds of them by revered English Puritans like Nicholas Byfield, John Dod, William Perkins, John Preston, and Henry Scudder. Only one was by a Scotsman: Josiah Welsh's *Forty-Eight Select Sermons*; Wariston, *Diary* , 1:1-247.

[56] Gillespie, *Popish Ceremonies*, 82.

[57] Campbell, *Robert Baillie*, 156-66; Sarah Waurechen, "Covenanter Propaganda and Conceptualizations of the Public during the Bishops' Wars, 1638-1640," *The Historical Journal* 52:1 (2009): 63–86.

which reached their climax in the 1650s with the appearance of what became known to future generations of appreciative British evangelicals as the ‘Scotch commentaries’.[58]

Originally conceived by David Dickson in 1649, these ‘brief expositions of Scripture’ were a collaborative effort of ministers intending ‘to commit their labours upon the Word to writing, for the more publick use of the church of God, not only in the present but also succeeding generations’.[59] This goal was all the more urgent, as it coincided with the arrival of a second wave of English religious works – the ‘separatist’ literature that poured into Scotland during the Cromwellian occupation.[60] The contributors to the series were careful to spell out the conceptual link between the nascent sermonic print culture and the orality of the pulpit. George Hucheson explained that his commentary on John was ‘cast in this mould out of some notes of sermons I had preached on this gospel’.[61] Indeed, given the pre-eminently authoritative role of preaching in the Scottish kirk, the project’s approximation to its sermonic originals was essential to its success. For, as Dickson acknowledged as the project began in 1647, ‘there can be no one mean[s], after powerfull Preaching, more forcible for rooting out errours, and manifesting unto all Men the true Religion which we professe in Britaine,’ than this commentary series.[62] In the dedication of one his several contributions to the series, James Fergusson of Kilwinning appealed to his patroness Lady Montgomery, ‘who have had liberty to be my hearer more constantly … I trust your honour will observe there is a good harmony betwixt that which I taught in the congregation and which I now publish to the world’.[63] The good Lady would find that the harmony of pulpit and print extended even to the structure of each chapter, for the contributors to the series shared the prevailing

[58] See e.g. C.H. Spurgeon, *Commenting and Commentaries* (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1876), 168-9; Andrew Stewart, “David Dickson - Covenanter and Commentator,” *Reformed Theological Review* 68:1 (2009): 46–61.
[59] James Fergusson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians* (London: Company of Stationers, 1659), sig. A4r.
[60] See R. Scott Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion, 1650–1660* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), 7-99. Though written mostly by members of the more moderate ‘Resolutioner’ party, the series was not devoid of polemical content; as David Dickson’s forward to Fergusson’s volume on Philippians and Colossians explained, ‘this way of brief exposition of Scripture, among other means, we humbly conceive, may prove a profitable help to … vindicate the truth of the Religion professed in this Island, when men, even of an ordinary capacity shall see that We professe in our CONFESSION OF FAITH nothing, but what immediately riseth from the text of Scripture’. James Fergusson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians* (Edinburgh: Christopher Higgins, 1656), sig. B1v.
[61] George Hutcheson, *An Exposition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, according to John* (London: Ralph Smith, 1657), sig. A4v.
[62] David Dickson, *A Brief Exposition of the Euangel of Jesus Christ according to Matthew* (Glasgow: George Anderson, 1647), sig. A4v.
[63] James Fergusson, *Galatians and Ephesians*, sig. A5r.

homiletical logic,[64] and the expositional nature of a commentary reflected the tendency, pervasive in Scotland, to preach systematically through consecutive chapters of the Bible as opposed to a selection of individual texts.[65] Since Dickson's team considered such writing to be a valid extension of their pulpit ministry into their parishioners' homes, it demanded a similar *vocatio*: 'as there is an ordinary call needful, to the Preaching of the Gospel … so in the general, that same consequence will hold in respect of writing, for such an end'.[66] The project was staking a claim for the authority that should attend the written, as much as the preached, exposition of Scripture.

While lacking the same prophetic authority and aural drama afforded in the preaching moment, the 'Scotch commentaries' offered their readers a complementary – not an alternative – means of spiritual edification, that would prove to be no rival to the centrality of the Scottish pulpit in the long term.[67] They also provide historians one of the clearest echoes of the holy rhetoric of the Scottish Reformed pulpit: a comparatively accessible, and much overlooked window into the mature homiletical world of the Kirk in the period before the Restoration.[68] In the transmission of the oral message of the pulpit to its literary record in print, they reduce the inherent risk of inaccurate, incomplete or prejudicially selective records that may be encountered with the hearer's sermon notebooks and diaries. As published reports of their own direct speech, they are, in the words of D.F. McKenzie, 'indispensable evidence … of the ways in which an age perceived and expressed its experience', and an enduring testimony of how ministers of the kirk wanted to be heard.[69]

If the Scots commentaries accomplish their authors' stated task, in providing accurate renderings of the homiletical content of their pulpits, they also comment on the theological knowledge of the parishioners for whom they were intended. Dickson's preface 'to the

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[64] 'I do not only hold forth the doctrine … but also couch-in some explanations, cautions, reasons, and sometimes some short uses'. *Ibid*., sig. A7r.

