Servants to St. Mungo: The Church in Sixteenth-Century Glasgow

by

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This thesis investigates religious life in Glasgow, Scotland in the sixteenth century. As the first full length study of the town’s Christian community in this period, this thesis makes use of the extant Church documents to examine how Glaswegians experienced Christianity during the century in which religious change was experienced by many communities in Western Europe. This project includes research from both before and after 1560, the year of the Reformation Parliament in Scotland, and therefore eschews traditional divisions used in studies of this kind that tend to view 1560 as a major rupture for Scotland’s religious community. Instead, this study reveals the complex relationships between continuity and change in Glasgow, showing a vibrant Christian community in the early part of the century and a changed but similarly vibrant community at the century’s end.

This project attempts to understand Glasgow’s religious community holistically. It investigates the institutional structures of the Church through its priests and bishops.
as well as the popular devotions of its parishioners. It includes examinations of the sacraments, Church discipline, excommunication and religious ritual, among other Christian phenomena. The dissertation follows many of these elements from their medieval Catholic roots through to their Reformed Protestant derivations in the latter part of the century, showing considerable links between the traditions. This thesis argues that although considerable change occurred through the establishment of a Presbyterian Church polity and the enforcement of new conceptions of Church discipline, many elements of popular devotion remained stable throughout the period.

The research in this project challenges many of the traditional narratives of Scottish Reformation historiography. It disputes notions of the decay of the Church in the years previous to the Reformation parliament, and it questions the speed with which the goals of the Reformation were achieved in the town. It also challenges traditional interpretations of the martyrdom of John Ogilvie, a Jesuit executed in the town in 1615. In this way, the dissertation offers an alternative approach to the period that could be applied to research done on other Scottish or European towns.
For my parents, who know their history. And for young Alistair, who will learn it.
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Map of the town, 1547.

Introduction: Let Glasgow Flourish

This study is an attempt to understand the religious lives of people in sixteenth-century Glasgow. In this way, it is a contribution to larger efforts seeking “the return of religion” into our understanding of the early modern past, or of history more generally.¹ Religious belief is, of course, still very much with us in the western world and globally and we would be wise to remember, as Alister Chapman has, that “diminished importance does not mean no importance.”² Yet, the massive influence of economic and social understandings of history in academic circles has rendered religious beliefs something like feudalism – a way of thinking and acting that existed in the past, but which has since been replaced, even overcome, by the thought processes and progress of the present.³

Although it did not do so antagonistically and made major contributions to our understanding of the period, the explosion of economic and social history writing in the later twentieth century contributed to the isolation of religious history. In Scotland, the “Church history” written in the 1960s by Gordon Donaldson or the hagiographical biographies of John Knox written in the 1970s by Stanford Reid gave way in the 1980s to more socio-religious understandings of the past written by Ian Cowan and Jenny

Social history also led historians to the towns, and as Ian Cowan led the way again, Scottish historians were exposed to the Reformation’s “regional aspects” as the degrees of the Reformation’s success became clearly tied to region and local governance. The dominance of socio-economic understandings of Scottish history in much of the 1980s demonstrates the isolation of religion as an academic subject. In collections of essays on “the medieval town” “the early modern town” and “Scottish society” in the period, religious ideas hardly figured into the narrative at all. In their place, one found discussions of “urban society”, “merchants and craftsmen”, “mercantile investment” and “occupational structure”, or “population mobility” “women in the economy” and “agrarian improvement.” These studies vastly expanded our understanding of the period. They revealed a sophisticated Scottish past that stood in contrast to views, especially from the English perspective, which “treated Scotland as a geographically peripheral nation about which little is known and whose relevance to wider European trends is limited.” They also incorporated women and the poor and, critically, highland Scots, into understandings of Scotland’s history, which contributed to the integration of marginalized groups into narratives. With the major contributions made by these historians it would be unwise for the historian of religion to begrudge their selection of topic. It would also, however, be unwise to ignore the degree to which the removal of religion from the equation of early modern society might lead to a

misrepresentation of this period as one more influenced by economic and social forces than religious ones. Although recent work has indicated increased interest in religious topics, much work is left to be done, especially regarding its local contexts.\(^8\)

This project’s consideration of “sixteenth-century Glasgow” as opposed to pre- or post-Reformation Glasgow is significant. Although most historians recognize that the conversion of the Scottish people did not happen when the ink dried on the *Confession of Faith*, research on the period still tends to use 1560 as its central fulcrum, even though larger trends in European Reformation history “stretch the classic terminal dates beyond recognition.”\(^9\) Some research centering around 1560 remains central to our understanding of sixteenth-century religious life, but the date implies a rupture that did not exist so it has been avoided in this study. For example, in investigations of the installation ceremonies of medieval clergy in chapter 1 we will see elements of feudal homage rituals that were incorporated into Catholic ceremonies at the beginning of the century. In chapter 5, at the end of the century, we will see nearly identical rituals subtly changed to reflect the theology of the new Reformed settlement. Although much had changed, a good deal of the Christian experience remained stable throughout the period.

The use (or misuse) of 1560 as a date of “ending” or “beginning” has especially important implications for our understanding of Catholicism in sixteenth-century

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First among these is the suggestion that if Catholicism was dead after 1560 it must have been on its way to dying in the early decades of the sixteenth century. The research in this dissertation proves that this was not the case. The limited evidence for the early decades of the sixteenth century proves that Glaswegians made use of complex rituals to define the town’s membership, punish malefactors and defend jurisdictions. At the administrative level, the Kirk’s local leadership and its archbishops defended Glasgow’s papal exemption from the primacy of St. Andrews and punished heretics believed to be bent on destroying the Kirk. In these endeavours, Christian Glaswegians used many forms that are unfamiliar to the modern person. The clergy cursed and excommunicated people they disagreed with; they also agonized over the order in which priests walked in processions and exchanged a complex series of touches to communicate the responsibilities of a particular job. The unfamiliarity of these actions may lead us to think of them as charming idiosyncrasies of medieval people, but this would underestimate these actions significantly. Rituals, curses and excommunications provided the fundamental building blocks of the medieval Church because they dealt with matters like the sacraments, sin and the boundaries of communities. In the early-sixteenth century Glasgow displayed many of the markers of a dynamic Catholic community, and based on the evidence in this dissertation it would be a mistake to suggest that was facing an imminent end.

Perceiving decline in Catholicism where it was not necessarily present was one of the chief characteristics of the writing of “Reformer Historians” like John Knox, David Calderwood and John Spottiswoode, and as much as these men exaggerated...

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Catholic decline, so too did they overstate Protestant success.\textsuperscript{11} Catholicism survived the Reformation in many ways in Glasgow. In chapter 5 we will see how people continued to read Catholic books, practice Catholic sacraments and think Catholic thoughts into the seventeenth century. Catholicism was difficult to remove from Glasgow because people held tightly to rituals and belief systems they or their parents grew up with, reminding us that “the first generation of evangelicals...had not ceased to be late medieval Christians.”\textsuperscript{12} “Reformer Historians’” propensity for harsh treatment of Catholicism has had such an influence on the narrative of the Scottish past that even in an era of post-confessional history many events still long to be understood from a more balanced perspective. Throughout this dissertation we will encounter evidence of the legacies of confessional history, and it is hoped that this study will provide a measure of corrective to these longstanding narratives. This is especially true in the discussion of St. John Ogilvie in chapter 5, where a more balanced understanding of his execution offers new perspectives for historians.

Suggesting the vibrancy of Catholicism both before and after 1560 causes historians to confront Hans Hillenbrand’s interesting question “Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?”\textsuperscript{13} Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will prove that the answer in Glasgow is certainly yes. Especially in chapter 3, we will see that the operation of Kirk session and the presbytery drastically altered the manner in which people experienced the Kirk. But new forms of discipline and polity could not simply erase persistent forms of belief. In fact, chapter 3 exemplifies the difficulties the new Kirk had with lingering

\textsuperscript{12} Brad Gregory, “Martyrs and Saints” in \textit{A Companion to the Reformation World} 455-470. 457.
\textsuperscript{13} Hans J. Hillenbrand, “Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?” \textit{Church History} vol. 72. Issue 3 (September, 2003) 525-552.
Catholic mentalities. The persistence of Catholic belief and practice necessitated the creation of different views of some of the fundamental elements of existence, time and space. And although “Protestant time and space” did not fully remove Catholicism, it did contribute to shifting the town from a Catholic mentality to a Protestant one. Thus in the “series of contradictions and ambiguities” that were the Scottish Reformation, Catholic survival existed right alongside foundational elements of Scottish Presbyterianism throughout the second half of the century.\textsuperscript{14}

The records of sixteenth-century Glasgow lead us to believe that all of the town’s people not only believed in God, but also believed that He provided consistent intercessory action in their mid-sized Scottish town. In addition to His historical actions and contributions to everyday routines, He prevented storms, removed disease and, throughout the period, repelled heretics. We must understand God’s role in their lives if we wish to understand the people we meet in sixteenth-century Glasgow, or if we are, as Brad Gregory put it, to “‘get it’ from the perspective of religious believer-practitioners.”\textsuperscript{15} Attempting to understand the people of the past on their own terms is a logical and common goal of the historian, but the historian of religion faces additional challenges that are particularly relevant to this study. The most serious of these is that historians of religion avoid reduction of religious ideas and experiences by claiming that they are something other than religious ideas and experiences.\textsuperscript{16} Instead, historians should embrace the possibility of God when they are learning about their subjects or risk misunderstanding them completely. This is an approach to the past that may not always

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\textsuperscript{14} Lynch, “In Search of the Scottish Reformation”, 79.
\textsuperscript{15} Brad S. Gregory “Can We ‘See Things Their Way’? Should We Try?” in Seeing Things Their Way, 25.
\textsuperscript{16} Gregory, ‘The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion’ History and Theory vol. 45 (December, 2006)132-149.
\end{flushright}
sit well with the particularly secularized twenty-first century academic community, but it is “good history” because it embraces the reality of the community it is attempting to understand.

One of the primary themes of this dissertation is the relationship of sixteenth-century Glaswegians to the sacraments, those central communicative elements of Christian life. The sacraments represented a major point of division among early modern Christians. John Knox called the daily celebration of the Catholic sacrament the “fountain and spring of all other evils in the realm” and used Mary, Queen of Scots’ maintenance of the mass as a particular target of his ire.\(^\text{17}\) In the Catholic response to Knox, the focus was also on the sacraments. The controversialist writer Quintin Kennedy engaged in a public debate with Knox on the mass in 1562 and Ninian Winzet attacked the Protestant sacraments.\(^\text{18}\) Although emanating from different theological positions, both pre-1560 Catholic sacraments and the post-1560 Protestant sacraments required God to “show up” in either a physical, fleshly sense or a less tangible but no less real spiritual one.\(^\text{19}\) Throughout the period, we will see people clamouring after the sacraments or using the supernatural powers of the sacraments as pillars around which they could understand their lives. A disposition towards the sacraments in both traditions that implies these actions were superstitious, irrational, or merely social structures misrepresents them fundamentally. The comparative loss of influence these practices carry in present-day Western culture has little to do with their centrality to


\(^{19}\) Below, Chapter 4, 141-180.
sixteenth-century culture. We need not adhere to the same belief system as the people of sixteenth-century Glasgow, but we should attempt to understand it on its own terms. Seeing is not necessarily believing in the case of the religious past.

It is also essential to avoid adhering to Max Weber’s view of the “disenchantment of the world” in which popular magic and “superstition” became marginalized by the clear headed rationalism of Protestantism. This view would also make it difficult to understand the sacraments properly. Carlos Eire’s recent work on “the history of the impossible” has brought the errors of the “disenchantment” thesis into clearer focus. In discussing levitation he notes that for many modern historians the creation of strict lines between rationality and irrationality have created a context in which “supernatural phenomena are modernity’s foil”, under which conditions understanding levitation cannot be achieved. Eire insists that in embracing the possibility of actions that are now considered impossible on the terms of those engaged in them we are better able to assess the cultural contexts that produced change in popular attitudes toward them. He quotes Erik Midelfort who wrote:

When we ignore the awkward realities and contradictions of this or any period we shortchange the past. We shortchange ourselves as well. If we choose to remember only the “progressive” parts of history, the ones that readily “make sense” to us, we oversimplify the past and our own lives. We cultivate an artificially naïve view of the world.

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20 Gregory “Can We ‘See Things Their Way’? Should We Try?”
23 Ibid, 321
This naiveté can be overcome, however, and Eire also points to the proliferation of recent studies of witchcraft as an example of historians’ changing their attitudes about the supernatural. In witchcraft studies, historians embraced the supernatural when it was convenient for “certain social and political causes” relevant to the present day, and Eire points out that these studies have revealed a widespread belief in both witches and levitation in both the Catholic and Protestant traditions.25 Perhaps this change proves that historians had become “disenchanted” more than the worlds they study had.

Recent studies on intangible but important aspects of the Reformation world have done well to point out the continued benefits of examining mentalities.26 Writing the history of “feelings” or “suffering” in the medieval and early modern world requires historians to embrace the particular mental landscapes of these communities and report the changes and continuities we see. Historians should suspend their own ideas about these elusive but essential elements of the past and go to the sources in order to understand their subjects better. In this study, the goals are the same. It attempts to engage with the religious mentality of sixteenth-century Glaswegians by examining the ways in which they understood and communicated with God. It will show that Glaswegians experienced God throughout the period in their devotion to and control of the sacraments and in the rituals that defined and explained them to clergy and laypeople in both traditions. The shifting conceptions of God brought on by the Reformation had a significant influence on religious life in Glasgow, but full significance

25 Carlos Eire, “The Good, the Bad and the Airborne”, 322.
of the change was only beginning to be felt in the sixteenth century, as old ideas of God remained and new ones staked their claim. The sixteenth-century town was thus a familiar place for Glaswegians, even with change all around them.

**Purpose and Approach**

A large-scale project on the religious history of Glasgow in the sixteenth century seems long overdue and this dissertation is, in many ways, an attempt to remedy Glasgow’s general omission from the historiography of sixteenth-century Scotland. From Michael Lynch’s study of Edinburgh to the more recent work of John McCallum on Fife, local studies of Scottish towns in the period have slowly trickled into the historiography. These studies have rounded out historians’ understanding of the Scottish Reformation as part of a large international Protestant movement that by the nature of its polity was intensely shaped by the peculiarities of local contexts. Beyond the local studies, the historiography of the Scottish Reformation has been remarkably well-served by more general studies of the Kirk session and the presbytery, those highly localized institutions that have come to dominate so much of our understanding of the operations of the Scottish Kirk. Michael Graham’s *The Uses of Reform* carefully re-focused historians’ attention on these institutions and revealed the varied concerns of local sessions as well

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27 The only recent study of the Church in Glasgow in the period is the beautifully illustrated, but limited *A Tale of Two Towns: A History of Medieval Glasgow* Neil Baxter ed. (Glasgow: Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, 2008).
as the mixed successes these groups experienced in establishing “Protestant Scotland.”\textsuperscript{29} In his study of thousands of disciplinary cases, Graham provided the most complete assessment of Kirk discipline to that time and his consistent use of statistics and tables quantified religious discipline in Scotland. His study, however, was hardly a straightforward statistical history. Graham’s data facilitated his examination of many of the social elements of religious practice. He compared disciplinary practices among different towns and within its international contexts. He also investigated gender, sexuality, popular behaviour and the relationships among the elite and the middling classes. By way of the quality of its approach and its conclusions, \textit{The Uses of Reform} paved a highway into the history of post-Reformation Scottish religion.

Margo Todd’s \textit{The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland} employed a different methodology than \textit{The Uses of Reform}, but achieved similarly high-quality conclusions.\textsuperscript{30} In her revealing study of religion “in the pew”, Todd captured the essence of religious experience. She investigated the role that the conglomeration of theology, discipline, ritual and religious tradition, among other factors, played in the production of the particular religious culture of post-Reformation Scotland. Todd’s work succeeded so well because it made use of the best aspect of the Kirk session records, their tremendous capacity for humanizing early modern religious people. In investigating how people’s movements or words reflected a negotiation of individuals’ religious beliefs with the larger Reformed mandate, Todd explained early modern Scottish religion by complicating it. She showed the debt early modern Protestants owed to their medieval Catholic counterparts and the degree to which the performative aspects of Protestant

\textsuperscript{29} Michael Graham, \textit{The Uses of Reform: ‘Godly Discipline’ and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610} (Leiden: Brill, 1996)
\textsuperscript{30} Margo Todd, \textit{The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland} (New Haven: Yale, 2002).
religious practice disprove claims that Protestantism loosed itself of the grip of "superstitious" Catholic rituals at the time of the Reformation. Like Graham, Todd supplied historians of the Scottish Reformation with a unique and highly valuable road into the past, and it is a great testament to both historians that they could employ such different methodologies toward similar primary source materials and produce such high quality scholarship.

This study attempts to travel both roads charted by Todd and Graham, all the while recognizing the difficulties of the task. As a local study, this dissertation primarily investigates Glasgow during the sixteenth century. Although much of the action is centred on the town itself, the existence of the Archbishop’s court in the Catholic settlement and the Presbytery in the Protestant settlement meant the town had significant regional influence throughout the period. Several cases thus emerge from the regions surrounding Glasgow. The Archbishop’s court carried a much larger geographical jurisdiction than the Presbytery, but in both cases the important ecclesiastical business of the surrounding region was funnelled into the town. Apart from a section of chapter 5 that considers John Ogilvie’s martyrdom, nearly all of the primary material is taken from the sixteenth century. It is hoped that these parameters will contain the claims within some boundaries of time and place in order to avoid generalization or the inaccuracies that might arise from larger comparative endeavours. In spite of the localized nature of its subjects, however, this dissertation makes few attempts to develop a narrative history of sixteenth-century Glasgow. Only in chapter 2 is there any significant narrative of the events. Instead, this project is concerned with investigating the experience of religion among Glasgow’s sixteenth-century
practitioners, and has followed religious practice and religious devotion throughout the century. As will be seen, this study owes a debt to Todd’s interpretations of Scottish Protestantism, although it deviates from her findings on several occasions. But it is important here to note that this research attempts to apply the essence of Todd’s approach in to the evidence for Glasgow, in that it hopes to understand Christianity beyond the Protestant logocentric tendencies by which it is often characterized. The surviving documents of sixteenth-century Glasgow’s Church reveal a Kirk that was “lived” through movements and rituals at least as much as it was read or preached. This study is concerned with the holistic religious experience; it makes a case for the congruities of Christian practice over time; it insists that establishing Reformed Glasgow was a protracted process; and it acknowledges the presence of committed Catholics long after the official change in religion. In these endeavours, this study does its best to examine Christian Glasgow from the perspective of religious practitioners, the servants to St. Mungo, as they interpreted and experienced God in their lives.

Despite their capacity to reveal elements of social life in the sixteenth century, the documents used for this study have been investigated primarily for their religious elements, and most are official Church records. Although historians always wish for more substantial records, a significant amount of material related to Glasgow’s sixteenth century does exist, and can reveal a great deal about how its townspeople expressed their religious belief. Many of Glasgow’s records for this period have not been considered at all by historians and this dissertation, especially its examination of the town’s Kirk session records in chapters 3 and 4 and 5, is only the second known study to
make use of these documents.\textsuperscript{31} This project also aims to bring new perspectives to material historians have long known about, but which have not been studied at great length. In these efforts, chapters 1, 2 and 5 of this project offer alternative evaluations of the nature of religious practice in the early-sixteenth century, the exemption controversy in the middle of the century and the execution of John Ogilvie in the early-seventeenth century. It is hoped that close examination of the small collection of documents for this period in Glasgow’s history will reveal the character of Christian life there more clearly.

Chapter 1 offers a close investigation of Church protocols from the first decades of the sixteenth century. It pays special attention to the protocol book of Cuthbert Simon, the Kirk’s notary from 1500 to 1513, whose records include especially good details of the performative elements of the Kirk.\textsuperscript{32} Simon’s book also contains land transactions and other matters related to the bishop’s court, the nature of which will be revealed in the chapter.\textsuperscript{33} For our purposes, Simon’s book is of great value. It primarily contains information related to the clergy, but in the clergy’s interactions with each other or with the sacramental elements of Catholic life, the religious culture of pre-Reformation Glasgow is revealed in its complexity.

Chapter 2 provides analysis of more official evidence from major figures in the Scottish ecclesiastical hierarchy, as they debated the validity of Glasgow’s episcopal exemption from the primacy of St. Andrews in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Letters and papal bulls obviously reveal different information than protocol


\textsuperscript{32} Simon’s book can be found in the Scottish Catholic Archives (JB1/2). I have used Joseph Bain and Charles Rogers ed. \textit{Liber Protocollorum Cuthberti Simonis}, (London: Grampian Club, 1875). (hereafter, \textit{Protocols of Cuthbert Simon}).

\textsuperscript{33} Chapter 1, 1-5.
books or Kirk session records. Yet, the ecclesiastical context of this period in Glasgow’s history offers more than basic narrative because the divisions within the hierarchy were often expressed or contested through Catholic ritual elements and in Catholic spaces, causing us to change how we consider them. Additionally, Scotland’s sixteenth-century ecclesiastical history has often been used to plot oversimplified points on “the road to Reform” and so a subtler understanding of divisions among the clerical elite might provide for a better understanding of how the Reformation came to be.

