

**HISTORY, PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE CONFSSIONAL STATE:
DAVID CALDERWOOD AND HIS WRITINGS IN THE POST-
REFORMATION SCOTLAND**

A Master's Thesis

by

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BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA**

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To my family and my love

**HISTORY, PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE CONFSSIONAL STATE:
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REFORMATION SCOTLAND**

**The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University**

by

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ABSTRACT

HISTORY, PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE CONFSSIONAL STATE:
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SCOTLAND

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Thanks to recently developed methodologies in history writing, the analysis of relatively lesser known figures in the area of intellectual history, placing them in their historical context has become important in historical studies. The investigation pursued in this thesis explains a seventeenth-century politico-religious context of Scotland, through the writings of a leading Presbyterian minister of the period, David Calderwood. Here Calderwood emerges as an important representative of the expression of a confessional identity. His ideas are interesting enough to refute the claims of some historians that religion began to be excluded from all intellectual debates of this period. His works mainly reflect a radical Presbyterian stance, opposing that of the Episcopalians. The elucidation of the aspects of this radical Presbyterianism illustrates how the early modern Scottish discussion between Presbyterians and Episcopalians had a constitutive role in establishing an identity.

History was a useful intellectual tool for Calderwood to offer a solution to this debate. But, historical precedents could provide guidance only in so far as God's providential plan was perceived in them, as directing the course of all events, and justifying religious and moral commands—in fact, Presbyterianism—now identifiable with the nation's historical path.

Key Words: David Calderwood, Reformation, Seventeenth Century, Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, Historiography, Scottish Identity.

ÖZET

TARİH, PRESBİTERYENİZM VE DEVLET: REFORMASYON SONRASI

İSKOÇYA'DA DAVID CALDERWOOD'UN ESERLERİ

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Tarih yazımı alanındaki son gelişmeler neticesinde, son yıllarda düşünce tarihi çalışmalarının nisbeten önemsiz atfedilmiş şahsiyetlere yöneldiğini ve onların gerçek tarihsel bağlamları içerisinde ele alındıklarını görmekteyiz. Bu tez, on yedinci yüzyılda İskoçya'nın nasıl dini ve siyasi bir bağlama sahip olduğunu göstermek için, dönemin önemli din adamlarından birisi olan David Calderwood'un eserlerini incelemektedir. Calderwood bu tarihsel bağlam içerisinde dini bir kimlik algısı inşa etmektedir. Onun eserleri aslında, günümüz tarihçilerinin on yedinci yüzyılda dinin çoğu tartışmanın dışına itildiği yönündeki inançlarının ne kadar da hatalı olduğunu göstermek adına oldukça ilgi çekicidir. Temel olarak Calderwood, Episkopalyen'lerin karşısında aşırı bir Presbiteryen yorumun savunucusu konumundadır. Bu Presbiteryen tutumun içeriği anlaşıldıkça, yeniçağ başlarında yoğun olarak hissedilen Presbiteryen-Episkopalyen uzlaşmazlığının bir İskoç kimliğinin oluşumunda nasıl da önemli bir yere sahip olduğu ortaya çıkar.

Calderwood bu tartiřmalara bir son verebilmek iin tarihe zel bir nem atfetmiřtir. Fakat unutulmaması gereken nokta gemiřteki ncl olayların sadece İlahi bir ynlendirme neticesinde ortaya ıkmıř olduklarının bilincine varmaktır. Bu yzden eęer onlardan faydalanmak isteniyorsa, bu olaylarda aıkca grldęi dřnlen bir takım dini ve ahlaki yaptırımların drste kabul edilmesi ve yařamın her alanına uygulanması gerekmektedir. Bu da Presbiteryenliktir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: David Calderwood, Reformasyon, On Yedinci Yzyıl, Presbiteryanizm, Episcopalyanizm, Tarih Yazımı, İsko Kimlięi.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Many seventeenth-century historians of all sorts have, until recently, tended to mark this century as constituting a climax, albeit variously viewed. This century was defined as a battle ground where capitalism and feudalism, revolution and traditional, secularization and religion, constitutionalism and authoritarianism, and so on, fought each other for a future supremacy. These dichotomies were held to offer the best explanations of what was to be observed in the period. Moreover, in nearly all of these accounts there were champions of the future, the supporters of capitalism, revolution, secularism and constitutionalism, pitted against those tied to a dying past.

However, thanks to recently developed methodologies in history writing, a more critical and detailed analysis has been substituted for these simplifying and failing explanations of the period. Old conclusions are constantly being interrogated and subjected to new enquiries, often giving convincing revisionist insights. In the case of Britain, for example, the studies of J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner¹

¹See, for a grasp of his ideas, J.G.A Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: essays on political thought and history* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), and *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); for Quentin Skinner, see *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978). Also for a comprehensive analysis of Skinner's theory of history, see James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and context : Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).

have shown that it is impossible to give an account of the history of ideas through a straightforward use of above-mentioned classifications. In their view, early modern British political thought was a body of competing discourses, each requiring to be placed in historical contexts. Then again, J.C.D. Clark re-described British society up to the mid-nineteenth century as highly religious, monarchical and aristocratic.² Conrad Russel also sought the causes of English Civil War not in the economic and the dependent social history, but in the religious and political strife of the period.³ Thus, in contrast to the findings of earlier whiggish historians of early modern Britain, these leading historians, as well as their followers, offer a less teleological view of the period, focusing more on contextual research than did earlier abstract and progresivist accounts. One of the most crucial insight of these new approaches was an emphasis on the continuing and pervasive role of religion in all the political, social and cultural conflicts of the time.

Scotland's history in the early modern period can certainly support this. As this thesis illustrates, the arguments and debates in Scotland during the seventeenth century require interpretation from the religious and political context of the period. The establishment of the Reformation in Scotland in 1560 opened a new era in Scottish history, in which all the strata of society had to adapt to changing circumstances. This new experience, of Europe and the British Isles, has recently been analysed under the concept of confessionalism.⁴ This is indeed a useful

² It is possible to see these three elements scattered throughout the study of J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: religion, ideology and politics during the ancien regime*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), see especially 26-30.

³ See the works of Conrad Russell, (ed.) *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London: Macmillan, 1981); *Unrevolutionary England, 1603-1642* (London; Ronceverte, WV: Hambledon Press, 1990); and his *The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁴ The concept was developed by two notable writers. See Wolfgang Reinhard, "Pressures towards Confessionalization? Prolegomena to a Theory of the Confessional Age" in *The German Reformation: the essential readings*, (ed.) C. Scott Dixon, 169-192 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1999). And, Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergency of Early*

concept as long as it is supported by further study of particular cases. In Scotland, the Reformers and the defenders of older religious commitments strove with each other to rule the country and preserve the social order. However, division was more complex than this. One must take into account the existence and various expectations of numerous bigger and smaller groups in Reformed Scotland. Nevertheless, 'Presbyterians' and 'Episcopalians' will be given pre-eminence as designations throughout this thesis, as these groupings were perceived to constitute the major participants in the religious and political struggles during the first half of the seventeenth-century.

It will become clear that the debates emerged from the specific Scottish experience of Reformation in 1560 were highly significant in the process of the establishment of a changed Scottish identity. The Reformation was not a smooth transition from Catholicism to Protestantism. Primarily, it necessitated a redefinition of the relationship between church and state, undoubtedly the basic institutions of the society. However, the clash between them should not be understood in terms of the traditional accounts of the secularization process. There was no immediate experience of a separation of these institutions in the government of the nation. Rather, the Reformation created an historical context in which the relationship between church and state was constantly redefined, without any tendency in any one's thought to exclude the one or the other from the effective government of the country.⁵ The ideas about church and state became so

Modern Society: essays in German and Dutch history (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1992). This concept was, with further clarifications, applied to Britain by Clark, *English Society*. For an understanding of the complex character of arguments used in creating confessional ideologies, see a recent study by Irena Dorota Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation, 1378-1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁵ Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 173-213.

interrelated that it is hardly imaginable to consider describing notions of one institution without the other.

The headings, Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism, serve as a good starting point in finding out the general and specific characteristics of the tension spoken of here. Confessional society developed two distinct views about church/state relations, especially prominent after the Reformation. The struggle between them did much to shape not only Scottish, but British politics as a whole, as the two monarchies drew close especially after the Union of 1603.⁶ From their respective solutions to the problem arose two different worldviews, which became more and more incompatible during the reign of James VI and I. After the Union of 1603, the policies of King James made it more likely, and more visibly likely, that Scotland would follow a path in these matters, which meant increased conformity to English church and state organization. The result was a war of pamphlets, in which the acceptability or unacceptability of that course was argued.

One of the leading defenders of radical Presbyterian cause and protagonist of the unacceptability of this tendency was David Calderwood. Calderwood and his writings are the main topic of this thesis. His writings give us a good illustration of what has been spoken of above. Although his contributions both to the writing of the history of the Scottish Reformation and to the historiographical tradition that came from it have been appreciated, it is still unfortunate to be able to note the lack of any systematic analysis of his writings. Throughout his life he committed himself to the belief that the only path to Christian truth was a strict adherence to the achievements of the Reformation fathers. He defined this true belief as Calvinist

⁶ Charles W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6-21.

Presbyterianism, established by the efforts of John Calvin, John Knox and Andrew Melville.

In notes in the Wodrow Society's nineteenth-century edition of Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, a family tree was given, tracing his ancestors back to the medieval period⁷, but nothing much was known about his early life. Much of the biographical information focuses on the period after his becoming a minister of Crailing, in Roxburghshire in 1604. Moreover, as Alan R. MacDonald pointed out in his short article on the formative years of Calderwood, the three major reference sources giving direct information about his life, namely the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (the major printed source for the parish ministry in Scotland), *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Who's Who in Scottish History* based their accounts on the material, in the "Life of David Calderwood" included in Wodrow Society's edition of his great work.⁸ It is also possible to add to this list a recent entry provided by Vaughan T. Wells in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.⁹ Though he adds to the material for these sources some more offered by letters and diaries, he introduces nothing new about his life. MacDonald mentions a further source for the life of Calderwood, which is an anonymous draft biography in the Grant Suttie Muniments, deposited, a part of a collection from Messrs John C. Brodie WS, with the Scottish Record Office in 1962.¹⁰ Noting that it was written in 1724, MacDonald ranks it as the least helpful among the sources.

⁷ T. Thomson and D. Laing, "Genealogical Table and Notices of the Family of Calderwood" in *The History of The Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols. David Calderwood (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842-9), 8:xxi-xxiv

⁸ Alan R. MacDonald, "David Calderwood: The Not So Hidden Years, 1590-1604." *Scottish Historical Review* 74 (1995): 69-74.

⁹ Vaughan T. Wells, "Calderwood, David (c. 1575-1650)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4374> (accessed 4 Aug 2007)

¹⁰ MacDonald, "Calderwood,"

Due to this lack of reliable material concerning his childhood and adolescence, nothing can be said convincingly about his life until he graduated Edinburgh University on 12 August 1593. He was presumed to have been eighteen at the time of his graduation and said to have been born, the second son of William Calderwood, in 1575. He was educated initially at the grammar school and then at the University of Edinburgh until 1593. His education before and after graduation in Edinburgh is worth mentioning. For, there he was taught by Charles Ferme, later minister of Fraserburgh, who had attended to the class instructed by Robert Rollock, the founder of the town's college in Edinburgh. Thus, it is not hard to guess the sources which fed Calderwood's radical stance against the policies of King James VI and I. During the 1590s, Edinburgh was the very place for ministers who wanted to involve themselves in ecclesiastical politics.¹¹

This political and ecclesiastical radicalism became more apparent after he was appointed minister of Crailing, near Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, in December 1604. From the outset he strictly opposed to the systematic attempts of King James to introduce episcopacy into the Church of Scotland. In the struggle against the imposition of a constant moderator in 1606 he voted against the practice. Similarly, he resisted an episcopal visitation by James Law, bishop of Orkney, in 1608. Finally, as a result of putting his signature to a protestation in 1617, which took place after his resistance to Episcopal practices imposed by the crown during that decade of contention, the 1610s, he was summoned to appear in London, deprived of his charge and then banished.

The reason for this was his strict adherence to the radical teachings of John Knox and Andrew Melville. He argued in a similar fashion to Andrew Melville,

¹¹ Ibid.

when the reforming champion was urged to express his opinions about the relationship of church and state. Like Andrew Melville, Calderwood implied in his defence in 1617 before the court, presided by the king himself, that the king should be seen 'as but God's sillie vassal' and acknowledge the priority and supremacy of the church over state.¹² He accordingly rejected any notion of Episcopalianism or Erastianism, both of which emphasised the authority and dominance of the crown over the church in ecclesiastical policies. He was of the opinion that there were two kingdoms in Scotland, that of Christ and that of the Stuarts. They should work together in mutual and peaceful understanding to establish the social order that advanced the kingdom of Christ. The decisions and policies of the crown should answer the requirements of the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk.

Soon after his defence of radical Presbyterian views in front of the king, he was, unsurprisingly, banished. He went to Holland, where he resided until the death of King James in 1625. These years of banishment proved fruitful and greatly increased his threatening influence, since he began publishing treatises and pamphlets, directed against royal policy.¹³ In exile, he published some of his most famous works, among which the *Altare Damascenum* (1625) retained substantial importance for later generations. Its purpose was to attack the claims of the dominant ecclesiastical polity of England. He set out to prove the deficiencies of prelatical church organization through a close examination of the apostolic church, contemporary developments and the achievements of the Reformation.

However, before turning to this systematic and scholarly examination of the English church and her practices, he wrote several other pamphlets and treatises, as

¹² David Calderwood, *The History of The Kirk of Scotland*, vol.7 (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1845), 263.

¹³ S. A. Burrell, "The Covenant Idea as a Revolutionary Symbol: Sotland, 1596-1637." *Church History* 27 (1958): 338-350.

already noticed. For example, the *Perth Assemblie*, of 1619, argued the unacceptability of the Five Articles that gathering introduced in 1618. They signified conformity with the English Church. When one notes also his other writings as a whole, one immediately detects a common theme or intention in them. They constitute a sustained assault on religious innovation. Here, in a short list of his other influential works, one notes the same issues raised again and again: *A solution of Doctor Resolutus, his resolutions for kneeling* (1619); *The speach of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved children* (1620); *Parasynagma Perthense et iuramentum Ecclesiae Scoticae et A.M. Antitamicamicategoria* (1620); *A defence of our arguments against kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramentall elements of bread and wine impugned by Mr. Michelsone*(1620); *An exhortation of the particular kirks of Christ in Scotland to their sister kirk in Edinburgh* (1624); *The pastor and the prelate* (1628). All of these works were published in the Low Countries.

However, Calderwood is much better known as a historian than for his polemic in this form. This was due to his great collection of primary sources and his writing of a great history of the Reformation in Scotland with their aid.¹⁴ His collections of the necessary material for his history and their integration into his comprehensive study can best be seen in a posthumous edition of the nineteenth century. The fullest form of the corpus of his writings of different periods and in different forms was offered in the shape of eight volumes issued by the Wodrow Society, from 1842 to 1849.¹⁵ According to the editors of these eight volumes, Calderwood did not, at first, mean to publish his writings in the form of a history.

¹⁴ David G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1986), 144-150.

¹⁵ William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 111.

He initially set out to establish a collection of materials for personal references, an activity which began before his exile and continued until his death. At the beginning, Calderwood wrote 3136 pages, two thirds of which have since been lost. But then, it is said, he decided to compile a second text “contracted and digested in better order” out of this first one.¹⁶ His intention was to secure against the possibility of losing the first one. Its length was 2013 pages and it was given the name, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, beginning at Mr Patrick Hammiltoun, and ending with the Death of James Sixt*. This was also the version on which the Wodrow Society based its later edition. However, the editors added, unchanged, a preamble which they found in the mostly lost first version of 3136 pages.¹⁷ Finally, from the second version came another version of 838 pages, which were published as *The True History of the Church of Scotland* in 1678. It was this version which the “author desireth onlie to be communicat to the use and benefite of others”. It seems impossible to give an exact date of completion of any of these texts, as the author himself never indicated these dates. We may say that they were the products of a continuous process which began during 1620s and ended with Calderwood’s death in 1650.¹⁸ The value of this activity was recognised in Calderwood’s own lifetime. He received a pension of £800 per year from the General Assembly through the 1640s, from the signing of the National Covenant in 1638. The Covenanters wanted a complete history of the Scottish Reformation, reflecting their views, which would then be published and put to public use.

During the years of the Covenanting movement, Calderwood worked diligently with the architects of the revolution, such as Archibald Johnston of

¹⁶ Calderwood, *History of The Kirk*, vol. 8, 129.

¹⁷ Thomson and Laing, “The History of the Church of Scotland Compiled by Mr. David Calderwood” in *History* by Calderwood, vol. 8, 133.

¹⁸ Wells, “Calderwood”

Wariston. At least these two men worked together to refute the claims of those who opposed their cause.¹⁹ *A Re-Examination of the Five Articles* (1636) and *An Answer to Mr J. Forbes of Corse his Peaceable Warning [Against the Covenant]* (1638) continued its defence against its opponents. In 1640 or 1641 he was presented to the parish of Pencaitland in East Lothian. Apart from the fact that he attended the meetings of the General Assembly until 1649, nothing can be satisfactorily said about his activities during this period. He no doubt spent his final years by, occupied with the writing of the *History*. In any case, by 23 October 1650 Calderwood had retired to Jedburgh, where he lay “seik in bodie but whole and perfyte in memorie”.²⁰ On 29 October he died there and left behind him an extensive library which was bequeathed to his relatives. Then, in 1765 William Calderwood of Polton presented the manuscripts of the minister's history to the British Museum. Other collections of papers were given to Robert Wodrow, and were purchased by the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh in 1792.

We may here conclude this life of the Scottish minister, whose writings are the subject matter of this thesis. Throughout this study, nearly all of Calderwood's writings will be mentioned in order to elucidate the main characteristics of the ecclesiological and political arguments which disturbed Scotland during the 1620s and 30s. His writings remain important for those who reflect on the complex relations between church and state, and society in general. The purpose of the following three chapters is to help reveal and define the kind of identity which created and maintained a confessional state like Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is necessary to follow the arguments spoken of here within a specific and historical context. The Scottish Reformed state came into existence in

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Thomson and Laing, “Appendix”, in *History* by Calderwood, vol. 8, xv.

the circumstances established after the Reformation in 1560. However, an early expression of the Scottish Reformed identity became a more complicated one by virtue of the succession of a Protestant king to the throne. Moreover, problems in the relationship between church and state became mingled with those problems that emerged from the Union of the Crowns in 1603. It was then that it became an urgent task for Episcopalians and Presbyterians to advance their arguments, within their respective discourses, now directed to a wider audience.

In order to explain the way in which Calderwood argued and constructed his radical Presbyterian stance, the first chapter will look at the aspects of his history writing. For, as we shall see, the tool of historical argumentation increasingly became the constitutive element in his formulation of his religious and political identity. His *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, which was the title of Wodrow Society's edition, and which will be used here for references, and other historical treatments which appear in his ostensibly ecclesiological and political writings operated to inculcate basic religious and moral duties. The chapter aims at providing the reader with a general view of the historiographical framework into which he placed his moral instruction. This involves giving a general overview of the age's historiography. By references to earlier traditions, such as those of medieval and humanist history writing, the contributions of the Reformation, as it built on these previous understandings, will be marked out. Then it will be easier to see that general framework, by use of which, Calderwood expressed his arguments in support of what he held to be the true definitions of the church and the state.

Related to his notion of the true church, the second chapter will attempt to elucidate the dominant elements in Calderwood's vision of the Scottish Reformed Church. Here, it may be possible to see how he imagined and constructed a Scottish

past, in which Scotland experienced the truest form of Reformation. It became a religious and thus moral duty of a true Christian constantly to reiterate in practice what the founding fathers of Reformation had achieved. The Church could not be left to the deteriorating effects of time, worldly man and his worldly politics. At the time of Reformation, Scotland had experienced that unity in doctrine and discipline which marked the Church of Christ. It was void of any manipulation and adulterating influence by foreign churches, especially the Church of England. Thus, being a true Christian necessitated a strict commitment to this tradition.

Finally, this matter of the distinctive features and experiences of the Scottish Reformation bring us to the last topic. The third chapter will be concerned with the arguments that constituted a patriotic defence of the Kirk. It will be seen here that the commonly held assumptions among Protestants about the universal character of particular, national reformations came to adapt themselves when viewed with the particular and historical context of Scotland. This was accelerated especially after the Union of the Crowns, when the characteristics and traditions of the Scottish Church began to be challenged by the increasingly visible policies of the king, to bring Scottish Church organization and rites into conformity with English ones. The open declaration of the James's sympathy for the Episcopalian forms of the English Church was equated by Calderwood and like-minded Presbyterians with degeneracy into the sin of idolatry. Thus, it again became a religious and moral duty of Presbyterians to embrace the patriotic tradition given by the Scottish Reformation experience. Scotland had to now struggle with two great enemies, Rome and England. Here was a further stage of the redefinition of Scotland's religious and national identity in response to changing circumstances.

CHAPTER 2

CALDERWOOD'S UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY

It is surprising to see, among the contemporary revisionist general histories of the British Reformations, a comparative lack of the same enthusiasm for reconsideration of individual figures in, particularly those relevant to intellectual history in this period. There has been neither a systematic analysis of seventeenth-century Scottish historiography nor, more generally, biographies of prominent intellectual figures.²¹ The radical presbyterian David Calderwood, 1575- 1650, wrote his *The History of the Church of Scotland* in the first half of the seventeenth century. Although, when compared to treatment in older Whiggish histories, this period has been described in recent accounts more carefully, Calderwood and his writings have been left, together with other less handled figures of the period and their work, either to teleological examinations, or to the less than careful and hasty references of revisionists of all sorts. In the former the whole century is dismissed

²¹ There were of course exceptions to this. See the works of David G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); *Episcopacy in Scotland: the History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1986); Roger A. Mason, (ed.) *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Brookfield Vt.: Ashgate, 1998) and his *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); for biographical study of the period's intellectual figures, see John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and The British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England* (Rochester NY: Boydell Press, 2006).

as full of religious darkness, a prologue to the supposed subsequent victory of modern constitutionalism. In the latter, Calderwood and like minded writers are still minimised on account of their radical, polemical and controversialist styles, as if they thus contributed less to reassessments.