[65] Murray, *Scottish Christian Heritage*, 320-6.

[66] James Durham, *A Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation* (Edinburgh: Christopher Higgins, 1658), 61.

[67] Todd observes, 'The energetic delivery of Scottish sermons, which were frequently preached *ex tempore*, and the often revivalist fervour they generated, belies what many historians consider the apparent tedium of their interminably repetitive Ramist structure'. Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 48-56. Arguably, since the Scotch commentaries have not retained the 'energy' of their original pulpit delivery, they have been prime candidates for this kind of academic dismissal.

[68] Thanks to nineteenth- and twentieth-century reprints, these works are also relatively accessible to the historian. Volumes were published by David Dickson (Psalms, Matthew, Hebrews); James Fergusson (Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1&2 Thessalonians); James Durham (Song of Songs, Revelation); George Hutcheson (Job, Minor Prophets, John); Alexander Nisbet (Ecclesiastes, 1&2 Peter). Contributions by Samuel Rutherford, Robert Douglas and Robert Blair, if completed, were never published. See F.F. Bruce and M.D. Peat, "Exegesis, Biblical," *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*abbreviation (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), 309-10.

[69] McKenzie, "Speech-Manuscript-Print," 109.

Honest-hearted Reader', in his volume on Matthew, summarizes the commentary project as a 'brief explanation of the whole text of Scripture, containing the chief doctrines, in a way accommodat unto the capacity of common people'.[70] Whether read by literate parishioners, or read to the illiterate in communal settings such as family worship, catechesis or conventicles, the Scottish sermonic literature – and thus the oral pulpit ministry from which it emerged – assumed a remarkable degree of theological literacy. The dense helpings of federal theology offered to the 'common people' on page after page reveals the Scottish pulpit as a critical filter of the dogmas of the Reformation to the nation – 'a puritan nation' in Todd's estimation – thanks to the catechetical rigour of its clergy.[71] The audiences for preaching had been primed by the catechesis that lay at the heart of Scottish confessionalisation: preaching could achieve so much in the lives of its listeners because ministers were so often busy doing something else.

CONCLUSIONS

As a trans-national movement, the Calvinist reformation established churches that shared key features, among them an emphasis upon preaching. Building on work by Nicholas Tyacke and Patrick Collinson, which argued that a Calvinist consensus existed in the Church of England in the later sixteenth century, David George Mullan has represented the Scottish church in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as promoting the same kind of theology and affective piety, which was expressed primarily, though not exclusively, through the means of the pulpit. Setting aside instances of polemic on disputed issues in church and state – which, in the ordinary run of things, were taken up on a small number of occasions – the sermons of conformists like William Cowper and William Struther differed little in content, structure and emotion from those of ecclesiastical radicals such as Robert Bruce or Robert Douglas.[72] Scottish preachers continued to share these theological resources, pastoral concerns and homiletical approaches as the national church divided between competing groups of Covenanters during the 1650s, and as it split again between Presbyterians and

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[70] Dickson, *Matthew*, sig. A4v.

[71] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 405. See also Breno Macedo, "From Dogma to Practice: Systematic Theology and Application in the Sermons of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly," *Westminster Theological Journal* 77 (2015): 317–36.

[72] See e.g. "Theology in the Church of Scotland 1618 - c.1640: A Calvinist Consensus?," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26:3 (1995): 595–617. M. Todd, "Bishops in the Kirk: William Cowper of Galloway and the Puritan Episcopacy of Scotland," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57:3 (2004): 300–312. Even a future radical like Johnston of Wariston listened regularly and appreciatively to the sermons of Episcopalians like William Struther, Andrew Thomson, and Thomas Sydserff (Wariston, Diary, 1:71, 89, 132-3, 153-4).

Episcopalians after the Restoration. Furthermore, these were themes that Scottish preachers shared with English puritans of a range of ecclesiastical preferences. This is not to under-estimate the impact of the Restoration challenge to divine right presbytery – but not for nothing has the seventeenth-century kirk been described as a puritan church.[73]

Of course, it is possible to over-state the significance of the 'British Puritan' consensus. Scottish and English Calvinists enjoyed different degrees of success in promoting the reformation of their respective churches by law established, and the 'puritan nation' that has been described by Margo Todd was the envy of many Puritans south of the border. But Todd is right to note that the Scottish reformation was made successful by its culture of preaching, and by the sacramental and disciplinary mechanisms that made that culture of preaching so effective.[74] This sermon culture, captured in sermon manuscripts, auditors' notebooks and in published sermonic literature, was sustained and made effective by the catechetical instruction that was routinized in family and parish life. Local instruction, as part of a national programme of confessionalisation, was the only way to deal with Scotland's distinctive language cultures, which required the high scholastic theology of the universities to be filtered into environments as diverse as Scots- and English-speaking urban centres, the Latinate universities, and the Gaelic cultures of the highlands and islands.[75] Enunciating the theology of international Calvinism, for much of the century of reformation Scottish preachers did not tend to develop any distinctive tropes or themes. While scholars of preaching may fasten upon their expositions of Song of Solomon, the habit of preaching from an 'ordinary' – the weekly systematic and consecutive exposition of individual biblical books – controlled any particular textual preferences or predilections. In using this 'ordinary', Scottish preachers showed their preference for *lectio continua* exposition, which they adopted in contrast to the approach favoured south of the border, which often focused on individual verses, and knew nothing of the catechetical preaching of the Dutch churches.[76] But Scottish Calvinism did develop its own emphases in the middle seventeenth century, some of which impacted upon individual habits of piety. The emphasis upon covenant theology that