The most substantial documents used for this project are the Kirk session and presbytery records for the later decades of the sixteenth century in Glasgow. For Glasgow, session records are extant for the decade between 1583 and 1593. The Presbytery records exist for the period from 1592 into the seventeenth century. Glasgow was included among the first presbyteries established in 1581. The date of the first Kirk session in Glasgow is unknown, but a June 1585 entry shows the session, in the midst of an appeal, claim that it had been administering discipline in Glasgow “without any practice or interruption since the time of the reformation of religion” although it does not provide a specific date for its origins. This claim followed the official granting of permission by the king to hold sessions in Glasgow in March of 1584, but the available records show that sessions were clearly operational before this time. They were likely more informal gatherings before their official incarnations. We can see the presence of early elements of a Protestant Kirk in some of the burgh court’s records.

34 Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow Kirk Session Records CH2/550/1-2. Quotations have been modernised throughout the thesis.
35 Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow Presbytery Records CH2/171/1, 2, 31, 32A-B, 33.
37 CH2/550/2 p. 53
38 CH2/550/1 p. 37.
In 1574 the baillies were asked to take action against “riotous banqueting” at marriages and baptisms.\textsuperscript{39} In 1577 the burgh ordered that there no longer be a market on Sunday, and several people were also punished for working on the Sabbath.\textsuperscript{40} Irrespective of its birthday, the presence of an operational session in Glasgow in the 1580s put it in line with other Scottish towns. Most had sessions by 1600 with Dundee and St. Andrews organizing before 1560.\textsuperscript{41}

Todd has noted that Kirk session books demonstrate the efforts of people “to deal with unchanging concerns and anxieties in a drastically changing religious milieu.”\textsuperscript{42} Certainly this is true in Glasgow, and few sources can provide the information one can derive from the session books. In examining Glasgow’s session books we can learn of not only the actions, but the names of lepers, witches, vagabonds and drunkards along with kings, archbishops and ministers. Their struggles were, of course, similar to our struggles and their joys similar to our joys. Their babies sometimes died and their families were tested by questionable paternity, untimely death or greed, as ours are. Like us, they also found love and friendship and satisfaction from their work. Yet the people of sixteenth-century Glasgow were rooted in a particular time and place, and the goal of this study is to use the evidence to understand these people more fully from their perspectives, not ours. The detail one finds in the Kirk session records allows us to do this more expertly because so many of the personal and intimate actions of life fell under the Kirk’s jurisdiction.

\textsuperscript{39} Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 1573-1642 (Glasgow Burgh Records) 2. Vols. J.D. Marwick ed. (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1914) vol. 1, 27.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 63, 65, 74.

\textsuperscript{41} Todd, Culture of Protestantism, 8.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, 11.
The level of detail available in the Kirk session records should encourage us to tap into their full potential, but this has yet to be done for Glasgow’s records. Graham makes only passing reference to Glasgow. Todd covered some useful Glasgow material in The Culture of Protestantism, but this was chiefly derived from abstracts of the session records collected by eighteenth-century Scottish historian Robert Wodrow. These abstracts are useful, but they provide significantly less detail than the original source which is available in the Glasgow City Archives at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. In another description of extant session records, the Glasgow material was not included on a list of available sources. The lack of research interest on sixteenth-century Glasgow is widespread. In the research completed for this dissertation, references to the decade of detailed material located in Glasgow’s session books are very few and very far between. Although one would like the session books to begin at an earlier date and end at a later one, they can still provide vast amounts of information on religious life during this period, especially when considered in concert with the presbytery records.

**Glasgow in the Sixteenth Century**

The early establishment of Glasgow remains disputed, but it is clear that the area of the sixteenth-century town, even in its infancy, had a longstanding connection with the Church. Much of its Christian history was derived from its foundational associations with St. Kentigern (commonly known as St. Mungo), who travelled to the region as a

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43 NLS, Manuscript 2782, Glasgow Session Records.
missionary in the sixth century and whose tomb continues to occupy a central place in
Glasgow Cathedral. Glasgow received burgh status toward the end of the twelfth century
through the efforts of Bishop Jocelin. King William the Lion granted burgh status “to
God and Saint Kentigern, and to Jocelin bishop of Glasgow, and to each of his
successors, forever.”

Its Christian history will be examined throughout this dissertation, but it is
valuable here to examine the basic economic and social structures of the town in the
period. In the sixteenth century, Glasgow experienced expansion of both its population
and its economic influence. Its population nearly tripled between 1490 and 1610 owing
to both international and local forces. In 1600, the population would have been
roughly 7000 people, having grown over fifty percent in the second half of the century.
This put Glasgow well behind Edinburgh, but the town continued to gain ground on
larger towns like Aberdeen and Dundee throughout the seventeenth century,
supplanting them by its end. In terms of trade, the early-seventeenth century was also
a period of economic expansion. The plantation at Ulster in Ireland included many
Glaswegians, and these emigrants’ trade with their former home accounted for much of
the overseas trade emerging from Glasgow, in commodities from coal to currants. An
equal boon can be attributed to the union of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603,
which served to improve trade by land, especially of linen.

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47 J.D. Marwick (ed.) “Charter of William I granting the privilege of having a Burgh at Glasgow (1175-78),
Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow 1175-1649 part 2. 3-4
49 J. Cunnison and J.B.S. Gilfillan, eds. Third Statistical Account of Scotland: City of Glasgow vol. 5
(Glasgow: Collins, 1958) p. 58.
51 Ibid, 46-7
In spite of some successes in international trade, however, Glasgow’s economy remained largely regional. Its more successful crafts were those that catered to the local community such as tailors, cordiners (shoemakers), or baxters (bakers). The manufacturing roots of Glasgow’s sixteenth-century economy are also shown by the craftsmen’s outnumbering of merchants in the town, a significant reversal of the situation in “merchant burghs” like Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Glasgow’s economy in the sixteenth century paled in comparison to the later seventeenth century and we should avoid overstating the extent of economic success of later Glasgow having firm roots in the sixteenth century. Instead, it is valuable to understand that like other Scottish towns Glasgow was subject to consistent economic fluctuations within economies that remained tenuous into the middle of the seventeenth century.

Socially, Glasgow had a number of factors working in its favour. It had a grammar school from at least the fifteenth century and after the Reformation the town developed a song school for young children. After being founded in 1451, Glasgow University would be brought back from the verge of ruin by way of its novo erectio in July of 1577, a process orchestrated by both prominent Presbyterians like Andrew Melville and James Boyd, the first Protestant Archbishop of Glasgow. The process

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52 Ibid, 49.
54 This claim comes from Lynch, largely in opposition to T.C. Smout who pointed to evidence from sixteenth century tax rolls as indicative of the roots of Glasgow’s seventeenth-century economic successes. Lynch notes the inconsistency of Glasgow’s contribution to tax rolls as well as the inconsistencies of collection in the sixteenth century, pointing instead to a complicated set of local and national economic factors that contributed to Glasgow’s later successes, coming to the conclusion that “the rise of Glasgow seems less certain.” Ibid, 6. For Smout’s view, see “The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century”, Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 47, No. 143, Part 1 (April, 1968), 53-71, “The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707” Scottish Journal of Political Economy, vol. 7 (1960) 194-212.
56 Steven Reid, Humanism and Calvinism, 78-84. For the larger story of the early history of University of Glasgow see John Durkan and James Kirk, The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577 (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977).
leading up to the *novo erectio* solidified the financial position of the university and enabled it to pursue the humanist educational program associated with Melville, although not executed solely by him.57 These efforts tied the university community into larger European trends in education and enhanced the profile of the town. A lack of records prevent us from knowing much of significance about the pre-Reformation education program in Glasgow, but the Reformation’s concerns with education and literacy surely led to advancements in these areas and concerns about the welfare of school children can be seen throughout the period.

In Chapter 1 we will investigate the documents of the medieval Court of the Official, but Glasgow also maintained a burgh court with extant records from 1573.58 After 1560, the Archbishop’s court ceased to operate when the Kirk session and presbytery took control of religious discipline. The removal of Kirk discipline from its jurisdiction created a much more focused and secular mandate for the burgh court, although still a significantly large mandate.59 It dealt with everything from demanding the removal of diseased animals60 to the proper organization of the market foodstuffs61 to the repairing of the school or the paving of the street.62 In a pair of cases that followed closely after one another, the burgh court disallowed salmon fishing in the Clyde on the Sabbath day and also punished a man for slapping a woman in the mouth with a salmon, likely taken from the Clyde as well.63

58 *Glasgow Burgh Records*
60 *Glasgow Burgh Records*, 26.
61 Ibid, 42
62 Ibid, 64, 69.
The burgh court’s role in providing the parameters of local membership was one of the obvious consequences of its many functions, and on matters like poor relief or public health the lines between Church and the burgh courts were tellingly blurred, especially in the later part of the century. Fornication and taxation were certainly different, but those charged with control of these matters required similar lists of townspeople that might often contain crossover. In many cases, the burgh court and Kirk session were also manned by the same people, and when discussions of the poor were required the ministers were frequently consulted. Both the burgh court and the Kirk session likely relied on each other to carry some of the weight of poor relief because it was mutually beneficial, as were many aspects of their interactions. In a telling statement on the two institutions’ relationship, the burgh agreed to contribute funds toward the repair of Glasgow Cathedral in February of 1583. It followed this offer with a clear statement that the burgh’s commitment was a good will gesture, was “uncoaxed” by any law and included no obligation to continue in the present or future. The burgh clearly knew that it was fighting many of the same battles as the Kirk. A healthy Kirk session presumably meant less crime fighting for the baillies and magistrates, a fact no doubt confirmed by the broad scope of affairs we see in the session’s records. But the burgh was a civil authority and its later-sixteenth century incarnation also understood the importance of maintaining its independence, lessons perhaps learned through the fierce protection of both the chapter’s and the archbishopric’s autonomy in the early part of the century, as we will see in chapters 1 and 2. The town functioned best when both entities were pulling in the same direction, yet even in their most generous

64 Ibid, 188.
65 Ibid, 100.
moments, jurisdictional limits had to be enforced in order to ensure the balance that would produce a functioning town.

Glasgow in the sixteenth century was thus an interesting place. As its population inched over 5000 the town had developed a more sophisticated economy, as both a hub of the west of Scotland and a rising but limited force in international trade. It had a merchant and craft community that rivaled others in Scotland in both its size and diversity. Its schools and university served to educate Glasgow’s children as well as integrate the town into larger contemporary trends in higher learning. It cared for its poor and its sick and in doing so provided indicators of burgh membership through both charity and exclusion. It also had a strong Christian community in which its people worshipped in a large cathedral that contained the body of their patron saint who had come in the sixth century. In his prayer, St. Mungo asked, “Lord, let Glasgow flourish through the preaching of thy word and the praising thy name.” By investigating the religious culture of sixteenth-century Glasgow, the coming pages will show that St. Mungo’s sixth-century request became a sixteenth-century reality.
Chapter 1

The Sacraments, the Senses and Social Structure in Early-Sixteenth-Century Glasgow

In the sixteenth century, Glasgow was similar to most burgeoning urban areas in Europe in that the Church wielded a significant amount of social, political and spiritual influence, which was disseminated in countless ways, both formally and informally, to parishioners. The Church maintained order through the Court of the Official. The court existed in some form from the twelfth century.¹ At this point it was itinerant, travelling throughout the large diocese and sitting infrequently as a result. By the early fifteenth century the bishop’s court achieved a more permanent role, was housed at Glasgow Cathedral, and served over two hundred parishes in the diocese.² The Court of the Official sat in four different sessions throughout the year and would meet daily during that period, and the records were among the items taken to France by Archbishop James Beaton II at the time of the Reformation and recovered and printed in the nineteenth century.³ The records of the Court of the Official, found in the first decades of the sixteenth century in the protocol book of its notary Cuthbert Simon, are some of the only glimpses historians can get into the day to day operation of the Kirk in Glasgow.

The Archbishop’s court was not always presided over by the archbishop himself. As some of the leading Churchmen in the country, archbishops often did double duty as

³ “Preface” Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 7-10.
major political figures of Scotland’s sixteenth century. Robert Blacadder, Glasgow’s first archbishop, was a close associate of James III and took part in the negotiation of his son James IV’s marriage to Margaret Tudor.  

James Beaton I, who followed Blacadder, was a hugely important figure throughout the period. Gavin Dunbar, who succeeded Beaton I, was chancellor of Scotland, James V’s favoured tutor, and entrusted with the king’s safekeeping for several periods of his tumultuous youth.  

Glasgow’s final archbishop of the pre-Reformation era, another James Beaton (James Beaton II) was one of Mary of Guise’s trusted advisors, and was Mary Queen of Scots’ ambassador to the French court after 1561. The requirements of these additional duties often included travel outside of Glasgow, and so the maintenance of the ecclesiastical court would fall to other members of the chapter. These included the chancellor, the president, the dean, the sub-dean, the vicar general or others, depending on circumstances.

For our purposes, Simon’s protocols are quite useful. The chapter presided over much of the business of religious life in sixteenth-century Glasgow. It often carried out relatively ordinary duties, such as the registration of wills and testaments and dispensations for marriage, among the other transactions related to the Church. It dealt with the normal business of life. In his 1507 testament registered by the Church, Patrick Elphinstoun left “to the wife of John Elphinstoun his best gown, and to John Elphinstoun his second best”.

On 9 June 1506, Archbishop Blacadder made provision for six boys to remain in the service of the choir as instructors after they had “lost their

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4 Pertinent information on Glasgow’s bishops and archbishops can be found in Fasti Ecclesiae, 193-4; Norman MacDougall, James IV (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989) 148-149.
6 Relevant chancellors are listed in Fasti Ecclesiae, 210; officials can be found in Ibid, 246.
7 Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 383.
boyish voice.”⁸ In 1509, George Lile was fined for not treating his wife with “matrimonial affection.”⁹ In 1513, after settling their differences over a previous fight, three men, “in token of such perpetual pardon, shook hands and made firm peace and friendship for ever.”¹⁰ As James Beaton I announced to those gathered at his first meeting as head of the chapter, its role was to “render to them the complements of right.”¹¹ In terms of the extant records of early sixteenth-century Glasgow, the protocols are the only surviving example of a prolonged documentation of the lives of the residents of the town.

The protocols that describe the work of the ecclesiastical court often center on the transactions involving Church land, or land owned by the clergy. One can witness the tack (or lease) of “a certain rood” or the assignation to an heir of “certain furnishings within a tenement” throughout the protocols. There is little doubt that the significant landholdings of the Church had an impact on how it related to its people, but in spite of the relatively high number of transactions, landholding represented a stable if not detached form of ecclesiastical influence. Ecclesiastical land often did not change hands at all, or if it did, it moved within the hierarchy, from one Churchman or family member to another.¹² These transactions no doubt provide some perspective on how people related to their Church, but they are not the concern of this chapter.

This chapter will investigate the manner in which the Church court ritualized, defined and maintained order. The “pursuit of order” is one of the two primary “desires”

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⁹ Ibid, 435.
¹⁰ Ibid, 559.
¹¹ Ibid, 434.
¹² For Scottish monastic landholding see Mark Dilworth Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995).
that Robert Bireley has shown to be central to Catholicism in this period. Bireley points to the tumult of this era as producing a desire among both the Church leadership and regular Christians for “order amidst apparent chaos.” Much of this chapter deals with relatively “pre-chaos” times, if these exist, and it is worth noting that both civil and ecclesiastical leaders pursued orderliness in the sixteenth century as much as they do today. The universality of this concern leads to consideration of the particular brand of order found in Glasgow, and this chapter is concerned with how order in the Church was manifested and how breaches of the order were treated.

In searching the records one finds a series of rituals that indicate the intimacy of the connection between the mandate of the Archbishop’s office and the people it governed. In these ceremonies, the Church, of course, existed beyond the material structure of its buildings and it made use of many of the physical signifiers of sacramental life that one might experience within them. Many of the objects and actions of this type are known as sacramentals. In R.W. Scribner’s description, sacramentals represented the “functional” and “pastoral” use of the sacraments. They were those elements that provided “cosmic order” and “consolation” respectively without containing the soteriological function of the sacraments, their communication with and experience of the divine. Whether indicating the passage of an office or the punishment of a wrongdoer, the Church used sacramentals and their associated rituals to indicate matters like membership, leadership or punishment. This practice was popular throughout Europe, where the line between the power of sacraments and

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14 Ibid.
sacramentals was often blurred.\textsuperscript{16} Larger questions of particularism and the delineation of jurisdictional limits also existed in sacramental rituals. Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, the townspeople of Glasgow were routinely confronted by these questions. Some believed the court to be biased; others thought they had already satisfied their debts and required no further punishment; still others believed their jurisdictions were being violated.

What we will see in the early sixteenth century, then, is that Glasgow’s Church provided the elements of order for its Christian community, facilitating their expression. The Church clarified relationships and roles in terms of their connections to the sacraments. The Church’s methods of exclusion, key for the formation of a religious community, were also rendered through the sacraments in that excommunication, the systematic proscription from participation in the sacraments, was a primary form of punishment, and that certain crimes were exacerbated by their proximity to holy places. At the same time as disputes over membership were occurring, larger expressions of Glasgow’s Christian community were being articulated on several fronts. Glasgow’s chapter expressed itself in its resistance to civil authorities and its objections to encroachments on its ecclesiastical sovereignty. These relationships between the establishment of order and the expression of local autonomy helped to define this period in the town’s history.

On 15 July, 1507 Robert Schaw was made vicar of Mearns, a parish seven miles southwest of Glasgow. The vicarage had been made available by the death of George Symountoun, the preceding vicar who had died in the weeks previous and had left Martin Rede, chancellor of Glasgow, “to dispose of his property as [he] knew to be most expedient to the safety of his soul.” Rede did his best, and in letters made by Archbishop Blacadder confirmed the appointment to Cuthbert Simon, in order to invest Mr. Schaw with the “actual possession of the said vicarage.” When Simon wrote of “actual possession”, he meant it. The investiture took place by “actual delivery, touch, and assignation of the keys of the Church, bell rope, baptismal font, chrism book, chalice and ornaments of the high altar.” When another vicarage changed hands a couple of years later, the circumstances were similar. Andrew Marschell, procurator for James Blacadder, came into “real, actual and corporal possession of the said vicarage” through delivery of the same items.

These rituals, both undertaken near the altars of their respective Churches, were significant events. They were attended by representatives of the ecclesiastical authority and by the parishioners, who were encouraged to treat the new man with the authority vested in his office, including, of course, the payment of rents or other costs. Ecclesiastical rituals followed patterns of other transactions for matters not directly related to the Church. It was common to see land exchanged through the delivery of symbolic items, like “net and coble” for fishing rights or “hasp and staple” for annual

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17 Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 382; for Martin Rede, see Fasti Ecclesiae, 246.
18 Ibid, 384, my emphasis.
19 Ibid, my emphasis.
20 Ibid, 455.
rents.\textsuperscript{21} The most frequent symbol of a land transaction was the “delivery of earth and stone”, in which the participating parties exchanged these items, usually “on the said lands” concerned in the transaction. These ceremonies contained the physical manifestations of the matter at the heart of the transaction.\textsuperscript{22} One conspicuous occasion in 1507 finds a lawyer himself, William Small, placed in a house to indicate the possession of the dwelling obtained by his client.\textsuperscript{23} In a community where the written law was only beginning to take hold, these rituals made use of these objects to indicate a significant transfer from one person to another.