The present chapter will not take into consideration how the teleological accounts of Whig historians depicted the Reformation period in Scotland. It will examine and explain the pattern of Calderwood's history of the Reformation with greater detail than the limited references that have hitherto been presented. It will be pointed out that Calderwood appealed to a more complicated and sophisticated historiographical tradition than has been thought. It is true that his account of the Reformation in Scotland was more radical, polemical and controversial, but he was not unaware of the history writing traditions of earlier and contemporary authors. Nor can he be accused of being extremely partial or proving less a historian than a polemicist. When considered within the political, religious and intellectual context of the period in which he wrote, it will be clear that his thought was expressed reasonably and within a historiographical pattern which was shaped by protestant and humanist understanding of history, which also made him an important representative of the canonical historians of the presbyterians.²²

His history can be considered among the last conventional religious narratives, with few exceptions before the nineteenth century Evangelical revival.²³ For Robert Bailie, minister and author, Calderwood was one of as "good enough authorities", who had a special place in his intellectual formation as a "living

²² William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 112.

²³ David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 166.

magazine of our all Ecclesiastick History”.²⁴ Samuel Rutherford, the divine, political theorist, best remembered as the writer of famous *Lex, Rex*, made an ample use of Calderwood’s historical framework during and after the Covenanting Movement of 1630s, and his keen interest in the idea of idolatry, which basically helped to construct this historical framework especially in times of political and religious instability.²⁵ Thomas M’Crie, in the nineteenth century, continued to make extensive use of Calderwood’s history. Calderwood’s history is important both for its preservation of many valuable sources and its reflection of a pattern of religious historiography, which is well worth recovery.

One of the reasons however for perceiving his history as underdeveloped or controversial, but nothing more than that, may be the lack of an introduction to his work, explaining his motives in writing history. He has been often condemned as a compiler having no historiographical view of his own, but only those of his sources²⁶; or as “less a historian than editor of an enormous collection of constitutional documents and first hand accounts from a cloud of witnesses”.²⁷

It was true as he himself said in one of his manuscripts that “the History of The Church of Scotland, collected out [of] Maister Knox his Historie, and his Memorialles gathered for the continuation for his historie, out of Mr. James Melville his Observations, Mr. John Davidson hid Diarie, the Acts of the Generall Assemblies, and the Acts of Parliament, and out of severall Proclamations, and scrolles of divers, and comprehendeth an Historie...” But this never makes him a mere editor unaware of the history writing traditions. For, like many other historians

²⁴ Robert Baillie, The epistle dedicatory to *An Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland* (Brasen Serpent: London, 1646).

²⁵ Coffey, *Politics, Religion*, 191-192.

²⁶ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 144.

²⁷ David Reid, “Prose After Knox” in *The History of Scottish Literature*, vol. 3 (ed.) Cairns Craig and Ronald D. S. Jack, 3.vols. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1998), 189.

in the early modern period, the writing of history meant for Calderwood the rewriting of histories, and choosing convenient narratives, with his own style and world view.²⁸

The other reason for the negligence of a thorough analysis of his work was probably a result of the belief that this period in Scotland was relatively lacking in literary achievement. When compared to the literary fertility of England and France in this period, Scotland seemed less venturesome in writing styles, and indeed uncreative.²⁹ However, such a comparison proves erroneous because the writers of the period and their own motives for writing had priorities different from those of later critics. This pessimistic view was also furthered by a mere-concentration on English-language writing. But, it is unjust to neglect the writings of some neo-Latin poets like Arthur Johnston, and of some other's using Gaelic vernacular as a literary language. So, this should not be an excuse for literary critics or historians to disregard the works of this period with an assertion that they had nothing of interest to offer by way of style and pattern, but only restlessness and prejudice in their minds.

The extension of this thinking seems to become a more general, modern prejudice against religious conflict, for the modern reader was encouraged to put aside the works of Calderwood, who lived in a so-called darkened age of religious faction.³⁰ Yet, the task should be not to eliminate his history from one's sight in favour of more agreeably moderate ones, but to put all in their proper contexts. As Maurice Lee indicated in his handling of John Spottiswood, a royalist and an important Episcopalian in the first half of the seventeenth century, the

²⁸ Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 167.

²⁹ Reid, "Prose," 184.

³⁰ Margo Todd, "Bishops in the Kirk: William Cowper of Galloway and the puritan episcopacy of Scotland" *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57 (2004): 300-312.

“judiciousness of [his] tone and [his] moderation in the characterization of individuals are not the same thing as impartiality of spirit”.³¹ By 1630 Scotland saw a voluminous publication of pamphlets, and they included many literary styles. As one author has recently pointed out that “the rejection of the value of early modern religious writing is so often justified on the basis of an enlightened modernity”.³²

2.1 The Political and the Religious Context

In Scotland the form of religious controversy grew out of the nature of the Reformation achieved in 1560.³³ Unlike the Reformation in England in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth, the Scottish Reformation was a result of an act of rebellion against the state. Thus, the relative easiness in England where the episcopal structure of church jurisdiction and the idea of ‘ceasaro-papistry’ were widely accepted, was not echoed in Scotland. Scottish opinion became instead more radical with regard both to church and state from the very beginning.

Against this background, interpretations of the Scottish past became an important element in establishing a religious and national identity.³⁴ They will be examined in the coming chapters. At the moment, it is important to say that Calderwood, in his own particular religious and political context, recovered and reproduced myths that already had a long history in Scotland. The church and state question in Scotland during the Middle Ages was generally viewed in an inter-dynastic political perspective. In the various writers’ accounts, the church of Scotland was from its origins historically established as independent from the

³¹ Maurice Lee Jr, “Archbishop Spottiswoode as Historian” *The Journal of British Studies* 13 (1973): 138-150.

³² C. R. A. Gribben, “The Literary Cultures of the Scottish Reformation” *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 57 (2006): pp 64-82.

³³ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991,1992), 186.

³⁴ For the role of religion in the establishment of early modern national identities, see Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic, 1600-1800* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

suzerainty claims of Canterbury and York. The purpose of their writings was to trace the evidence by which the church of Scotland could be defined “a special daughter of the see of Rome”. They were thus freed from any assertion of English domination.

With such a medieval heritage, it is be obvious that the Reformation would recycle these previous myths or languages, by adjusting them to new circumstances, sometimes imitating and sometimes abandoning unwanted parts. In Michael Lynch’s formulation, the writings of this period stuck themselves to historical myths, with a “one-eyed reading of the Reformation and the legacy of Buchanan in censuring the kings”.³⁵ There were two remarkable figures who were first in the field. John Knox and George Buchanan would be the founding fathers of reformed tradition’s interpretation of the Scottish past. Buchanan, in Calderwood’s eyes, “was ingenuous and upright, not givin to avarice and bribes, so did he never repent afterward of anie thing he had writtin...”.³⁶

John Knox was interested less in the distant past and more in recent achievements of Reformation. He failed to attribute some distinct role to Scotland in salvation history. But, this did not lower the esteem given to Knox, as he “was the light and confort of our kirk, a mirrour of godlinesse, a paterne to ministers for holie life, soundnesse in doctrine, and boldnesse in reprovig vice”.³⁷ It was rather Buchanan who, with anti-papist and anti-English sentiments, set out to re-evaluate the historical traditions of Scotland. Yet, as he was more concerned with the urgent political problems in a different context, than with mere theological issues of his

³⁵ Lynch, *Scotland*, 264.

³⁶ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 2 (1843), 466.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3 (1843), 237.

age, says William Ferguson, “presbyterian church notion comes from it is certainly not from Buchanan’s history”.³⁸

It can be seen from Calderwood’s history, that is, when the bitter Presbyterian-Episcopalian controversy was accelerated during the reign of James VI and I that a special ‘Presbyterian notion’ of history established itself. Leaving aside the motivations of Buchanan like philology, Calderwood looked to Scottish historical myths with a keen Presbyterian interest which shaped his emphasis on different points. He sought the ancient Scots chiefly in order to indicate their ‘Ethnick Religion’. Nevertheless, in the early parts of his history he followed Buchanan and his medieval predecessors where the Scots were claimed to come

from these north parts, Galeacia (in Northern Spain), and other countries adjacent, our progenitors came to Ireland (Major Scotland) either because the barren countrie was not able to susteine so populous a natioun, or to eschew thraldome under the Carthaginians, Romans, and other conquerours.³⁹

They came to Britain before the birth of Christ and their first king was Fergus mac Ferchar, whose reign was dated not to 330 BC, as it appeared in Buchanan, but to 33 BC. It is not clear however whether this statement was due to a scribal error or his critical mind.⁴⁰

There was a further difference from Buchanan, where Calderwood spoke of the first Christian king of Scotland. Like Buchanan, Calderwood accepted the twenty-seventh king of Scots, Donald, as the first Christian ruler of his people, but strictly rejected the notion that he received instruction.

Yitt where it is said that this king sent messengers to Pope Victor, to crave that some learned men might be sent to instruct himself, his wife and his childrein, I take it to be a mere fable invented by monkes, in time of

³⁸ Ferguson, *Identity*, 107.

³⁹ Calderwood, *History*, vol.1 (1842), 2.

⁴⁰ Ferguson, *Identity*, 111.

blindnesse, to amplifie the Pope's apostalick power, or to imitate the British writers, who had fained the like before of Lucius, king of the Brittons.⁴¹

There was also the notion of Culdees, those ancient monastic communities, which would emerge as crucial to the Protestant account of early Scottish experience.⁴²

They had not been much emphasised by the available medieval chronicles. They were, in Calderwood's hands, the true Presbyterians who taught the people how to worship, being "holie and religious men, exercised in teaching, prayer, meditatioun, and reading, for which exercises they were called Culdei, that is Cultores Dei..."⁴³

Then, there came the Roman superstition, sprouting from Augustine being sent to Britain, and the triumph of Roman ceremonies and papal authority resulted in the darkening of religion.⁴⁴ So, for Calderwood the Reformation was a cutting away the medieval superstition in the time of which the true believers, like Lollards or Waldenses, were bitterly persecuted. "[T]he Lord made the light of his truthe to shyne to some few, when the prophesie and sound of preaching of the word in publick had decayed".⁴⁵ Such, in brief, was the way, in which Calderwood presented Christianity and its course until the Reformation era. He then passed to the death of Patrick Hamilton who suffered martyrdom in 1528, a victim "the cruelty executed in the beginning of King James the fifth his reigne". After his death "many moved to inquire into the truth of his points".⁴⁶ His account of the course of the Reformation ran to the death of King James VI. Although his bias was visible, he developed his thesis, as it will be shown, in a reasonable way and a sophisticated method.

⁴¹ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 1, 34.

⁴² Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay, (eds.) *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 115.

⁴³ Calderwood, *History*, vol.1, 39.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 42-49.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

The contemporary political and religious context for the debates that shaped the character and articulation of Calderwood's history was mostly that of the reign of James VI and I. It was during his reign that Calderwood, it seems, collected his materials, for use in hot debates, which increased after the Union of Crowns in 1603. For example, since Presbyterians were challenged by the assertion that the early years of reformation in Scotland saw an episcopal structure, which was opposed only after the arrival of some scholars, such as Andrew Melville, from Geneva, Calderwood's construction of history was shaped accordingly. He claimed that "the pastors of the Kirk of Scotland had begunne to roote out bishoprie, and to condemne it in their assemblies, before these Scollers came from Geneve..."⁴⁷, and thus, established a continuity. In his mind, the true church in Scotland had always been governed by presbyteries both in the times of Culdees and in the times of Reformers after 1560, in a full observation of the Scottish past.⁴⁸

James proclaimed himself to be the first king of Great Britain. From that date he formulated a policy which convinced the radical Presbyterians in Scotland that piety and sound religious order, as well as the kingdom and commonwealth, were under serious threat. For these Presbyterians, things had worked relatively well since James's first proclamation of King of Scotland in 1567 at least until the year of 1596. After this date a common view took root and figured the subsequent controversialists' mind, that 1596 was a crisis year for the Church of Scotland, after which it saw the quickened entrance of corruption. Calderwood remarked in his history:

This yeere is a remarkable yeere to the Kirk of Scotland, both for the beginning and for the end of it. The Kirk of Scotland now came to her

⁴⁷ Calderwood, *The Pastor and the Prelate or Reformation and Conformitie*, (Holland?, n.p., 1528), 47-48.

⁴⁸ Kidd, *British Identities*, 129.

perfectioun, and the greatest puritie that ever she atteaned unto, both in doctrine and discipline, so that her beautie was admirable to forraine kirks.⁴⁹

Thus he set the discourse for discussion of subsequent events, when “some thornie questions in points of discipline were devised, whereby his authority was in many points called in doubt”.⁵⁰ James began to commit the greatest sin by erecting an episcopate which signified the beginning of corruption. Indeed, the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne created great problems of jurisdiction and governance. James resolved to alter the way the Scottish Church worshipped and was governed, and Scotland began to be assimilated to English religious and state traditions.⁵¹

Debate began with discussion of the General Assembly held in 1610. It approved several articles, which were thought by Presbyterians unacceptable. They meant for the Presbyterians a return to the old papal corruptions, signalled by the fact that “soone after the dissolving of this Assemblie, three of them [prelates] went to England and were consecrate to the office of a bishop, whereof the Assemblie never dreamed”.⁵² The decision that the king should be asked to announce the yearly assemblies would indeed be painful for Presbyterians. Several Assemblies were granted but then postponed, so that they assembled only four times over the succeeding twenty-eight years.⁵³ The general Presbyterian notion as indicated by previous assemblies was that the Assembly should be called twice in a year. This implied for the Presbyterians in Scotland the waning of the assumption that James had once and for all endorsed the doctrinal and governmental sovereignty of the

⁴⁹ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 5 (1844), 387.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 388.

⁵¹ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 151.

⁵² Calderwood, *History*, vol.7 (1845), 103.

⁵³ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 110.

Kirk of Scotland. For, “in these conclusions, anie man may see the government of the kirk altogether altered”.⁵⁴

In fact, James was seeking to establish the notion of a ruler of the Kirk by divine right and an English conception of the relationship of church and state. Thus, he would be the godly prince, exercising his authority as the head of both church and state. He would be advised not by Presbyterians and their General Assemblies but by godly bishops who were occupied an office of apostolic origin with simplicity.⁵⁵

This meant a refutation of the two kingdoms theory, namely the civil and spiritual, commonly held by Presbyterians at the time and which will be examined in the second chapter of this study. This, in turn, was a violation of the order and peace enjoyed in the kingdom and the commonwealth. But, a more serious attack on religious piety came in 1618 and 1621. At the General Assembly held at Perth in 1618, ‘The Articles of Perth’ had been enacted and they were ratified by the parliament in 1621. These articles included such changes in worship, that the Presbyterians saw the collapse of the Reformation confessed in Scotland since 1561.

In all of these calamities, Presbyterians perceived that religion in Scotland was in decline. They were also driven to engage in the production of a polemical literature, answered by Episcopalians. It was this political and literary context that led Calderwood to see things as he did. There appeared a stream of pamphlets, sermons and histories by various writers. The introduction of new forms of worship to the Scottish Church started a series of debates on ecclesiastical sovereignty,

⁵⁴ Calderwood, *History*, vol 7, 103.

⁵⁵ Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I” *The Journal of British Studies* 24 (1985): 169-207. There have been many studies on this topic held both in books and articles, which is impossible here to give all literature.

ceremonies, episcopacy, law and the patristic heritage of the Church⁵⁶, and a new phase of the struggle to establish the doctrine, discipline and governance of the post-Reformation church in Scotland was begun.

The debates were not superficial nor on ephemeral topics. They had important religious and political implications, and the scope of discussion was extended. As Catholic and Protestant controversialists divided over the problematic of who possesses continuity with the ancient and true church, Protestants in both Kingdoms too began to compete on the issue of true reformation.⁵⁷ Calderwood set out to explain his positions in these debates. He and his like minded colleagues, as a result of necessity, began to release some works for printing “after long waiting in silence... there being no other way left unto us”.⁵⁸ What then came from his pen, whether in the form of pamphlet or of history, was far from being formless and senseless. Although they were published mostly out of the urgency of the times they had characteristics, which made it unacceptable to condemn them as the product of barbarous age.

2.2 The Meaning of History in the Early Modern Period

Before beginning to examine Calderwood’s work it is useful to point out that history in this period never enjoyed the freedom of a distinctively established discipline, as in our own century. It was mostly studied in the theology and law faculties. Throughout this century, as a result of the renaissance revival of the classical notion of history, it was also accepted a sub-discipline either of grammar or of rhetoric. Due to a lack of methodology, it never depicted itself as a science. History, when not a tool of divines and lawyers, was a branch of literature that

⁵⁶ Prior, *Defining*, 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁵⁸ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 7.

included the elements of rhetoric, oratory and grammar. However, with the coming of the Protestant application of history which, sought to give the contemporary reader the original religious truth, it made some substantial gains.⁵⁹ The historical works produced in the early debates of Protestants and Catholics like the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, the *Annals* as well as the writings of Melanchton made prominent contributions to historical method, in addition to fulfilling their roles as histories of dogma.⁶⁰

One should note that some humanists' critical readings of the distant past, such as those of Valla and, in Scotland, Buchanan, revised received historical myths abandoning some fabulous narratives. This in fact helped to reanimate another classical assumption about 'history proper'. It came to be held that history should be distinguished from poetry, at least by giving warrant to real events—mixed with prophecy and natural signs—and by avoiding the purely imaginary. Interestingly, Donald Kelley pointed out that as a result of educational reforms, some universities began to introduce *professores historiarum*, which signified, if not the establishment of distinct discipline, the achievement of a relative parity, not only with poetry, but also with theology and law.⁶¹

Lastly, it is also possible to mention one more gain of the period in the methodology of history visible in Scotland. Beginning with the example of John Knox, the convergence of history and antiquarianism became very helpful in writing ecclesiastical histories. The significance and method of antiquarian study of the past will be described later in this chapter. In brief, it can be said that the collection of archival sources, such as official documents and first hand testimonies,

⁵⁹ Donald R. Kelley, "Historia Integra: Francois Baudouin and his Conception of History" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 25 (1964): 35-57.

⁶⁰ Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation, 1378-1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 4.

⁶¹ Kelley, "Historia Integra".

acquired priority in these histories. This material, which had been dismissed for not fitting well into historical narratives and making them boring, was now integrated.

Thus and in other ways, Scottish ecclesiastical historians like Calderwood reflected in their works some basic premises of the early modern understanding of history. Calderwood's history, for example, had morally instructive lessons, which were strongly religious. It had a narrative which told the story of the ancient Scots and their religion, speaking of the arrival of Christianity in Scotland, the corrupted medieval era, and coming to the contemporary age the kindling of true Christianity with the Scottish Reformation. He shaped it with a vast collection of first hand accounts to give evidence for his account of the course of events which indicated that it was the revelation of God's hand in every detail. So, one can trace many legacies inherited from different sources, used to construct a history, which may have been considered as less exciting than previous ones, but can not be said to have been void of methodology and purpose.

Calderwood united his various sources with a narrative, albeit limited, and with a method that integrated all of them to articulate a message, which might reasonably be called a Presbyterian religious truth. He understood the pragmatic function of history, established by the humanist understanding of it. Collecting documents thus was not an act of commemorative study; it aimed at communicating moral instruction. He articulated in his history a religious and moral truth, shaped by contemporary religious and political debates, his positions on which were justified by the past. His work can be seen as a "mirror of ecclesiastical history".⁶² Thus, the urgent problems, encountered during the period, could easily be resolved

⁶² A similar notion was analysed within a Dutch context, which may be useful for seeing the parallels in history writing traditions. Charles H. Parker, "To the Attentive, Nonpartisan Reader: The Appeal to History and National Identity in the Religious Disputes of the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 57-78.

by reflecting just what had happened in similar occasions in the past. He had a message that was to be communicated to both his contemporaries and posterity. The nature of a “happie government” was to be displayed by true historical precedents in matters of religion “to be a matter of gratulation to the Godly, and to be admired and remembered by the posteritie, as the measure and example of their desires, when they shall be wishing for a religious and righteous King”.⁶³ This feature shows his history as a product of a mind, concerned with what history meant for him and for the authors that he brought into his narrative. He was, in other words, contributing to a history of salvation.

. It was of crucial importance for Calderwood to make his case with reasonableness and truth. His presentation of the truth was through first-hand testimonies, confirmed by references not in the footnotes but within the text itself. This was a highly effective blending of a Protestant notion of *sola scriptura*, or the truth of the Word of God, with a humanist approach of going *ad fontes* to purge the truth of interpolations. Moreover, one should be careful not to think of the truth concerned in a modern fashion. Obtaining the truth, in the period, did not chiefly require distinguishing fiction from fact. In reproducing the older histories, there was a recovery of myths. It was a matter of conviction about which of these myths best served one’s historical account.

Prophecy, or at least the natural signs shown by God in times of error, for example, could reveal the religious truth and morality. Martyrs played a significant role as prophetic witnesses. Calderwood remarked:

That blessed martyr, Mr George Wishart ..., was not only singularly learned in divinitie and humane sciences, bt also was so clearlie illuminated with the spirit of prophecie, that he saw not onlie things pertaineing to himself, but also suche things as some touns and the whole realme afterward felt.⁶⁴

⁶³ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 9.

⁶⁴ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 1, 186.