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[73] See Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism;* Margo Todd, "The Problem of Scotland's Puritans," in *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 174–88.

[74] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 31, 401-12.

[75] Jane Dawson, "Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1560-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 231–53; Crawford Gribben, "The Literary Cultures of the Scottish Reformation," *Review of English Studies* 57:228 (2006): 64–82.

[76] The continental Reformed churches tended to wed individual text sermons with annual preaching through the dogmas of the Heidelberg Catechism, which was accommodated by the latter's division into 52 Lord's Days. A source ref.?

structured accounts of the history of salvation were drawn into national self-fashioning, as Scotland established a unique relationship with God by means of the National Covenant (1638) and Solemn League and Covenant (1643), and were imported into individual experience, as believers incorporated aspects of covenant obligations into their spirituality via personal covenanting.[77] The idea of covenant provided a legal structure for relationships that were also imagined to be of grace. This distinctive combining of law and grace over-rode major themes in Calvinist theology as it was articulated elsewhere in Europe, and gave a twist to Scottish preaching as it was worked out in pastoral application. At the same time, Scottish preachers adopted new methods to communicate these new emphases. While generally following the model of 'doctrines, proofs and uses' that was widely practised in England, influential Scottish preachers began to experiment with the more fluid homiletical structures that became typical of later revivalist and evangelical preaching. In this way, across the century of reformation, and while gradually developing their own emphases in and forms for preaching, Scottish sermons became gradually more distinct.

Almost thirty years ago, David Atkinson noted that 'historians … still ignore the sermon as an incisive barometer of the concerns of the ordinary person living in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries … and they have thereby not come to grips with the pervasive spirituality of the age, even while they may tacitly recognize its existence'.[78] While the past three decades have seen a resurgence of scholarly interest in the religious life of early modern Scotland, there remains a surprising dearth of academic studies dedicated to what the leaders of the kirk considered to be the great engine of societal change - the 'holy rhetoric' of the pulpit. In Reformation Scotland, Todd reminds us, 'the symbol of [the minister's] office given at the ordination ceremony was not the pre-Reformation combination of kirk key, font cover, missal, chalice and altar vestments, but "the book of God called the Bible" and the key to the pulpit'.[79] Until historians unlock the pulpit door and offer a more comprehensive survey of Scottish preaching, our understanding of this reformation will remain incomplete. It was preaching that made possible the reformation that swept through the Scottish church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – even as that preaching was itself transformed by it.

[77] Andrew A. Woolsey, *Unity and Discontinuity in Covenantal Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 499-539; Mullan, *Narratives of the Religious Self*, 309-59.
[78] ~~Zachary Boyd~~, In *Selected Sermons of Zachary Boyd*, ed. David W. Atkinson (Aberdeen: Scottish Text Society, 1989), ix-x.
[79] Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 27.

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Alphabetical List of Historical Names for Index:

Baillie, Robert (footnote)
Binning, Hugh
Blair, Robert (footnote)
Boyd, Zachary
Bruce, Robert
Byfield, Nicholas (footnote)
Calvin, John (footnote)
Cargill, Donald
Cowper, William
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Dickson, David
Dod, John (footnote)
Douglas, Robert (footnote)
Downame, John
Fergusson, James
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Perkins, William (footnote)
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Rollock, Robert
Row, John (footnote)
Rutherford, Samuel
Scudder, Henry (footnote)
Skeldee, Alexander
Struther, William
Sydserff, Thomas
Thomson, Andrew
Welsh, John (footnote)
Welsh, Josiah (footnote)
Wishart, George

Keywords: sermon, preaching, minister, scholastic, homiletics, commentary

Abbreviations:

John Knox, *Works*	~~Knox, John. *The Works of John Knox*. Edited by David Laing. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846-64.~~ This info is already in Abbreviations list.
Wariston, *Diary*	~~Archibald Johnston, *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639*. Edited by George M. Paul Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1911.~~ This has now been added to Abbrev. list

You can abbreviate 'common' journals ok (see Brill Style Guide) i.e. widely cited journals and other resources in early-modern Scottish religious history, e.g. in your case *SJT; RSCHT*; *JEH;* Row, *Historie*; *DSCHT*; *SCJ, FBD*. That is, simply list these here, and then apply in the notes and Biblio. See attached abbreviations list.

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