To discuss religious ritual in the medieval and early-modern world is to venture into a minefield of theories about the religious past and the intensely contested debates that accompany them. The debates essentially hinge not on the substance of ritual, but on the possibility of God, or, more accurately, on the possibility of God being revealed to people through religious forms. In one view, often associated with Emile Durkheim, historians and anthropologists see religion as “a system of symbols by means of which Society become conscious of itself”, thus positing ritual as a means to establish and cement social bonds that allow groups of people to find meaning in their lives.\textsuperscript{24} Critics of Durkheim claim that his views are reductionist and anachronistic in that they fail to consider religious people of the past on terms that the people themselves would understand, and thereby misrepresent their beliefs. These views have been put forward

\textsuperscript{21} For other examples of these types of transactions see Abstracts of the Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow Robert Renwick ed. vol. 1 William Hegait’s Protocols, 1547-1555. (Glasgow: Carson and Nicol, 1894) xi-xii.
\textsuperscript{22} For examples in Protocols of Cuthbert Simon see pages 265, 280, 299.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 389.
by, among others, John Bossy and more recently Brad Gregory. 25 Gregory claims that the “metaphysical naturalism” employed by Durkheim has held such sway that “the underlying beliefs of the modern social sciences and humanities...consequently contend that religion is and can only be a human construction” which means that “religion must be reducible to something social, political, economic, cultural psychological, or natural, because there is nothing more for it to be.” 26 Gregory makes the distinction between religion being merely a system of symbols, as Clifford Geertz in the line of Durkheim would have it, and religion making use of a system of symbols. 27

It is worthwhile to consider what discussions of ritual and sacrament mean for the purposes of sixteenth-century Glasgow. The sacramentals that we have seen and will continue to see were not, as I have noted, sacraments, but discussions of the sacraments and excommunication in the sixteenth century still pull us toward consideration of their gravity. If we consider that the clergy involved in these rituals had the power to bring Christ Himself into the presence of townspeople, we are encouraged to take more seriously the significance of rituals that were not the celebration of the sacrament, but which contained the power to make or break the sacrament’s efficacy. 28 Among other things, the painstaking care people took in expressing the relationships between the sacraments and Church offices seems to indicate that they thought the clergy had the power to make Christ appear. More convincingly, much of the Reformation was fought

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25 John Bossy, ‘Some Elementary Forms of Durkheim’ Past and Present (no. 95, 1982) 3-18; A good representation of Gregory’s position can be found in “The Other Confessional History”. 26 Ibid, 137 27 For Geertz, see ‘Religion as a Cultural System’ in The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. (New York: Basic Books, 1993,) 87-125; Gregory, ‘The Other Confessional History’, 142. 28 For an excellent investigation of the sacraments in this period, see Euan Cameron, The European Reformation (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) ch. 11, 156-167. On the development of ritual aspects of the communion rite, see Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 12-82.
over Protestants’ belief that the proprietary relationship between the clergy and the sacraments was the Roman Church’s great trick that had fooled countless townsfolk into thinking they could gain salvation from a priest’s mass-saying. In fact, the widespread belief in the efficacy of the sacrament is one of the fundamental realities of this period of history and one that we will see demonstrated elsewhere in this study, so one must guard against simplifying or “reducing” this dynamic motor of religious life. In this way I agree with Gregory, that the best understandings of these people will be those that consider them seriously as religious practitioners, and on their own terms; and it seems clear that in Glasgow and many other medieval communities their belief was in the powerful miracle of the sacraments.

It is significant to note that the nature of a Church office was revealed in its most essential elements in these rituals. As witnessed in Robert Schaw’s case, the expectations of his office are made clear both to him and to the witnesses present. The baptismal font, the chalice and the ornaments of the altar were clear sacramental signifiers. Inherent in the passage of these items was an expectation for the upkeep of that element of Christian life, which required very specific parameters for its successful completion. In Ayrshire, in the Kirk of Symington, the passage of the office of the parish clerk was represented by “delivery of styk and stop and holy water.” John Chalmers, on behalf of the newly appointed clerk William Walles, completed the ceremony:

the said John, carrying with him the holy water, ministered to the curate, who proceeded from the entrance of the choir, and around

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29 See below, Chapter 4.
the font, and back again to the said entrance of the choir, chanting this antiphony *Asperges me Domine*, etc. 31

In another similar case, Paul Walles was made clerk of the Church of the Holy Cross of Barnwell by following another priest, John Mychelsoun, as he “sprinkled and bedewed the parishioners present with holy water.”32 The intricacies of the ceremony made it clear to those present the duties of the clerk. One of the only elected positions in the medieval Church, the clerk’s responsibilities included control of sacramentals. He was charged with the guarding of the parish’s holy water and the weekly travelling to homes in the community to exorcise them through the sprinkling of the water.33 The ritual, then, is not surprising. It literally gave the tools of his trade to the clerk and asked him to perform or observe a re-enactment of his duties.

Another instance of ecclesiastical ritual can be witnessed in the case of Andrew Steward, who had established a chaplaincy at St. Mungo’s altar in the cathedral. In 1507 Steward provided the chaplaincy to James Howstoun. As part of the exchange Howstoun “appeared personally before him [Steward] and on his knees.” Steward then gave Howstoun “actual institution, investiture and induction into the said chaplaincy by delivery of his gown.”34 In this example, the vestments provided by Steward proved symbolic of the personal associations between a particular man and a particular chaplaincy.35 “Actual institution” was proven through the passing along of the garments, which carried with them the duties of the chaplain to maintain daily mass. Thomas Forsith, who passed his chaplaincy to another Thomas Forsith, his cousin, acted in a

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31 *Protocols of Cuthbert Simon*, 270.
32 Ibid, 306.
34 *Protocols of Cuthbert Simon*, 400.
35 The editor of the protocols describes this delivery by the patron as “curious.” Ibid.
similar manner through the delivery of his biretta, which provided “corporeal possession” of the office.36

In all of these cases, denoting “actual possession” required the physical presence of the interested parties, or at least their representatives. In addition to the exchange of objects, the intimacy of these moments was often enhanced by the occurrence of rites of physical touch, which were common throughout the medieval world.37 Individuals attested to their trustworthiness by touching the scripture. In some cases, the person “made an oath on the Holy Scriptures” indicating his or her fidelity.38 In others, rites were more specific as when Elizabeth Boid swore “solemnly on the gospels.”39 Distinguishing between the scriptures more generally and the gospels in particular was sometimes important. In a transaction involving land, Janet Naper swore her oath when she “touched the sacred Scriptures at the Holy gospels.”40 After touching the gospels, Naper went on to touch the hand of the court’s official, “binding herself and her heirs...that they would never in time to come contravene the premises under the pain of injury and infamy.”41 In the ceremony consecrating James Beaton I archbishop, he also touched the gospels in promising that he would uphold the office with honour.42 In these cases, we see the combination of ritual and word so important to medieval

36 Ibid, 338.
39 Ibid, 277.
40 Ibid, 330. My emphasis.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid, 432. My emphasis.
Catholicism. The scripture contained an inherent virtue that indicated trustworthiness and stability which could be passed to individuals through the conduit of touch.\textsuperscript{43}

The exchange of touch between the court official and the interested parties was also common in early sixteenth-century Glasgow. In 1505, Martin Rede, president of the chapter, admitted Richard Bothwell as a canon “by the enclosing of his joined, closed hands, between the hands of the said president while receiving the obedience and oath in the name of the chapter.”\textsuperscript{44} In another case, “the usual oath” noted in 1510 for displaying canonical obedience involved Robert Culquhoun “joining his hands and placing them in the hands of the said dean” who in this case was Robert Forman.\textsuperscript{45} Again, this process was full of symbolic importance. The dean, who represented both the Archbishop and the people of Glasgow, provided a level of clerical authority to a suitable candidate through the provision of his touch. Canons received an intangible thing, obedience, from the authorities. The ceremony indicating a canon’s obedience might also be done in tandem, as it was in 1512. Robert Boswell and Robert Maxwell made their obedience by “by joining their hands and falling on their knees, and took the oath of the canons...placing the right hands on the breast in the manner of priests.”\textsuperscript{46} In early sixteenth-century Glasgow, the association of touch with the presentation to Church offices was so common that reference to it was made in the short-hand used to indicate one’s rejection for such a thing. If the archbishop had already allotted a position and was

\textsuperscript{43} Woolgar, \textit{The Senses in Late Medieval England}, 46.
\textsuperscript{44} Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 328.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, 473.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 512.
faced with an appeal, he would often note that “his pastoral hands were closed” because the position was no longer available.47

One of the more conspicuous examples of this association of touch with the granting of a Church office in the diocese actually began in Edinburgh on 6 November 1510. In this case, Martin Rede resigned the chaplaincy of the chapel royal of St. Ninian of Dundonald, “in the diocese of Glasgow” to King James IV, who was one of its major patrons. The king then gave the chaplaincy to Mr. John Rede “by taking the right hand of the said Mr. John, and subscribing with his own royal hand a writ containing the royal mandate for providing the said Mr. John to such chaplaincy.”48 The process continued a week later in Dundonald where Rede presented “royal letters under the privy seal, respecting the provision and donation of the chaplaincy” in order to confirm his possession of the chaplaincy. Finally, he “admitted himself into possession thereof, with all its rights and pertinents, by touching and placing his hand upon the altar, the ornaments thereof, the book, chalice and the gate of the said chapel, in token of true possession obtained thereof.”49 In this case, the origin of the authority was the king who had obtained certain legal and religious rights from his association with the chapel, but also through Innocent VIII’s Indult of 1487, which allowed the Scottish Crown more control over the allocation of Church benefices.50 Though the source of the power was different and ostensibly political, the process and the centrality of the sacrament and sacramentals remained the same, and in this case included more secular objects like the

48 Ibid, 493.
49 Ibid.
chapel gate. The touch of the king sanctioned the passage of authority to an individual, who then indicated possession through touching the physical representations of sacramental life. This case is also fascinating as it demonstrates the close relationship between Church and state, even in the rituals they used. John Rede’s case exemplifies the seamless transition of authority from a king’s administrative ownership of a Church office to Rede who in touching chalice and the ornaments of the altar referenced these objects’ sacramental power. God, the king, the office holder and the people were all represented.

The nature of these rituals demonstrates the influence of feudal society and ceremony on the medieval Church. A good deal of the kneeling and touching present in Glasgow can also be found in rituals of fealty, where a vassal would put his hands in the hands of a lord, indicating the vassal’s homage. Throughout feudal Europe, touch provided much of the social glue for communities. In providing his touch, a vassal “ceased to be his own man” and established a meaningful bond with his lord. In feudal rituals, failure to touch sometimes had the power to render a bond “meaningless”, as homage rituals were changed over time and according to regional peculiarities. More than anything else, however, homage rituals were personal and intimate. Human touch indicated a gravity that contracts could not achieve. As much as medieval liturgical rituals had a feudal past, however, their sixteenth-century development was reflective of different Christian institutions. The rituals we have seen nearly always ended with a

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priest touching the ornaments of the altar. In doing so, it might be said that the priest participated in a form of clerical feudalism in that he acknowledged his vassalage to the power of the sacraments after receiving authority to celebrate them from a superior.55

As it did in feudal Europe, touch helped to govern Christian life in medieval Glasgow and is therefore worthy of our attention. Matthew Milner’s work on the relationship between the senses and the Reformation in England has encouraged us to move beyond the “image vs. word” binary that often preoccupies the historiography.56 Instead, historians are encouraged to see all of the senses’ roles in medieval and early modern religion, as shifting social orders facilitated shifting ideas of senses.57 Similar to what we have seen in Glasgow, Milner notes the especially close relationship between touch and the sacraments, noting that “mere experience, rather than the comprehension of the divine, was critical to late-medieval worship... Hearing was essential, but without touch no sacramental act was efficacious or complete.”58 What we have witnessed most clearly in Glasgow is the preparation for the sacramental moment, but the role of touch remains equally interesting, as the “big moment” of the execution of the sacrament itself depended on the proper execution of ecclesiastical rituals and preparations.59

The physical elements of Church life, whether they were the ornaments of the altar or the touch of the hand of the priest, indicated membership in the community and the duties of a particular position. Stressing the actual meant clarifying that which was not actual, which calls to mind Catholic notions of real presence of Christ in the

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55 These rituals also survived the Reformation, as they were changed again to reflect Protestant ideals. See below, Chapter 5, 188-93.
57 David Howes, “The Cultural Life of the Senses” *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* vol. 3 (2012) 450-54. 453. This issue of *postmedieval* is devoted to the history of the senses entirely.
Eucharist. When a priest was literally given the tools of sacramental life in the presence of his ecclesiastical colleagues and parishioners, in the actual Church, there could be little doubt for witnesses regarding what was taking place. The details of sacramental life and membership in the community were represented in these forms, and the meanings of the rituals clarified a number of issues. One would very easily get answers to the following questions: Who was getting the office? Who was providing the office? What duties did the office carry with it? To whom were these duties owed? The rituals and their associations with the sacraments provided the basic methods of community organization and obligation.

Like all rituals, the symbolic complexities of rituals involving holy water or exchanges of touch among Church officials meant more to some than to others. But there seems little doubt that rituals had at least some identifiable meanings that depended on how much one knew or cared. More specifically, the physical indicators, whether they were objects or touches, involved in the exchange of a Church office represented the most basic level of community delineation in Glasgow’s Church in the early sixteenth century. It set parameters and indicated the expectations of a job. If we take a step back from these more intimate indicators of ecclesiastical membership, we can witness how these affiliations facilitated larger socio-religious expressions for the town.

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60 On ritual, see Edward Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997).
In the recent historiography of the early modern period, historians have investigated ideas of sacred or holy spaces in more detail. In most of these studies, historians point out the flexibility of medieval and early modern notions of sacred space across contexts. They stress that the presence of people and their behaviours in these spaces changed them significantly, and that the boundaries between the sacred and the profane are more illusory than they appear. Perspectives on sacred space, like most historical realities, involve negotiations among contexts. In Glasgow, one can see these processes of negotiation at work as the ecclesiastical hierarchy attempted to maintain order through the delivery of discipline.

Ecclesiastical discipline provides a further indication of the desire for order in medieval Glasgow. In Simon’s protocols, this discipline was usually required as a result of some misdeed committed by or against a clergyman, and many of the cases were straightforward. In the case of John Alanson, “alleged chaplain” of St. Cornwall and St. Ninian in Renfrew, the chapter instructed him to take more care with his duties. It insisted that he was to “reside at his ministry and service...and to maintain and duly repair the building thereof.” Censuring the clergy for lapses in morality was also common. John Customar seemed to have a legitimate complaint when he made an objection to the court about the behaviour of James Talyour, a priest in Cardross. Customar was upset because Talyour had “deflowered his daughter, plundered him of his goods and substance, and spoiled his daughter's marriage, and kept her in adultery.

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63 Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 403.
for three years; without reformation or punishment.”64 Though we do not know the results of this case, or the case of another presbyter Adam Turnbule who was accused of slaying a layman in 1510, it is likely that these men received at least some course of punishment, as “(these) things were horrible to be committed by a Churchman.” 65 Few Churchmen likely deserved as much punishment as John Cornwath whose ideas of courtship were revealed to be wanting when he: “entered the house of one John Smyth in the parish of Lyntoun, and violently carried off Marion Smyth, daughter of the said John, and placing her on his own horse, conveyed her to his own house, with a view to violate her, where he, according to his own confession, still detained and cherished her”.66 Behaviour like Cornwath’s could not be tolerated for many reasons, and disciplining the clergy was an ongoing concern at all levels of the Church in Scotland throughout the first half of the sixteenth century.67

Considering the centrality of the sacraments and sacramentals, crimes committed in the presence of or near these objects were thereby rendered doubly bad. Alexander Jardine’s 1503 assault on Archbishop Blacadder was bad enough. That it occurred in Blacadder’s own cemetery made it worse, resulting in Jardine’s excommunication and a large fine of three hundred pounds.68 Uchred Knok endured a long trial with numerous twists and turns for his dispute with John Kichin, presbyter of the College Church of

64 Ibid, 524.
65 Ibid, 464, 524. Another example of clergymen involved in a murder trial can be found in Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 293-294
66 Ibid, 303.
67 The provincial councils of the Scottish Church in the sixteenth century were especially concerned with the behaviour of the clergy. The 1549 council had acts requiring priests to reform their behaviour on a number of fronts, from warnings to avoid concubines to instructions for “temperance in Churchmen’s diets.” Statutes of the Scottish Church, ed. D. Patrick, (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1907) 92-100. See also Thomas Winning, “Church Councils in Sixteenth Century Scotland” in Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625, 332-358.
68 Ibid, 295.
Semple. Again, the crime was made worse by its perpetration “in the presence of the sacrament and to the pollution of the Church”. Another clergyman John Leith was excommunicated and had his actions described as “violent, rash, presumptuous and sacrilegious” when he broke into the royal chapel at Dundonald and stole its sacramental ornaments.

It is clear that Glasgow’s Church was concerned with upholding a high standard of ecclesiastical functionality as it related to the daily life of the Church. The courts valued the sacramental function of the Church a great deal and they understood it well. When the priests failed in their duties, they were censured and instructed to do better because more was expected of them, and “laypeople [held] clerics largely responsible for the efficacy of the rite.” When anyone dared commit a crime in the presence of the sacrament, the sacrament is referenced to as if all involved valued its importance to the vitality of their lives. Finally, when punishment was delivered, it often took the form of excommunication – the systematic denial of the efficacy of the sacrament. In the early chapter court records, excommunication appears when it was threatened as well as when it had already been carried out. In one of the more serious cases, the sacrament is again crucial. John Gibson of Renfrew, who had been excommunicated by the Church, was brought before the chapter because he had “joined himself to the altar and handled

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69 Ibid, 459. For the continuation of Knok’s trial, with much haggling over the number of judges and the nature of the punishment see 460-463, 471, 475.
70 Ibid, 512.
71 Fitch, The Search for Salvation, 168. Fitch discusses clerical discipline at more length from 168-82.
72 On excommunication, see Elisabeth Vodola, Excommunication in the Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), especially 44-69; for excommunication in post-1560 Glasgow, see below, Chapter 4, 172-78.
73 Frequent threatening of penalties also occurred in the secular courts, which is unsurprising considering that many of the judges and lawyers operated in both systems. Ollivant, The Court of the Official, 51.
the body of our Lord while under the censures of the Church”.\textsuperscript{74} The crime was quite serious because his excommunication had rendered his ability to receive the sacrament moot, and even though Gibson “was suffering from very great weakness” the court continued to charge him in the case in order to maintain the sacrament’s integrity.\textsuperscript{75}

Considering the prevalence of ideas surrounding \textit{Corpus Christi}, Christendom and notions of the body of the Church representing “a single organism”, it is not surprising that the court was interested in marginalizing those who had offended the Church in order to lessen the effects of the excommunicate’s contamination.\textsuperscript{76} The Eucharist was the “centre of the whole religious system of the later Middle Ages”, and required protection against those who might misuse it.\textsuperscript{77} The 1510 case of Thomas Brown, a priest in the Church of Dalry, supports this idea. John Blair came before the courts for bringing Brown into the Church even though the priest had been excommunicated because of a previous fight with another clergyman. Blair insisted that he “believed [Brown] to be absolved at the time of his bringing him”. Brown, on the other hand, knew he had been excommunicated but refused to leave the Church, eventually having to be removed from the Church by physical force.\textsuperscript{78} In the aftermath of this event, it was Blair, the bringer of the excommunicate, as well as his associates, who were censured by the court. The chapter warns the men:

\begin{quote}
not to intromit in time to come with the said sir Thomas, who was excommunicated, by living or eating with him, treating him as a friend, or receiving him in their houses or families, unless in the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, 490-1. 
\textsuperscript{75} There is no documented conclusion to Gibson’s case, but Beaton I did not like him, and described him as a ‘contumacious person’ in later protocols, so one might assume that the excommunication held. Ibid, 491. 
\textsuperscript{76} Vodola, \textit{Excommunication in the Middle Ages}, 192. 
\textsuperscript{77} Rubin, \textit{Corpus Christi}, 1. 
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Protocols of Cuthbert Simon}, 487.
cases allowed by law, until he deserved to obtain the benefit of absolution from such censures.\textsuperscript{79}

That those responsible for bringing the excommunicated person into the Church should be punished as much, if not more, than the excommunicated person himself speaks again to the value medieval Glaswegians placed on the integrity of their religious community.\textsuperscript{80} Having the wrong people perform the ritual would destroy the ritual and thus the sacrament, and this was obviously significant because people would be denied the presence of Christ.\textsuperscript{81} The doubly difficult problem of an incorrectly performed ritual, or a ritual performed by a censured and therefore unqualified person, was that it might cause people to think that they were looking at Christ when in fact they were looking at a wafer. Again, ritual and form mattered and so excommunication had to be taken seriously.

It is interesting to note here that developments in the Church’s teachings on excommunication had made it clear that an excommunicated person could not in fact be excluded from the universal body of Christ because membership had been guaranteed by his or her baptism.\textsuperscript{82} This hardly remedied an excommunicated person’s problems, however. As Elisabeth Vodola has noted, “Indeed it was the marginal status of excommunicates that made them dangerous: they were relegated to the borders but remained a part of the whole.”\textsuperscript{83} The contaminating potential of someone like Thomas Brown would thus be problematic for the entire community and required remedy. The

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\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, 488
\textsuperscript{80} It is not known whether Thomas Brown incurred additional penalties for his insolence.
\textsuperscript{81} John Hamilton’s Catechism noted the requirement of a “true” priest to ensure the efficacy of the sacrament. In addition, the Catechism distinguished between the words of consecration and other words which were simply “thanksgiving to God.” The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1552. T.G. Law ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884) 204-206.
\textsuperscript{82} Vodola, Excommunication in the Middle Ages, 47.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
desire to remove oneself from excommunication was therefore an urgent matter. In most cases, satisfaction of debts was a relatively easy way to have an excommunication lifted. William Levingstoun’s desire “to pay everything, and all sums of money for which he stood excommunicated” helped remove his problem, while brothers David and John Kincayd offered cash and “certain cattle in Campsy” to have their case absolved.\textsuperscript{84}

The case of Andrew Birkmyre indicated that for some people relief from the strictures of their excommunication was a less straightforward matter. Birkmyre’s presence in the chapter while excommunicated was problematic for chancellor and head of the Court of the Official Martin Rede, who ordered him removed and threatened to bind his feet. Birkmyre would not go quietly, however, because his penalty was under appeal to Rome and he had been seeking to remedy his problems before he was “maliciously annoyed” by Thomas Murhede and Adam Culquhoun who may have had eyes on his vicarage in the choir and reported the excommunication to Rede. When he was threatened, Birkmyre insisted that Rede was a partial judge and that “it shall pass your power to fasten my feet.” The conflict continued until Birkmyre, in an interesting assertion of self-awareness, said to Rede, “I set not by you, a fart of your arse.”\textsuperscript{85} This insult greatly offended Rede, who appealed to Archbishop Beaton to have Birkmyre disciplined for the slander. Beaton found in favour of Rede and ordered Birkmyre to “recall the injurious and contemptuous words...and beg pardon on his knees of the official and archbishop.” Frustrated, Birkmyre agreed to obey the commands of the

\textsuperscript{84} Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 431, 419.  
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid, 472.
archbishop, but was sure to add that he was doing so “only to please the archbishop and not otherwise.”