Events were prophetic. After the glorious year, in 1596, of the Scottish Kirk, the “fearful eclipse” created a great horror and thus signified that “if the estats of bishops which then was in hatching continue long, it will not faile to bring on darkness and ignorance, atheisme and Poprie”.⁶⁵ But there was much else in Calderwood’s history which was seen to speak to people of God’s providence. It was sometimes prophecy, sometimes earthquake, sometimes horrible deaths, and sometimes climate. He noted that, in 1617, just a year before his clash with the authorities, because of his opposition to royal policy, which would bring about his banishment to the Low Countries, there came a “vehement frost” which provoked “the admiration of aged men, who had never seene the like in their dayes”.⁶⁶

It is obvious that one should think of the modern concept of historical truth or fact, with this feature of Calderwood’s writing in mind. However, the shaping components of this period’s understanding of history, namely Protestant and humanist, have been emphasised in recent years, precisely by taking into account what truth or fact consisted of in the period.⁶⁷ One more characteristic of history writing in the early modern period, which has been little emphasised in discussing Scottish thought, is added here. This may be called initially, antiquarianism of the time. It was not a defect but a helpful method for presentation of truth. This may then serve to correct pejorative references to Calderwood’s history common in many books, even in our own century. An ample use of antiquarian sources in his writing was a result of the political and religious disturbance, which necessitated the

⁶⁵ Calderwood, *History*, vol.5, 681-682.

⁶⁶ Calderwood, *History*, vol.6 (1843), 688.

⁶⁷ See Allan, *Virtue, Learning*; Michael Lynch, A. A. Macdonald, Ian B. Cowan, (eds.) *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History, and Culture Offered to John Durkan* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1994); John MacQueen, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).

safe keeping of sources in an unstable society, first-hand accounts which could strengthen argument in verbal conflict.

With these things in mind, in the following pages, there will be found, firstly, a general outline of Protestant mode of thinking about history. Then, the most basic features of the humanist methods in discussing past events will be spoken of. Finally, the difference between antiquarianism and history during the early modern period will be mentioned. And, the importance of antiquarian method of dealing with the past and its use in Calderwood's history will be seen.

This study will thus reveal that Calderwood and his history together with his several other writings well appealed to a tradition in which history gained prominence and did not contradict the *sola scriptura* principle, even if the Bible was considered determining the course of history.⁶⁸

2.3 The Protestant Formation of Historical Studies

Calderwood was writing in an age in which disputes about the place of the Kirk of Scotland in society, about doctrine and practice, and about its relationship with the state and crown were at their height. Protestantism in Scotland had been established, now its pure and correct form was to be defended both against the attacks of external enemies—the Roman Church— and internal enemies—the prelates and Episcopalians. Thus, Calderwood proceeded to construct his history from the general and accepted Protestant scheme of history, which had been first formulated on the continent and had been transferred to Scotland through the English and Scottish Reformers. The shape and influence of the Protestant notion of

⁶⁸ See Irena Backus, in footnote 42, for a detailed analysis of this topic.

history has been best illustrated in a two volumes study edited by Bruce Gordon which treated the topic in several reformed countries.⁶⁹

This in fact was a mere development of an interpretation of the basic source of the Reformers, namely the Bible. Every foundation of this vision of things rested on the principle of *sola scriptura*. The Bible was the unimpeachable source in the interpretation of human history. The scripture was believed to possess an ultimate clarity and an infallible simplicity. The claims of the Church of Rome were refuted on the grounds that it represented corruption of the apostolic tradition represented in scripture by introducing innovative religious practises.⁷⁰

In the Judae-Christian tradition, the interpretation of Scripture played a crucial and formative role in revealing the truth. Protestants aimed at simplicity. In contrast to the view of medieval exegetes, scripture was thought of among Protestants as a gift of God, given for the use and edification of all, and not only accessible to those who had special and deep knowledge to discern hidden secrets.⁷¹ Still, however simple the message could be, some parts of scripture, at least did speak of a future place or time. The interpretation of the Bible best served immediate pastoral purposes: preaching or preparing sermons and catechisms. However, it also established a great historical framework that enabled men to see every historical event and action in a specific space of time as being under the direct control of divine providence.

One should be cautious in speaking of the protestant biblical exegesis of the period. A critical, though superficial, reading of the Bible, fuelled by some

⁶⁹ Bruce Gordon, (ed.) *Protestant History and Identity in sixteenth-Century Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot; Brookfield Vt: Scolar Press, 1996).

⁷⁰ Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 17.

⁷¹ Marc A. Clauson, Introduction to his *A Study of Scottish Hermeneutical Method From John Knox to the Early Twentieth Century* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), iv.

humanist notions of philology, never meant that Calderwood practiced a kind of historicization, sometimes anachronistically ascribed to his period. It has been argued that characteristically, the early modern period saw the rise of a critical mind, that in turn established a historicized reading of the past, a marked progress in the philosophy of history. Yet when one turns one's attention to the writings of this period throughout Europe, there is an evident scarcity of this kind of thinking. Calderwood's writings, like many in this period, fitted into the first category used in a recent study which defined and examined the Scottish tradition of hermeneutic under two headings. This indicated a conventional and uncritical reading of both Old and New Testaments. The second, indicated a more critical and historicized approach, which, however, was only to become significant in the eighteenth century.⁷²

In Calderwood's view, the truth was one, whether it could be found in the distant or the more recent past. He never historicised the Biblical truth, though he set out to find it through historical inquiry. He was well aware of the devouring aspect of the time, given emphasis in humanist writings. The more faraway one looked the more probable it became to find the original truth. It was highly related to the notion of reanimating what something had been once. It might have been hard; yet, the real issue was to reveal this truth by both humanist and protestant methods, but never to leave it to the social, political and cultural contexts of the past societies. It was moreover a transcendent and religious truth that continued revealing itself to human beings in every period of history. Thus, it was not a matter of adapting this truth to new circumstances, as it was generally thought as a practice of those who historicise, but of receiving and imitating it without making any

⁷² Ibid.

change in its content. Not unlike the attempts of many in this period, who carefully tried to imitate the deeds of Romans,⁷³ Calderwood believed that the message of God remained one and same throughout the history, and when conceived, it should in turn direct anybody to receive it without questioning.

In opposing to the ideas of other factions, any notion of religious, political or social innovation stood as a tool of accusation. In Calderwood's thinking, it was Episcopalians who committed the sin of changing, thus, violating the Presbyterian truth. It was prelates of his age who necessitated the repetition of Tertullian's admonition to the gentiles, who boasted of antiquity, but whose lives were led after new fashion.⁷⁴ Thus, said Calderwood that "our prelates were rather of the late Roman cutte, not so like unto the primitive, as unto the popish Bishops". He quoted Horace's poem, which well expressed his ideas about the past and the deteriorating effect of time:

Our parents age worse then their predecessors
Hath brought us forth more wicked their successors
Ere it be long, if we continew thus
We will bring forth a broode more-vitious.⁷⁵

In short Calderwood never adhered to a kind of critical and historicised approach to religious thought which relegated the past to the past. The teaching of the Bible and ecclesiastical history was one, and could not be relativized by succeeding centuries. It was never to suffer innovative interpretations. The course of history and the message that by Divine Providence it carried was simple, in both senses of the word.

According to this Protestant historical framework deduced fundamentally from the Bible, the Church remained incorrupt for a limited time after Christ. Then

⁷³ Levine, *History and Humanism*, 13.

⁷⁴ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 27.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Antichrist gradually began to disturb this primal peace and order and corruption entered into the church. Finally about the time of the first millennium, the thousand years during which Antichrist was bound, came to an end. This caused the emergence of the tyranny of the papacy and the entire corruption of the church. During the time span till the age of reformation the true church was maintained only by small groups or individuals. Thus it was argued that the sixteenth century reformations had regained the purity of the early church, a work “wonderfully wrought by the Lords mighty power in his weake servants”.⁷⁶ Calderwood’s history followed this scheme and events were placed accordingly.

This framework rested on an apocalyptic interpretation of scripture. Apocalyptic had a long history in Christianity. Its roots are found in the historical and prophetic books of the Bible, especially in Daniel and Revelation. Apocalyptic is related to eschatology which speaks of the end of the world or the present order. An apocalypse is, etymologically, unveiling or uncovering and apocalyptic constituted a particular kind of eschatology. It is at heart a revelation of God’s redemptive purpose and plan, whether or not the end of the world was held to be immanent. It is possible to describe some basic characteristics of apocalyptic thought. There was, first, polarized view of the universe, stressing the conflict between good and evil; secondly, it stressed prophecy or its fulfilment as revelatory of God’s redemptive purpose; and, thirdly, it asserted the final victory of the good.

Arthur Williamson was right in his assertion that those who set out to depict the historical position of the Church in a specifically Scottish context, rather than with British or imperial visions of the future were less under the influence of than

⁷⁶ Ibid., 39.

their predecessors, such as John Knox.⁷⁷ Calderwood was a patriotic, radical Presbyterian, who takes his place among the former. His patriotic tendency in the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century overshadowed, but did not displace apocalyptic zeal. The priority had first to be on the form of Protestantism. Provided that the true form of Protestantism both in its doctrine and discipline, that is Presbyterianism in Calderwood's case, was established in Scotland, then the above specified implications of apocalypse could be performed.

Yet, the presence of this Protestant scheme of history, itself, reveals the adherence to apocalyptic belief, even when there was emphasis on it in the texts. The periods of the early Church of Christ constituted perfection. After that came corruption and persecutions. Yet, the true disciples of Christ did not disappear. God would protect his elect and the true Church until its final victory at the end of the world. Especially in times of hopelessness, Calderwood wondered if "shall we live to see the day, when for the confused feare of an uncertaine losse, our Jerusalem shall become Romish, our Philadelphia become Laodicea".⁷⁸

Manifestations of an apocalyptic mode of thought in Calderwood's writings tend to be less concerned to reveal the course of events, than to provide moral content, the admonition and exhortation as had been the case in Knox's writings.⁷⁹ It brought to bear a moral attitude on events, both past and present. Moreover, by transforming it into a kind of moral instruction, directing conduct in minute acts, Calderwood tended to maintain it as a transcendent force, needing little emphasis,

⁷⁷ Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979), 86-96.

⁷⁸ David Calderwood, *An Exhortation of the Particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their Sister Kirk in Edinburgh* (Amsterdam: Successors of G. Thorp, 1624), 12.

⁷⁹ Richard Kyle, "John Knox and Apocalyptic Thought" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15 (1984): 449-469.

especially when addressing more urgent, practical and political affairs, which made the future unpredictable.

The divergence of Protestant apocalyptic from what had traditionally been accepted was the meaning of history in this pattern of thought, and it concerns us here rather more than the role and prominence of the idea of apocalypse in Calderwood's history. For, history, in Calderwood's writings, was highly significant in the revelation of truth. The philosophy of history and time in the orthodox Christianity prior to the Reformation was principally founded on the views of the church fathers, especially on those of Augustine of Hippo. He had dismissed the apocalypse and eschatology from the limits of time and history, so that the entire consummation of God's redemptive plan and purpose was put beyond time.⁸⁰ In *The City of God*, he explained that two cities, the heavenly and the profane, had been mingled together and they would separate again only at the final judgment. The difference between them was found in the understanding that divine providence was concerned with salvation not with history. History, thus, was meaningless and the struggle between the heavenly and the profane cities would be resolved beyond time and history. History —worldly and profane deeds— thus had no relevance to the Christian life. The Christian, qua Christian, was unconcerned with history and the world, for his salvation was acquired in the heavenly city.

We must note the changing meaning of history in the ecclesiastical histories of the reformers. This was for the most part a result of the Catholic/Protestant polemic, in which protestants sought an answer to the question: "Where was this church of yours before Luther?" This was indeed the crucial question in the ascription of an increased importance to history. They first imbued history with a

⁸⁰ Avihu Zakai, "Reformation, History, and Eschatology in English Protestantism" *History and Theory* 26 (1987): 300-318.

meaning by an assertion that the salvific drama was to reach its conclusion not in the heavenly city in eternity, as medieval Christianity had believed, but in human historical time. The struggle between good and evil was associated with that between the church of Christ and the church of Satan, between Christ and Antichrist. In this they found a basis for investigating the history of the Church of Rome. It was not the true church of Christ, but that of Antichrist. Thus Protestants found in history a means of discovering the true Church of God. This had far reaching influence, as “time and prophetic became central to the 16th century as men collated the past with scriptural symbol and thereby re-oriented the foundations of Western thinking”.⁸¹

And what about Calderwood in all this? In fact it was this legacy —the Protestant understanding and scheme of history— that Calderwood inherited and applied to his articulation of past events. Although, as remarked above, Calderwood, as a radical and patriotic presbyterian within a Scottish context never emphasised the apocalyptic mission of any individual or nation, since the apocalyptic tradition he inherited had a marked imperial or British character, fostered during the reign of James VI and I, he nevertheless adhered himself to this pattern of thought. As indicated, his apocalyptic vision commonly had a moral function and character and less concern with expectation and prediction.

It instructed people with moral intent, that through “the dispensation of God” the events in the remote past as well as those of the present should be considered as a struggle between the true and the false, which was controlled by divine providence. Calderwood’s approach may be illustrated.

I will content me with two witnesses, wo speaking of their own tymes, directly point at ours, taxing the enormities of the Kirks, then paint out in

⁸¹ Williamson, Introduction to *Scottish National Consciousness*, viii.

lively colours our present corruptions, that we may see the coincidence of the course of synne and may feare the similitude of judgments⁸²

Then, he set out to show in their own words, that his two witnesses, “the one is learned Gerson about the year 1420”, and the other “witness Nicholas Orem a man learned & pithie in the yeere 1364” revealed the character of events, knowledge of which was to be communicated to others for the direction of their behaviour.

It was incumbent on all to reflect this and follow the truth revealed in history. Thus, it was a moral lesson that was given, as God’s spirit moved in secrecy, remained transcendent, and worked toward its predetermined end, first in one place and then in another. Yet, it was within this transcendent and universal perspective, that Scotland had a distinguished role, in that she was perhaps the first nation to receive the light of the Word of God and the last to lose it during the corrupted times.

This kind of thinking was one of the legacies, perhaps the most prominent in his mind that Calderwood, like many others in his time, inherited. This discussion has aimed to show that both the general and the particular perspectives of Scottish radical Presbyterians—they were not alone among other Protestants—gave them a distinctive view of the course of human life in the world. They adhered to a vision of history which was both directed and controlled by divine providence. Even secondary causes, including human acts were imbued with the direct influence of God. It was an age that rarely sought individuality in human actions. The confused and disordered events of the world had a purpose which individuals could only see as a unity through faith.⁸³ However, more important than the understanding of

⁸² David Calderwood, *The Speach of the Kirk of Scotland to Her Beloved Children* (Amsterdam: imprinted by Giles Thorp, 1620), 27.

⁸³ Markus Wriedt, “Luther’s Concept of History and the Foundation of an Evangelical Identity”, in *Protestant History* (ed.) Bruce Gordon, vol. 1, 33.

history, was the value ascribed to it in this thinking. History gained a prominence, as a salvific drama, that it had never enjoyed in ecclesiastical histories before the Reformation. Indeed, with their emphasis on divine providence, they were convinced that history could be used as an instrument of revelation, second in authority only to scripture.⁸⁴ Protestants held to the Ciceronian dictum that history was “the mistress of life”, but this had different connotations, in a new social, political and religious context.

The Protestant one was not the only intellectual legacy that made history so important in Calderwood’s mind. It is true that history writing was not a popular or wide-spread form of communicating one’s ideas in the period. A history was written out of necessity, for it was hard to produce with ease and speed, and more immediate assertions or answers were produced in other forms of writing. This period was an age for the pamphlet, the catechisms and the theological treatise, which served the ends of controversialists better. History was difficult in the intellectual and moral demand it made on the writer, as suggested here. His writing was merely an expression of controversy or partisanship, but truth whether religious or secular. But, truth was hard to trace, requiring investigation of long spaces of time, and the method of articulating it in a history made it less popular, easy to grasp than in other literary forms. It was perhaps too boring for readers of secular humanist narratives.

This understanding of truth had a long past in the history writing tradition. But, in this as other periods, it was rendered within a historiographical pattern established by the age’s intellectual traditions. It was expressed in modes of writing which should not be dismissed as underdeveloped or partisan and indifferent to

⁸⁴ Allan, *Virtue, Learning*, 51.

accuracy. Sophisticated and academic standards for history writing in the period were well established and adherence to these demands was accepted with little innovation or reconsideration. If one of the chief intellectual traditions was Protestant and apocalyptic, the other was Humanist. It is to the Protestant use of some of the methods of humanist historiography one should now turn one's attention for a deeper understanding of Calderwood's history.

2.4 Humanist Legacies in Calderwood's Works

The influence of Renaissance humanism in western thinking has been much discussed, often with much dissatisfaction and offering of revision inevitable when a phenomenon with many meanings is discussed in different contexts and ages. There is no intention here to survey Renaissance historiography *per se*; but we may consider its basic elements and instruments, that provided Calderwood with useful methods or perspectives in conveying what he intended in writing his history. His situation allowed him to benefit from one of the most important humanist legacies, the wide spread Protestant textual community.⁸⁵ It shared, to some extent, a common language and its intellectual and religious exchanges did much to shape the religious and political identities of the period, which had its origins in the polemical exchanges of Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer and their Catholic opponents.⁸⁶

Protestants used, more or less, an understanding of history, for example, in biblical exegesis, which constituted an orthodox within Renaissance humanism. Renaissance humanism has been said to have broadened the practice of

⁸⁵ Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 17-22.

⁸⁶ Bruce Gordon, "The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century", in *Protestant History*, vol.1, 11.

interpretation and made it simpler.⁸⁷ It broadened it by introducing notions of style, contexts and a variety of tools, which in turn made the literal sense of any idea a lot more important, though analogy continued to be still alive during this period.⁸⁸ So, it was not so easy to describe the method of Protestant historiography in general and Calderwood in particular with the same comprising and superficial definition of Prof. Donald Kelley. Nevertheless, the Renaissance developments may be seen as starting point, of a longer process of development which is reflected in the writings of Calderwood.

Scots were influenced by, particularly, French humanists, who extended their perspectives with a close study of the sources of classical ages by means of philology. Similar philological studies of sources led sixteenth-century authors to redefine the Scottish past. This work, by such as Hector Boece and George Buchanan, added to the perspectives of subsequent authors. Theirs was not identical with the social, political and religious context of Calderwood himself. Yet, Calderwood made ample use of the findings of Buchanan in his history, especially in the parts in which he set out to construct the ancient Scottish identity.

Calderwood was aware of his debts, he praised the leading Presbyterian reformer, Andrew Melville for his knowledge in languages, and for the fact that when “he came to Edinburgh from France bringing with him to his countrie a plentiful treasure of good letters”. His library “was brought home riche with rarest

⁸⁷ Donald R. Kelley, “Hermes, Clio, Themis: Historical Interpretation and Legal Hermeneutics” *The Journal of Modern History* 55 (1983): 644-668.

⁸⁸ Here it is important to realize the continuing pre-eminence of traditional methods of thinking, one of which was analogy. The argument has been given to point out the emergence of a different discourse, which could hardly challenge the existent way of thinking until the end of the eighteenth century. To criticise the claims that the seventeenth century experienced a scientific revolution by dismissing analogy and occult sciences, see Brian Vickers, *Occult & Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, new edition (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); (ed.) *English Science, Bacon to Newton* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

authors in arts and sciences”.⁸⁹ Moreover, it is not only his history, which shows that he perceived the importance of philology in going *ad fontes* to answer the charges of adversaries. His other writings worked out well the same methods of philology. In one of his more notable writings, *The Pastor and The Prelate*, where he attacked the conformists to the Episcopal order in Scotland, he expressed his views succinctly. The Episcopalians, he held,

... misregard the order of divine dispensation in the course of time, not without ingratitude to God for his gifts, and to good men for their labours, by preferring the meanest, that carrieth the name of (false) Antiquitie, unto the worthiest instruments of that blessed worke of Reformation, who had above all that went before them many great helpes of the languages, of humane literature, and of printing, and to whom many secrets were made knowne by the accomplishment of prophesies, especially concerning the Antichrist...⁹⁰

The merit of the return *ad fontes* was that it revealed the naked truth to searcher of any kind, in either secular or religious sources. These sources were to determine the stances of modern believers. They were to give direction to the lives of the corrupted and misguided. History, as it was established by the standards of earlier humanists, was to be both morally instructive and prescriptive for the society in all its aspects. The sources were to be studied so that they might be adopted pragmatically, not treated as merely commemorative of a previous society. They were to be treated pedagogically, not philosophically. History taught by example and was better than experience, as Archbishop John Spottiswood, one of the most prominent Episcopalians of the seventeenth century, and contemporary of Calderwood, pointed out at the very beginning of his *The History of The Church of Scotland*:

There is not amongst men a greater help in attaining unto wisdom, then(than) is the reading of history. We call experience a good Mistris, and so she is, but

⁸⁹ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 3, 328-329.

⁹⁰ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 20-21.

as it is in our Scottish proverb: It seldome quits the cost: History not so; it teacheth us at other mens cost, and carrieth this advantage more, that in a few ours reading, a man may gather moe instructions out of the same, then twenty men living successively one after another, can possibly learn by their own experience. Therefore hath History by all wise men been ever held in good estimation: and none thought to deserve better of the Church and State wherin they lived, then that they have taken the pains to record unto Posterity the things fallen forth in their days...⁹¹

However much consensus there was on the value of history, the question remained —which history? What seemed as the revelation of truth. The problem grew intense as the religious and political disputes accelerated during the reign of James VI and I. It was certain that the truth was to be found the past. But, what was the starting point of investigation? The Bible was accepted as a common and basic source. However, Calderwood mentioned a continuing conflict: there was a choice of authority within the scriptures and beyond it.

The other thing that we would have the studious reader to take notice of, is this, that of the Prelates & maintainers of conformitie, seeking the fountain of antiquitie, and uncertaine where to find it, some go back to the old testament to bring the Prelates pedigree from thence, some would bring his descent from Christ, some from the Apostles, and a fourth sort from the Primitive Kirk.⁹²

Therefore one of the most debated humanist, one may call it Ciceronian, motifs of history —from among the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mistress of life and the messenger of antiquity— proved to be “the light of truth”.

According to Calderwood, like many others, antiquity, the primitive kirk and the ancient fathers could be used to establish the truth. But, of course, one had had to be cautious in moving beyond the word of God in scripture. “We reverence the hoarie head, and the name of Antiquitie”, said Calderwood in the *Pastor and the Prelate*. However, a distinction was to be made between “the antiquitie of truth & the antiquitie of error”. It was necessary to “make difference betwixt originall

⁹¹ John Spottiswoode, afterword to *The History of the Church of Scotland, Beginning the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of King James the VI of ever blessed memory* (London: printed by J. Flesher, 1655).

⁹² Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 21.

antiquitie”, which represented the first institution and “the antiquitie of custome which is of long continuance”. Still, he maintained that one should not disregard the primitive kirk after the time of apostles, however much one preferred the example established in their time. For, many changes occurred in the following ages, both in doctrine and discipline.⁹³ As Calderwood put it, First Father who God “the Father of Fathers besides whom we have no father”. Then, the reverence was due to Christ; then to Holy Ghost; and then to Holy Scripture which “onely carrieth their divine authority”. Thus, it was a matter of degree. The closer it came to Christ and the apostles, the more reliable truth it became. But there were others, who searched antiquity for antiquity. Calderwood noted the false precedents used by the Episcopalians since they were those who treated antiquity “putting upon them [the Fathers] the purple robe of authority and at their pleasure pulling it off againe”.⁹⁴

Calderwood, in all his historical writing, reflected a providential understanding of historical causation, the normal view of the period. Divine involvement extended to secondary causes. The use made of this view was chiefly moral, reminding readers of the mechanism by which sin was punished and the virtue rewarded. Although it was possible to detect the variety of truth claims, though extracted from this general framework of history, the moral and religious messages could still be communicated by application of some methods, which had previously been performed by others but could now be made use of in seeking the truth. They were not indeed practiced to put aside this religious worldview, but to strengthen its position by newly formulated truth claims. One of these methods was antiquarianism, whose popularity, or at least applicability, began to increase during the conflicts in which Calderwood involved.

⁹³ Ibid., 19.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 20.

2.5 Antiquarianism

The convergence of antiquarianism, with its interest in law, philology, numismatics, heraldry and epigraphy with history as a literary activity has been extensively discussed.⁹⁵ Some have held that this created a historiographical revolution, while others have approached to the topic more critically.⁹⁶ For France, it has been held that the conjunction was most visible in the study of law in the seventeenth century. For England, it has been argued that a breakthrough in the acceptance of antiquarian studies by historians came in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, it has been commonly accepted, that the real marriage between them took place during the nineteenth-century. Before then they were mostly categorized separately and held to serve different purposes in the search for the past.

Yet, it is undoubtedly true that Calderwood's history represented the strict alliance of erudition and history in the seventeenth century. Calderwood's writings reveal that Scotland appreciated that the convergence of these two understandings of the study of the past worked well in theological studies. It was in the writings related to the religious disputes of the period that one sees an ample use of manuscript sources as first hand testimonies or witnesses to the truth.

In the early modern period, one can see clearly the difference between history and antiquarian study. History was, as a commonplace, held to be a branch of

⁹⁵ See Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Levine, *Humanism and History*; and his *Between the Ancients and Moderns: Baroque Culture in Restoration England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); also see D. R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and 'The Light of Truth' from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1990); and Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

⁹⁶ For a historiographical analysis of the effect of antiquarianism in this period, see again Woolf, *The Idea of History*; and his "Erudition and the Idea of History in Renaissance England" *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (1987): 11-48.

rhetoric or oratory.⁹⁷ It offered a narrative of past events imbued, with moral and other instructive meanings. Antiquarianism on the other hand dealt more with what we should now think of as archival material and other research, physical remnants of the distant past. Its concern was with past institutions. It served more as a commemorative instrument than a pragmatic moral purpose. However, it was impossible to attribute, for all Calderwood's undoubtedly antiquarian zeal, any lack of moral, political or religious purpose in his history. As in the case of these humanist and protestant figures of previous centuries, whose antiquarian skills were notable like Lorenzo Valla, Guillaume Budé, Beza and Buchanan, whom Calderwood esteemed and integrated their findings in his writings, Calderwood practiced engagement. This antiquarianism was used to point political and religious morals, and used in the service of the polemics of the period.⁹⁸

The task of such authors like Calderwood, or of Knox before him, was to bring together the first hand testimonies, whether of martyrs, or of antiquity, or of the Scottish nation, making use of official state and parliamentary records that confessed the religious truth since the Reformation. The use of these materials was necessary because "men of God all this time of defection gave testimonie to the truth..., by all meanes that became him [God] to use". So, such testimony could offer spiritual, moral and prophetic instruction to true believers. More recent material assisted right minded historians to distinguish between sources interpolated by Romanists and medieval scholastics, and those giving the testimony of original witnesses, saved by divine providence through the centuries.

In the light of all the above discussion, it should be clear that Calderwood's history was never a product of poor mind, distracted by polemics and ideological

⁹⁷Levine, *Humanism and History*, 9-15.

⁹⁸ Donald R. Kelley, "Jean Du Tillet, Archivist and Antiquary" *The Journal of Modern History* 38 (1966): 337-354.

controversies. His quest and struggle for political and religious identity was profound and systematic. His writings were used not only to settle the religious disputes between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but also to mark the peculiar national character of his church.⁹⁹ He knew from where to approach to the matters of his age. For example, the ecclesiological issues had to come first, though he also engaged in the polemical literature concerning the national character of the Scottish Church. National identity of all sorts, thus, came second to religious identity. He was also aware of how to present his position in written form, whether it was a political pamphlet, a theological treatise or a history. He certainly made ample use of previous scholarly legacies, including methodologies. However, as shown, he used these inherited methods with a degree of depth and order, which much commends the histories. His history-writing displayed firstly, a basic Protestant understanding and methodology of history; secondly instruments to make visible the meaning of past events and render them useful to contemporaries; and, finally, he was one of the best representatives of those early modern historians who succeeded in bringing together history and antiquarianism in a simple narrative full of moral and other instructions.

Consequently, it may be put that Calderwood held two basic truth or moral lessons that was to be communicated throughout his writings. His history and the methodologies described above brought these crucial messages together, either by means of inherited narratives, or through anew formulated accounts. As evidence or witness but not full narrative as well as testimony but not interpolation provided the very foundation of his method,¹⁰⁰ his history might have looked less exiting and popular and more boring. Nevertheless, it was instructive for the contemporary

⁹⁹ Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 23.

¹⁰⁰ Allan, *Virtue, Learning*, 53.

reader in its hold of two basic premises, which will basically concern us in the following chapters. First one can be called under a general title “the purity and peace in doctrine and discipline” of the Church of Scotland that would in turn ensure the order of the church, the kingdom and the commonwealth in Scotland. Second Scotland should turn to itself and stand independent from the corrupted formulations of the neighbouring churches, especially of England. Both issues can be regarded as a summary or a conclusion of his writings, and will be examined separately. He developed and formulated these two themes as a result of the political and religious disturbances of his age.

CHAPTER 3

“THE EXTERNAL WORSHIP OF GOD, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH ARE LIKE *HIPPOCRATES* TWINS”

Calderwood in one of his remarkable works, *The Pastor and The Prelate*, expected from the “Christian Reader that thou would doe what thou may to make this following Treatise come to his Majesties (James VI) hands”.¹⁰¹ This in fact constituted one of the two Christian duties that Calderwood was commending: “one is for thy (pastor) own good; the other is for the good of the Kingdom”. The first duty necessitated always recalling what true and reformed religion in Scotland was to be which “was builded by difficulties, and maintained by patience and paines”.¹⁰² The second one, on the other hand, was to make the King remember “that purity of profession received universiallie with so full consent, that Prince and Peeres, Pastors and people were all for Christ, one heart & one soule of these who believed”.¹⁰³ Both were the logical extensions of two basic Protestant desires: for purity in doctrine, and true discipline and government in the Kirk of Scotland. The

¹⁰¹ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 5.

¹⁰² David Calderwood, *An Epistle of A Christian Brother exhorting an other to keepe himselfe undefiled from the present corruptions brought into the ministration of the Lords Supper* (Amsterdam: Successors of G. Thorp, 1624), 25.

¹⁰³ Calderwood, *Speach*, 8.

quest for both would create many clashes between civil and ecclesiastical authorities throughout the seventeenth century in Scotland.

During the famous debates between Presbyterians and Episcopalians that were inaugurated in the reign of James VI and I, Calderwood with his all zeal defended the cause of the Presbyterians expressed in these two ecclesiological goals. But, what could be the reason behind his desire for assurance that James VI would read his treatise? It was not thought that “kings and Queens will take upon them either the paines, or worldly discredit to preach the word, minister the sacraments, intimate to the congregation the sentence of excommunication”.¹⁰⁴ Thus, Calderwood’s work addressed to ministers must have been intended to suggest for the King more than the simple lesson. To think of Calderwood’s texts superficially is to loose the close tie between text and context, and to disregard the political implications of these theological arguments. Therefore, this chapter will be devoted to the single ecclesiological and political character of nearly in his all writings. They were directed to communicate a crucial message for all, from the head of the kingdom to the lowest parts of the society.

In the early modern Europe, the constitutional form, with a few exceptions, was monarchy. In all these monarchies, the sovereign rulers, namely kings, were supposed to perform three prominent functions, by which were declared the rulers’ qualities in performing their functions. A wise and good king should keep peace and order; deliver justice and equity; and, lastly, defend his country against its enemies. When one looks at the discussions held by royalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Catholics, etc. in the reign of James VI, one immediately sees that at the heart of their argument was the necessity to keep peace and order in Scotland heavily

¹⁰⁴ David Calderwood, *The Altar of Damascus or the Patern of the English Hierarchie, and Chruch Policie Obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (Amsterdam: Giles Thorpe, 1621), 5.

afflicted by religious disagreements. It was the establishment of peace and order that was required before all else as James himself had pointed it out.

Though outward peace bee a great blessing, yet it is farre inferiour to Peace within, as civill wars are more cruell and unnaturall then [than] wars abroad.¹⁰⁵

This common blessing was shared by all hierarchies, religious and secular, so the writings of the period make clear. However, it was hard to satisfy all who longed to see peace established, each according to his own commitments and perspectives. All who took part in the debates strove to identify those whom they perceived to be breaking the peace in the country. Thus, it might be said that the desire that King James should receive the treatise of Calderwood was, at heart, about establishing and keeping the peace. According to Calderwood, the King was to be faulted in his policies, especially those that touched on matters ecclesiastical. So, He was to be warned that the peace had been broken, because he had been deceived by the false teachings of prelates and Episcopalians of all sorts.

The period's close and inseparable relationship between church and state made unavoidable debates about the nature of this relationship, especially when there seemed to be a tension between them. However, it is important here not to commit the sin of imagining these two institutions to have been challenging each other's power or existence. In theory, and normally in practice, they were in union, directing the people of the Kingdom to salvation. As one author warns us, the polemical writings of the period should not be allowed to overshadow the extent to which there remained a network of authority making both civil and religious

¹⁰⁵ *Flores Regij: Or Proverbes and Aphorismesi Divine and Morall: As they were at severall times upon sundry occasions, spoken by his Most Excellent Maiestis Iames, of famous memory of Great Brittain, Collected by F. L. S.* (London: printed by B[ernard] A[lsop] F[awcet] for Ben: Fisher, 1627), 68

institutions function in harmony.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the disagreements between the church and other institutions should be assessed with the characteristic of the society constantly in mind. Let's at the moment hear the words of Calderwood about the nature of this close tie between church and state:

Albeit that sometimes the power Ecclesiasticall be without the secular, and the members of the Kirk make not any civill corporation, as in the Apostles times, & and long after. And sometimes the secular power be without the ecclesiasticall, and the members of kingdomes and corporations make not a Kirk, as amongst the Heathen of old, and many nations and societies this day.; yet is it farre best, both for religion and justice, both for trueth and peace, both for Kirk and Commonwealth, when both are joyned in one: When the Magistrate hath both swords, the use of the temporal sword, and the benefite of the spirituall sword, and when the Kirk hath both swords, the use of the spirituall sword, and the benefite of the temporall: When the two administration civill and ecclesiasticall, like Moses and Aaron, help one another mutually, & and neyther Aaron and Miriam murmur against Moses, nor Jeroboam stretched out his hand against the man of God. Upon the one part, civill authoritie mainteyneth and defendeth religion, where it is reformed, and reformeth religion where it is corrupted.¹⁰⁷

Though this idealized understanding had been held and defended by like minded radical Presbyterians since the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, the more realistic politics of the period challenged this proposition at its heart.

When the Five Articles at Perth were accepted by the Assembly in 1618 and ratified by the parliament in 1621, to the great distress of Presbyterians, James VI seemed to be extending his sovereign power to all the institutions of the society. These articles imposed some rites and ceremonies, which had not been used within the Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation, and which were wholly unacceptable to radical Presbyterians like Calderwood. They included kneeling at Communion, the observance of five holy days, Episcopal confirmation, and private communion and baptism. In most of all his writings, especially in his *Perth Assembly*, Calderwood

¹⁰⁶ Goodare, *State and Society*, 173.

¹⁰⁷ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 60.

set out to prove “the unlawfulness of every one of the Articles, as need shall require, and opportunity will serve”. For,

the Articles proponed, they doe innovate and bring under the slander of change the estate of this Church, so advisedlie established by Ecclesiasticall constitutions, acts of parliament, approbation of other Kirkes, and good likeing of the best reformed Christians without and within this kingdom, and so evidentlie blessed with happie successe and sensible experience of Gods greatest benefits by the space of 58 yeares, and above, so that we may boldlie say to the praise of God that no church hath enjoyed the trueth and puritie of religion in larger libertie.¹⁰⁸

As it is clear from this passage, Calderwood detected an emergence of disorder in the country, where peace should have been maintained. In fact, this problem did not occur because of James VI’s keenness for these articles or other policies disliked by Presbyterians. The real problem is seen when it is noted that the call for establishing peace came, especially from Presbyterians, when the king succeeded in making all the institutions of the society feel the existence and extension of his royal power more than had previously been the case. Moreover, this discourse was adapted to changing circumstances. The motivation for Calderwood’s writings was a desire to maintain the true religion, albeit only in part, because “it keepeth true peace, both publick and private, and when peace can be no longer kept, it followeth after it to find it againe”.¹⁰⁹ Thus, as soon as Presbyterians saw that the Episcopal form of government was preferred by the king, and that he and Episcopalians were pushing forward principles odious to Presbyterians, this immediately kindled an old fire of conflict between ecclesiastical and civil authorities. This was a problem which would dominate the conflicts of seventeenth-century Scotland.¹¹⁰ What was, and was not in the hands of the civil magistrate in matters ecclesiastical? Before dealing with the details and looking at the answers

¹⁰⁸ David Calderwood, *Perth Assembly* (Leiden: William Brewster, 1619), 18-19.

¹⁰⁹ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 62.

¹¹⁰ J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996), 170.

given to this crucial question, one should look at the conditions that produced this problem and then see what came out of it.

In one of his earlier speeches, James had declared that it was much to his satisfaction to have been ‘brought up and ever made profession of’ the Religion established in Scotland. These words moved Calderwood to rejoice that James was on the side of Presbyterians, for he “praises God, that there is a sufficient number of good men in this kingdome, and yet they are all knowen to be against the forme of English Kirk”.¹¹¹ However, the sentiments expressed by the king were only related to the Kirk’s worship. They had nothing to do with its discipline, government or polity.¹¹² This position of James VI about the government of visible church was strengthened by the practices and principles in England, with which he became more acquainted after the Union of the Crowns in 1603. In the English Church, there were Episcopalian clergymen who admitted the royal prerogative in matters of church discipline. This provided James with the necessary confidence and knowledge to pursue a policy, which he had started after 1596, one which would consolidate his control over the church. There was, for example, the ratification by parliament of a diocesan episcopacy in 1612; the drafting of another common book of service, reflecting the traces of the English liturgy; and the passing of the Five Articles at the Perth Assembly in 1618 and their ratification by parliament in 1621. All these were anathema to radical Presbyterians. Calderwood could now envisage that we “shall see the wide doore of traditions cast open, whereby the whole multitude, & theatrical pompe not only of English, but popish rites, woodbind to the Gospell may as well enter”.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Calderwood, *Speach*, 109.

¹¹² Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 92.

¹¹³ David Calderwood, *Exortation*, 15.

By ignoring the efforts of James VI, who struggled to bring Scottish ecclesiastical government in conformity with practice of the English Church by imprisoning and banishing prominent Presbyterians, Calderwood had committed himself to persuading the King. As it was obvious in his mind that ‘his gracious Mejestie hath quite forgotten what he was once himself’, then he “will not refuse at your [presbyterians] hands the offer that Ierusalem made to Alexander”.¹¹⁴ He declared to everybody that the king took erroneous counsel from devilish commissioners. It was a prelate who deceived the “Kings Majesty”, as “they would have his Majesty to think, that his royal authority is supported by the shadow of [English] ceremonies, and would have the subjects to think, that there is no support of ceremonies, but royal authority”.¹¹⁵

Calderwood in fact seemed to be well aware of what was at the heart of the matter when he said that Episcopalians always suggested “that it is a necessary duty to obey the ordinance of our Superiors, and not to withstand the Authority”.¹¹⁶ Evidently, it was a matter of obedience to superiors. Calderwood and other Presbyterians had never denied “obedience to be due to the Magistrate”; unquestionably “Magistrates and Superiours should be obeyed”. However, the consideration given by both sides to the question of obedience to a godly king in matters ecclesiastical produced varied statements and expectations. However much was there a common sentiment between both parties about the obedience due to a godly king, the arguments offered about its extent, on the other hand, differed much as a result of ecclesiological and hermeneutical disagreement.¹¹⁷ This was the case,

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 20.

¹¹⁵ Calderwood, *Speech*, 111.

¹¹⁶ David Calderwood, *A Defence of Our Arguments: against kneeling at the act of receiving the Sacramentall elements of bread and wine impugned by Mr. Michelsone* (Amsterdam: Giles Thorp, 1620), 56.

¹¹⁷ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 61.

especially when we follow the argument within the limits squared on the doctrine and discipline of the reformed religion in Scotland. Here we come to the heart of the issue at hand.

It may be contended that there was not much disagreement about the general premises, about the purity of the worship of the reformed religion both in Scotland and England, even in other countries. It was clear enough to most that “whereupon it came to passe, that although one part of Christendome knewe not what another was doing, yet they all agreed in the most essentiall and fundamentall matters of faith: because the Lord was maister of that worke”.¹¹⁸ Instead, the contested area was that of the government and discipline of the church. In short, it came out of the problem of church polity. For those who emphasised and defended the unquestionability of Presbyterian government within the established church, the discipline of the church was required to conform to the principles of true doctrine. It was these which created a range of religious and particularly ecclesiological positions, through practice to governance and discipline.¹¹⁹

At the heart of the question lay the problem whether there was an inseparable relationship between the external worship of God and the government of the visible church on the way to salvation. This question, open to several hermeneutical stances also necessitated a consideration of the power of the church in determining the rites, ceremonies or things indifferent to salvation, the frequently referred to *adiaphora*. Such considerations had many political consequences, raising to mind the place of civil magistrates in matters ecclesiastical. This is not surprising when one thinks the priority of religion in the social order, in an age when many national and

¹¹⁸ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 39.

¹¹⁹ Prior, *Defining*, 5.

confessional states had emerged.¹²⁰ The nature and role of the church as a political unit or institution was much reflected upon and hotly debated.

David Lindsay, minister in Dundee, and later bishop of Brechin, who felt the responsibility on his shoulders to defend the Episcopal program of King James VI, set out to refute the arguments put forward in Calderwood's writings, especially his *Altar of Damascus* and *The Perth Assembly*. In order to understand the power of the church question, as a determinant of political conflict, let us look at a long passage contained in Lindsay's *A True Narration of All the Passages of the Proceedings in the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Holden at Perth the 25. of August, Anno Dom. 1618*.

Thus much for the power of the Church. We come now to the extent of this power. It is certaine, that this power cannot reach to any thing essentiall and materiall in the worship of God: but to the decencie, and order only, which is to bee observed for edification in the circumstances above specified; *Let all things bee done decently, and in order*, saith the Apostle. The things themselves that are to be done, are partly specified in that same chapter where this rule is given, and in the word elsewhere, they are fully and particularly expressed, and not left to be prescribed according to the will and iudgment of the Church, but by this precept a power is only given to the Church to prescribe the decent manner, forme, and order, how they should be done. And so to determine the circumstances which are in the generall necessary to bee used in divine worship, but not particularly defined in the Word. So by warrant of this precept, the Church hath no power to forme new Articles of Faith, New Precepts of Obedience, new Petitions of Prayer, new Sacraments, or new Rites and Ceremonies, such as Salt, Oyle, Spittle, Chrisme, Ashes, holy Water, Lights, and innumerable such other things; which cannot be reduced to any circumstances, that in the generall are of necessary use.¹²¹

As this passage clearly indicates, the defenders of the Episcopal form of government, in their reflection on worship, allowed a wide field of *adiaphora*, and the same attitude was likely to prevail in other matters, including ecclesiological government.

¹²⁰ Clark, *English Society*, 26-30.

¹²¹ David Lindsay, unpaginated address 'To the Reverend and Godly Brethren' in *A True Narration of All the Passages of the Proceedings in the generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Holden at Perth the 25. of August, Anno Dom. 1618* (London: William Stansby 1621).