Birkmyre’s case is interesting on two fronts. First, it again reveals the importance of excommunication in establishing order in the community. Birkmyre had cared enough about his status as an excommunicate to appeal to Rome; Murhede and Culquhoun knew that Birkmyre’s excommunication would render him powerless in the chapter, so they seized an opportunity to undermine his position by informing against him; Rede, in the maintenance of protocol, refused to let an excommunicated person participate in the court’s proceedings. For all, the integrity of the community mattered very much, either by way of the enforcement of ecclesiastical principles or in the implementing of the rules against a vulnerable person. But Birkmyre’s case also reveals that matters like excommunication could incite disputes regarding jurisdiction. Birkmyre knew his hierarchy. His excommunication was one thing, but having it enforced by the likes of Martin Rede was quite another. Rede was a major figure in Glasgow’s consistory, but he was not the archbishop and he certainly was not the pope, which enabled Birkmyre some space to challenge his authority. When Beaton intervened, Birkmyre relented, but he let it be known that it was only because of the desires of the archbishop.

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Whether one was excommunicating someone or being excommunicated, being accused of partiality or being partial, conceptions of membership and order were front

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86 Ibid, 473. Martin Rede seems especially sensitive when it came to insults. In 1511 Walter Buchanan was cited for ‘having uttered shameful and injurious words’ against Rede in the bishop’s court. Ibid, 503.
and centre in the bishop’s court. As we have seen, the establishment of the criteria for membership took place on contested ground, and throughout the period one can also witness that expressions of the larger community’s autonomy took place in a similar way. Some of the more contentious jurisdictional battles of early sixteenth-century Glasgow occurred between the civic and ecclesiastical authorities. In 1508, several burgesses protested against John Rede’s promotion by the bishop to a position as a master in a grammar school in Glasgow, insisting that it was the burgesses who had the right to appoint these members. The issue was resolved in Rede’s favour when it was observed that the original foundation was made by a Churchman, Simon Dalgles, in the mid-fifteenth century.\(^{87}\)

The tensions between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities are perhaps best exemplified in a 1510 dispute. In it, several bailies and citizens of Glasgow, who represented the secular court, received the serious indictment of “greater excommunication”. They had been charged because:

> they had established and recorded in their books of acts certain statutes against the jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church, and to the prejudice of ecclesiastical liberty; namely, that none of the citizens of Glasgow ought to summon another citizen before a spiritual judge ordinary, respecting a matter which could be competently decided before the bailies in the court-house of Glasgow.\(^{88}\)

At the heart of the case was a dispute between Allan Leithame and Archibald Watson for injury done to Leithame by Watson. The matter between the two men brought larger issues to the fore. The civil authorities were initially upset because while Leithame’s case was under appeal in their court, he had appealed to the Church court to also hear the

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\(^{87}\) Ibid, 427.
\(^{88}\) Protocols of Cuthbert Simon, 495-6.
case. This action offended the secular authorities and earned him a 8s fine, and resulted in the “certain statutes” referenced in the citation against the bailies. It was the statutes that upset the Church court who felt the Leithame/Watson case well within its jurisdiction and objected to the boldness of the civil court’s claim to a wider influence.

In spite of the bailies’ initial claim that “they would not recede or fall from their lawful exceptions and defences of law” perhaps the threat of censure from the bishop’s court was too much to bear. A little more than a month after the initial matter was brought to the court, on 16 January 1510, the bailies publicly admitted their fault against Leithame and renounced “all statutes, if any were made by them, against the liberty and jurisdiction of the holy mother Church, promising never to put them into execution in time to come.” This was an obvious “standing down” by the secular courts, and it was greeted with an olive branch from Archbishop Beaton who absolved the bailies of their excommunication a week later, settling the matter and seeming to confirm the authority of the Court of the Official.89

It is difficult to measure the impact of the Leithame/Watson case, but it does seem as if it initiated improved communication between the two authorities. Three months later, Beaton deferred to the civil court when he suggested that the Churchman Sir John Wanles be “deprived of his rank and thrown into prison by the secular authorities and otherwise punished” for his role in the murder of Adam Moscrop.90 Two weeks after this incident, the secular authorities turned one of their prisoners, Edward Crechton, over to Beaton’s court, which at least gives the appearance of reciprocation. Crechton had already been indicted by the secular court for the murders of Alexander

89 Ibid, 499, 501.
90 Ibid, 504.
and Robert Ferguson, and was brought before the bishop’s court for “complement of justice”, although in his case accusers failed to present themselves.\footnote{Ibid, 505.} Regardless of the outcomes, the communication and prisoner-sharing witnessed in these incidents does not appear in the records before the superiority of the bishop’s court was clarified in the Leithame/Watson case.

The chapter’s interest in the clarification of jurisdiction was also applied to the ritualistic elements of the execution of an ecclesiastical office. In 1506, a complaint before the court resulted in the canons of the Church of Glasgow being warned to “walk in procession and sit in their stalls in the order in which they had been accustomed in times past and by immemorial custom.”\footnote{Ibid, 343-4.} The processions of the canons exemplified the Church’s hierarchy, so the particularities of the order in which they walked had to be clarified. The 1545 “fracas at Glasgow” over the order for bearing of episcopal crosses, which resulted in a physical fight between the representatives of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar and Cardinal David Beaton, would exemplify these concerns to a later generation of Glaswegians.\footnote{See below, Chapter 2, 87-93.} Other actions against violators of a pre-ordained order concerned an individual protecting his place in the choir against potential trespassers, or complaints against an “unjust occupation” of a manse.\footnote{Ibid, 420-1.} These actions again provide evidence of the court’s desire to establish matters such as membership, conduct and ecclesiastical liberty.

The early years of James Beaton I’s archbishopric provided several examples of the chapter’s desire to assert its jurisdiction against its archbishop. The problems began
with the appointment of James Beaton I to the archbishopric of Glasgow in 1508. Because Archbishop Blacadder had died while on pilgrimage to the holy land, for a long period the chapter remained hopeful that he would return. In nominating Beaton for the position, the chapter references the “alleged” death of Blacadder, and insisted that the position would remain with him should he return.95 The chapter eventually relented, with John Gibson asserting that “he well knew that if Robert...were present personally in the chapter, and wishing to resign his archbishopric, he would sooner elect or postulate the said James to be his successor than anyone else”.96 In spite of this lip service from Gibson, however, Beaton experienced consistent difficulties in receiving the cooperation of the chapter.

Beaton’s appointment was surrounded by clear declarations of jurisdiction by the lower members of the chapter. Although the president and the chapter declared that they desired to be “obedient sons” and Beaton agreed to “render to them the complements of right”, the chapter clearly felt the need to assert itself.97 On April 8, 1509 different individuals representing the chapter, the university and the bailies “in the name of the citizens” all accepted Beaton as the archbishop and as “father and shepherd of their souls”.98 These pleasantries were replaced quickly, however, when Beaton made financial demands of the chapter. Upon his arrival, Beaton almost immediately requested “a pecuniary subsidy or gratuitous contribution... [for]...relief of his debts.” These were debts incurred during Beaton’s move to Glasgow from Galloway. The chapter disagreed and:

95 Ibid, 404.
96 Ibid, 405.
97 Ibid, 434.
Having held solemn consideration and protracted consultation... at length unanimously resolved and determined that no subsidy or pecuniary gratuity ought to be granted to his grace, nor anything similar or anything else in name thereof, by the said chapter, because it was contrary to its privileges and liberties, and to the peculiar oaths of the canons, which they were bound by their oath to defend and maintain.99

This rebuke to Beaton’s request made matters difficult for him and is significant when one considers the cooperation required among the Church hierarchy to complete the business of the court. Tensions over the granting of finances continued over the period, with another request from Beaton noted in 1509 to a well-attended if somewhat exasperated meeting of the chapter. The chapter noted that money had been “repeatedly requested” by Beaton, but once more denied the bishop, claiming again that it owed no subsidy or money to the archbishop based on the privileges of the chapter “preserved unbroken from time immemorial”.100 As a final needle for Beaton, in the same entry the chapter agreed that each canon should contribute 23 merks to the treasury “with a view of defending the rights and privileges of the chapter, and repressing the rash attempts of adversaries who might hereafter wish to disturb their rights”.101 Of course this manoeuvre indicated that the money itself was less egregious than the principles of proper order that its request violated. It is reasonable to suggest that some of these “rash attempts” were the previously referenced efforts by the civil authorities at encroaching on the chapter's privilege, but there can also be little doubt that Beaton was being targeted for trying to extract money from a treasury over which the chapter believed him to have no authority.

100 Ibid, 509-510.
101 Ibid.
It is difficult to know for certain why the chapter was so hostile to Beaton, but one cannot help but associate the hostility with the chapter’s loyalty to Robert Blacadder. Blacadder had served as bishop of Glasgow for twenty-five years, almost half of his life, and was responsible for Glasgow’s elevation to an archbishopric.\textsuperscript{102} He established a hospital and improved Glasgow Cathedral with an ambitious building campaign that included dedicating altars to St. John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{103} As far as the chapter was concerned, Blacadder had been a longstanding and important member of their community. Beaton, Glasgow’s new man, had ascended through the ranks of the Scottish Church swiftly, and it was difficult to avoid being cynical about his intentions.\textsuperscript{104} It is relatively easy, then, to imagine the chapter viewing Beaton as an ambitious interloper with eyes on larger prizes, a view that was perhaps confirmed when Beaton left Glasgow for St. Andrews in 1522. The chapter’s independence had made it sensitive to its own jurisdiction, and cautious against those who might threaten it.

In its rituals, memberships and proscriptions the chapter revealed itself to be diligent in its reverence for the sacraments and careful regarding the clarification of its membership. Even when they borrowed elements of feudal ritual, Glasgow’s Christians used the fulcrum of the sacraments to define their community. One cannot say with certainty whether the carefulness witnessed in the celebration of its sacramental life lent Glasgow’s chapter to bolder affirmations of its independence, but trends all over Europe suggest that medieval Christians found the best expressions of the self were those that

\textsuperscript{102} Fasti Ecclesiae, 193.
\textsuperscript{103} Cowan, \textit{Death, Life and Religious Change}, 87; Fitch, \textit{The Search for Salvation}, 138.
\textsuperscript{104} See below, Chapter 2, 62-65.
embraced group memberships, whether these were local guilds or mendicant orders.\textsuperscript{105} Medieval Christian groups frequently challenged and complemented one another in the service of God.\textsuperscript{106} In Glasgow, the local chapter enforced standards of care on the clergy, and we can say with confidence that Christian membership was central to the local community and defined the parameters through which it established order and imposed discipline. The community embraced wider European trends of community regulation and clerical reform, while also stressing more intimate ideas of Christian love and duty. In the early part of the sixteenth century, the servants to St. Mungo defined their community through the practice of a dynamic spiritual life. This dynamism existed because Glasgow’s Church was both local and universal; it was steeped in history, but adapting to the changing world as it continued to develop the Christian traditions of its patron saint.


\textsuperscript{106} Bynum, \textit{Jesus as Mother}, 92-95.
Chapter 2

“These Two Archbishops Sing Not One Song”: Exemption, Heresy and the Medieval Church

In examining the first two decades of the sixteenth century in Glasgow, the previous chapter noted the manner in which Glaswegians in the early part of the century maintained order through rituals associated with the sacraments and control of their use. The desire for order was not necessarily surprising, but rituals centred on touch and the sacraments revealed the intimacy of expressions of community membership, and some of the peculiarities of religious life in the town. Research into these early decades is buoyed by the availability of the narrative of the bishop's court provided by Simon's protocols, which has more detailed evidence of Church practice than the protocols of later Glasgow notaries.¹ Because the decades immediately previous to the Reformation Parliament lack available source material for Glasgow, historians’ ability to study the local elements of religious practice is challenging for this period in the town’s history. This lack of narrative sources steers historians towards the documents of the larger institutional structures of the Church – ecclesiastical statutes, religious decrees from parliament, or the local Church’s communications with the papacy. In their own ways, these documents reveal a great deal about lay religious life, but they do so in a less straightforward manner. In the case of Glasgow, the sources often concern the dealings of the Archbishop, whose court and presence we have seen to be essential to the machinery of Glasgow's religious life. This chapter will consider these men in more

¹ Robert Renwick ed. Abstracts of the Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow. 10 volumes. (Glasgow: Carson and Nicol, 1894). These volumes cover 1547-1600.
detail and will be shaped primarily by analysis of two archbishops of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar and James Beaton I. In Beaton’s case, the story is also heavily influenced by his nephew, Cardinal David Beaton, among the most familiar figures of the Scottish Reformation. Both Dunbar and the Beatons rose to high ranking positions in Church and politics from the early 1520s to the late 1540s. The decades in which these men worked exemplified the “crisis in Church and state” so often discussed in the decades previous to the Church reform across Europe. Contemporaneous Scottish monarchs, James V and Mary, Queen of Scots, would endure difficult minorities and the sprawling revolution of the Reformation became a much more public threat to the Scottish Church during these years. These challenges would have an enduring effect on life in Scotland and like many Reformation-era Churchmen, Dunbar and the Beatons would figure prominently in the shaping of Scotland’s religious and political futures. In this work, they often found themselves on opposing sides, and so a study of these figures is consequently a study in contrast and conflict.

This chapter considers what might be called the Dunbar/Beaton divide. Certainly this divide was a personal one, and the English diplomat Thomas Magnus was perceptive when he wrote to Cardinal Wolsey in 1525 “these two Archbishops sing not one song.” Their involvement in local, domestic and international religion and politics created a consistent chasm between them on matters from the punishment of heresy to the stocking of the treasury. This division will be examined in three parts. First, through an examination of their careers in Church and politics, their disagreements over

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4 *State Papers Published Under the Authority of his Majesty’s Commission. King Henry VIII* vol.4, part 4. 374.
Glasgow’s exemption, their treatment of heretics, and their pursuit of justice and order, the chapter will examine the source of these tensions in detail and assess the nature of the creation of the Dunbar/Beaton divide. Secondly, it will consider the more telling examples of the Dunbar/Beaton divide, involving dispute over episcopal processions and public displays of liturgical authority. Finally, this chapter will assess the degree to which the friction between the archbishops reflected elements of the localized authority of Glasgow’s Kirk, and whether conflict between Scotland’s most powerful Churchmen affected the Scottish Church’s ability to tackle the religious challenges that confronted it in the years previous to the Reformation.

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Though the careers of his nephew Cardinal Beaton and his great-nephew James Beaton II made the Beaton name synonymous with Scottish Church “royalty” in the sixteenth century, the first James Beaton’s beginnings were much more humble. The Beaton family from which these men came was not noble and their existence in Fife was humble. James Beaton I had studied at St. Andrews in the 1490s and had likely come into his first benefice in the Church through the intervention of his brother, Sir David Beaton, who had risen to the position of treasurer for James IV. James Beaton I’s ascendancy through the ranks of the Scottish Church was swift, and only a little more than five years separated his reception of his first Church office, the abbacy of Dunfermline in 1504, and his consecration as Archbishop of Glasgow in 1509.5 Beaton owed the swiftness of his rise to the strength and focus of his own ambitions and the

timely deaths of two leading Scottish bishops within a relatively short period of time. The first to die was George Vaus, bishop of Galloway, in January of 1508. James IV nominated Beaton to this vacant see, and Beaton held it from early May of that year until news of Blacadder’s death had been confirmed. By November, Beaton was Archbishop-elect of Glasgow. In 1506 he had attempted and failed to acquire for himself the bishopric of Dunkeld, but now he had moved through two bishoprics in one year and was the second most powerful prelate in Scotland with sure eyes on the top position in St. Andrews.

As we saw in the first chapter, Beaton’s early tenure in Glasgow was often difficult as he attempted to secure funds from the chapter and was consistently denied. As was the case throughout these years, the principal antagonist to the Archbishop would be his counterpart in St. Andrews. There were two Archbishops of St. Andrews during Beaton’s tenure in Glasgow. The first was James IV’s son, Alexander Stewart, who was killed at Flodden. He was followed by Andrew Forman, with whom Beaton clashed. Forman had supported Beaton’s interests for a time, but after Forman was appointed at St. Andrews his opposition to Beaton increased. The feeling was mutual, and in 1519 Beaton described his former ally Forman as “a mischievous person.”

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6 As was the case throughout Europe, there were clearly political and economic motivations for Beaton and other medieval clerics’ rise up the hierarchy of the Scottish Church. They are briefly noted in this chapter, but a more complete study of the economic and political influence of the Scottish clergy is still required.
7 *Fasti Ecclesiae,* 193.
9 *Above,* Chapter 1, 55-58.
10 *Fasti Ecclesiae,* 384.
11 Ibid, 385.
12 *The Archbishops of St. Andrews,* iii, 55-56.
The defeat of James IV’s army at Flodden in 1513 cast a considerable shadow over political and religious life in early sixteenth-century Scotland. Although there are debates about the degree to which Flodden left Scotland devoid of political leadership, the massive loss of life in major Scottish families created substantial opportunities for advancement among the survivors.\(^\text{14}\) James Beaton I was not one to shy away from these opportunities, and the years immediately following Flodden saw a rapid rise in Beaton’s stature in political affairs that could only be matched by his previous advancements in ecclesiastical office. Beaton was named one of James V’s godparents, and crowned the king in the days after Flodden.\(^\text{15}\) Alexander Stewart’s death also vacated the position of chancellor and Beaton managed to acquire this position within a month of Flodden.\(^\text{16}\) From this point on, he was a major player in both the Church and state in Scotland, and Margaret Sanderson has described Beaton I’s work as “the classic career of an ecclesiastic-cum-statesmen.”\(^\text{17}\)

It is difficult to avoid seeing the political and economic elements of his positions motivating James Beaton I’s early career, especially his time in Glasgow. In addition to his financial disputes with the chapter, we can also witness his legal battles for the rights to the rents of the Abbacy of Kilwinning and other benefices in 1513.\(^\text{18}\) Beaton I’s financial battles continued during his time in St. Andrews, especially concerning Arbroath Abbey, the rights to which he had surrendered to his nephew, the future cardinal. David Beaton had agreed to pay James a portion of the revenues from

\(^{15}\) R.E.G., ii, 431.
\(^{16}\) The Archbishops of St. Andrews, iii, 45-46.
\(^{18}\) *Protocols of Cuthbert Simson*, vol ii, 549-50.
Arbroath, but this arrangement soon fell apart due to the former’s lack of payment, causing some strife in their otherwise good relationship.\textsuperscript{19}

One of the most telling examples of the detailed control James Beaton took over his possessions involves the capture of his palace in Glasgow in 1515. The palace was captured amidst the factional disputes and jealousies caused by Margaret Tudor’s marriage to the Earl of Angus, which indicated her alliance with England. Archbishop Beaton’s opposition to the marriage and alignment with the French cause of the Duke of Albany had earned him the ire of the queen, and his castle was attacked by John Mure of Caldwell on behalf of the Angus faction who forced him to resign his chancellorship.\textsuperscript{20} Two years after this incident Beaton took legal action against Mure for the recovery of the goods that Mure had taken during his “masterful spoliation” of the castle. The detail of the list of items Beaton hoped to recover reveals the opulence of the bishop’s palace as well as the quality of his memory after two years. Included in the materials listed are: twenty-six feather beds, twelve tin pints, eighteen pots, thirteen pans, twelve pounds of pepper, two pounds of saffron, nine pounds of sugar, one gilded cross bow, four regular cross bows, eight brass chandeliers, one ivory chess board, six barrels of gunpowder, eleven guns, several gowns of different colours and with different linings, among dozens of other items.\textsuperscript{21} Although Mure was instructed to return the items, Beaton’s success in collecting them remains unclear. What does seem certain, however, is that there was at

\textsuperscript{19} Sanderson, \textit{Cardinal of Scotland}, 22-23.
\textsuperscript{20} Cameron, \textit{James V}, 19.
\textsuperscript{21} Caldwell Papers, 54-58
least an element of truth in the claim made by Knox when he said of James Beaton I, “as he sought the world, it fled him not.”