In fact, Calderwood seems to have been well aware of the root of the problem. However, as will be observed, he had a different solution which would further the argument and create new problems for the definition of political peace and order. For Calderwood, the post-Reformation church in Scotland was not free from a necessity to keep its integrity both in its external worship and its discipline. In his *Perth Assembly*, he began to his argument with a famous sentence, which reached the heart of the discussion: “The externall worship of God, and the government of the Church (Gentle and iudicious reader) are like *Hippocrates* twins: they are sick together: they live together, they die and dwine together”. Thus, to think of the established church, not in its entirety both as a visible and an invisible institution, or to separate areas of its life, was a great error, as it can be seen from this passage where Calderwood made the Church comment on the recent developments concerning its outward polity:

But leaving all these, I come to complaine of the alteration made upon my outward face and government. May not I now, as once the world becoming Arrian, poure out my sighes, and wonder how so suddenly I am changed from that which I was, and become that which now I am. All the rites of Rome are not more odious to many now, then [than] my present ceremonial constitution was to them of late. The formes and frutes of preaching fearfully changed, the crystalline fountaines of holy Scripture troubled with the mudd of mans putride learning, the ministration of the Sacraments brough in under a new guise of mans shaping, the painfull ministerie turned into a busy Lordsip, and these who are set over soules, & should warre unto God are become seculars, intangling themselves with the affaires of this life, nothing but a pompous shadow for Gods simple service.¹²²

Here one can see Calderwood uniting the matters of liturgy, ecclesiastical government and doctrine. Changes made to the outward appearance of the church meant allowing human beliefs to replace the authority of the Word of God. This came close to reconciling reformed religion and “Romish” rites and ceremonies,

¹²² Calderwood, *Speach*, 22.

which were rejected the Reformation. This was a political matter; for Christ, whose authority was thus challenged was “sovereign King in our land”:

Christ hath not only beene one, & his name one, in respect of his propheticall office for your information, of his priesthood for the expectation of your sinnes, and intercession for you: but also hath displayed his banners, and shewed himself a sovereign King in our Land, to governe you with his own sceptre erected in his Worde, to cutt off with his sword all monuments of Idolatry and superfluitie of pompous ceremonies; to restore all the meanes of his worship in Word, Sacraments, and Discipline to the holy simplicitie and integritie of the first pattern...¹²³

What was at issue in matters of liturgy and church government now were clearly not *adiaphora*. What was at issue was the Christian Revelation. The features of visible Church had been determined by Christ himself and his apostles. This doctrine and discipline, re-established by the Reformation in Scotland, could not be allowed to perish from the land under the rule of James VI. Therefore, the defining of what matters were indifferent and particularly the question of the government of the church was to be in the hands of the church itself, which was to be the executioner of its decrees. Those things related to the outward appearance of the church were “universallie consented” to at the time of Reformation. These could not now be challenged by the civil authority or by bishops unlawfully appointed by it.

Such matters pertaining to the Scottish Church were not to be made a matter of discussion, since “as long as the government of the Church of Scotland stood in integritie, as it was established by lawes, civill and ecclesiasticall, according to Gods word, so long was the worship of God preserved in puritie”.¹²⁴ The discipline of the church was to be administered by the “Minister, Elderis, and Deaconis”, for it was acknowledged that “no offices in the Kirk, after the extraordinarie of the Apostles, Prophets & Evangelists, but the ordinarie of Pastors, Teachers, Elders and Deacons, appointed by Christ, was sufficient for the weill of the Kirk, and of everie

¹²³ Ibid., 9.

¹²⁴ Calderwood, to the reader in *Perth Assembly*.

member thereof in all things spirituall and temporall”.¹²⁵ The argument was continued by Presbyterian attempts to prove to the King that the ecclesiastical government commended by the Episcopalians could not be conformed by the testimony of either Christ and his apostles or history. To demonstrate that it was human invention, he made ample use of patristic and historical sources, as supplementary to his basic source, the Bible.

Arguing the problem, with regard to the prevailing order in England, in his *Altar of Damascus*, Calderwood made clear that “this proud name of Archbishop is not to be found in all the Scripture”. These dignitaries “were lifted up to a degree of power above other Bishops, & invented into an office that the Book of God, & the Apostolicall Church never knew”. The English form of hierarchy reflected the fact “the Church being for the most part within the bounds of the Roman Empire, the governours framed the government according to the forme of the Empire, and made degrees in the Church like to the degrees in the common-weale”.¹²⁶ Thus, it was the invention of men who were the representatives of worldly hierarchies and unacceptable when judged by the Word of God. This view was no novelty. Its exponents presented themselves as being very familiar with the first pattern of Christ’s Church. They pointed out that “all records witnesse, that several bishops succeeded the Apostles at Rome, Constantinople, Ierusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and other places: All the councells give preheminence to Bishops: and to the Councells, the Fathers consent”.¹²⁷

It is clear, surveying all his writings, that Calderwood never abandoned his convictions. He did not yield to his opponents’ call to conformity and with constant

¹²⁵ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 12.

¹²⁶ Calderwood, *Altar of Damascus*, 40.

¹²⁷ Patrick Scot, *Calderwoods Recantation: or a Tripartite Discourse* (London: Bernard Alsop, 1622), 34.

zeal tried to refute what his enemies put forward by reference to Christ, and antiquity, the apostles and the primitive kirk, using a form of discourse, which he expected to persuade James VI. This mirrored that of the Episcopalians. Both parties, Presbyterian and Episcopalian, set out to survey the nature and form of the ecclesiastical institution through time, using this as the basis of their case. Therefore, as time proceeded, there emerged two different and comprehensive discourses, each of which strived to convince the upholders of the other, about the nature of the church's discipline and government.¹²⁸ Calderwood probably had this in mind when he wondered aloud about the course, which James VI would follow. He asked,

shall yee think now, that his Majestie will either cease to love, and maintaine his owne loyall subjects for slow pronouncing a sentence in so old a controversy: or will impaire the liberties of the kingdom of Christ, who hath added so largely to his dominions?¹²⁹

However, the course of events disappointed Calderwood in his hope that the king could be persuaded. In fact, he had probably been convinced previously that the king was set on a course that he was bound to resist. He may well have believed that his writings were unlikely to change the course that had already been set. Speaking more simply, the crown had been proceeding to overthrow Presbyterian influence in the country. This was evident as early as 1612. The general assembly had been forced to accept a greater degree of royal authority. It would be consolidated through a crown-appointed commission which would advance royal and ecclesiastical policy in the general assemblies. The intention of James VI to restore the bishops made manifest in his *Basilicon Doron*, had already been partly realized, indeed nearly accomplished in 1606, though not with a full power in

¹²⁸ Prior, *Defining*, 4.

¹²⁹ Calderwood, *Speach*, 116.

matters ecclesiastical.¹³⁰ In the same year the place of bishops in parliament was accepted by that body. Moreover, a heated general assembly in Glasgow agreed that the bishops would be the moderators of the synods. All this, Julian Goodare observes, was a challenge to the ascending principle of authority on which Presbyterian government was structured.¹³¹ The crown's policy with regard to the structure of the church was to enforce an authority, descending from itself. The King was to be the supreme governor in all matters both ecclesiastical and civil.

However, the notion of such a supreme governor could not be acceptable to many, especially when it had the same connotations as it did in England. Calderwood described the kind of ecclesiastical order, which James VI wanted to adopt in his *Altar of Damascus*. In this work, he offered a fine analysis of how things worked in a country in which there was a caesara-papal union of the ecclesiastical and civil. He reminded Scots

that the Prince, as supreme head and governour of the Church of England, is supreme judge in matters of heresie, simonie, idolatry, and all causes whatsoever, hath all manner spirituall jurisdiction, united to the crowne, may commit the exercise and execution of the same to others also, so that they bee naturall borne subjects, may conferre benefices, and consequently give Pastors to flockes, may choose Bishops without Dean and Chapter, receive appellations, abrogate canons, abolish infamie, and restore the infamous to dignities, grant dispensations in all causes where the Pope was wont to dispense, give Bishoprickes and other benefices in commendams, enlarge, contract, unite, divide Diocies. &c.¹³²

That such an order would corrupt the true and reformed religion, directing all things spiritual as well as temporal, was apparent and manifestly evil. Of course, the crown's claim to power in matters temporal was valid. However, it was not to be upheld unquestioningly or without considering the quality of its exercise. It was true: "My children [Presbyterians] acknowledge that, after God, Kings [stand] in

¹³⁰ Alan R. MacDonald, "James VI and I, The Church of Scotland, and British Ecclesiastical Convergence" *Historical Journal* 48 (2005): 885-903.

¹³¹ Goodare, *State and Society*, 196.

¹³² Calderwood, *Altar of Damascus*, 20.

order the second: and among all [men] the first". The struggles against previous rulers in Scotland were due to the specific and revolutionary circumstances at the time of Reformation, and could not be set forth lightly as a precedent. When authority followed right doctrine, even radical Scottish Presbyterians would not challenge it.¹³³

It is worthwhile to recall what the circumstances in Scotland were at the time of Reformation that made them revolutionary. The Reformation in Scotland was not the product of a monarch's intention as it was the case in England, whether one refers to Henry VIII, Edward VI or Elizabeth. In Scotland, instead, it was parliament that in 1560 decided to abolish the pope's authority by swearing to the Confession of Faith. There was thus one crucial difference between the ecclesiastical positions in Scotland and England. The English had never had a Presbyterian system of church government, and would not have until 1640s.¹³⁴ Thus, it would be more difficult for the king to consolidate his power over the church in Scotland because a Presbyterian system had, sometimes, been established there and it never lost its influence on both matters of civil and ecclesiastical. And the Scots had precedent for religious revolt, as they looked back to the reign of Mary.

Let's come back to the issue of royal power. In England, the "title of supreme governor, is understood the same power which before was expressed by the title of Head of the Church of England in the dayes of K. Henrie the 8. and Edward the 6. It was changed in more proper termes of Supreme Governour under the reign of Queene Elizabeth, yet the sense remaineth still".¹³⁵ However, this power, which was transferred to King James VI when he was declared the King of England in 1603,

¹³³ Burns, *True Law of Kingship*, 130.

¹³⁴ Coffey, *Politics, Religion*, 199.

¹³⁵ Calderwood, *Altar of Damascus*, 2.

was held irrespective of the character of the king. Calderwood observed that a “true or false Christian, or infidel, male or female, men or child, have all alike right”. But, loyal as Scots were to their King, this was not their way, for, according to Calderwood, “a Christian Prince doth understand better how to use his righteous power, then the infidel”.¹³⁶

When the Five Articles were accepted by the assembly in Perth in 1618 and ratified by the parliament in 1621, James seemed to know what a Christian king, might do in order to extend his power over the church. Naturally, the king could not rule over the Kirk by himself, especially in matters of doctrine. But, an Episcopal form of government was the means whereby he could govern it. The point was royal supremacy and James sought to advance his policies, rather than to establish an autonomous jurisdiction for the elevated ministers.¹³⁷ James wanted, in fact, a well-ordered Kirk. To that end he advanced these articles, believing that they fell under the heading of *adiaphora*. For the Presbyterian party, it was essential. Parts of the reformed religion were being assailed.

There was little possibility of reconciliation when such contradictory views were held. The debate on the Five Articles was held on two different but interconnected levels. In the first place, those present spoke of expediency and in expediency, or the nature and use of the things indifferent. Secondly, there was discussion of the assertion that people were bound in conscience to obey their superiors in matters indifferent.¹³⁸ For the purpose of this chapter, we need not concern what the opposing camps argued about matters *adiaphora*. This needs a

¹³⁶ Ibid., 21.

¹³⁷ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 59.

¹³⁸ John D. Ford, “The Lawful Bonds of Scottish Society: The Five Articles of Perth, The Negative Confession and The National Covenant” *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 45-64; see also his, “Conformity and Conscience: the structure of the Perth Articles Debate in Scotland, 1618-1638” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 256-277.

detailed theological analysis, which cannot be offered here. However, as these two spheres of argumentation were crucially connected to each other, it will be good to touch on the matter, at least superficially, before moving into the area of obedience.

It was crucial for the Episcopalian side to refute the claim that pure worship and the outward government of the church were indeed “Hippocrates twins”. David Lindsay, the bishop of Brechin, declared that “the externall worship of God, and the government of the Church, are never matched in Scripture as one twin with another”. There were “things necessary to the worship of God”, said Lindsay, but “the particular circumstances of persons by whom, place where, time when, and of the forme and order how the worship and worke of the Ministrie should be performed, are neither expressly nor by necessarie consequence set downe in the Word”. In this indifferent matter one was conscience bound to obedience to the king.

The first is, whatsoever is commanded, or forbidden in the word expressly, or by necessary consequence, ought to be obeyed. The next is, whatsoever is commanded or forbidden by the Lawes or Ordinances of our superiours Civill or Ecclesiastique, the same, if it be not to the contrarie to Gods Word, should be obeyed, by reason of his express command: Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, Heb. 13. And againe, Submit yourselfe to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake. I. Pet. 2.13. To this appertaynes lawfull customs having the force of a Law, where there is no written Law. Thirdly, touching things that are free, and are neither determined by Civill nor Ecclesiasticall Constitutions we have this rule. *Let every man stand fully persuaded, in his own minde, that he may doe or omit that which he intends, without the offence of God or his Neighbour, but he that doubts is damned, for whatsoever is not of Faith, is sinne, Rom. 14.* These are the rule of conscience set downe in the Word, concerning which is to be observed, that the first rule is absolute, and the second and third subject to it.¹³⁹

So, it was accepted by the Perth Assembly that the change proposed were matters indifferent, not determined by any divine constitution. Therefore, they should be accepted in obedience for the “expediency, decency and edification of the

¹³⁹ Lindsay, unpaginated address ‘To the Reverend and Godly Brethren’ in *True Narration*.

good order of God”, because, though they were things indifferent, they were commanded “by our Sovereigne Lord and King: a King who is not a stranger to Divinitie, but hath such acquaintance with it” and these were commands binding on the subject in conscience. According to Lindsay, there was nothing impious and unlawful in them. He held “it most expedient to yield, and not to strive with our gracious sovereigne for a matter of that nature”. To do otherwise and resist to a wise and religious sovereign “with our owne private opinions and conceits” meant to commit the sin of the ‘Anabaptists’ as they “disapprove and condemne all sortes of government”. For this reason, it was his duty to “obviate this his [Calderwood’s] seditious, malicious and Rebellious purpose”, by writing in the hope that conformists would “soone agree if wee consider what is the power of the Church and the obedience that is due”.

Calderwood did not conform, but he also declared that he never meant to be rebellious and expected tolerance from “our most high, wise, & gracious Emperour, when His Majestie shall see that we are tied by such affection to our harmless profession, that we choose rather patientlie to suffer then rashlie to change”.¹⁴⁰ However, the disagreement in matters perhaps, perhaps not indifferent went on. The problem lay not so much with whether one should give due obedience to one’s sovereign, in general terms, but with the details of the extent of it. Presbyterians were reluctant to accept that the determination of rulers in matters indifferent should be obeyed.¹⁴¹ For, “is not the supreme magistrate a sinful man? May he not make Israel to sin? May he not abuse things indifferent, and transgresse the rules?” asked Calderwood. They also did not also accept the existence of things indifferent in a full sense. They distinguished between the nature and practice of things indifferent,

¹⁴⁰ Calderwood, *Epistle of Christian Brother*, 11.

¹⁴¹ Ford, “Lawful Bonds,”

as Calderwood made clear by saying about a pastor that he “distinguisheth betwixt the nature and use of things indifferent, and confesseth with all the learned, that albeit many actions be in their nature indifferent, yet all our actions are eyther good or evill”.¹⁴²

Behind this distinction was the Presbyterian attitude towards the inseparability of worship, doctrine and discipline. It was clear that “the change of ceremonies was a shewe of defection from the whole reformation”. The defection would proceed “from the corruption of outward worship to corrupt the doctrine, and to leave nothing sound”. Thus there was need for a clear understanding about things indifferent. In order to decide what was indifferent or not in the ministrations of church, usefulness and expediency were to be considered. “Suppose kneeling of some ministers” for example, “were indifferent, yet the kneeler is guiltie of scandal: for it is a shew of confromitie with the Papists in a ceremony, which hath been abused by them to the vilest idolatry that ever was in the world”.¹⁴³ Urged to obey the ordinances of the King in matters indifferent, Calderwood argued that “the weak brother is offended” due to these “Papist superstition and idolatry”, and so it “may be omitted” because of “it be a thing indifferent, and not necessary” and should be omitted, to avoid offence. The real contention about things indifferent came out of the answer to the question whether the discipline of the church could be treated as a matter of faith or not. The prelatists did not think so, “for so they distinguish, making everything eyther fundamentall or indifferent”. But, for Presbyterians nothing could be truly indifferent that was closely linked to the faith, or its proper, decent, useful and edifying ministration. Calderwood slated the matter thus:

¹⁴² Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 35.

¹⁴³ David Calderwood, *A Dispute upon Communicating at our Confused Communions* (Amsterdam: Successors of Giles Thorpe, 1624), 29.

The Pastor acknowledgeth three degrees of matters of faith, some to be of the foundation and first principles of the doctrine of fayth, some to be neare the foundation, as the conclusions clearly following upon the former, and the third to be of all other matters warranted by the word, and what is of this third ranck, were it never so farre from the foundation, and never so small in our eyes, not to be a matter indifferent, but to binde the conscience, and to be a matter of fayth.¹⁴⁴

Thus, Calderwood dismissed the idea of indifferent things by assessing its usefulness, decency and potential to create a scandal and endanger the purity of doctrine and true discipline of the church. Against the contention that supreme civil authority should be considered as the bishop of bishops, and thus to be obeyed in matters indifferent, he cited the authority of foreign churches. He observed that

the Belgick synods would not take so much upon them, but forbad kneeling for fear of idolatrie. If the Church (to whom the rule of directing the use of things indifferent in matters of religion are laide down, to wit, that all things bee done decently, in order, to edification, without offence) may not presume so farre, far less may the magistrate.¹⁴⁵

In fact, the last sentence of this quotation brings us to the outcome of the matter. What should the relationship be between the discipline and government of the church, and the civil authority in the country? That there was an inseparable tie between the purity of worship and the outward government of the church was advanced in the debates, Episcopalians disagreed. But there was another close relationship, between the church's discipline in general and governance of the country. Calderwood exemplified a much more idealized notion of the church-state relationship than his adversaries did. During all the debates he probably had an ideal kingship in mind, and a clear notion of how the relationship between crown and church should work. On the other side was the view held by the king, which was a matter of real politics. Here there was no sympathy with allowing clergy

¹⁴⁴ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 33.

¹⁴⁵ David Calderwood, *A Re-Examination of the Five Articles enacted at Perth anno 1618* (Holland?, n.p. , 1636), 69.

independence in matters ecclesiastical. The king and his supporters expected a more concrete answer to the question of what the duty of a subject to his sovereign should be. The answer was, of course, obedience. Although the result of James VI's policies were in the end obedience, making the majority of his subjects obey his decrees was not so easy.

The clash between these two ideological stances was exemplified when Calderwood was summoned before the High Commission for trial in 1617, because of a protestation criticising the proceedings of King James, it was signed by Calderwood. When he was asked to say for what purpose the document had been produced, he answered, according to his own account in his *History*, as

Whatsoever was the phraise of the speche, they meant no other thing but to protest, they would give passive obedience to his Majestie, but could not give active obedience to anie unlawfull thing which wold flow from that article.” “Active and passive obedience” says the King. “That is we will rather suffer than practise, Sir” said he(Calderwood). Then the King said “I will tell thee, man, what is obedience. The centurion, when he said to his servants, to this man, Goe, and he goeth, to that man, Come, and he cometh, that is obedience.” He answered, “To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit, not of that same kind; and that obedience was also limited, with exception of a contramand from a superior power, howbeit it be not expressed.¹⁴⁶

The obstinacy of Calderwood in the presence of his king cost him so much. He was afterwards deprived of his ministry and banished from the country. He went to the Low Countries, but continued to defend his position heartily. In fact, behind his obstinacy also lay a tradition of ecclesiastical thought, which determined his political non-conformity. It is possible to call it simply the “two kingdoms theory”. When Patrick Scot, a notable writer who followed King James from Scotland into England in 1603, complained about the disorder, which affected “the King which is the head, or the State which is the body, or Religion which is the soule of the

¹⁴⁶ Calderwood, *History*, vol.7, 263.

commonwealth”, he found a cure in ruling state and church uniformly—as one kingdom.¹⁴⁷

The working of this one kingdom theory, by which the church took its place in parliament as another estate, was abhorrent to Calderwood. He complained that “our prelates entered in parliament notwithstanding the cautions and conditions condescended upon”; they ignored “the spiritual calling to which they were sanctified and set apart from the rest of citizens and subjects of the king”.¹⁴⁸ Their first and the most important duty in parliament was not to meddle with civil matters, but to give “resolution from the Word of God, if need be, concerning matters civill, but not to meddle with civill causes civilly” and to see what “that nothing be concluded in things civill, that may be hinderance to the worship of God”.¹⁴⁹ In truth, the church constituted a distinct kingdom whose warrant to rule was from God alone. The true pastor

distinguisheth betwixt the things of God and the things of Caesar, betwixt the sovereigntie of Christ, and the sovereigntie of man, betwixt the dignitie of the Statesman, and honour of the Elder, that labours in the word and doctrine, betwixt the palace of the Prince, and the Ministers manse, the revenues of the Nobleman, and the ministers stipend.¹⁵⁰

As this passage suggests, Calderwood perceived two societies in Scotland, one a religious society with Christ as its supreme governor, the other an earthy one with the king as its supreme governor. Calderwood warned King James through the mouths of the Kirk in Scotland that he should “remember, o King, that my glorious spouse [Christ] is the prince of the Kings of the earth, and will be supreme in his owne Kirk”.¹⁵¹ So, it was not the king, but God who “qualifieth and disposeth every

¹⁴⁷ Patrick Scot, *Vox Vera or Observations from Amsterdam* (Londra: Bernard Alsop, 1625), 7.

¹⁴⁸ Calderwood, *Altar of Damascus*, 97.