The absence of official records makes the early life of Gavin Dunbar much more mysterious than that of his predecessor. Likely born around 1490, Dunbar was schooled at St. Andrews and had earned a master’s degree by 1517. His uncle, another Gavin Dunbar, had been bishop of Aberdeen and the younger Dunbar likely made use of his uncle’s influence to gain a place among the more influential people in the realm. Although the details of his appointment remain unknown, by 1517 Dunbar had received the position that would influence his career most profoundly, the job of the young James V’s tutor. The job entailed duties beyond the education of the prince. Dunbar was a member of the group led by the earl of Angus that was charged with the king’s safekeeping at the July 17 parliament in 1525. This was one of the four groups of nobles and Churchmen who were to take possession of the king for successive quarters of the year, an arrangement that broke down nearly as quickly as it was established. Dunbar’s position as tutor required him to sometimes ask for monies to “buy necessary things for the king’s chamber” and likely was an arduous and dangerous task as it also entailed the protection of the king from members of the rival factions, whose squabbles persisted until the king’s personal rule began in 1528.

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24 For this early stage of Dunbar’s career, see James Primrose *Medieval Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1913) 176-179.
26 Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 31-42
27 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. 5, p.111.
Dunbar was described by John Lesley as a “wise counsellor.” The quality of his teaching is difficult to measure, however. There were some claims that James V was unable to read at age twelve and Knox claims that Dunbar was “known a glorious fool”, although remarks from both Lesley and Knox should be considered in perspective. Fool or not, Dunbar’s proximity to the king would benefit his career a great deal. Magnus wrote to Wolsey that Dunbar “continually attends upon the [the king’s] person” and Dunbar used this relationship, as well as his connections to the duke of Albany, to secure a good career in the Church. He was granted the rents of the deanery of Moray as well as the priory of Whithorn, and with James Beaton I’s promotion to St. Andrews in 1522, Dunbar was made the nominee for the vacancy at Glasgow. Although he was not officially consecrated until February 1525, his rise through the ranks of the Scottish Church was still relatively speedy.

As was the case with James Beaton or most other sixteenth-century bishops, Dunbar’s rise to power in the Church coincided with a significant role in national politics. His also achieved the chancellorship, which he held from 1528 to 1543. He had been provided with the position after the earl of Angus’ brief regime was ended by the king’s escape from Angus’ custody in June of 1528. It is interesting that Dunbar’s appointment coincided with the beginning of the young James V’s personal rule. In this period, the Angus regime had been isolated and James Beaton I, who had been chancellor until 1526 before resigning in favour of Angus, saw his relationship with the

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28 John Lesley, History of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1830). 118
29 A discussion of the quality of Dunbar’s teaching can be found in D.E. Easson Gavin Dunbar: Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of Glasgow (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1947) 25-32
30 Primrose, 179; Knox, History, 72.
31 Fasti Ecclesiae, 193-94.
32 Diurnal of Occurrents, 10-11
king become increasingly tense. The young king resented what he thought to be Beaton’s exploitation of the results of Flodden for his own advancement and the enrichment of his relations, and in the 1530s the relationship between king and Archbishop had soured to such a degree that the king wrote to the pope complaining about Beaton’s greediness and requesting a commission to try the archbishop for these crimes. It is reasonable to suggest that the chaos of this period and the perceived deceitfulness of Beaton led very naturally to the king’s choice of Dunbar. The trust Dunbar earned by way of his tutelage of the king had combined with the alienation of rival factions to make him chancellor, and the king’s loyalty was rewarded with Dunbar’s steadfast support in the disputes with England throughout his personal rule, most especially over its first year.

The appointment of Dunbar as chancellor only two years after Beaton had held the position demonstrates many of the dynamics at the heart of their divide. Taking basic stock of the positions held by these men is helpful in providing perspective on the incumbent tensions. For example, Dunbar’s chancellorship was sandwiched between James Beaton I and his nephew David Beaton’s time in the same position. During this period of the Beaton/Dunbar possession of the Great Seal, the position was never passed in the customary manner, through a death and a traditional appointment. Beaton I obtained it after the violence of Flodden and resigned it during another hostile takeover by the Angus regime. Dunbar took it from there until he was forced to resign it in favour of David Beaton in 1543. David Beaton was murdered in 1546. In ecclesiastical appointments, the quarters were similarly close. As we have seen, James Beaton I was made Archbishop of Glasgow in 1508, a position he held for fifteen years before moving

33 Cameron, James V, 134-36.
34 Easson, Gavin Dunbar, 37-40.
on to St. Andrews. He was followed in Glasgow by Dunbar who held the archbishopric for twenty-four years. Even before James Beaton I died, the succession to the St. Andrews position had been prepared for his younger nephew David, and Glasgow would go to another nephew, James Beaton II, in the 1550s. What all of this meant to Scottish affairs is difficult to measure, but it must have made matters relatively difficult, as scars left by ideological difference or jealousy would have a difficult time healing. Even at the best of times, the multiple roles played by the members of the political and ecclesiastical establishment were difficult to manoeuvre for the Churchman or politician intent on change. The omnipresence of the Beaton family complicated these efforts further, particularly for Dunbar, by including family obligations, loyalties and memories into an already muddled scenario.

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No domestic development in the first half of Scotland’s sixteenth century influenced the Church quite as much as the dispute between the bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews over Glasgow’s exemption, and one cannot fully understand the nature of the Scottish Church in the early part of the sixteenth century without taking it into account. Doing this accounting is difficult, however, as the exemption was as much of a moving target for those involved in its negotiation as it is for historians trying to understand it. Although they were originally intended to protect monasteries from exploitation by bishops, exemptions also spoke to the desire of dioceses for control over local religious affairs. In this way Glasgow’s exemption fit into a larger trend in the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Scottish Church. Innocent VIII’s Indult of 1487 was a major part

35 Fasti Ecclesiae, 194.
of this trend in its increasing of the crown’s role in the provision of benefices. We also see this tendency towards localizing the Scottish Church under Dunbar’s leadership as chancellor in the formation of the College of Justice, a subject that has been covered at length elsewhere.\footnote{A.M. Godfrey, Civil Justice in Renaissance Scotland: The Origins of the Central Court, (Leiden: Brill, 2009); “The Assumption of Jurisdiction: Parliament, the King's Council and the College of Justice in Sixteenth-Century Scotland.” Journal of Legal History, (2001) 22 (3). pp. 21-36; Hector MacQueen ed., The College of Justice: Essays on the Institution and Development of the Court of Session by R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1990); Easson, Gavin Dunbar, 41-53.} The exemption, however, was more complicated as it had different implications depending on who in the hierarchy was exercising it.

The particulars of Glasgow’s exemption lay in the late-fifteenth century. It began in 1472 with the elevation of St. Andrews from a bishopric to an Archbishopric. This had troubled Blacadder, then bishop of Glasgow, who complained to Pope Innocent VIII who then delivered ‘remedy’ for the well-liked Blacadder in 1488, granting an exemption to Glasgow, taking the see “under the protection of St. Peter and the apostolic see and the pope, and exempt[ing] them from all jurisdiction, etc., of the said archbishop [of St Andrews].”\footnote{J. A. Twemlow ed. "Vatican Regesta 732: 1488," Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 14: 1484-1492, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=105279 Date Accessed 4 May 2011, 220-223. (hereafter, Calendar of Papal Registers).} This was a process that Leslie MacFarlane has described accurately as “taking away with his left hand what he had just given with his right”.\footnote{Leslie MacFarlane, “The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472-1521”, Innes Review vol. 20 (Autumn, 1969) 111-129. 117.} The endurance of the friction was almost guaranteed by an Act of Parliament in January 1488 which elevated Glasgow to an Archbishopric “with such privileges as accords with the law and just like the archbishopric of York”.\footnote{The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, (St Andrews, 2007-2011), 1489/1/4. Date accessed: 4 May 2011.} The prospect of a second archbishopric, especially one “just like York”, must have worried some in the Scottish Church considering the historic tensions between Canterbury and York in England, but a papal bull on January

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\footnotetext[38]{Leslie MacFarlane, “The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472-1521”, Innes Review vol. 20 (Autumn, 1969) 111-129. 117.}
\footnotetext[39]{The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, (St Andrews, 2007-2011), 1489/1/4. Date accessed: 4 May 2011.}
\end{flushright}
9, 1492 confirmed the change nonetheless.\textsuperscript{40} Blacadder would become Glasgow’s first archbishop and the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle his suffragans, essentially dividing the Scottish Church equally between the two archbishoprics and muddying the waters of ecclesiastical authority.\textsuperscript{41}

Before engaging too explicitly with the implications of Glasgow’s exemption, it is important to note that its nature allowed for the malleability of these privileges across contexts. Barbara Rosenwein has noted that exemptions were “chameleons” and “flexible instruments of political and social life.”\textsuperscript{42} In Glasgow, this was certainly the case. One bishop could use it to protect against the encroachments of another, or the chapter could use it against a foreign or local archbishop. It could also be used by local laymen to assert their autonomy. The exemption could be overlooked or enhanced based on the personalities involved, or the requirements of circumstance. Attitudes towards it could also be altered based on changes to individual opinions or personal conditions, as they certainly were when James Beaton was transferred from Glasgow to St. Andrews in 1523 and almost immediately requested that Glasgow’s exemption be dissolved after years of pushing for its extension. An exemption, then, is interesting because it both required a clarification of membership and provided a portal through which religious communities could express themselves.

One of the key questions at the heart of the exemption dispute concerned whether it belonged to the bishopric of Glasgow and the office of its bishop (\textit{ex officio}) or whether it belonged to a particular archbishop and was limited to his lifetime.\textsuperscript{43}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[40] Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow vol. 1. Part 1. 9.
\item[41] Fasti Ecclesiae, 187.
\item[43] Concilia Scotiae Joseph Robertson ed. (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1866) vol. 1, cxxv-cxxxiv.
\end{footnotes}
Beaton’s promotion to St. Andrews brought this issue to the fore, and the arrival of Dunbar in Glasgow began the period of the most prolonged disputes over Glasgow’s exemption. Glasgow’s interests were buoyed by Clement VII’s 1524 bull on the subject. The early July bull was a clear indication of the papacy’s support for Glasgow’s independence. Not only did Clement VII ensure Glasgow’s rights, but he also extended them to render Glasgow exempt from all forms of suffrage to St. Andrews, even in St. Andrews’ diocese. The position of primate would be entirely confused as it had essentially been granted to two people – to Beaton by way of the traditional hold of St. Andrews on the primacy and to Dunbar by way of the intervention of the current pope. The bull continued by proclaiming that the rights it stipulated were to be held perpetually by all of Glasgow’s Archbishops, thereby extending the exemption to the future as well, essentially guaranteeing the freedom of one archiepiscopate from the other in all times to come. It was a major triumph for the interests of Glasgow, and one that had clearly been supported and influenced in Rome by the Duke of Albany, regent for James V, and the Queen’s party. The Queen and Albany had mended earlier disputes over the regency by this time, and she had developed a growing distaste for Beaton I’s position in the “French faction.”

As one might expect, Beaton I did not take kindly to the bull. The bull was clearly intended as a direct demotion of his role in St. Andrews and marked the beginning of an unpleasant summer for the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Only a month after the bull had severely limited his supremacy, Beaton and the elder Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, were jailed for failing to renounce Albany’s authority in favour of the King.

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44 The bull can be found in R.E.G. 529-537.
who had “come forth” in August.\textsuperscript{46} Beaton was in prison for a little longer than one month,\textsuperscript{47} and the Queen had desired the warding to continue longer. While the bishops were in prison, she explained in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk that she feared the two men were plotting against her and that their jailing would not improve matters.\textsuperscript{48} There is little doubt that the Queen had assessed the situation correctly when she wrote to Norfolk, “I may well consider that they love me not.”\textsuperscript{49}

Upon his emergence from prison, Beaton began a letter-writing campaign against the exemption. In early November he requested Wolsey’s intervention in the revocation of the exemption, which he noted had been granted “contrary to the honor and liberty of St. Andrews.”\textsuperscript{50} As James V maintained a closer relationship with the papacy than Beaton, the bishop concentrated his efforts on England, hoping to convince Wolsey to use his influence for the revocation of the exemption. These efforts continued into January of 1525 during which time Beaton wrote letters to both Alexander Mylne, Abbot of Cambuskenneth and to Magnus asking them to plead with Wolsey and the King respectively.\textsuperscript{51} Magnus continued to bear the brunt of Beaton’s pressures regarding the exemption in the following months. A 22 February 1525 letter saw Magnus relaying Beaton’s request to Wolsey that “by your favour a reformation of the said exemption may be obtained.”\textsuperscript{52} On 9 March the badgering continued with Magnus asking Wolsey for an answer on the matter.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{46} Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{47} State Papers of Henry VIII, 170.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, 128-134.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, 129
\textsuperscript{50} Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, p. 359.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, pp. 453, 456.
\textsuperscript{52} State Papers of Henry VIII, 331.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, 338.
Nearly all of Beaton I’s requests for a remedy to the exemption were closely accompanied by contrasting requests from James V and his mother that the exemption be sustained. Two weeks prior to Beaton’s January letters, the thirteen year old king wrote to the pope thanking him for his promotion of Dunbar to Glasgow and requesting that he protect the new Archbishop’s exemption, specifically from Beaton I’s attempts at revocation.\(^5^4\) Two days before Magnus’ 22 February letter on the subject, Dunbar wrote to Wolsey directly, requesting his favour in the security of the perpetual exemption.\(^5^5\) Queen Margaret became more directly involved in late March when she wrote to her brother requesting that he not interfere with Dunbar’s exemption.\(^5^6\) The young King took the same line in late May when he wrote to his “dearest uncle” that he “loved Glasgow better” than he loved Beaton, and requested that Henry VIII not write against Dunbar’s interests.\(^5^7\)

All of these letters stressed Dunbar’s close personal relationship to the king and contrasted the father-figure of the king’s teacher with the conniving Beaton I. These letters clearly influenced the progress of the exemption’s case in Rome. John Clerk, Wolsey’s Roman correspondent wrote in early April “the Pope is loath to revoke the archbishop of Glasgow’s exemption,” citing a rumoured Beaton conspiracy as his evidence.\(^5^8\) That Dunbar was much liked by James V is clear in the letters and was taken seriously by those considering the exemption.\(^5^9\) In spite of his feeling that Beaton I’s loyalty was politically advantageous to England, Magnus knew the king’s feelings well,

\(^5^4\) Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, p. 442-443.  
\(^5^5\) Ibid, 486.  
\(^5^6\) State Papers of Henry VIII, 343.  
\(^5^8\) Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, vi, 546-547.  
\(^5^9\) State Papers of Henry VIII, 329.
and recommended that something might be done to please both prelates. If Beaton and Dunbar could not both be appeased, which was unlikely, Magnus recommended that Dunbar be considered a priority because of his proximity to the king. Magnus wrote that if Dunbar had been treated kindly by Wolsey and Henry VIII, he might “train with his good words the young king to the devotion of England”, no doubt seeing Dunbar as a good bargaining chip in the brokering of goodwill between the two kingdoms.\(^{60}\)

In Magnus’ 31 May 1525 letter we see many significant elements of the controversy exemplified. At its most basic level, the issue of the exemption remained unresolved from its late fifteenth-century origins, and continued to be problematic well into the middle part of the century. It is also significant that the exemption was such a major issue for Magnus and Wolsey. In the letter, Magnus describes the speedy resolution of the exemption problem as beneficial to Wolsey, Henry VIII and James V. The attention of Wolsey and Henry VIII in the resolution of these issues speaks to the keen interest that English leaders took in Scottish affairs, recognizing the importance of stability in the northern kingdom, an interest that would continue as England broke with Rome in the 1530s and Scotland became a Protestant country in 1560.\(^{61}\) Magnus’ letter also speaks to the important role that Dunbar’s personal relationship with James V played in his securing of the exemption. Although Beaton was more powerful and ambitious, Dunbar’s intimate connection to the king was clearly considered more valuable. The relationship between the two caused Magnus to make a recommendation against his more favoured policy of appeasing Beaton I. The exemption, then, was a local issue that had national and international implications, and it was carefully considered

\(^{60}\) Ibid, 374.

by the most influential figures in England and Scotland who understood the importance of defined roles in the medieval world. As examination of the years previous to the Reformation continues, we see these matters continue to influence the Scottish Church. The Dunbar/Beaton divide may have centred on the exemption, but its influence extended well beyond the level of episcopal jurisdiction.

As disputes over the exemption ran on into the 1540s, other business continued in Scotland. Protestant ideas were spreading, although not to a tremendously significant degree, but the pressures on the continental Church necessitated demands from both James V and the papacy for the punishment of heretics. Much like the desire for clarification on the issue of the exemption, the quelling of heresy indicated a desire for the maintenance of order among the traditional Church leadership, in this case the sustentation of the traditional Church. For those in positions of power like Dunbar and the Beatons, the survival of the Catholic Church in Scotland obviously had financial and professional implications. But we should be wary of overlooking the religious devotions of figures like Dunbar and Beaton too easily, as these were clearly motivated by their faiths at some level, even if these devotions are less easy to distinguish in the records. Their pursuit and punishment of heretics is one case in which their religious devotions are more obvious.

Our understanding of the persecution of heretics in the pre-Reformation period has been traditionally shaped by the early pages of Knox’s *History of the Reformation in*

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Scotland. In these pages James and David Beaton feature prominently among the “cruel wolves” described by Knox as executing early Protestants at St. Andrews in the 1520s and 30s. Of course the most well-known of those executed was Patrick Hamilton, whose *Patrick’s Places* still maintains a prominent position in the beginnings of the Scottish Reformation, a position very much owed to its place in Knox’s famous book. According to Knox, the violence meted out against men like Hamilton inspired continued violence among Catholic leaders, specifically by Dunbar in Glasgow. In 1539 Dunbar had captured three men on charges of heresy, Andrew Cunningham, Jerome Russell, a Franciscan, and another eighteen year old man whom Knox only calls Kennedy. Cunningham was released, but Russell and Kennedy had been in the company of Murdoch Nisbet, the author of the first New Testament in Scots, and they were suspected, like Nisbet, of Lollardry. Russell and Kennedy were found guilty, but Dunbar recommended that their lives be spared. Cardinal Beaton’s representatives at the trial, however, disagreed with Dunbar and encouraged him to carry on with the execution because sparing Russell and Kennedy might render the Cardinal’s executions crueler in the eyes of the public. Dunbar relented and the two men were burnt. As we might expect, Knox describes this lack of nerve by Dunbar as evidence that the Archbishop was “a faithless man” for failing to stand up to the “idiot Doctors” in the defence of “meek and gentle” martyrs. As with all of his *History* we should consider these opinions in perspective. The opening pages of Knox’s *History* tend to conjure

66 Knox, *History*, pp. 27-28
images of the majority of the pre-Reformation Scottish clergy as frequent users of violence, but this is a point undermined by the facts. Although it did not matter much for Russell and Kennedy, religious violence was very rare in Scotland and other measures were often preferred for the repression of heresy. In Glasgow, recantation was favoured, and Blacadder had taken this line with the “Lollards of Kyle” whom he and James IV tried in Glasgow in 1494.\(^{67}\) Calderwood also mentions Dunbar’s dealing with Walter Stewart who was accused of “casting down an image” in Ayr. After lengthy discussions, Dunbar convinced Stewart to recant and avoid major punishment. Stewart almost immediately regretted his recantation, however, as on his way home from his trial he was thrown from his horse and drowned in the River Calder, crying out to his friends “not to redeem life by recanting the truth, for experience there proved it would not be sure.”\(^{68}\) In spite of Stewart’s bad fortune, Gavin Dunbar’s position on heresy tended away from violence. In this way, it was very much in line with others in the Scottish Church leadership in that he “was intent enough on destroying heresy, but averse to the bloody methods of David Beaton.”\(^{69}\)

Having an aversion towards executions did not mean that Gavin Dunbar was in favour of heresy. In fact, he was quite active in its pursuit throughout his time as Archbishop of Glasgow.\(^{70}\) In May 1532 he was a major player in the parliament that displayed an unequivocal support for the Roman Church.\(^{71}\) At the first parliament in the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1543 Dunbar also vehemently protested legislation

\(^{69}\) Easson, *Gavin Dunbar*, 57.
\(^{70}\) Dunbar’s defence of traditional Catholicism is summarized in Easson, *Gavin Dunbar*, 53-65.
\(^{71}\) *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* [1532/5]. Accessed May 10, 2012.
allowing the scriptures in the vernacular. On behalf of all of the clergy present, he “simply refused assent thereto” and insisted that a provincial council be held so that the clergy might better advise parliament. In 1544 Dunbar is also said to have confronted George Wishart in Ayr in order to defend Catholic teaching. Knox writes that Dunbar forced Wishart out of the Church so that he himself could preach, with Wishart happily moving his preaching to the market square. Dunbar then supposedly acknowledged the need for increased preaching among Catholic clergy and promised to make his visits to Ayr more frequent, insisting it was “better late thrive than never thrive.”