¹⁴⁹ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 70.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁵¹ Calderwood, *Speach*, 114.

man for his own place; he makes rulers to Know, that every Kingdome is under a greater Kingdome”.

This two kingdoms theory is chiefly associated with Scottish Presbyterians, and especially with Andrew Melville, who sought to establish a full Presbyterian program in Scotland through the Second Book of Discipline in 1581, after returning from Geneva in 1574. It was long contested among historians whether this Presbyterian program had been already adopted before Melville came to Scotland or not.¹⁵² The conflict is understandable: we still cannot give a simple answer to the question. John Spottiswoode, on the Episcopalian side, wrote in his history, of the year 1574, that

in the Church this year it began the innovations to break forth. Mr. Andrew Melvil, who was lately came from Geneva, a man learned, but hot and eager upon anything he went about, labouring with a burning desire to bring into this church, the Presbyterial discipline of Geneva.¹⁵³

On the other hand, Presbyterian government was held to have been there since the beginning: “the pastors of the Kirk of Scotland had begunne to roote out bishoprie, and to condemne it in their assemblies, before these Scollers came from Geneve”¹⁵⁴. Thus Calderwood, who gave the more elevated place to Knox, whom he placed among the magisterial reformers, said: “In severall kingdomes, countries and states of the Christian world, it was wonderfully wrought by the Lords mighty power in his weak servants. Such were amongst others Baldus of Franco, Hus of Bohem, Jerome of Prage, Luther of Germanie, Wickleife of England, and our Knox of Scotland”.¹⁵⁵ To him therefore was attributed the Presbyterian order he held dear. It

¹⁵² For discussion, see Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989)

¹⁵³ Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 275.

¹⁵⁴ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 48.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

was Knox who “brought Scotland true religion and good order”, he went on “I beseech you and obtest that yee retain these two together, so that yee remember , that if the one be lost, the other can not indure long”.¹⁵⁶

In fact, it is possible to see the culmination of a number of older traditions in Calderwood’s understanding of the kingdom of Christ. Alan R. MacDonald draws attention both to Calvin and to the early Reformation years in Scotland.¹⁵⁷ The notion of the kingdom of Christ as a separate entity from temporal kingdoms; or the understanding of *Corpus Christi* as both a universal, spiritual and a political body emerged long before the debates held in the Reformation era and was important during the conciliarist discussions of the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁸ One of the basic conclusions of these debates was the precept that Christ alone was the principal, true, proper, or essential head of His Body, the Church, in which the role and position of the Pope was subordinated to the whole community of faithful, or to its representatives gathered together in a general council.¹⁵⁹ The conciliarist arguments of Scottish theologians such as John Ireland and John Major were established, or at least taught, in Scottish universities and no doubt influenced George Buchanan and John Knox, though rather vaguely.¹⁶⁰ Thus, it is not surprising to find Calderwood praising the ideas of Jean Gerson, one of the leading conciliarists, about the devil-like hierarchy of bishops. According to Calderwood, Gerson was one of the “innumerable wise men, & holiest of the Kirk” who “looked and longed for a

¹⁵⁶ Calderwood, *Perth Assembly*, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Alan R. MacDonald, “Ecclesiastical Representation in Parliament in Post-Reformation Scotland: The Two Kingdoms Theory in Practice” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50 (1999): 38-61.

¹⁵⁸ See Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition : constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300-1870* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Zofia Rueger, “Gerson, the Conciliar Movement and the Right of Resistance, 1642-1644” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 25 (1964): 467-486.

¹⁵⁹ Francis Oakley, “Natural Law, the Corpus Mysticum, and Consent in Conciliar Thought from John of Paris to Matthias Ugonis” *Speculum* 56 (1981): 786-810.

¹⁶⁰ J. H. Burns, “The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland” *Scottish Historical Review* 42 (1963): 89-104.

Reformation, a long time before Luther was borne; wishing that all things were brought back to that estate, they were in the tyme of Apostles”.¹⁶¹ In his mind, Gerson clearly knew and spoke of the difference between the “lawes of God and direction of Scriptures and the multitude of mans inventions”, and knew too “the ambitious pride and covetousness of Bishops, and their hierarchy”. This does not allow a claim that Calderwood’s understanding of the kingdom of Christ came directly from the Conciliarists. However, it gives indication that he was well aware of the tradition, which could be used eclectically in order to confirm his own stance.

Whatever traditions influenced Calderwood’s understanding and defence of the two kingdoms theory, we know that he made ample use of them. The same can be said for Melville, who hardly invented the Presbyterian form of church government and his theory of the two kingdoms out of nothing. His articulation of it in a famous speech in the presence of James VI in 1596 is worth quoting here, as it so often has been elsewhere.

Sir, as diverse tymes before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and kingdomes in Scotland: there is Christ Jesus, and his kingdome the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixt is, and of whose kindome not a king, nor a head, nor a lord but a member; and they whom Christ has called, and commanded to watche over his Kirk, and governe his spirituall kingdome, have sufficient power of him, and authoritie so to doe, both together and severallie, the which no Christian King, nor prince should control and discharge, but fortifie and assist, otherwise, not faithful subjects, nor members of Christ. And Sir, when yee were in your swedling clouts, Christ Jesus raigned freely in this land, in spyte of all his enemeis; and his officers and ministers convened and assembled, for the rule and weale of his Kirk, which was ever for your weelfare, defence and preservation.¹⁶²

Calderwood’s doctrine of the two kingdoms had practical consequences, indeed structured all his ideas about the politics in which he engaged. As “the saeftie and good of the State was the maine ende of Roman policie, and the fundamentall law, by which that people squared all their other lawes”, so “the Kirk

¹⁶¹ Calderwood, *Speach*, 28-29.

¹⁶² Calderwood, *History*, vol. 5, 440.

of Jesus Christ hath better reason to think' that it should be governed according by the maxim that 'Salus Ecclesiae suprema lex esto (the safety of the Kirk should be the supreme rule and end of all ecclesiastical policy)".¹⁶³ Thus, ecclesiastical polity was not to be meddled in by the civil authority, as was the case at the Perth Assembly. The limits of the two jurisdictions were defined by the Word of God. Instead of subjecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the will of civil magistrate, the latter was to acknowledge the priority of ecclesiastical jurisdiction "not only for his owne practise, but for [that of] all that are in authoritie". To do otherwise was to commit a sin which would make "the religion herself sick at the hart". If the religion was the soul or heart of the kingdom—it was so defined by Patrick Scot—"it was extreame follie to loose the soule for gaining of the world: for first it is an unprofitable gaine, what hath a man profited? And next it is an unreparable losse, what can a man give in exchange for his soule, so that the losse of that which is more worth than the whole world".¹⁶⁴

The king might be supreme governor in a temporal kingdom, but "the power of Christian Princes in the Church" or in matters ecclesiastical was to be "cumulative, to aid her to execute her power freely, not privative, to deprive and spoile her of any power Christ hath granted to her".¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the temporal kingship should take second place in the kingdom after the kingship of Christ, so that "religion should not be servants to policie, but policie, and this whole world should serve Christ, and religion". In attempting to influence the politics of his day, Calderwood drew a picture of an ideal, according to which these two kingdoms would co-operate for each other's benefit, and advance human salvation. He thought of the time

¹⁶³ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 49.

¹⁶⁴ Calderwood, *Exortation*, 9.

¹⁶⁵ Calderwood, *Altar of Damascus*, 15.

... when the Magistrate hath both swords, the use of the temporall sword, and the benefite of spirituall sword, and when the Kirk hath both swords, the use of the spirituall sword, and the benefite of the temporall.¹⁶⁶

Himself a subject of the kingdom of Christ, a Christian king might know his role more perfectly than an infidel would, but “he can claime no further authority then the infidel, and his power is only cumulative”. This was no challenge to him.

The reformed religion of Scotland

without confusion giveth at all times unto God, that which is Gods, and unto Caesar that which is Caesars, and without usurpation or injurie to any, it giveth unto nobleman, statesmen, barons, burgesses, and all from the highest to the lowest in the Kingdome, their own places, preferments and priviledges, according to the soveraigne law of justice.¹⁶⁷

And, after all, all estates had need of the offices that “onely Christian Religion is able to performe [for] them”. It made true Christians acknowledge the fear of God and the honour due to the king. Thus, it was advantageous to earthly kingship that it should be subordinated to God’s kingship. In return “the Lords Lieutenant, bearing the sword to punish transgressors, so as defender of the faith he will procure and protect the liberty of his subjects, where with Christ hath made them free and for whom Christ died”.¹⁶⁸

Similarly, in the kingdom of Christ, who “giveth both Heavenly and Earthly Kingdomes”, there were also duties which ought to be performed only by true pastors. Unlike the prelate who “measures and determines the good estate of the Kirk by her outward face, by the health of her bodye rather then of her soule”, the principle care of the pastor was to preserve the purity of doctrine and discipline in the Kirk. Christ also exhorted the magistrate to execute the laws made by the Kirk,

¹⁶⁶ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 60.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁶⁸ Calderwood, *Speach*, 116.

because the safety and authority of the Kirk was a benefit to society. Calderwood stated it thus:

The pastor preserveth the prosperous estate of the Kingdome and commonwealth, by labouring to preserve pietie, righteousness, and temperance in the Land, and by opposing with al hs might against Idolatrie and all sorts of impietie, against unrighteousnesse and all sorts of injurie, whether by craft or violence, and against intemperancie, incontincencie, unlawfull marriages, divorces, and whatsoever kinde of impurities: for these three where they reigne he knoweth to be more neare and certaine causes, first of many calamities and judgements of God, and then of the alterations and periodes of states and Kingdomes, then eyther the intrace numbers of Plato, or the unchanged course of the heavens, or what other cause is pretended by philosophers or politicks, because these where they raigne, they threaten a ruine from the true fatalitie of Gods providence & justice, & doe shake the pillars of all humane societie, as Idolatryie the pillars of the Kirk, unrighteousnesse of the Commonwealth, and intemperance of the family, & one of the three falling, the other two cannot long endure.¹⁶⁹

Subordination to Christ's kingship brought civil governments security, for "the estate of the common wealth accompanies the constitution of the kirk, as the morning starre goes with the sunne". But with this came a warning: true worship had to be maintained, as "his true worship is the pillar and wall of policies". If this was done, they who were the true ministers of God "wish from the desires that lodge within their breasts, long life unto his Majesty, a secure reign, a safe house, valiant armies, a faithful and loyal counsel, good people, a quiet world".¹⁷⁰ And, thus, the king was called to act as "an Angle of God, a defender of the faith, a nurse father of the Kirk, and a comfortable refuge unto the poore, and simple, in time of need".¹⁷¹

A king behaved thus, the duty of a subject was to be obedient to him, not because of possible punishment, but for the sake of conscience. David Lindsay had declared that on matters that were indifferent, he would obey the decisions of his king, as they were his decisions. Probably with Lindsay's view in his mind,

¹⁶⁹ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 63.

¹⁷⁰ Calderwood, *Speach*, 85.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

Calderwood bade “His Majesty tel them, that humane lawes do bind the conscience, not because of the mere will of the law giver, but by reason of the utilitie & equitie of the law”. Keeping in his mind the inseparable nature of the worship of God and the discipline and government of the Church, he rejected the suggestion that matter of the ceremonies was of less consequence than that of obedience. The former was importance because “God tried Adam with one apple”. Thus, these ceremonies were a matter of faith; they disedified and damaged the decency of the Church. So Calderwood held that “we are not bound to active obedience, as one commandeth to sinne, or do anything that hath the shew of sinne, or is apt to breed the scandal like as kneeling in the act of receiving”.¹⁷² The true Kirk of Scotland declared Calderwood and his like-minded brethren right to

profess disobedience in things evill, and against God, passive obedience in things injurious, and unprofitable, and active obedience in things lawful, profitable, expedient, when by Gods grace, my ministers shall be found most cheerful and ready.¹⁷³

Calderwood’s chief political contribution was to hold up an ideal politico-religious order, but one which had been and could again be realized. Indeed, all were morally bound to realize it. The ceremonies imposed upon the church by the will of the king directly violated it in a concrete way. Therefore, he strove to re-assert the validity of this perfect relationship between the two kingdoms with legalistic discourse. In doing this he tried to strengthen his call to disobedience, declaring that “active obedience to the magistrate ought not to bee a rule of thy love to Gods glory, and the salvation of thy brother”.¹⁷⁴ But such disobedience as he commended did not violate Scotland’s laws, to which he adhered. He insisted that he might be defended by them: “the defences by lawes ought first to bee heard”

¹⁷² Calderwood, *Defence of Arguments*, 57.

¹⁷³ Calderwood, *Speach*, 113.

¹⁷⁴ Calderwood, *Re-examination*, 71.

before it was contended that this disobedience was unlawful. These laws were in fact ecclesiastical and civil laws, which were, according to Calderwood, established and confessed at the time of Scottish Reformation.

In his eyes, the latest developments at the Perth Assembly and their ratification in the parliament in 1621 were a “violation of the covenant and oath of God” because “the pretended Assembly holden at Perth, received certain formes formerly excluded and abhorred”. The matter of this covenant between God and the Kingdom of Scotland was the religion, doctrine and discipline received and defended by the Kirk of Scotland. Calderwood rehearsed what Scotland’s obligations were.

The religion, doctrine and discipline, received, believed, and defended by the Kirk of Scotland, and namely the publick ministration of Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, sitting at the table in the act of the receiving the bread and wine of that Sacrament, the observation of the Lords day, and the examination of children, for the first time at the ninth yeare of their age, for the second at the twelfth, for the third at the fourteenth, excluding and abhorring private baptisme, private communion, kneeling at the act of receiving the Supper, holy dayes, or feasts of Christmas, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending down the Holy Ghost: were brought in at the reformation of religion, and enjoyed ever since in manner and forme.¹⁷⁵

All these particular points of practice and doctrine were essential and had been accepted by all in the realm in the Confession of Faith, in the First and Second Book of Discipline; accepted by the king, by “sundrie” parliaments, and by “Ecclesiastical authority in free, full, and lawful generall Assemblies, publicke Confessions, and solemne protestations advisedly established”. The civil authority at the same time ratified and “approved the Kirk constitutions, and appointed civil penalties against the transgressors of the same concerning the said matters”. For this reason, Calderwood could regard the “promissory and assertorie” parts of the

¹⁷⁵ Calderwood, *Perth Assembly*, 24.

covenant violated and unilaterally changed by the recent actions of both the king and his parliament. Under all these circumstances, the king as the supreme governor of the temporal kingdom was obliged to “begin to reforme, where his worthy predecessors left, then (than) to end where they began”.

Although James VI and I never did cease to attempt reform, his reforms were not to the liking of Calderwood and those who thought like him. Their king gave offence to his loyal and true subjects by appointing unlawful bishops in order to consolidate his power. Therefore, the king should not have expected more than Calderwood’s passive obedience, which fulfilled “the Moral duty of obedience to a King”, who gave so much offence by his proceedings. He also urged others to continue “with the things yee have learned and are perswaded of, knowing of whom yee have learned them”. Because Calderwood accepted that offences, schisms, persecutions and troubles there had always been in different ages and because he knew that “in every period of the Kirk [there] hath opened a back doore for a worldling to slip forth at”, he constantly exhorted his brethren to “stand for Christ and suffer for his crowne”. If ministers felt themselves offended as Calderwood did, still, he told those in authority in the state, they would rather send their complaints to heaven “then their miscontentments to court, and would rather informe you by scripture, then enforce you by authoritie”.¹⁷⁶ He did not find any lawful court, either a civil court, since all had meddled with things ecclesiastical, or an ecclesiastical court, since these were corrupted by the unlawful offices of bishops. All that was left after, failing to find a lawful place to complain, except the throne of God, was to be silent and suffer. However, as Calderwood put it, the “promise of silence is a secret collusion, and indirect approbation of the contrary course, a hardening of the

¹⁷⁶ Calderwood, *Exortation*, 21.

adversaries in their wickedness, and a deserting of your brethren in the cause of God". This was why Calderwood had so heartily desired, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, that James VI should have his treatise. It was thus, "there being no other way left unto us, with all submission of minde", that he decided to "send up our Pastor and Prelate in print", as well as many other publication that have been referred to here.

However, there was one another course that could be taken. Knox had taken it in appealing to the inferior magistrates. Seeing that Christ began to "look to the West for the sight of the sunne rising", Calderwood adopted a different and ominous tone in one of his publications. In it, he tried to persuade "the Honourable, the True and Native estates of Parliament, Nobles, Barons, and Burgesses" to take action. As "the Parliament is the highest court of the Realme", it should not allow the existence of a strange court, that of High Commission, set up to oppress the king's subjects. He opined that it "may be put down".¹⁷⁷ Calderwood and his writings in exile became gradually much more threatening than they had been at home. After the banishment, Patrick Scot had published a recantation, "under the name of a banished minister, Mr. David Calderwoode who was farre from mynding anie recantation" of the views contained in his *Altare Damascenum*.¹⁷⁸ Then, in 1625, the king issued a proclamation against forbidden books, all of which, in fact, were Calderwood's: "to witt, 'An Epistle to a Christian Brother', 'An Exhortation to the Kirk of Edinburgh', 'A dispute about Communicating, where there was kneeling and confusion'".

To sum up, we have throughout the chapter seen that Calderwood strove to communicate a message. It was a mixture of theology, in particular, ecclesiology,

¹⁷⁷ David Calderwood, *Quaeres Concerning the State of the Church of Scotland* (Amsterdam: G. Thorp, 1621), 7.

¹⁷⁸ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 7, 583.

and politics. Politics and theology were one. He emerged as a defender of a religio-political stance, which James VI and I had to overturn in pursuit of his policy. He was a committed Presbyterian whose ideas contributed to our understanding of early modern state, the thought which upheld it, and its network of relations. There were, it may have become clear, two interconnected spheres visible in his writings. Firstly, he speaks of the close ties between the purity of reformed religion in Scotland and the outward government of the Church, a view which raised tension and debate, and which was thus linked to the other area of concern. Concern with these issues of doctrine and discipline brought questioning the role of the civil authority in handling them. Visionary as his ideas were, they have a place in charting the course of those ephemera of history, events. For, he can be placed in the context of, either firstly in the revolutionary “covenant debates” which so greatly influenced Scottish, indeed, British affairs during 1630s and 40s¹⁷⁹, or again, placed as part of that debate, always present in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Disruption, about what authority it possessed and how it was to be exercised. In intellectual history, he has a place as a contributor to the debates in the Kingdoms of King James about the nature of the established church¹⁸⁰, or perhaps a place in a description of the continuity between medieval Conciliarism and the Reformation.

¹⁷⁹ Sidney A. Burrell, “The Covenant Idea of a Revolutionary Symbol: Scotland 1596-1637” *Church History* 27 (1958): 338-350.

¹⁸⁰ Prior, *Defining*, 204-252.

CHAPTER 4

“HAVE WEE NOT NEED TO FEAR THE BURNING OF OUR OWNE HOUSE, WHEN OUR NEIGHBOURS HOUSE IS IN FIRE?”: IMAGINING THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

In 1621 Calderwood wrote a short but clear treatise entitled, *Quaeres Concerning the State of the Church of Scotland*, in which his despair at and wrath against the recent ecclesiastical policies of James VI and I took the form of a patriotic defence of the Kirk of Scotland. Here, he seemed to cry out that “neither England nor Rome giveth the least token of their coming towards us. Yet we must play the fooles, and turn our face to them, and take our journey first to England, then to Rome”.¹⁸¹ For contemporaries, this statement was a reference to an important in topic of hot debate. Especially after the Union of 1603, the question of what the cost of the union to both churches would be was continually discussed. Nearly all writings of Calderwood devoted attention to this problem. The conclusion he reached was two faceted. As was indicated in the previous chapter, he asserted that the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk of Scotland was inseparable. On

¹⁸¹ Calderwood, *Quaeres*, 6.

the other hand, as shown here, the Church of Scotland, as a national church, needed defence against the malicious designs of the king and his men.

Given this, this chapter will try to explain what Calderwood meant when he declared his church peculiarly Scottish, distinct both from the Church of Rome and from other Reformed Churches. In fact, this chapter will speak of the causes of change in the attitudes of the components of international Calvinism towards their “sister reformed churches”, particularly England. We shall see that the political and religious events of the 1620s led radical Presbyterians like Calderwood to equate the position of English Church with that of Rome, in their common enmity to the Scottish Reformed cause. As we shall also see, their arguments were framed in a highly patriotic discourse.

However, using the adjectives ‘national’ or ‘patriotic’ in reference to early modern ideas has been recently challenged and called anachronistic, ambiguous and problematic. For, neither Ernst Gellner’s, nor Anthony Smith’s nor Eric Hobsbawm’s understandings of nationalism fitted well with early modern political notions, certainly not those of early modern Scotland. Thus, it was pointed out by Colin Kidd that when used carelessly, they were unreliable guides for historians working on the states of the period.¹⁸² Moreover, it should be kept in mind that these political entities of the early modern period were in many respects dissimilar to what we contemporarily understand by the word ‘nation’. They were in most cases kingdoms ruled by particular dynasties. So, the ‘nations’ mentioned here as England and Scotland ought to be considered primarily as dynastic monarchies, united in 1603 as a result of previous dynastic marriage. ‘England’ and ‘Scotland’ were moreover names for Christian churches.

¹⁸²See Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*; and his *British Identities Before Nationalism*.