One of Archbishop Dunbar’s more energetic forays into establishing and maintaining order in Scotland was his famous “Monition of Cursing” of the Border Reivers which Magnus “procured to be executed upon every notable place on the Borders of Scotland” in October 1525. The curse was intended to end the lawlessness in the Scottish Borders and had been commissioned by Magnus in the interests of achieving peace with England through threats of ecclesiastical censure. It was first executed in May 1525 and was supported by an Act of Parliament in August of the same year. The comprehensiveness cannot be doubted. A famous early passage reads, in Scots:

I curse thair heid and all ye haris of thair heid ; I curse thair face, thair ene, thair mouth, thair neise, thair toung, thair teith, thair crag, thair schulderis, thair breist, thair hert, thair stomok, thair bak, thair wame, thair armes, thair leggis, thair handis, thair feit,

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73 Knox, History, pp. 60-61.
74 State Papers of Henry VIII, iv, 416.
75 Primrose, Medieval Glasgow, 183.
and everilk part of thair body fra the top of thair heid to the soill of thair feit, bofoir and behind, within and without.\textsuperscript{77}

Posterity has provided Dunbar’s curse with a life of its own, with people in modern Scottish/English border communities blaming it for bad weather or bad luck into the twenty-first century.\textsuperscript{78} In historical perspective, though, the curse provides an excellent example of the power of archbishops and the tools that Church leaders like Dunbar used in the interests of establishing order in their communities. Although it was certainly born out of the search for stability in the shaky political context of the early sixteenth century, the curse’s primary threat was the separation of the lawless from their religious communities, or as Dunbar put it to “dissever and part them from the Kirk of God and deliver them quick to the Devil of Hell.” As we saw in the previous chapter, and as we will see in chapter 4, separation from the embrace of God’s Church had important implications, and the detail of the curse provides a good example of the accounting system that characterized both the medieval Church and its Reformed counterpart.\textsuperscript{79} The curse’s censure was also increased by its ability to undo previous good works by the sinner. Dunbar writes, “I take from them, and cry down all the good deeds that ever they did or shall do.” Dunbar also declared null any prayers or masses said by or for those cursed, thereby increasing the seriousness of the curse’s implications and providing evidence of the wide-ranging powers at Dunbar’s disposal.

\textsuperscript{77} The curse can be found in full in \textit{State Papers of Henry VIII, iv}, 416-419.
\textsuperscript{78} As part of millennium celebrations in 2001, the city of Carlisle on the borders commissioned an artist to carve the curse into a stone. Soon after it was completed, there was an outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the area, and in 2005 the city experienced extensive flooding, causing one city councillor to request the stone be destroyed. This request was denied. To increase the intrigue, the councillor died suddenly in 2011. See, “They’re Doomed” \textit{Guardian Online} (9 March 2005). http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2005/mar/09/heritage.
\textsuperscript{79} Chapter 1, 19-24; Chapter 4, 32-38.
Dunbar clearly envisioned the curse as a more serious threat than that provided by the temporal authority and noted that the thieves were undeterred by the penalties of the secular courts. The perceived weakness of the secular court required the Archbishop to “strike them (the Reivers) with the terrible power of the holy Kirk.”

Although it is difficult to gauge the level of fear the curse may have engendered among those in the pew, the threats made in the curse went beyond those levied against the individual sinner. The curse goes on to forbid all people from associating with the Reivers. As we have seen, it was the twinned levels of isolation – from participation in both the spiritual and social worlds – that made excommunication so punitive for sinners. That the curse was to be posted and preached from the pulpit provides further evidence that Dunbar’s curse was a major effort at creating order by way of identifying the lawless and making public declaration of the Church’s warnings for them.

Dunbar’s actions as Archbishop have rendered him an enigmatic figure in terms of assessments of his career, a common problem among assessments of medieval bishops. We have seen how his contemporary Knox derided his lack of courage in avoiding the 1539 executions and counted him among those who cruelly punished those who were critical of the medieval Church. This position was echoed by Calderwood.

Recent historians have looked at Dunbar in another fashion, with some suggesting that he “ignored” heresy, and others counting him among the collection of worldly Churchmen who were so rightly skewered by David Lindsay. One historian has associated Dunbar’s resistance to vernacular scripture with driving “curious pious

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80 Ibid, 417
81 Calderwood, Historie, 198-99.
82 Durkan and Kirk, The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577, 212.
83 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, 85-88.
souls...into the company of more doctrinaire evangelicals.”84 These assessments of Dunbar and of the medieval bishop more generally thus divide bishops into two disparaging categories – the neglectful ones who sat by while the Church crumbled and the vicious ones who burnt Protestants according to their mood.

For Dunbar, it is not clear that either of these assessments will do, and the dichotomy seems to speak to the legacy of triumphant Protestant narratives that simplify the nature of the medieval Church. His promotion of orthodoxy at parliament and the vehemence of the curse clearly indicate that Dunbar did not support heresy, let alone ignore it, even though there were many who were growing weary of the regularity of curses from the Scottish bishops.85 He was doing the complicated work required of his position. Across medieval Europe, bishops’ performances were uneven because their jurisdictions were massive and their jobs were difficult.86 Various people were responsible for the rise of a bishop to a powerful position like Dunbar’s, and he owed loyalty on multiple fronts. On this point, Euan Cameron has written that “the failings most often criticized in bishops were demonstrably the consequences of their not balancing different claims on their time.”87 Thus absence, pluralism or wealth became the calling cards for criticism of the “Renaissance bishop” and his prevention of heresy. Dunbar’s work is rendered more thankless in posterity as well, as his opposition to vernacular scripture makes him seem like an enemy of progress to many modern people who unlike most medieval people derive significant meaning from their personal literacy. In all, Easson seemed to describe Dunbar well when he writes that the

84 Ryrie, Origins of the Scottish Reformation, 35.
85 Donaldson, Scotland: James V–James VII, 46.
86 For four cases indicating this diversity, see Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages, 188–213. See also
87 Cameron, The European Reformation, 34–36.
Archbishop had the mind of an “old-fashioned conservative Churchman” who was devoted to “the Church as an institution.”

One of the most interesting insights into Dunbar’s views on the Church can be found in the Danish ambassador Peter Suavenius’ diary entry regarding his meeting with Dunbar in the spring of 1535. Suavenius describes their discussion of the Lübeckers, the northern Germans who had joined the Schmalkaldic League and sided with Christian III of Denmark in the establishment of the Reformation there. Suavenius writes, “He said he had read the speech of the Lubeckers. Asked him how he liked it. He said it seemed to him very heretical because it tried to weaken the authority of the Church.” Dunbar then criticized Henry VIII for his own rejection of the hierarchy of the Roman Church. Suavenius noted that “He (Dunbar) laughed at the King for neglecting the opinions of kings and princes, and asking the advice of cities.” In these words we see that Dunbar’s defence of the Roman Church was very much tied to the nature of its organization and that it was the destruction of these elements that might have signaled to Dunbar and others that the disintegration of society was underway. Because of the revolutionary theological ideas behind the “justification through faith alone” doctrine that was the lifeblood of the Reformation, we tend to think of the threats to the hierarchy of the Roman Church as subsidiary to more substantial theological criticisms of the Eucharist, or more popular criticisms of things like indulgences or the manners of the clergy. For Dunbar, though, the hierarchy was at the heart of the Church he lived and worked in every day. Considering the wealth that people like Dunbar and the Beatons acquired in their ecclesiastical careers, it is easy to associate his defence of

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88 Easson, Gavin Dunbar, 95.
89 Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, viii, 469-70.
90 Ibid, 470.
hierarchy with a defence of his own wealth, which was significant at his death. But it is important as well to remember that a great deal of the medieval Church’s identity was tied up in its conception of the structures that it had established and continued to use. Diarmaid MacCulloch has written that the unity of these structures was “one of the most striking features of medieval Western Christendom.” These structures reached from the layperson in the pew, through the pope, to God in heaven. Certainly greed was not the only motivation for this organization. The capacity of the Reformation to undermine basic societal structures was precisely what made its threat so real to so many. Dunbar’s criticisms of the Lübeckers and Henry VIII, then, indicates that his endorsement of the hierarchical Church should be considered beyond the level self-preservation, but should instead be seen as the reasonable reaction of a Church leader who believed his community to be in danger.

The importance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the function of the medieval Church leads us logically back to the exemption issue. From the mid-1520s there are few surviving public expressions of the exemption controversy, but a decade later in the 1530s the issue again becomes heated, especially in light of the action in the 1535 parliament. Here parliament made a firm stand against Protestantism, which was significant considering that Protestant beliefs were spreading throughout Europe. The 1535 parliament re-affirmed the “liberty of the Holy Kirk” denouncing “the damnable opinions of the great heretic Luther” and banning any books or opinions endorsing the German Reformer. These actions coincided with the king’s calling on James Beaton I to

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summon a general provincial council in March 1536, presumably for the correction of abuses among the clergy, a longstanding annoyance for the king.\textsuperscript{94} Parliament’s order that Beaton call the council immediately caught the attention of Dunbar, who asked for instruments regarding the council, requesting that Beaton hold the council “without prejudice of his archbishopric of Glasgow’s privilege and jurisdiction granted to him and his successors.”\textsuperscript{95} For his part, Beaton wrote to Dunbar as “primate of all the realm of Scotland and \textit{Legatus Natus} of the Apostolic See” requesting that Dunbar inform his suffragan bishops of the calling of the council.\textsuperscript{96} After a decade of dormancy, the fight for the exemption was back on.

Beaton’s public declaration of his primacy was clearly intended to needle the Archbishop of Glasgow, but his claims to supremacy were not limited to legal documents. In November 1535, after the summons had been written but before the provincial council had convened, Beaton I’s visit to Dumfries caused further disturbance. John Turner, an official of Dunbar’s, took exception to Beaton blessing the people and raising his cross “in this town of Dumfries, within the diocese of Glasgow, in sign of pre-eminent authority, though you have none here.”\textsuperscript{97} Beaton, of course, disagreed with Turner and insisted that he would have raised his cross had Dunbar himself been present. It is difficult to know for certain what Beaton was trying to prove by raising his cross in Dumfries, as he clearly knew that this was Dunbar’s territory, but it is likely that in the period leading up to the provincial council Beaton wanted to leave no doubt as to who was in charge. Although no records survive from the council beyond

\textsuperscript{94} Easson, \textit{Gavin Dunbar}, 58-59.
\textsuperscript{95} The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707, [1535/13]. Accessed May 20, 2012.
\textsuperscript{96} Concilia Scotiae, 238-241.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{R.E.G.}, 550-551. Translation from Herkless and Hannay, \textit{The Archbishops of St. Andrews} vol. iii, 238.
a brief passage in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* telling us it lasted for six days, the presence of the two Archbishops at the Blackfriars’ Church in Edinburgh must have supplied its share of tension, if it did not result in any lasting action against Protestantism.\(^{98}\)

In early December of 1538, James Beaton I was ill and unable to meet his clerical responsibilities in St. Andrews. His nephew, David Beaton, who had by this time achieved a notable career in Church and state, was appointed co-adjutor of St. Andrews. David Beaton held this position until the older Beaton’s death in February 14, 1539 made the younger Beaton, now a cardinal, Archbishop of St. Andrews in his own right.\(^{99}\) Cardinal Beaton brought a new energy to an old problem in the Scottish Church and he did not wait long to apply pressure regarding the exemption. In May of 1539 he got a bull limiting Dunbar’s exemption to the archbishop’s lifetime.\(^{100}\) Next, on 16 November 1539, he instructed Andrew Oliphant, his agent to the papacy, to acquire a brief that would allow Beaton “as Primate of the realm, [to] bear our cross before us through the whole realm of Scotland and in the diocese and province of Glasgow.”  

Like his uncle, David Beaton put the exemption to the test in a 27 November visit to Dumfries where he was again met with resistance by John Turner who protested the cardinal’s right to bear his cross in prejudice to Dunbar’s exemption.\(^{102}\) Although Beaton admitted on this occasion that the bearing of his cross would not prejudice Dunbar, within a few days he instructed Oliphant to “speed the bulls” in order to have the problem resolved in his favour, a request that was unsuccessful at this stage.\(^{103}\)

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\(^{98}\) *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 20.  
\(^{100}\) *Concilia Scotiae*, cxx-xcxi.  
\(^{102}\) *R.E.G.*, 553-554.  
The changing nature of Glasgow’s exemption has been discussed at length, and there were more flare-ups, such as the Palm Sunday 1544 meeting of the bishops in Glasgow Cathedral in which the cardinal again raised his cross and again assured Dunbar that the cross-bearing would not prejudice Dunbar’s exemption.¹⁰⁴ But as far as the exemption is concerned, few episodes have garnered more attention than the early June 1545 meeting of Dunbar and Beaton, again at Glasgow Cathedral. The event was similar to others we have seen in that it involved the cardinal bearing his cross in the presence of Dunbar. The most detailed narrative of the event comes from Knox, and a close reading of his description of the early stages of the confrontation provides a number of points of interest. Knox begins:

But while they remain together, the one in the town, the other in the Castle, question rises for bearing of their crosses. The Cardinal alleged, by reason of his Cardinalship, and that he was Legatus Natus, and Primate within Scotland, in the kingdom of Antichrist, that he should have the pre-eminence, and that his cross should not only go before, but that also it only should be borne wheresoever he was... the foresaid Archbishop, lacked no reasons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory: he was an Archbishop in his own diocese, and in his own Cathedral seat and Church, and therefore ought to give place to no man; the power of the Cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertained but to his own person, and not to his bishopric; for it might be that his successor should not be Cardinal. But his (own) dignity was annexed with his office and did appertain to all that should ever be Bishops of Glasgow.¹⁰⁵

In terms of our understanding of this event, this passage is valuable because of its near flawless communication of the issues at stake in the exemption dispute. The details are all correct, and Knox provides a valuable description of the claims of both men. He

¹⁰⁴ *R.E.G.*, 555-556.
correctly identifies that Beaton had a claim to the *Legatus Natus* title by way of his cardinal’s hat, and that Dunbar’s claim was also legitimate, as he pointed out that the exemption had been granted *ex officio* and therefore had permanence beyond the life of the cardinal.\(^{106}\) That Knox likely had this material relayed to him by a third party is also significant, as the detailed understanding of the intricacies of the exemption controversy demonstrate a high level of understanding. That those not directly involved in the controversy would know the details and regard them as important speaks to the significance of the exemption for laypeople as well.

Knox goes on to relay the physical altercation that took place among the two bishops’ attendants with typical energy. As the men tried to make their way through the choir door, they began jockeying for the position of their crosses until the disagreement arose, which “from glowming (scowling) they come to shouldering; from shouldering, they go to buffets, and from dry blows, by neffs and neffeling (fisticuffs).” The attendants then argued over “which of the crosses was finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which bearer could best defend his master’s pre-eminence” until “no little fray” broke out between the two groups, resulting in crowns and crosses being cracked and attendants being thrown to the ground. Knox opined that it was a shame that very few of the men wore beards; otherwise, they could have pulled on them as well! Towards the end of his description Knox writes that Dunbar said to the cardinal that “he (Dunbar) was a bishop when the other was but Beaton.”\(^{107}\)

That these senior clergymen and their attendants would actually come to blows in Glasgow Cathedral speaks to the exasperation of those involved in the exemption

\(^{106}\) It is true, however, that Dunbar had been nominated unsuccessfully for a cardinalship by both James V and Ferdinand and Isabella. See *Concilia Scotiae*, pp. cxxiii-cxiv.

\(^{107}\) Knox’s description of the event can be found in its entirety in Knox, *History*, 72-74.
dispute. Knox’s joking aside, it is important to note that this was clearly not a joke for those involved and that the positioning of the crosses mattered a great deal to medieval clergymen. It meant a great deal because it communicated messages to those in view of the procession. In his interesting study of the German city-states Constance and Augsburg, Jeffery Tyler writes that bishops “served and ruled through ritual” and were “tethered” to their cities by these ceremonies through which “they continued to lay claim to Cathedral compound and civic spaces.”

For all intents and purposes, a dispute over the public raising of episcopal crosses was one of the only chances the Scottish bishops would get to put the strength of the exemption to the test, which is why the attendants protected their rights so fiercely. One study of seventeenth-century English cathedral chapters shows that competition among chapters for prominence in public ritual was of equal or more importance to royal approval of local authority, and there is little doubt that these later contests for authority were inherited from their pre-Reformation predecessors. In fact, in the English context, the dueling archbishoprics of York and Canterbury, upon which the Glasgow-St. Andrews relationship was modeled, had similar disputes regarding primacy and the bearing of the bishops’ crosses in the fourteenth century. This dispute was solved by Innocent VI in 1352 when he decided that neither bishop should lead in processions in the other’s diocese and that both crosses should be carried abreast of one another. That the pope would intervene to tell the bishops the manner in which they should walk in procession exemplifies the seriousness of these issues.

110 *Concilia Scotiae*, cxxi-cxxii.
Although Ryrie has noted the shock of the fight in Glasgow, perceived violations of clerical jurisdiction were a chronic problem in medieval Europe, and the infighting among monks, mendicants, secular clergy and bishops, physical and otherwise, provided much of the material used by Protestant Reformers in their early criticism of the Catholic clergy.\textsuperscript{111} Disputes over the Archbishop of York’s late-thirteenth century visitation to Durham in violation of a monastery’s rights resulted in a popular uprising of men from the town who chased the archbishop from the pulpit and cut off the ear of his horse.\textsuperscript{112} Protests against bishops and their infringement on the liberties of local communities can also be found in other medieval towns, as groups expressed their rights to local control.\textsuperscript{113}

In particular it is interesting to consider Dunbar’s role in what Easson has called “the fracas at Glasgow.”\textsuperscript{114} The meteoric rise of David Beaton to the position of cardinal and primate of Scotland had come at the expense of Dunbar and as a consequence of changing Scottish policy after the death of Dunbar’s most loyal advocate, James V. The early stages of this “pro-French” policy under the influence of Mary de Guise had deprived Dunbar of his chancellorship at the end of 1543. Margaret Sanderson accurately describes the “frustration and pent-up personal animosity” embodied in the “Bishop when the other was but Beaton” remark attributed to Dunbar by Knox.\textsuperscript{115} Dunbar must have felt that he had been pushing against a ‘Beaton wall’ for

\begin{footnotes}
\item[114] Easson, p.81
\item[115] Sanderson, \textit{Cardinal of Scotland}, 117.
\end{footnotes}
as long as he was in leadership positions in the Scottish Church and the event at Glasgow may have demonstrated that Dunbar and his followers had reached their limit.

It is also plausible, as Sanderson has suggested, that the attendants who represented the interests of Dunbar and Beaton “took matters into their own hands” in engaging in the fight.\textsuperscript{116} This is a definite possibility and it demonstrates the interests of those beyond the individual bishops in maintaining the exemption. We have already seen the chapter defending its privilege against James Beaton I. Lay defense of the exemption can also be seen in a letter circa August 1535 in which the Earl of Lennox asked his brother John, Lord D’Aubigny, to advance the cause of Dunbar’s exemption in Rome. Lennox wrote to his brother, “you and I, and all our house, are bound to defend, as we are native born servants to Saint Mungo and to that Kirk.”\textsuperscript{117} The absence of sources prevents us from knowing the extent of lay advocacy on behalf of the exemption, but Lennox’s letter proves that there is no doubting its existence. There is also little doubt that Dunbar’s desires to have the exemption made \textit{ex officio} can be seen as his defense of the interests of the archbishopric – its leadership and its parishioners – beyond his tenure there, thus speaking to an identifiable independent character in Glasgow’s Church.

That lay people in Glasgow seemed to value sustaining the exemption adds another layer of interest to the already complicated 1545 fracas. One cannot help but see that there was a lot on the line. Sanderson has noted that “to be archbishop of St Andrews was to rule a kingdom within a kingdom.”\textsuperscript{118} If we consider the archbishopric of Glasgow in this light, Dunbar ruled a kingdom within a kingdom within a kingdom.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid, 116.
\textsuperscript{117} Supplementary abstracts to charters in volume 2: c.1116-1576, \textit{Charters and Documents relating to the City of Glasgow 1175-1649: Part 1}, 50.
\textsuperscript{118} Sanderson, \textit{Cardinal of Scotland}, 96.
where nearly all of the jurisdictions were under question and subject to constant change and negotiation. In Glasgow, Dunbar and Beaton were clearly acting out a very personal dispute that had been carried through two Beatons’ ecclesiastical careers, and the fight at Glasgow was far from the “sudden discord” Lesley described it as. For historians’ purposes, the ‘fracas at Glasgow’ was the culmination of a dispute reaching back into the fifteenth century, but the exemption had come to mean so many things to so many different groups that it is difficult to accurately measure which dispute was culminating in 1545. The exemption represented the rights of the local Glasgow chapter against individual bishops the chapter may not like. We have also seen that it signified the wider interests of the suffragan bishoprics of both St. Andrews and Glasgow, along with the regional and geographical differences that one might identify. It also embodied the interests of the papacy at work within Scotland, along with the complicated domestic and international political instability brought on by the death of James V, the Rough Wooing, and the English Reformation more generally. Of course it is important to mention that all of this was also taking place within the context of burgeoning Scottish Protestantism. These were problems of religion, and of culture, and of politics. These problems were also a test of the relationships between the local religious entities, the national Church and the papacy. All of these relationships were represented in the processions of the bishops, which were in line with a vibrant tradition of ritualized procession in the medieval Church, whether associated with the saints, the guilds, Corpus Christi or other religious celebrations.