However, this does not mean that people living in this period lacked any awareness of nationality, or national identity. In Calderwood's opinion, people holding principles except those of presbyterianism "ought to depart from us, if you bee not of us; if your judgement bee not conforme to the judgement of our Kirk".¹⁸³ The problem is not whether they had any clear group identity, distinct from or similar to that of nineteenth-century nationalism. The task is to define this awareness according to what it really included, and to state how they formulated and used it to exclude and eliminate others from the grouping. This chapter will be an attempt to do this. At the end of the chapter it will be clear that the patriotic discourse of Calderwood had nothing to do with the nineteenth-century emphasis on race, language and culture. It was rather related to religion, which was the primary and indeed only constituent of Calderwood's 'us'.¹⁸⁴ It was not ethnicity, nor language, nor culture but religion that determined the conditions and interests of people because "the nation and kingdome that will not serve the Lord shall perish, and these nations shall be utterly destroyed".¹⁸⁵

Calderwood desired to prove that Scots "have seene the trueth amongst your selves in the roughe end of this northern Ysland: which therefore hath justlie obtained a great name among the cheefe Kirkes and Kingdomes in the World".¹⁸⁶ To do this, in fact, he did not lack the necessary sources and legacies. By the time of Calderwood's writing, he could use several traditions to use the Scottish national pride against the claims of secular and ecclesiastical suzerainty made from

¹⁸³ David Calderwood, *An Answer to M. I. Forbes of Corse, His "Peacable Warning"* (Edinburgh: n.p, 1638), 6.

¹⁸⁴ J. C. D. Clark, "Protestantism, Nationalism, and National Identity, 1660-1832" *Historical Journal* 43 (2000): 249-276.

¹⁸⁵ Calderwood, *Speach*, 85.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

England.¹⁸⁷ In the first place, it was possible to see a historical continuity in the writings of Fordun, Boece and Buchanan, where a kind of aristocratic constitutional defence of resistance to tyrannical kings could be discovered, very easily in the case of Buchanan. Then, one might move easily from their writings about the political independence of Scotland, to discussion of the independence of the Scottish church, as it had been formulated against the claims of Canterbury and York. Lastly, even in the imperial and unionist writings of different periods, it was not hard to find the notion of a ‘union of equals’ established to confute the legendary right of English dominance over Scotland.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, as Colin Kidd has maintained, against the view of Arthur Williamson, Calderwood never moved to unionism, with its unquestionable dictates.¹⁸⁹ Williamson has generally argued that the historical and legal deficiencies of Scottish Reformers directed them towards unionism and a present minded conception of their nation’s relationship with God.¹⁹⁰ However, as made clear in these pages, Calderwood was never oriented towards unionism. It is true that it was a strong alternative, especially after 1603. But the conditions of a union were clearly drawn his mind, and, rejecting the idea, he had sufficient arguments and traditions to disregard it in a reasonable way.

Nevertheless Calderwood preferred a different path in his defence of the special character of his church and country than that of his predecessors before the Reformation. For, the glories of the remote Scottish past with its proto-Presbyterians were as nothing compared to the example of God’s chosen people of

¹⁸⁷ See Ferguson, *Identity of Scottish Nation*.

¹⁸⁸ Roger A. Mason, “The Scottish Reformation and the origins of Anglo-British imperialism” in *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political thought and the union of 1603* (ed.) Roger A. Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 161-186.

¹⁸⁹ Kidd, *Subverting Scotland’s Past*, 22.

¹⁹⁰ Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness*, 21-30.

Israel.¹⁹¹ He was much more inclined to a kind of historical understanding which was established by John Knox at the time of Scottish Reformation. At least, Calderwood systematized the old legacies of Fordun, Boece and Buchanan by melding them within a general Reformation notion, as already developed by Knox. Here the emphasis was not on aristocratic right to resist a tyrannical king or on the constitutional character of Scottish monarchy, but rather on the privileged status of the Scottish Reformation in the providential plan of God. He read the history of the Scottish nation retrospectively, perceiving Scotland to have been brought on to the stage to fight the Antichrist, to provide an example of the purest form of reformation for other nations, by means of its church organisation—presbyterianism.

Thus, Calderwood's understanding of the post-Reformation history approached less to the tradition established by Fordun, Boece and Buchanan than to that of Knox. Knox's vision of the Reformation displayed more of a unionist disposition, Calderwood instead emphasised the purity and exemplary character of the Scottish Reformation. He found in these features a kind of national character. Nevertheless, on the surface, Calderwood shared with Knox the idea that the Reformations elsewhere were indeed part of the greater design of God. This providential understanding stressed that God's hand was at work to release the particular churches of *Corpus Christi* from the bondage of Roman Catholicism. But, due to some political, religious and cultural reasons, these churches differed from each other in some respects. In his *Exhortation of the Particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland*, he clearly made his point by saying:

How the house of God was builded, and the headstone put upon it by Gods owne hand to the administration of the Christian world about us; what unities

¹⁹¹ Roger A. Mason, "Imagining Scotland: Scottish political thought and the problem of Britain 1560-1650" in *Scots and Britons*, p.13.

of ministers, authoritie of assemblies, order of ministrie, puritie of external, power of internall worship, what zeal and indignation against all impietie, and iniquitie... In all these considerations, this nationall kirk was eminent above other nations.¹⁹²

Although these words were clearly religious, some have taken them as an expression of national pride. This erroneous reading can be corrected by realizing Calderwood's trust in Brightman's comparison: he "compareth our church to the godly church of Philadelphia, the English to the glorious, and lukewarme church of Laodicea". However, Brightman offered apocalyptic warnings against backsliding and was not used merely for national self-congratulation by the Scots.

Calderwood used analogies extracted from the Scripture, in the manner commonplace among the Protestants in the early modern period. The pre-eminent analogy was with ancient Israel. The Jews, in the past, had been the vehicle of God's revelation to the world, but no other nation could ever exactly perform their role. The image of Israel was a helpful one: the struggle between Reformed churches and Roman church was that of Israel with the pagan nations. However, it did not give any Reformed church/nation a claim to exclusive election. However the continental Reformed churches certainly made use of this Biblical image in their ecclesiological and political debates and, in times of crisis, as among Dutch Israelites¹⁹³, it is not surprising to see that it became much more exclusive and national in its use. As we shall see, these analogies drawn from the Old Testament became more binding and expressive of self-identity, when political and religious concerns led to their being used with reference to the prophetic roles of particular reformed leaders.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Calderwood, *Exortation*, 11-12.

¹⁹³ Paul Regan, "Calvinism and the Dutch Israel Thesis" in *Protestant History* (ed.) Bruce Gordon, vol. 1, 91-106.

¹⁹⁴ Bruce Gordon, "The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century" in *Protestant History*, vol. 1, 11.

For the most part though, the image of Israel continued as an analogy to emphasize, in a general way, the similarities of reformed nations and churches to a chosen nation of God. This indeed strengthened the role and place of a Reformed church among others. Moreover, it implied not the uniqueness of nations in a modern sense, but their degrees of reformation within the entire Body of Christ, spread all over the world. As Calderwood put it:

Consider the example of Moses, when hee saw the Israelite & Egyptian fight. He spent no time in rebuking them for the strife, but drew his sword, and slew the Egyptian; But perceiving a debate betwixt two Israelites, he sayd, *Ye are brethren, why strive yee?* If the intended novelties be [of] Israelites, then may yee say, Why strive yee; but if they be of that Egypt, from the bondage whereof the Lord your God miraculously hath set you free, then may they not be reconciled to the truth. Ezra, Nehemiah, and the godly of that time acknowledge no less the wonderfull working of God in their redemption from the bondage of Babylon, then their fathers did their deliverance out of Egypt, Although the power of God was not so miraculous in the one as in the other¹⁹⁵

Here Calderwood warned his reader about the real enemy, not any Reformed churches, but the Antichristian Roman Church. Calderwood also reminded his readers that “you are set upon the stage at this time to act your part and you are made a spectacle after a speciall manner to the world, to angles, to men”.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, Scotland was one of the many players on the stage, called to struggle against the Antichrist. As John Coffey’s brilliant examination of Samuel Rutherford indicated,¹⁹⁷ Calderwood like Rutherford acknowledged that Scotland and England were, clearly, included in the providential plan as protagonists. Scotland had its role, and in the divine dispensation it might even have been given some advantages over other nations; but this had not diminished the role of others.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Calderwood, *Speach*, 73.

¹⁹⁶ Calderwood, *Exortation*, 5.

¹⁹⁷ Coffey, *Politics, Religion*, 228-229.

¹⁹⁸ David G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 271.

This simple classification of Israel and the nations, good and evil, did not determine the distinct characters of national churches. They all adopted the role of Israel, revealing the truth of God. Rather, it was the course of events, and the religious and political context of the period that shifted the emphasis from the universal to the merely national: and national pride might now be used by Reformed churches to refute each other's claims about position in the apocalyptic struggle. Especially, the acceptance of Five Articles at the Perth Assembly in 1618 and their ratification by the parliament in 1621 changed the focus of Scottish Presbyterian attack from Rome to England. At least, they were now seen as equal in their degree of enmity to the Reformation in Scotland. The domestic discussions about the true constitution of the Church led both Presbyterians and Episcopalians to encourage less the nation's pride in breaking with Rome, than her pride in resisting England and the encroachments of the English Church.¹⁹⁹ Thus, presbyterians came to adopt the limited goal of restoring Presbyterianism in one nation. In this change of emphasis England began to be seen as much an enemy as Rome; or two might merge in the eyes of Scots.

The role attributed by Scottish Reformers to England throughout the course of the Reformation process however, constituted part of a complex story. Calderwood, in his version, had a double view of the role of England. Indeed, when one reads Calderwood's *History*, he will note two opposite views about the role of England in the Reformation process. In the early parts of his history, speaking of the events before the Reformation in Scotland, England is represented as a friend of Scotland. Here, England, it was pointed out, offered a dynastic marriage three times, none of which came to pass due to the treacherous counsels of the Popish priests of

¹⁹⁹ Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 24.

Scotland. Calderwood said of the “Bishop of Sanct Andrews” that he “feared, if the equitie of the conditions was knowne, the most part would incline to peace”. So “they procured a false rumour to be spread through the Scottish armie, that the English were come of intention to tak away and bring the whole kingdome under subjection”.²⁰⁰

Thus, the side responsible for the failure of these three attempts to establish peace between the two nations was undeniably Scotland. However, the negative image of England visible in the rest of his *History* should not be counted as an inconsistency. Considering that he wrote his history after 1620, it is not strange to see a dark image of England, in view of the political and religious context of his time. For the earlier periods, he probably borrowed the ideas of other writers, who evaluated the events differently, placed, as they were, in a different context. However, other thoughts may have influenced Calderwood’s treatment. Scotland at this time had not experienced the Reformation. England might thus be viewed as the instrument of God that would bring Scotland to the light. In any case, this positive image of England constituted such a small part of the *History* that one need not to pay much attention to it.

Certainly, he was of the opinion that England had recently become more of a hindrance than a help in furthering the Reformation in Scotland. England might have once been seen as a sister church, but when Scotland became godly and established a different form of Reformation during the 1560s, it was no longer possible to conform to the desires of the English church. After this time, “the obstinacie against the ingyryng light, and the refusing of a further degree of Reformation, is fearefull, what is it then to drawe others back from their

²⁰⁰ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 1, 246.

reformation, and to binde them againe into their old chaine of darkness”.²⁰¹ This was a clear statement of the status of England in Calderwood’s eyes. In the course of the time, the English church proved herself “standing in the midst betwixt the Roman and reformed Kirks”. Notwithstanding her degraded position, “the Tyrian spirits of the world do disquiet their neighbour nations, striving to subject all to their formes, that they may reigne over all, as Queenes; against the protestations of faith of other Kirkes”.²⁰²

This reference to international situation, requiring so urgently the union of true Protestants, indicate that Calderwood’s ideas were closely related to the political and religious events of the period as it has already been stated. In his partial construction of the Scottish Reformation past, the Union of 1603 was marked with frustrating outcomes. One was the conference of 1604 held at Hampton Court, where James intended to resolve the religious disputes and achieve reconciliation between diverse groups of Protestants. In this conference, instead of adopting Presbyterian principles, “it pleased his gracious Majestie to continew the Church of England in her established estate...”²⁰³ Thus, this was a failure for the “godly people”. Its outcome was “verie favourable for bishops, and grievous to all that looked for reformation”. Although the more radical Protestants, particularly Presbyterians both in England and Scotland, had hoped for a furtherance of their understanding of Reformation principles in church government in all parts of Britain, King James unfortunately ratified “all the corruptiouns which should have been abolished”. And “manie which were growne out of use were re-established, and the godlie putt out of hope of all reformatioun”.

²⁰¹ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 32.

²⁰² Calderwood, *Speach*, 82.

²⁰³ Calderwood, *Perth Assembly*, 19.

However, for Calderwood, the climax point was not the year 1604. It could still be hoped, Calderwood thought, that the King could turn to his native fellow Scots, with their godly admonitions and counsels. Instead, later events made it clear that King James had a different opinion and policy in matters of church organisation from that which Calderwood imagined. Calderwood argued that the pure Reformation and its church organisation “after long standing now suddenly moved, and so taken with the novelties of the time”. In fact, the king’s policy of episcopacy ought not to be read as a quick and sudden change of mind of mid-1600s. Rather, he had an enduring attachment to it, as one which would strengthen his royal authority both in ecclesiastical and civil issues.²⁰⁴ In any case, Calderwood delivered nearly all his writings just after the passing of Five Articles at Perth in 1618, and their ratification by parliament in 1621, when the intentions of the king had become more evident. Then he asked and answered with fury:

Wherunto doth this defection tend? Doth it not tend first to perfect conformitie with the English Church, then at last will not end in full conformitie with the Roman kirk. The intent of the first is professed by his Maiestie in express terms extant in print: and therefore be not deceived with the promises and protestations of our usurping and pretended Prelates. All the reliques of Rome, which are lying like stinking filth in their (English) church, shall be communicated to us. The pattern of their altar, their service, their Hierarchie and Romish policie shall be set up in our church.²⁰⁵

What was it then that made Calderwood so angry about the recent political and religious policies of King James VI and I, though enacted in another Protestant country? Why did Calderwood come to view England as great an enemy as Rome? Why and how did his displeasure play an important role in articulating who he and those like-minded to him were? What kind of a conclusion can one reach from his discourse about the quality and content of patriotism? In order to give a satisfying

²⁰⁴ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 90-94.

²⁰⁵ Calderwood, *Quaeres*, 5-6.

answer to all these questions, one should understand his religious and political commitments carefully. For, the determinant of these patriotic outbursts above all was his religious interests. He was a radical Presbyterian minister at the time when the religious and political policies of the king threatened to violate his imagined world. As a consequence, he committed himself to bear the mission of defending a Reformed tradition because both papists and English prelates continued

breathing out reproachful obloquies against your reverend fathers and brethren, Calvin, Beza, Knox etc. as though their zeal against Romish idolatrie (the deformities whereof by new colours are now beginning to seeme beauties) had been excessive; and by disparaging their credite to bring the truth preached by them in suspision, and that glorious work of reformation, wherein they were so worthy instruments into question.²⁰⁶

The reason of this attack against the tradition that Calderwood defended was mainly an outcome of unionist arguments. After the union there emerged a great ecclesiological and historical discussion about the true form of an apostolic church. The royalists, Episcopalians and the bishops of England²⁰⁷ held that the Scottish church's organisation should be conformed to that of England. According to their view, the English Reformed church was that true apostolic church, called to fulfil the providential designs of God.²⁰⁸ These views were also shared by Scots, like David Lindsay, Forbes of Corse and John Spottiswood, to whom Calderwood responded in his writings.

What was more distressing was the King's open proclamation "upon the 20th of June at the Starre Chamber" of his desire for seeing these two nations united both in civil and ecclesiastical matters. However, he implied in his narrative that the King's speech contained an inconsistency. On the one hand, the king claimed to be

²⁰⁶ Calderwood, *Speech*, 16.

²⁰⁷ See Gordon Donaldson, "The attitude of Witgift and Bancroft to the Scottish Church" *Transactions of Royal Historical Society* 24 (1942): 95-115.

²⁰⁸ See Prior, *Defining*, especially, 1-8.

a zealous defender of his native country's rights and laws. Nevertheless, his great desire "was to confome the law of Scotland to the law of England, as was prohecyed by his wise grandfather, Henrie the Seventh, who fortold that the lesser kingdome by marriage would follow the greater". This statement was sufficient to prove the violation of James's oath to preserve the laws of Scotland. None could here trace any sign of a 'union of equals'. Rather, the king seemed to adopt the old English claims of suzerainty. He made a further comment to make the point clearer for his reader:

He confessed he was sworne to maintaine the law of the land, and therefore, were perjured if he altered it. But if he had intention to unite Scotland to England, how could he doe it without altering their lawes, which he was sworne also to maintaine?²⁰⁹

Moreover, James's comment about the ecclesiastical conditions of both countries was worse. For,

he tooke in his conscience, that the Church of England, of anie church that ever he read or knew of, present or past, is the most pure, and nearest the privitive [primitive] and apostolicke kirk, in doctrine and discipline, and is surliest foundit upon the Word of God of annie church of Christendome.²¹⁰

This statement would be the heart of Calderwood's later attack against Royalists, Episcopalians, and implicitly the king himself. For this was anathema from the point of view of Presbyterians. In their opinion, it was not the English Church, but the Scottish Church that embodied the purest form in Christendom both in terms of her doctrine and her discipline.

Nevertheless, had a contrary path been adopted in its church policies, England could have still continued to be a sister church, with a more positive role in the great design of God. If the English church could be purged of her defections, it would be an important bulwark against popery and, in any case, the reform of the

²⁰⁹ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 7, 219.

²¹⁰ Calderwood, *Speach*, 109.

Church of England along Presbyterian lines would tend to the glorification of God.²¹¹ So, the duty of King James was to “begin to reforme, where his worthy predecessors left, [rather] then [than] to end where they began” so that the Kirk could “set my sister of England at libertie, which she hath long desired, then [than] to bring mee; who have been so long free, to servitude, which I never deserved”.²¹² According to Calderwood, the King had no cause to regard Presbyterians as enemies. They had never imagined a national church that would regard him as their unworthy ruler, fit for deposition. However, limits had to be well defined. The king should be aware of the value of his native country and the authority of her reformed church. Then, he might

bee pleased to be our Physitian, &with his own hand cure the distempered body of this poore kirke, restoring to Christs spouse in the land of his hignes happie birth, her priviledges and servants for her Lords employments, that everie one of them receiving that favour, may enjoy one another for edification of the kirke, his maiesties better service, and ther mutuall comfort.²¹³

Then it would be possible to enjoy the harmony which ought to exist between the worldly monarchy of kings and heavenly monarchy of Christ. Yet, instead, the conditions set by the king and his men for unity had been articulated, and, if accepted, these would mean getting rid of any trace of Presbyterianism. All the changes that King James wanted to introduce into the Scottish Church after the Union of Crowns would result in an utterly transformed church in Scotland, but only slight modifications in England.²¹⁴

Calderwood placed his hope not only of a further reformation in England along Presbyterian lines, but also on the future prospects of his native church. Then

²¹¹ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 96.

²¹² Calderwood, *Speach*, 110.

²¹³ Calderwood, *Epistle*, 11.

²¹⁴ See MacDonald, “James VI and I”, 885-903.

he turned to his own intellectual store to defend the cause of his Scottish Reformation on ecclesiological grounds. Eventually, this produced what it is possible for us to observe in his writings—a systematic defence both by references to history and Scripture of a domestic reformed tradition which resisted any notion of conformity with England. From that time onwards, his mind was always occupied with the idea of conformity with an ungodly church. He wondered perpetually “whether our Conformitie end at last in Conformitie with Rome or not”. If so, “what reason have we to leave our conformitie with the pure Apostalicall Churches, or the best reformed Churches in forraine Nations?”²¹⁵ The political together with religious circumstances of the time necessitated him defending the cause both from historical and theological perspectives. Actually, in all of his writings, it is possible to see the presence of previous historical legacies, being used to validate the old Scottish pride in the nation’s religious and historical autonomy.

Of course, to illustrate this, one turns firstly to Calderwood’s *History*. Here he offered a preamble, in which he told the story of the Scottish people until the Reformation, by following the arguments of Buchanan. Here, like Buchanan, he gave the details of first settlement of Scots to Britain, their first king, their adoption of Christianity, the direct relationship of the early Scottish Church to Rome, the invalidity of English claims of suzerainty both in matters of ecclesiastical and civil, and so on. Yet, these details will not be examined comprehensively here because, as one author said, his major interest was not philology and language like Buchanan, but the “ethnick religioun of the Scots”.²¹⁶ Thus, his main intention seems to have been to indicate that the roots of the religious controversies of his own age went back as early as the first settlement of the Scots in Britain.

²¹⁵ Calderwood, *Dispute upon Communicating*, 23.

²¹⁶ Ferguson, *Identity*, 111.

Noting also that this preamble was a very small portion of his long history, it is possible to conclude that he had something different in his mind than communicating the secular ideas of Fordun, Boece or Buchanan. As he never concerned himself, in a similar, systematic way, with the secular story of the Scots in his other writings, his intention appears to have been something else. He might have written this preamble either out of a desire to appeal to the nobles, whom he sought to involve in the Covenanted movement during the 1630s, or to fit his history to the history writing traditions of the period. Yet, in view of the priority of his religious concerns, his basic purpose can be said have been to strengthen the idea that the early church organization of Scotland was Presbyterian, to assert that, as John Major, whom he cited approvingly, said: “the Scots were instructed in the faith by preests and monks without bishops”.²¹⁷ Secondly, the concern was probably to reaffirm that the Scots were converted not by Roman missionaries, but by British Culdees, an important Scottish Protestant myth in the quest for primitive Presbyterians. They represented also those “who were the first teachers of the Christiane faith to the Scots, and were holie and religious men having no strife among them for honours and places”. Thirdly, and more importantly, he sought to show that the independence of *Ecclesia Scoticana* could not be challenged by partial English writers. For she possessed pure and true antiquity in her institutional Christianity, as he strove to prove throughout this preamble. In any case, suffice it to say that for Calderwood the Reformation was a great reawakening and return to the purity of this apostolic church, ruled by presbyters without bishops. The later and much greater part of his *History* was devoted to the Reformation period, to the

²¹⁷ Calderwood, *History*, vol. 1, 40.

problems of the Reformed church, and especially to the struggle between Presbyterians and Episcopalians.

With this concern, the old matter of the autonomy of the church was indeed important. The writings of Fordun, Boece and Buchanan dealt with this issue to refute the historical claims to suzerainty by Canterbury and York; but Calderwood dealt with it from a different perspective, which was highly religious and theological. The conclusion, though, was the same. Conformity with the English church could not be acceptable. The old legacies were not however sufficient and appropriate to take a stance against the violators of God's ordinances. Instead, Calderwood formulated this message, directed by the idea of idolatry. Like Knox, Calderwood placed the struggle against the sin of idolatry in any narrative of the religious past in first place. The reason for resisting conformity to the English church was simple. The reformed form of the English church included many idolatrous and superstitious elements, hindering the growth of true religion. So, admitting what was concluded at the Perth Assembly in 1618 as to commit a great sin against God.

... do we not protest that we will abhorre and detest, confirmation one of the five bastard sacraments, kneeling, which is a rite added to the ministration of supper, without the warrant of Gods word, and invented by the Antichrist, privat baptisme, which is grounded upon the necessitie of baptisme, and doubting of the salvation of all infants dying unbaptised. When we protest we abhorre and detest his dedicating of dayes, do we not condemne observation of anniversarie holydayes? And when we protest we detest and abhorre not onely his own worldly Monarchie, but also his wicked Hierarchie, do we not condemne the degrees of Bishops and Archbishops?²¹⁸

The whole body of these despised particulars signified a change from the old purity of worship and discipline which had been preserved at the time of Reformation. It was best to "thinke of these particulars [indifferent things], as of members of the

²¹⁸ Calderwood, *Quaeres*, 3.

grosse bodie of conformitie, obscuring the frame of Reformation delivered unto you by the Fathers, for the instruction and comfort of your successors”.

The Scottish Kirk “was the work of God”, a perfect gift; so the particular differences, things called indifferent, among several reformed churches could not “be universall for all times and Kirks”.²¹⁹ For, “as the ancients observed that albeit Christs coate had no seame, yet the Kirks vesture was of divers colours, and the unities is one thing, and uniformitie another”.²²⁰ This clear expression of a distinction between unity and uniformity well revealed his intention. Uniformity was the same as conformity. It had to be rejected. Instead, a universal Reformed Christianity should be established according to the precepts of unity among diverse churches.

It was an unavoidable duty that “everi Kirk judging, or at least practising, according to theyr owne measure of reformation” should “set downe canons and constitutions about things before appointed already by Christ the onely lawgiver of his Kirk”. All the reformed Kirks after their reformations decided on things essential, but also on things indifferent. The former were not subject to change over time, because they were held by every church not according to the will of man, but to the precept of Christ. Moreover, if “any Nation receive a Confession, but of purpose to continue in the same, and if everie generation should change their confession, what a reproach should it be to a Kirk?” Reformed churches differed due to the “circumstances of order & decencie, that are equally necessarie in civill

²¹⁹ For the place and content of these articles in the debate on the Scottish national church, see John D. Ford, “The Lawful Bonds of Scottish Society: The Five Articles of Perth, The Negative Confession and The National Covenant” *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 45-64; also his, “Conformity and Conscience: the structure of the Perth Articles Debate in Scotland, 1618-1638” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 256-77.

²²⁰ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 34.

and religious actions”. Given this, he stated the complex situation in which the contemporary arguments might be resolved, thus:

Albeit the reformed Kirks agree now for the most part in the generall, about the nature and use of things indifferent, yet they goe far asunder in the application of the generall to their particular practices. The Lutheran Kirks hold some things for indifferent, which the Kirk of England receiveth not, and England holdeth a multitude of ordinances aboute discipline and ceremonies for indifferent, which we take to be unlawfull, and beside the word.²²¹

From this quotation, it is not difficult to draw the outlines of Calderwood’s patriotic discourse. Calderwood tried to defend his national church in parallel with his religious commitments. The logic of the position, just spoken of, provided Calderwood with the rational tool for rejecting others points of view. With the oaths sworn at the time of Reformation, the Scottish Church decided on its doctrinal and disciplinary stance. It was to be remembered, for example, that “M. Knox within a yeere after hee was exiled out of England after the death of King Edward, in his admonition, directed to England, ranketh kneeling [one of the Five Articles] among the superstitious orders, which prophane Christs Religion”.²²² In addition, in the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in 1566, “the confession of Helvetia was approved, but with speciall exception against the same five holy dayes, [another of the Five Articles] which are now urged upon us”. Lastly, according to Calderwood, in the Second Confession of Faith, they abjured episcopacy, for “wee detest Romane Antichrist, his worldlie monarchie, and wicked Hierarchie”. Eventually, the character of this national church had been constructed both by the revered fathers of Scottish Reformation and the lawful assemblies of the Church. Thus, those, who desired to violate this character stood against the dictates of God. God had “been more liberall to us & requireth of us that we give example, &

²²¹ Ibid., 32.

²²² Calderwood, *Answers to M. I. Forbes*, 14.

encouragement to others to aspire to our perfection” by means of such worthy instruments of the Reformation as Calvin, Beza and Knox.

Still, it might be asked whether the said Articles had not been accepted in this national Scottish assembly, and these introduced blasphemous ceremonies into the practice of the church. Calderwood also had a reasonable answer to this problem. According to him in a lawful assembly of the Kirk, “provinciall or nationall”, which was “often holden and well kept”,

every one hath libertie to utter his minde, & everyone is ready with the gift that God hath given him, as the diverse members of one body, for the good of the whole Kirk, all moved by one spirit, with mutuall respect, reverence, and brotherly love, joyne together in one conclusion, and if at any time they be of different judgements, they are not suddaine and summar in concluding things of importance, that concerne the whole, but that all may be done with uniforme consent, after the examples of Apostles Acts 15, the conclusion is delayed till all objections be satisfyed, and so to the greate good of the Kirk, both peace and trueth are preserved.²²³

Following this view, it was not hard for Calderwood to declare the nullity of this Perth Assembly, where “publick reasoning was hardly obtained and the continuation, till matters were more ripely considered was peremptorily refused”. Furthermore, Calderwood held that “at least three parts of the whole number of the particular congregations within the realme” stood “out against the decrees of that assemblie”. The conclusions in a lawful assembly were to be reached not merely according to its own mind, but in harmony with the church. For, “the bodie of the Kirk is of greater authoritie, then an assemblie, it being onlie a representative bodie, not the collective, or co-augmentative body”.²²⁴ Admitting whatsoever was concluded merely under the name of an Assembly “may cause us [be] brought to admit not only the English ceremonies, but also Lutheranisme, and Papistry”.

²²³ Calderwood, *Pastor and Prelate*, 54.

²²⁴ Calderwood, *Dispute upon Communicating*, 72.

In contrast to that of Perth, the legacy of the former course taken by Calderwood's lawful assemblies proved that every decision of theirs had been decently concluded. Calderwood's assertion was that Scots had promised to continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline expressed in their Confession of Faith in 1560. This Confession was extended by a second Confession of Faith in 1581, which was several other times "subscribed universallie", in 1587, 1590 and 1596. Also, "the estates of the parliament agreeing in judgement with the Kirk concerning the said matters [particulars] by their acts ratified and approved the Kirk constitutions". Thus, the essentials and particulars sworn to be kept by these confessions constituted the national character of the Scottish Church. As Calderwood put it: "our intention was not to set downe a Confession of Faith, whereunto all Christians in the world should bee tyed, but only such as will bee members of this Kirk, and to make knowne to the world what we professe".²²⁵

Convinced of the truth of the Confession and purity of his church, Calderwood strove to show that Scotland received the most excellent benefits from God in the space of 60 years. In his mind, the receiving of these Five Articles, the content of which he claimed to have been rejected and abhorred by lawful assemblies, encouraged many advocates of what was in fact a further conformity with Papists, to the utmost grief of Presbyterians. This was so because "the whole Romulean rites of Antichrist" were "of one kinde and qualitie, only differing in degrees", and thus contained in the Five Articles.

He was in fact arguing against unionist thought. He called its upholders simply "reconcilers". He denied that they suggested reconciliation for the sake of Protestant war against the Roman churches of the continent. While they were

²²⁵ Calderwood, *Answere to M. I. Forbes*, 6.

“crying peace, peace”, they did “mean no peace, till wee bee at peace with Rome”. He warned them to “looke forward and you shall see the wide doore of traditions cast open, whereby the whole multitude not onely of English, but popish rites, woodbind to the Gospell may as well enter”. Here, one can realize how much the form of argumentation of the parties differed. While Episcopalians and Royalists saw in the future the fruitful outcomes of conformity among all civil and ecclesiastical institutions, Calderwood and likeminded radical Presbyterians discredited such designs with a strict commitment to the infallibility of God’s word, preserved in the doctrine and discipline of the Scottish Church. So he yearned for a restoration of the past he constructed.

For you cannot deny, but you have seene your mother the kirk in her gayest dresse, firmly settled upon the foundation of Prophets, and Apostles, and strongly fortified with faire confessions, her badges famous in the world, and most meet for keeping unity among her members in doctrine, sacraments, kirke-service, discipline, and in the holy ministrie, and for abiuring of all poysonable superstition, and damnable confusion. How happy were these dayes, when all pleasantly marched against all enemies without exception, as an army with banners.²²⁶

This is, in fact, a summary of what has been said above. He glorified the Reformation past in order to support the adoption of his understanding of the original meaning of the Reformation. It constituted a hard and convincing stance against the malicious designs of his adversaries.

This quotation expressed also a further yearning. According to Calderood’s account of the Reformation past, as already indicated, the General Assemblies had then been much more lawful and conformed to the guidance of the Reformation fathers. The Scottish Church had once “beheld her watchmen assembled in her sacred meetings for managing of her affairs, according to the will of her Lord, fenced with liberties and privileges, the royal testimonies of Maiesties love for

²²⁶ Calderwood, *Epistle*, 8.

strengthening her jurisdiction”.²²⁷ This calls to mind the distinct courses of the English and Scottish churches had taken at the time of their Reformations. The English Reformation had been at royal command and carried out according to the precepts and pleasure of the crown.²²⁸ But, in Scotland, it was a result of an aristocratic movement, against the will of the monarch. Therefore, the first ministers of the church had had a free hand in their actions and greater liberty in determining church organisation. So, the policies of King James emerged to dominate the centre of Scottish politics, being inevitably attended with opposition. He in fact demanded the restoration of bishops to secure his control of the Estates and other institutions and to silence the Presbyterian threat to royal power. The relative autonomy of the clergy could be gotten rid of only by the introduction of an episcopate responsible only to the king.²²⁹

Calderwood did not see the relative freedom of the church from state control as a privilege belonging only to the clergy. It was rather a national privilege received by Scotland from the merciful hands of God. It was a gift, not of men, but of God. As he reflected that “the Lord hath been more liberall to us”, he wondered “if any Kirk in Europe had enjoyed this precious libertie, as long as we have done, would they have quite it so easily, as we are like to doe”. It was to be particularly defended by the clergy, for they had been raised from worldly rank and been given the leadership of a people made godly. In order to protect this privilege, The Scots would “wish rather to follow Christ and his Apostles followers of him, then [than] any other man, or societie of men, and rather the forme of our owne kirke observed since reformation”. It was due to this that Scotland differed “from all the well-reformed Kirkes round about us”.

²²⁷ Ibid., 9.

²²⁸ Mullan, *Episcopacy*, 143.

²²⁹ MacDonald, “James VI and I”.

With this heritage in view, the godly Scot might easily realize the danger behind accepting English rites and ceremonies. This would be a violation of God's word and liberty given to Scotland. "What a vain alledgeance is it to say", Calderwood marked, that "kneeling will serve to declare our union with other reformed Kirkes, seeing the best reformed Kirkes do abhorre kneeling".²³⁰ He added bluntly: "how I pray you, are wee united to the English Church?" King James's apparently commendable intention, "to wit, to restore the Christian Church to unitie" was a dangerous threat, if it came to mean first conformity with the English Church. And was it not absurd? Could it be then imagined that "Papists, Lutheran, Formalist, and Calvinist must then all be reconciled together and united in one", seeing that "wee must yield all to them, and they will not yield anything at all to us, and wee are unmercifully dealt with to yield unto them?"²³¹ Under the light of above arguments, the answer would undoubtedly be no.

Though the answer to this was undoubtedly no, if conformity was intended, Calderwood clearly articulated the conditions, which could not be bargained over due to the sacred and infallible character of what was at stake.

1. The substantiall truth of God, wherein all true conformitants must agree.
2. the sincere ministry, and sorts of ministers appointed by the sonne of God for our edification in the truth.
3. Christs incommunicable prerogative in appoynting of the Sabboth, and solemne ministration of the word, sacraments, and discipline.
4. The edificative use of these ministrations in the several ages, Kirks. & kingdomes of the world.
5. A clear distinction between divine and ecclesiasticall rites, the indifferencie in nature, the expedience of use, the diversitie in practice ecclesiastical...

²³²

These points were also to be considered by his own brethren, as well as others. It was not be sufficient that "ye have before this time given testification of zeale to your ancient libertie, and of your misliking of the present course of conformitie". In

²³⁰ David Calderwood, *A Solution of Doctor Resolutus, His Resolutions for Kneeling* (Amsterdam: G. Veseler, 1619), 49.

²³¹ Calderwood, *Quaeres*, 5.

²³² Calderwood, *Speach*, 92.

any time of defection, a renewal of all promises and oaths, which were Confessions of Faith, as necessary, because “the feares of the judgment of god shall be greater, then [than] now be the feares of the wrath of the world”. The cost of defection was frightening: for “iniquities and ingratitude doe provoke the Lord to remove his kingdome altogether from you, and to give it to others that would bring forth the fruits thereof both with his own people the Iewes, and with many other famous Kirkes in the East and West”. The image of Israel was double edged. It might give purpose and direction in a positive way or it could be an example of defection. A Reformed church might face the fate of the Jews, who preferred “their estate to Christ, and feared ruine, if Christ should live, ... [and] killed him to save their nation, [so] that in the justice of God the Romans came, and destroyed their nation”.

We have seen above what form a patriotic discourse in the early modern Scotland took. It was hardly singular in Calderwood to express his religious commitments with highly national connotations. In such a discourse however, it was made evident that the world was wholly under the control of God. Thus, any feeling of national pride was to be conformed to this reality. Accordingly, nations could not continue to exist without true religion. Thus, “all the policie of Achitopol, and wisdome of Salomon cannot establish a kingdome, wherein the kingdome of Christ is misregarded, because his true worship is the pillar and wall of policies”. Without seeking his help, it was not possible for nations, kingdoms or monarchies to claim any superiority, for “if the Lord remove his truth from you, hee will deprive you also of your civill liberties”.²³³

The preservation of the state required it to adopt the purest and truest form of the Christian religion, as Scotland had done at the time of Reformation. However,

²³³ Calderwood, *Speach*, 84.

“men have been inclined to give place to the streame of time”, so that this pure form acquired at the Reformation became inevitably spoiled by human alteration. The distinct national character of the Reformation’s Scottish church was challenged both by Episcopalians, Royalists, and Papists and others, possessed of deviant, if Protestant, view. In defence, Calderwood constructed a past in which Scotland and her Reformed church were glorified, with references both to Scripture and to history. In that, sometimes the role of Israel in revealing the truth to the ungodly was attributed to the Scottish church, and sometimes the historical rights of the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of Scotland against any suzerainty claims by foreigners were reiterated. But, one crucial message remained. The Scottish church with her inseparable doctrine and discipline gained a national character, which was to be preserved due to the oaths and promises sworn after the Reformation.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The investigation pursued in this thesis can be seen as an attempt to reveal some basic elements in the seventeenth-century expression of the Scottish Presbyterian identity. The writings of Calderwood mark a significant point in the general history writing tradition of the Scottish Reformation and indeed of Scotland. It was to be a unique source for contemporary and later practical and theoretical uses. Robert Baillie directed his audiences' attention, as he conducted the work of the Covenant, to the writings of the contemporary "living magazine of our all Ecclesiastick History, most Reverend David Calderwood". Similarly, his account of the Reformation shaped the understanding of Samuel Rutherford, as he evaluated the achievements or deficiencies of country's leading figures. Calderwood continued to hold a pre-eminence in a tradition which was powerful against the claims of Enlightenment during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The elucidation of the aspects of this Presbyterian identity illustrates the constitutive and pervasive role of religion in the early modern period. Self-understanding was formulated with continual reference to Christianity. A radical Calvinist formulation of Protestantism provided the ultimately authoritative source of guidance in ordering and regulating the social, political and cultural order of Scotland. For Presbyterians and Episcopalians, contemporary debates had their

resolutions through historical precedents; but, history always gave evidence to the existence of God's providential plan, which in turn imposed religious and moral commands that were to be obeyed by all. The king might be the only source of authority in a monarchy. But where Episcopalians emphasised the notion of divine right monarchy, Presbyterians made a further distinction. According to their view, the king held only a *potestas ordinata*, granted either by God or by the people; but the freedom of *potestas absoluta* belonged to God alone. Thus, he had to acknowledge himself to be no more than a member of God's kirk and kingdom. As a result, he was bound to yield to the directions of that Church or go astray.

What basically differentiated Episcopalians from Presbyterians was the latter's contention that James VI and I in view of his ecclesiastical policies, proved himself a rebel to his sovereign. In the eyes of Presbyterians, he obstructed the execution of God's commands to his creatures. Calderwood set out to show that James intended to introduce completely unacceptable rites and rituals and undermine the organization of the Scottish Church. His definition of Presbyterian identity and the historical and ecclesiological logic used to express it served to bring before them their religious and moral duty, which would save the ungrateful and recalcitrant Scottish people. Otherwise, the true Church of Christ that had been established by both doctrinal and disciplinary unity at the time of Reformation was likely to be lost, leaving the country to damnation. The Scottish Church had taken her place in the universal battle fought against Antichristian Roman Church. She was held to represent the apex of purity among the other branches of Christ's Church, for the Reformation was the work of God, executed through the prophecies of chosen vessels like Calvin, Beza and John Knox. Scotland with her Reformed Church belonged neither to England nor to King James, but only to God. God had

made a covenant with Scottish people in 1560 and 1581 whereby the whole people promised obedience, not to a human polity, but to God.

The insistence of James on his ecclesiastical policies necessitated Calderwood producing a new discourse about patriotism. Because of the political and religious circumstances of the period, the assertion of the universal character of Protestantism began to include in a new, albeit limited defence of Scottish particularism. Of course, Scotland had long had patriotic defences of her privileges, against the dictates of foreign powers. As we have seen, Scotland had a number of historical and political narratives to defend her historical rights as an independent monarchy. However, Calderwood's point of view did not derive directly from the old supports of Scotland's medieval religion, law and monarchy. It came rather from nation's new religious commitments.

In asserting Scottish independence against the claims of English dominance in church organization, Calderwood constructed his view around the notion of idolatry. At the onset of the Reformation, it was, in most cases, the Roman Church that represented the idolatry of the Antichrist. But, in the course of time England was seen to occupy a similar position in Presbyterian discourse. The violation of the purity and unity of doctrine and discipline of the Scottish Church and the adoption of a foreign experience of Reformation would mean the destruction of a holy and godly Israel. Every individual confessed and Reformed church which was part of *Corpus Christi* should live according to the principle of unity, not of conformity. If this approach could be restored by making the interpretation of the specific achievements of the Scottish church the central emphasis, then still, the universal character of Protestantism would continue to be shown. In short, these two notions, universal and particular, did not exclude each other, at least in the thought of

Calderwood. They could live together as soon as their true and exact meanings were grasped.

In a disturbed society where religion was the supreme regulating principle in social relations, it is not surprising to see a quest for authority in an increased use of patristic and other classical Christian sources. This activity constituted a kind of historical research in which the participants sought answers in the past, which were already in their minds. Or at least, they were not satisfied with the answers of others, and sought historical light to test their own answers. In the case of the Presbyterians, as we have seen, the Scottish Reformation was read retrospectively, supporting their convictions about church government. Likewise, in the course of religious and political discussions, the precedents of this disciplinary form of the church were found in the ancient Scottish Culdees and their practice of Christianity.

However, this cannot be a justification condemning their history as no history at all, but mere religious polemic. Historical activity in this period had a much more avowed moral and instructive character than it had later. However, this instruction—and this was relatively new—now served not only kings and statesmen, but was addressed to the “good, attentive and non-partisan Christian reader” in general. Additionally, in the search for religious truth, established antiquarian practices began to be integrated into history writing traditions, as Calderwood’s writings well indicate. In brief, it might be said that, leaving aside his particular religious objectives, Calderwood was little different in the essentials of his practice of history from the modern historian, equally, if more cautiously inclined to pre-prepared answers to contemporary questions and using the antiquarian’s methods, under the label scientific.

As to his religious objectives, Calderwood and his fellow Presbyterians conceived the world as occupied by many kingdoms. There were the worldly or profane kingdoms of the human monarchs and there was the true, divine monarchy. Calderwood was a champion of the last. He expressed his worldview from the obligations and premises of belief in the Godly monarchy, in which the earthly kingdom, as it struggled in the conflict with the Antichrist, subordinated itself to the kingship of Christ. Thus, his narrative of the religious and political occurrences of the earthly kingdom of Scotland was in truth experience of Christ's kingdom of Scotland. The convincing expression of this perception remains his greatest accomplishment as an historian.

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In the case of Calderwood’s *History*, the abbreviated versions, which are also available in *EEBO*, were not used here. Instead, the references, as given in footnotes, are from the nineteenth-century edition of Wodrow Society. They published *The History of The Kirk of Scotland*, an-eight-volume collection of Calderwood’s earlier manuscripts, between 1842-49. This collection can be purchased in CD format through internet. The references to Calderwood’s *History* in this dissertation have been given, using the eleventh of a-thirty-series CD set, which are in fact part of a project called *The Reformation Book Shelf CDs*. The eleventh one includes many works of David Calderwood. It has been published by Still Waters Revival Books on January 29, 2003.

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