Tyler’s study of the German bishops offers an interesting contrast with the Glasgow dispute. Tyler’s work concentrates on the relationship between the civic and

religious leaderships in the contest for public space in the cathedral city. In the case of mid fifteenth-century Constance, its bishop Henry of Hewen engaged in negotiation with the city council as to how his public entry into the city would take place and which route the bishop’s procession would travel. According to Tyler, success was achieved when both the civil and religious authorities cooperated, allowing each other to express elements of their own identities in the processions. In Constance, both the civic and religious interests were served by negotiating an appropriate amount of recognition for both parties. It is likely that this task was made easier by the different mandates of the civic and religious leaderships, and Tyler notes that “the ultimate prize in this clever game was not victory...[but a] grateful stalemate that would undergird civic and episcopal cohabitation.” In Constance, the struggle was for basic inclusion in the procession and for recognition of civic authority in opposition or co-operation with the religious authority. In Glasgow, however, these negotiations were less possible as both groups required recognition of a particular brand of spiritual authority in a specific place. In spite of the myriad of interests that have been identified as being tied up in the processions and the raising of the cross, the 1545 conflict was quite simple and non-negotiable. Cardinal Beaton could raise his cross or he could not; he could walk in front of Dunbar or behind him. The straightforwardness of this event was caused by the presence of a particular individual and left very little room for negotiation and was likely a central cause of its devolving into violence.

120 Tyler, Lord of the Sacred City pp. 131-139
121 Ibid, 136.
122 A violent event in Wiltshire, England in 1450 led to the murder of the Bishop of Salisbury. Although the sources of the Wiltshire men’s anger was the bishop’s performance of the marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou and not ecclesiastical jurisdiction, this case does indicate the potential dangers of the bishop’s job. Cohn, Popular Protest in Late Medieval English Towns, 260.
Determining the consequences of the fight in Glasgow and of the exemption dispute more generally is difficult. In the immediate aftermath of the 1545 dispute, Cardinal Beaton called for a general council to “eradicate the briars, thorns, and thistles of heresies, errors and schisms” in the Scottish Church. The council would not meet until 1549, when both Dunbar and Beaton were dead. The Cardinal’s calling of the council was full of threats of excommunication against Dunbar should he fail to attend, and contained various declarations of Beaton’s authority.\textsuperscript{123} Perhaps because of this animosity, assessments of the exemption controversy have often ended with a comment that one of the chief consequences of the dispute was that it prevented conciliar action on behalf of the Church with the implication being that this accelerated the progress of the Reformation.\textsuperscript{124} These conclusions are unconvincing, as they indicate a search for a direct causal link between a particular element of medieval Church life and the broad success of the Reformation in Scotland.\textsuperscript{125} Such outlooks tend to simplify both the complexity of the structures of the medieval Church and the religious revolution that was the Scottish Reformation. These viewpoints also go against current trends in historiography that provide more subtle evaluations of cause and effect, especially for events as monumental as the Reformation. Even less convincing is the idea that Dunbar and Cardinal Beaton were able to make peace by way of their cooperative persecution of George Wishart, a theory originally tabled by Knox and carried into the present day by

\textsuperscript{123} Statutes of the Scottish Church, 252-259
\textsuperscript{125} Cowan has noted a similar trend among historians in providing a causal link between “The Lollards of Kyle” and the events of the mid-sixteenth century. Cowan, Death, Life and Religious Change, 162-3.
at least one historian.\textsuperscript{126} It is likely that the tension continued until the deaths of both Beaton and Dunbar and aspects of the Church hierarchy remained dysfunctional. Yet in both history and the present day all organizations have an element of dysfunction to them, so the unseemly behaviour of a few clerics can hardly be held responsible for the massive change that was to come in Scotland.

It should also be remembered that the actions of powerful individuals carried significant influence. Unfortunately, David Beaton has become the prototype of the ‘Renaissance bishop’, Scotland’s Wolsey. From the time of Lyndsay’s \textit{The Tragedie of the Cardinal} Beaton has maintained a key role in explanations of the Scottish Reformation and among the major Churchman discussed in this chapter he is the only bishop known in great detail and one of the only Scottish bishops subjected to the scrutiny of an academic biography.\textsuperscript{127} This has provided an incomplete picture of the Scottish bishops and tends to lead to the traditional view of the medieval bishop “as an irritant to progress or as a minion of papal repression.”\textsuperscript{128} Careful study of the exemption controversy adds subtlety to our understanding of the bishops’ role in the medieval Church. Although its principal participants were archbishops, the variety of incarnations of Glasgow’s exemption makes the battle over it less about infighting among greedy Churchmen or petty quibbling over medieval Catholic trivialities. Instead, the exemption becomes an exemplar of the intricacies of the medieval Church we saw in chapter 1, where so much was communicated by symbolic gesture and procession, and where so many people beyond the bishops defended hardly earned rights and participated in their expression. As a consequence of a more nuanced understanding of


\textsuperscript{127} Of course the exception to this rule is Leslie MacFarlane, \textit{William Elphinstone and The Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514: The Struggle for Order} Second Edition (Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1995).

\textsuperscript{128} Tyler, \textit{Lord of the Sacred City}, p. 5.
the exemption controversy, Archbishop Dunbar is thus revealed to be the ‘anti-Beaton’, a traditional, straightforward Churchman cursing heretics, defending local rights and holding only a single Church benefice beyond his post in Glasgow.\textsuperscript{129} Never as ambitious or violent as the Beatons, Dunbar was a different brand of Scottish bishop whose story adds complexity to our understanding of the medieval Church.

In this chapter we have seen the comprehensive machine of the medieval Church at work. Through examination of the rise to ecclesiastical power of Dunbar and the Beatons, their punishment of heresy, and their clashes over the exemption, we have seen the medieval Church hierarchy represented from the basic sinner to the succession of popes. There is a lot to learn about the Scottish Church before the Reformation from the subjects of this chapter. Among its characteristics was the constant move towards increasing levels of local control. From the 1487 Indult to the establishment of the College of Justice, authorities in this period had asked for and were granted more control over Church affairs. The exemption follows along similar lines as it involves a further division of the Church by the granting of various leadership titles to people and regions that would defend them fiercely. This chapter also hopes to prove that removing particular value judgments from consideration of medieval Scotland cannot help but contribute positively to our understanding of the vibrancy of the medieval Church. If we view Dunbar’s actions for or against heresy, or his protection of Glasgow’s jurisdiction as neither impediments to Catholic Reform nor accelerators of Protestant Reform we will understand them better. Dunbar was a bishop doing a good job, even if that job offends our sensibilities or our conceptions of the past.

\textsuperscript{129} Easson, \textit{Gavin Dunbar}, 65
Chapter 3

Suspect Places and Superstitious Times: Reformed Discipline in Post-Reformation Glasgow

The recent historiography of the Scottish Reformation has tended, rightly, to embrace a long-view perspective on the religious change. The significance of the events of 1560 has been demoted in recent years, and the official year of transition from Scotland’s Catholic past towards its Protestant future has usually been removed as a point of great rupture. As John McCallum has recently noted: “If [1560] was significant in the parishes of Scotland it was not because things had changed, but because things could begin to change.”¹ The view that embraces the *longue duree* is among the most enduring historiographical approaches in Reformation studies, and in the Scottish context the interpretation that the full achievement of Knox and his colleagues’ plans was not accomplished in any meaningful way until at least the early seventeenth century seems relatively secure.² ‘Long-view’ approaches have had fruitful outcomes, as they have allowed us to investigate the *development* of the Scottish Kirk in all of its regional peculiarities.³ The continuities between the pre- and post-Reformation periods, especially with regard to the stability of sacramental devotion and belief will be covered in the next chapter. This chapter will investigate that which changed in the early decades of established Protestantism in Scotland. The lack of available Kirk or burgh court sources between 1560 and 1573 renders a more complete understanding of this period

¹ McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish*, 232.
² Jane Dawson has described the re-forming of Scotland as “still incomplete” by 1587, noting that change was happening “at the pace of glacier, grinding its path across a hundred years” *Scotland Re-Formed*, 28.
very difficult in terms of either change or continuity. Considering, however, that the last two decades of the sixteenth century are often seen as a key time in the development of the Scottish Kirk, it will be valuable here to track the degree to which believers had their religious experiences altered as a result of the establishment of a Reformed Kirk and polity in the previous two decades.4

The Kirk session and presbytery documents from the 1580s and 1590s reveal significant changes in the manner in which believers experienced Christianity. First, the new Kirk brought with it a different perspective on time. Both the calendar and the day to day operation of the Kirk forced Christians to engage with the formal elements of religious belief on different days of the week and at different hours of the day. In short, people were asked to attend Church services more frequently. The new Kirk’s insistence on Godly discipline and adherence to the Sabbath also re-oriented secular activities in terms of changing the times in which work could be completed. Work on the Sabbath was strictly prohibited, and Glasgow’s session book is full of people being punished for maintaining an old idea of time in a new religious milieu. The instructions for penitents provided by the session also exemplify its ideas about the time required for sinners to exhibit penitence. In all of these examples, we will see Glasgow’s citizens adjusting to a new clock and a new schedule.

The same degree of change can be found in the Reformed Kirk’s approach to space. Here one must distinguish between institutional or geographic space – Church

4 Michael Lynch has argued that the full implementation of the goals of the Scottish Reformation took place slowly among the larger population, although there was certainly a more rapid change in the Reformation “from above” by way of the Reformation parliament in 1560. See his, “In Search of the Scottish Reformation” 73-94; and “Preaching to the Converted? Perspectives on the Scottish Reformation” in The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture, eds. A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch, I.B. Cowan (Leiden: Brill, 1994). For the alternative view, see James Kirk, Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1989.)
polity and organization – and what might be called ‘religious space’ – the places where religious rituals took place. A new theology, of course, would bring a new Church polity. In Scotland, Reformed belief was represented in a highly organized and newly restructured plan of presbyteries, synods and Kirk sessions, which were based on the old diocesan structure but which placed much more emphasis on the local control of Kirk affairs, especially discipline. The new Kirk spawned national, regional and local conceptions of governance that pointed Glasgow’s believers towards their local communities in a pattern followed by other Reformed communities across Europe that hoped to “compel a strict morality within the community.” The local Church of the pre-Reformation period thus became hyper-local in its Reformed context. Strategic divisions within the town re-configured the delivery of alms and the searching out of sin, which became the trademark of the session. The goal of the entire scheme of the Scottish Kirk, and especially the Kirk session, was the creation of godly communities, where one could identify sinners, seek them out, punish them and most importantly re-integrate them into the community. Local identities were sharpened by their new organizational schemes and in the actions of the Kirk session and presbytery of Glasgow we can witness their contribution toward shaping localized Protestant religious community.

5 Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton ‘The Delineation of Sacred Space’ in Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. 4-5.
As we have seen in previous chapters, Glasgow’s early sixteenth-century residents placed significant emphasis on religious space primarily because these were spaces where Jesus Christ routinely became present in the sacrifice of the Catholic mass. With the Reformation, the doctrine of transubstantiation became illegal in Scotland, removing the real presence of Jesus from the day to day lives of Glaswegians. It did not remove God from Glasgow, however. The Reformation’s altering of the nature of religious spaces massively expanded the religious space of Glasgow. In the Kirk itself, people looked to different places and watched different dramas play out. The Tolbooth, the streets and the interiors of peoples’ homes also became central areas for religious participation. Of course many of these areas had been used in Catholic practice, but never to this degree. In the supposed de-sacralisation of the Churches, the Scottish reformation pseudo-sacralised all of Glasgow and every other Scottish town, as secret sins became public property and the confessional was moved to the commons.

These changing approaches to space and time were sometimes enacted by a minister, but primarily the new Kirk was established by the elders and deacons, two influential groups of laymen elected from Glasgow’s population. In the First Book of Discipline it is suggested that these men be elected from “Men of best knowledge in God’s word, of cleanest life, men faithful, and of most honest conversation that can be found in the Church.”8 The new opportunities for leadership were seized by local men, with some devoted to the new version of Christianity and others intent on improving their status in the town. The elders operated the Kirk session and did the work of the Kirk from organizing repairs to the buildings to accompanying penitent citizens to their

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repentance. As the agents of change in post-Reformation Glasgow, the lay leadership personified the laicization of the Kirk that took place in many Reformed communities and they did so with both the diligence and intrusiveness for which they are well known.9

On 27 June 1591, Glasgow’s Kirk session declared unequivocally what a day was. As working on the Sabbath day had been a consistent problem for the session, it decided to clarify to the people of the town that “the brethren interprets from sun to sun to be the Sabbath day.”10 Glasgow was working on Protestant time. This clarification had come after a long period of the session’s battles against Sabbath breakers including some who worked at night.11 From the first pages of available session minutes for Glasgow to the last, the concern of the session that the citizens avoid work on the Sabbath is clear. In 1590 several men were called before the session for tending to their corn on the Sabbath day.12 Later in the same year several fleshers were fined and made to do public repentance for “slaying of flesh” on the Sabbath, which again was confirmed as encompassing the period of “light to light.”13 Michael Mureson’s fine for working on the Sabbath was accompanied by the oft-enacted public declaration by the minister at the

9Raymond Mentzer Jr has noted the key role and considerable autonomy elders had in the establishment of Reformed discipline in Southern France, the Huguenot heartland. He has noted that elders’ penchant for “systematization and organization” contributed to defining community boundaries, an essential exercise within a community governed by the theology of election. “Ecclesiastical Discipline and Communal Reorganization among Protestants of Southern France” European History Quarterly, vol. 21 (1991) 163-183.
10 Glasgow Kirk Session, CH2/550/1/p. 305
11 CH2/550/1 p.225
12 CH2/550/1/p. 271
13 CH2/550/1/p. 287
pulpit of the necessity of keeping of the Sabbath day.\textsuperscript{14} James Kirkland’s 1585 call before the session was even more technical, as he was fined because several people had been “pulling plants” in his yard on a Sunday. The session admitted that Kirkland commanded the men to stop, but still fined him because “he did not hinder” the work.\textsuperscript{15}

Strict discipline based on the maintenance of the Sabbath day is one of the most conspicuous examples of the way in which time was reformed in sixteenth-century Glasgow. Although the Sabbath had always been central to Christian understanding, the Scottish reformation was especially successful in funnelling much of its functionality toward the Sabbath, a day that had been biblically associated with reflection and introspection, two of the primary goals of Reformed Protestantism. Margo Todd has noted that “there was an almost magical quality about the twenty-four hours” in this period of Scottish history, and that the Sabbath had been “effectively personified” by the sessions’ preoccupation with Sabbath breach.\textsuperscript{16} To take this idea further, the centrality of the Sabbath to Scottish Protestantism might also be considered to represent an aspect of the shift from the culture of sacred objects and sacramental devotion that exemplified traditional Christianity towards a culture of sacred time and pious prayer so central to Reformed Protestantism. The “personification” of a twenty-four hour period effectively transformed the work and worship schedules of Christians into a very specific and new rhythm that was relatively easy to understand and enforce. On the Sabbath introspection was demanded of people and obvious violations of these requirements were punished in the hopes of achieving a godly society.

\textsuperscript{14} CH2/550/1/p. 197
\textsuperscript{15} CH2/550/1/p. 49
\textsuperscript{16} Todd, \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 343.
Working was only one of the proscriptions associated with the Sabbath in late-sixteenth century Glasgow. Attendance at Sunday services or “keeping the Sabbath” was also a requirement for all. Kate Stewart was threatened with a fine for failure to attend on Sunday for “hearing the word [and] making prayers to God”, while a less threatening approach was taken with Annabell Lonk and Marion Smith who were simply encouraged to “keep the Kirk better hereafter than they have done in times of before.”\textsuperscript{17} As people were expected to be either in their homes or in the Kirk on Sunday, games and other forms of excess were also prohibited. John Birrell and John Brown were called “profaners of the temple” for throwing stones in the Kirk yard on the Sunday and were made to make their repentance on the pillar for their “ungodly doings.”\textsuperscript{18} In 1592 the session was so displeased with the “bickering” and “making of plays” on the Sabbath that it threatened fathers and apprentice masters with a fine if any of their charges be found committing these acts in the future.\textsuperscript{19}

At the level of the presbytery there was more diversity in terms of the types of actions that might be discouraged. Archibald Horne was fined and made to ask forgiveness for hiring a piper to play at his wedding.\textsuperscript{20} Similarly, Mungo Craig was summoned before the presbytery for playing his pipes and threatened with excommunication should he do so again.\textsuperscript{21} The cases before the presbytery reflected the larger geographical jurisdiction of the presbytery and the increased seriousness of many of the crimes. The tailor John Brown was initially just fined and made to make his repentance for being drunk and fighting on the Sabbath, but Brown and John Scott were

\textsuperscript{17} CH2/550/1/p. 215, 309
\textsuperscript{18} CH2/550/1/p. 87
\textsuperscript{19} CH2/550/1/p. 339
\textsuperscript{20} CH2/171/33/p. 56
\textsuperscript{21} CH2/171/31/p. 45
eventually excommunicated for “proud contempt to the voice of the Kirk” and for their “wicked...drunkenness and mistemperance”. 22 Brown’s case was part of a major round-up of Sabbath violators in Govan, two miles west of Glasgow, who had participated in May Day plays in the first part of May in 1599, a prime occasion for the distribution of Kirk discipline in that it represented the double violation of Sabbath breach and the maintenance of superstitious Catholic feast days. 23

The presbytery was also concerned with communicating to authority figures the necessity of getting their charges to Sunday service. In 1595 Lady Boyd, a landowner in Bedlay, was told to ensure that her tenants attended the Sunday service in Cadder. 24 Robert Boyd, Lady Boyd’s husband, was also summoned to the presbytery in May of 1599 because he had failed to attend the communion in his Kirk in Monkland and was alleged to have threatened his tenants with a five pound fine if they attended. When he did appear he told the presbytery that he had communicated elsewhere, in Kilmarnock and in the king’s household. The presbytery instructed him to produce a testimonial from the minister in Kilmarnock within one month’s time and to pursue those who had “debarrit” the tenants from participation in the Sabbath day. 25 Although no further evidence of this case survives, it is interesting to consider these powerful figures being scolded in a similar manner to the Glasgow schoolmaster who was told in 1597 to ensure the youth from the grammar school, “each and every one of them”, attend the Kirk on the Sunday. 26

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22 CH2/171/33/p. 34, 38-9.
23 CH2/171/33/p. 32-34.
24 CH2/171/32A/p. 17
25 CH2/171/33/p. 38, 42.
26 CH2/171/32B/p. 199-200
In all of this Church discipline surrounding the Sabbath we see the Kirk cajoling (or shoving) its parishioners toward a more proper veneration of that twenty-four hour period – from light to light. At the Kirk session level, the elders could sniff out obvious violations of the Sabbath and punish people found working in their gardens or simply not attending. At the presbytery, the community’s leadership could be confronted for their failure to conform to the Reformed program. Of course all of this was also supplemented by the General Assembly and parliament and their decrees on “keeping the Kirk”, as well as a larger view of Reformed religion that Calvin had established in Geneva.27 But at all levels the Kirk’s disciplinary program made the Sabbath day the centre of the Kirk’s weekly calendar and changed how people considered it, which is why the preoccupation with Sabbath breach can be found in other towns’ Kirk session records as well.28

Although the Sabbath was clearly the most important day of the Christian week in post-Reformation Glasgow, the new system was also notable for the degree to which it expanded the weekly Kirk schedule. The central role of the word necessitated constant preaching in the Reformed program, and Glasgow certainly met these needs. There was preaching in the town, in the Blackfriars Kirk, on Wednesday and Friday.29 Thursday was the day of the session, which met every second week, and Saturday was often used for collections or distribution of money for the poor or meetings about the upkeep of the

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29 CH2/550/1/p. 189
Kirk. When the Kirk was in more urgent need of repair, as it was through much of the 1580s, there would be meetings for elders or craftsmen before or after the session or preaching to discuss these matters. The public face of the Kirk was also maintained by the near constant performance of repentance, which might mean witnessing Sybelle Howie’s presence on a cucking stool on Monday or Patrick Erskine’s examination “on the grounds of religion” by the minister on Thursday. Whether they were listening to the preaching or receiving and performing their repentances, parishioners in post-Reformation Glasgow would see the institution of the Kirk nearly every day in this “more rigid form of timekeeping”. Whether they liked it or not, the expanded weekly calendar demanded more consistent participation from the Kirk’s members. This participation encouraged people to be present to God through obeying his commandments before he became present to them through discipline.

The implications of the changes to the larger liturgical calendar brought on by the Reformation are among the most striking aspects of religious change in this period. Scotland, of course, embraced these changes as well, and followed the lead of other

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30 CH2/550/1/p.33, 107, 203.
31 For example, CH2/550/1/p. 255
32 CH2/550/1/p. 179
33 CH2/550/1/p. 369
34 Dawson, Scotland Re-Formed, 226.
35 In Perth, acts similar to those against Sabbath breach were also passed with regard to the mid-week preaching whereby people were instructed to remove themselves from the streets, avoid work and attend the Kirk. Todd notes that this act raised mid-week obligations to “sabbatarian heights.” Although similar acts do not exist for Glasgow, the negative implications of neglecting one’s obligations to the Kirk were clear. For the Perth material, see Perth Kirk Session, 366-67, n. 46.
36 For general discussion of the nature of the early modern “ritual calendar” see Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe, 55-84; popular liturgical celebrations are discussed in Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, 107-115; calendar changes are discussed by MacCulloch in Reformation, 549-57.
Reformed countries in jettisoning saints’ days and the “calendar defined by mysteries.”

In Glasgow two cases represent well the feelings of the Kirk about the perseverance of what they viewed as “superstitious times.” One occurred in December of 1586 in association with Yule celebrations. The other occurred in the spring of 1599 as a result of plays associated with May Day.

Our initial introduction to the 1586 case comes when Adam Elphinstone, George Scott, Robert Smythe, and Robert Reid were jailed on 22 December by the session for their actions on the previous evening. The men had caused a ruckus in Glasgow when they:

At twelve hours of even on the twentieth day of December instant called most superstitiouslie St Thomas eve did pass through this town with pipe and tambourine to the trouble of sundry honest men in this town sleepand in their beds and raising of the auld dreggis of superstitious use among the papists.

Elphinstone was singled out among the group and admitted his leadership role. He also provided more details on the party, such as the group’s waking of several townsmen like Martin Pettegrew who they demanded give them a quart of ale. Elphinstone implicated several other revellers, including “auld Spens and young Spens” who had served as the minstrels, and eventually the session instructed Elphinstone to prepare to provide more details should they require them. In early January Elphinstone and Smith’s day of repentance arrived and the two were called to the pillar. Apparently the men’s frivolity had continued on the pillar, as when the two were told to repent they “did not repent,

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37 Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 77; for Scotland’s calendar see Dawson *Scotland Re-Formed* 224-27; Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 341-52
38 CH2/550/1/p. 119.
39 CH2/550/1/p. 115-17
40 Ibid, 117
but enterit in ye auld pillar under mockerie to ye grief of sundry men in this town.” More strict repentance procedures quickly followed for the two men with special instructions that this repentance “be humblie and penitentlie done.”

The winter revelry for the Elphinstone family did not end with Adam, however. His father, George Elphinstone, also found himself before the session for his actions on the evening of 23 December. Apparently George had taken a dead horse’s head and bones and put them against the minister’s gate. This had all been part of an eventful evening that had seen the senior Elphinstone travelling through the town, associating with the eventual excommunicate apostate Archibald Hegate, joking with the prisoners in the tolbooth, eating and drinking with Martin Pettegrew and “speaking daft words” at supper. Although Elphinstone continuously denied putting the bones at the minister's gate, he was eventually convicted and given six Sundays in the pillar. The session’s order to absolve the sentence six weeks later likely indicates that the behaviour of the father at the pillar was superior to the son’s.

The fallout from the Christmas carousing had many implications beyond the Elphinstone family. The session aggressively sought answers regarding who provided licence to the pipers to play, who was involved in the drinking, and of the nature of conversation in the tolbooth. Martin Pettegrew insisted that he told George Elphinstone to go to bed after supper, but that Elphinstone had returned calling Pettegrew “all the evill in the world.” John Hamilton insisted that in giving the men licence to play the pipes he had pleaded with them to not bother anyone. Hamilton received six weeks at the pillar for the failure to keep the “good order.” As with many other cases in the Kirk

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41 CH2/550/1/p. 119
42 CH2/550/1/p. 121-129
43 CH2/550/1/p. 125
44 CH2/550/1/p. 123
session, the leadership pursued all of the angles of this case in order to pluck out the root of the sin. Maintaining superstitious adherences to an increasingly irrelevant calendar likely would not have bothered the session as much as it did if these days had not been associated with drinking, swearing, vandalism, irreverent music and staying up late into the night. In fact, in spite of the Perth session’s longstanding battle against the baxter craft’s participation in plays in honor of their patron St. Obert, it actually gave licence for a play in the summer of 1589, as long as it did not include “an offence to our religion.” The characteristic associations of vice with “superstitious times” were thus problematic because they threatened the order of town life and so their proscription made the connections between the new liturgical calendar and austere town life direct and clear for session members.

The length to which Kirk authorities would go in removing adherence to the old calendar was also exemplified in the spring of 1599. May plays in Govan had attracted the attention of the presbytery, as we have already seen. The association of drunkenness and these plays was made clear by the presbytery, but in the Govan case the presbytery especially pursued those profaning the Sabbath during the May plays by working. The charge against Jon Rowand of Greenhead included his “shoeing of his hors” on the Sabbath, and the presbytery also pursued his son, another Jon Rowand, because “he held his father’s horse’s feet for the shoeing on the Sunday.” Overall, more than ten people, including multiple members of the Hill and Rowand families were pursued and

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45 Perth Kirk Session, 418. On the Perth Session’s struggle against St. Obert’s plays, see Culture of Protestantism, 197-99.
46 John McGavin has noted a more fluid relationship among the Kirk leadership than previously acknowledged. Although the Kirk was nearly always at least nominally wary of plays, in the early years of Protestant Scotland popular devotion to plays resulted in their persistence across Scotland. In McGavin’s Haddington test case, over the course just over two decades the minister himself moved from directing the May play to serving on the tribunal bent on eradicating it. McGavin, “The Kirk, the Burgh and Fun” Early Theatre vol. 1, no. 1. (1998) 13-26.
47 CH2/171/33/38
fined for the May plays in Govan, and the presbytery continued to pursue other violators well into June.\textsuperscript{48} As with any other disciplinary sentence from the Kirk, the guilty parties’ obstinacy increased their problems. A father and son from Govan named James Rowand (likely related to the Jon Rowands) were eventually excommunicated not simply for their role in the plays, but because they had “shawin themselves proud disobedient persons to the discipline of the Kirk.”\textsuperscript{49}

In the Govan case the desires of the Kirk to erase the May plays and their associated frivolities are on clear display. The presbytery pursued multiple members of the same families, likely the ring-leaders of the celebrations, in an attempt to discourage the organizers from endeavouring to celebrate the next year. Surely the senior James Rowand would have been discouraged from celebrating after being found not penitent in November, and not having his excommunication fully lifted until late December.\textsuperscript{50} The presbytery was sure to gather as many people as they could and to fine them all, even if their biggest crime was holding a horse’s hoof. Continued prosecutions were continued discouragement, and the Kirk likely thought themselves successful in 1600 when there were no prosecutions for May plays.

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Just as the new Reformed system in Glasgow attempted to reposition the perception of weekly and yearly calendars, so too did it re-orient the hours of the day. These changes have received considerably less attention from historians, who have tended instead to focus on the changes to the liturgical calendar. For lay people who had less experience

\begin{footnotes}
48 CH2/171/33/44, 52.
49 CH2/171/33/55
50 CH2/171/33/126, 137.
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with the practical function of the Kirk, some of the changes to the hours of the Kirk must have been somewhat irksome. For instance, the two men ordained to gather money for the poor in April of 1586 were instructed to be at the high Kirk door at 4 am and stay there until both services were completed, likely well into the afternoon.\footnote{CH2/550/1/77} By August of 1587 the start time was relaxed to 6 am.\footnote{CH2/550/1/149} By the end of the extant Kirk session documents in 1593 the time for gathering money for the poor was 7 am, although even this time must have had some elders longing for the clergy-centred Kirk of the past.\footnote{CH2/550/1/383} But just as the new days for preaching and repentance had been based on the doctrine of Reformed Protestantism, the way in which hourly time was used also reflected the central alterations to the role of the sermon and repentance, and the connections between the two. The focus of the Kirk on preaching and discipline is clearly exemplified in the manner in which these elements changed the conception of hourly time in the late sixteenth-century.

One of the more popular forms of punishment for severe disobedience in post-Reformation Glasgow involved a highly ritualized parade of the penitent through the town. The guilty party was often escorted from his or her home by an elder or two and taken to the Kirk, usually wearing sackcloth, linen cloth or a penitent hat or sometimes barefooted, barelegged and bareheaded. When they arrived at the Kirk the penitent was made to stand at the door while people entered to hear the preaching, and would have to return to the door when people exited. After this they would usually be escorted home in the same manner and told to remain inside for the remainder of the day.\footnote{This ritual is much more common in Glasgow than in other sessions. In particular, instructions for penitents to be “barefooted, barelegged and bareheaded” occurred regularly in Glasgow’s session while in}
was “performing repentance” and any idea that a religion of the word had eschewed ritual is quickly disproven by reading Kirk session documents.55

The implications of these rituals for notions of sacred space are obviously significant and will be dealt with at length later in this chapter. What is significant here is the time of the preaching itself, at which point the penitent would be brought to the front of the Church and made to stand at the pillar while the minister preached. The instructions for the relapsed adulterer John Glamis were as follows:

Stand in sackcloth barefooted, barelegged, bareheaded at the Kirk door from the ringing of the second bell until the minister has started to read the text whereupon he is to preach with a white wand in his hand and then he [Glamis] come with like apparel to the pillar wherein to remain until the preaching is done.56

Issobell Fowler received a similar treatment in November of 1586. The relapsed fornicator was told to “stand in the pillar of repentance every day of the six Sundays until the preaching be ended.”57 John Alderstoun was also told to enter the pillar after the second bell indicating that the preaching was to begin, and to stand at the pillar without “vain ostentation.”58

In these cases and others, we see the direct relationship between sin and sermon. Two of the three signs of the true Church outlined in the Scottish Confession of Faith – the preaching of the word and the administration of discipline – were viscerally

other towns these instructions are reserved for only the most serious offences. Accounting for why this is the case is difficult, although the habits of the notary may account for some of the discrepancy in the records. Glasgow’s session book is certainly more descriptive than St. Andrews’, for example. While Glasgow’s books often describe their instructions in detail, St. Andrews’ session usually instructs penitents to do their repentance “conform to the order.” This may also reflect a more established session, as St. Andrews had one of the first operational sessions in Scotland. A fornicator did receive this form of repentance in 1585. St. Andrews Kirk Session, 551.

55 Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, ch. 3 “Performing Repentance”, 127-82
56 CH2/550/1/89; interestingly, Todd notes conspicuousness of the white wand in Glasgow – the maintenance of a medieval practice, *Culture of Protestantism*, 149.
57 CH2/550/1/111
58 CH2/550/1/243
connected in these cases, as the time that the penitent spent being punished was tied entirely to the time that the minister spent preaching. A short sermon meant a short time on the pillar.\footnote{Bringing a penitent to the pillar specifically during the time of the sermon is also much more common in Glasgow. Todd notes the conspicuousness of a similar case in Perth. \textit{Perth Kirk Session}, 343, n. 46. The practice was also rare in St. Andrews, but a 1586 instruction from that session ordering penitents to stay at the stool until the minister completed his blessing reveals a similar practice. \textit{St. Andrews Kirk Session}, 587.} Although hour glasses for measuring sermon length were common features in Scottish Kirks at this time, they were primarily used as a guide, and so a penitent could not measure exactly the time required on the pillar except to say that one would know it was over when the minister stopped talking.\footnote{Todd, \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 48-49. In Glasgow there were also complaints about the length of ministers’ sermons. In 1592 the session encouraged ministers to “keep within the hour” and the Presbyteries’ visitations found complaints in both Glasgow and Campsie about ministers’ failure to keep a regular length to their sermons. CH2/550/1/ 339; CH2/171/31/298; CH2/171/32B/162.} Outside the Kirk, punishments were far more precise. Matthew Freburn’s time wearing the branks, an iron muzzle often used to punish verbal assaults, was clearly communicated as “two severall Mondays from ten hours to twelve hours in the day”, while four women’s punishments for flyting were all for two hours on the same Monday, even though there was only one cuckstool and two of them had to lie on the ground.\footnote{CH2/550/1/335; CH2/550/1/231.} But the relationship between the time spent in the pillar and the length of the sermon was different because it clearly emphasized the centrality of the preached word and prioritized it over discipline. Although public repentance was important, the sermon \textit{was} the service, and one could be certain that the relationship was not reversible. One would not see the minister stop preaching because the penitent was suitably contrite. Time had changed in post-Reformation Glasgow because the importance of the sermon had been enhanced and had subsequently altered repentance rituals as well.
Adjustments in the measurement, perception and uses of time are central to understanding the religious and sociological changes involved in establishing a Reformed settlement in sixteenth-century Glasgow. They are also similar to what Jacques Le Goff showed in the relationships between medieval Christianity, waged labour and notions of time in the centuries preceding our period. For Le Goff, economic developments in medieval Europe contributed to changing conceptions of time, resulting in a slow shift of the European mentality from a culture of God toward a culture of work, a change that was reflected and hidden in the discourses and rituals of the period. Although changes to the Christian conception of time in Glasgow are not entirely comparable to Le Goff’s work, they are similar in the degree to which they reflect a change to fundamental aspects of townspeople’s experiences. The reformation of time that we have seen – the central shifts in yearly, monthly, weekly, daily and hourly time – were all meant to reflect the goals of the new Kirk. Reforming time was important because the new Church had different goals than the old one, and in the first decades after the Reformation much of the Kirk’s discipline was focused on discouraging old habits and establishing new ones. In other European contexts, these processes have been called “confessional development”, “Calvinization”, or the “transformation of the ideology”, as they reflected the establishment and eventual hardening of creetal difference commonly known as confessionalization, the achievement of which depended greatly on the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. What we are witnessing in

63 Ibid, 3-100.
Glasgow, then, is essentially an attempt by the Protestant leadership to change the way the faithful approached God by changing the way that the Kirk approached the faithful. The backdrop for this process was the same town and streets where Catholicism had once dominated the landscape and the changes took place in many of the same buildings where the Catholic mass was once celebrated. We now turn to these changes in order to better understand how space was changed by the arrival of the Reformation in sixteenth-century Glasgow, a further effort to enforce a Protestant way of life.

Consultation with the Kirk session documents for Glasgow makes one familiar with the warnings often given to fornicators or others found guilty of sexual crimes. In Glasgow these people were often instructed to “abstain from others in carnal deal and suspect places in all times coming.” These phrases necessitated a re-definition of space along the same line of the Kirk session’s instructions about time. In 1589 William Cunningham came before the session in an adultery case with Alison Lyndsay. The session warned Cunningham against “resorting with the said Alison in any suspect place in any times to cum.” The session immediately added “quhilk places called suspect they do interpret to be all places except Kirk and market.” These parameters were restated in 1592, and the presbytery was still defining suspect places at the end of our period. “All spaces except Kirk and market” was quite a large area, and of course the intention

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67 For an adultery case see CH2/550/1/59; for suspicion of incest see CH2/550/1/245; for violation against orders commanding them to avoid being found in “suspect places” see CH2/550/1/257.
68 CH2/550/1/235
69 CH2/550/1/349; CH2/171/33/85-86.
was that these people would find it difficult to become reacquainted with their extra-
marital partners, although some persevered.\textsuperscript{70}

The redefinition of space on Protestant terms in Glasgow was not, however, only
intended to catch adulterers and fornicators. Indicating the parameters of suspect places
was part of larger alterations to where and how the Church would be considered. In all
of these changes we see the prioritization of the local community Church. This took
place through the re-organization of Church polity in the institution of the Kirk session
and presbytery, reflecting a shared ideology of many reformers – that the Reformation
was “a local event, occurring in the parishes.”\textsuperscript{71} But it also created further organizational
schema within these institutions that localized the Kirk even further in the collection of
alms, Church taxes and in disciplinary endeavours. The disciplinary endeavours also re-
defined the notions of sacred space that we have seen operating in the pre-Reformation
Kirk. New spaces became places of worship and repentance, and new objects and rituals
were added that changed these spaces fundamentally. In all, the physical space of the
town became the theatre for repentance rituals and thereby inserted the Kirk’s
commitment to the word and discipline into the work and social spaces of late sixteenth-
century residents of Glasgow.

The disciplinary goals of the Reformed Kirk required an expansion of its methods
of investigation. If the minister was going to have to go so far as to consult midwives
regarding the paternity of infants, as the minister of Cadder John Bell was in 1595, a new
system of organization would be required that took account of the expanded role of

\textsuperscript{70} The children that may have been produced in these affairs may have been one reason why couples
continued to see one another. In Margaret Clerk’s case, several witnesses admitted that they saw her enter
William Wodrow’s house at night with a cradle. CH2/550/1/255-57.

\textsuperscript{71} Bruce Gordon, “Preaching and the Reform of the Clergy in the Swiss Reformation” in A. Pettegree ed.
\textit{The Reformation of the Parishes: The Ministry and the Reformation in Town and Country}, (Manchester:
Manchester UP, 1993,) 63-84. 64.
discipline in the new Kirk.\textsuperscript{72} In the new scheme of Scottish presbyteries initially established in 1581, Glasgow was among the 13 “pilot presbyteries” which were intended to provide an example for the further establishment of presbyteries across Scotland.\textsuperscript{73} The Glasgow presbytery was given oversight of 20 parishes, which was about average in the new organization.\textsuperscript{74} This was a significant number of parishes, but it is worth noting that this was a drastically smaller geographic sphere of influence in comparison with the archbishopric that we saw in operation in Glasgow in the pre-Reformation period, which encompassed nearly half of Scotland. It is also worth noting that in the grand scheme less than half of Scotland had been organized in the first presbyteries in 1581, showing again the difficulties of establishing the Kirk in the early decades after 1560.\textsuperscript{75} By the 1590s, the earliest period in which we have records for the presbytery, it had developed into a relatively efficient machine. Although the significant number of discipline cases in Glasgow’s presbytery records may call for a slight revision of Graham’s assertion that by the late 1580s the presbyteries were “less concerned with discipline and more involved in supervision of the ministry”, the active supervisory role of the presbytery is clearly evident in the records.\textsuperscript{76}

This supervision reflected the new and localized nature of Glasgow’s Kirk. It maintained something of the hierarchical system of the old Kirk, but “emphasise[d] the separation between the ecclesiastical and civil spheres.”\textsuperscript{77} In the 1590s, this separation allowed the presbytery to focus its efforts on expanding ministerial provision and

\textsuperscript{72} CH2/171/31/292
\textsuperscript{73} BUK, 2: 482-7; Graham, \textit{Uses of Reform}, 134-36.
\textsuperscript{74} The initial parishes in Glasgow’s presbytery were: Glasgow, Rutherglen, Campsie, Carmannock, Fintrie, Bothwell, Straban, Shottis, Calder, Paisley, Monkland, Mearns, Lyndsay, Neilson, Renfrew, Kilbryde, Inchinnan, Torreis, Cambusland, Govan, Blantyre, Cathcart, Esstwood, Monyabrock, BUK, 2: 484-85.
\textsuperscript{75} The difficulties in establishing the Presbyterian system are shown in Graham, \textit{Uses of Reform}, 130-62; for Fife’s difficulties in ministerial provision, see McCallum, \textit{Reforming the Scottish Parish}, 11-36.
\textsuperscript{76} Graham, \textit{Uses of Reform}, 143.
\textsuperscript{77} Dawson, \textit{Scotland Re-Formed}, 223.
making sure it was of quality. The presbytery routinely inspected the doctrine of new ministers, and tested the new man’s ability to preach before his installation. In July of 1595 the presbytery installed Andrew Lawe as minister of Milstoun in spite of protests from the local community against him. The presbytery noted that “of the doctrine quhilk the said presbytery of Glasgow has heard themselves the said Mr Andro teach finds the Mr Andro apt and idoneous (competent).”78 The consistent examination of ministers served the purpose of creating a uniform message in the presbytery’s parishes. In 1593 the presbytery instructed Ninian Drew to teach from Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians in order to re-assess his abilities because they “find him to have been unprofitable...in handling the text subscribed to him as of before.”79 Andrew Livingston was removed from his ministry in Monyaburgh in 1597 for “inability in doctrine and discipline”, an accusation with which Livingston himself agreed.80 David Wemyss, the first minister in Glasgow, who had been in his post since 1562, was criticized in 1597 by the presbytery for being “over tedious in his doctrine.”81 More positively, William Wallace’s teaching was approved by Glasgow’s presbytery, who noted that his contribution would be “profitable” to the ministry.82

The uneven record of the ministry under the watch of Glasgow’s presbytery also speaks to the difficult task of finding a suitable ministry confronting Reformed communities across Europe. Andrew Pettegree has noted that “a minister possessed a double function: to preach the Word, and to oversee the spiritual health of the community. This in turn imposes a double obligation: a minister must be educated, so

78 CH2/171/31/289-90.
79 CH2/171/31/28.
80 CH2/171/32B/150-51.
81 CH2/171/32B/154.
82 CH2/171/33/88-89.
as to avoid false doctrine, but also of exemplary life, so as to set a moral example.”

Present day examples abound exemplifying the fact that morality does not always accompany competence, and so it is unsurprising that sixteenth-century Christian leaders had similar problems. Many of these difficulties stemmed from local conditions. In the Dutch province of Holland, the existence of a heterodox religious settlement necessitated the loosening of standards in order to increase the public presence of Reformed Christianity. In France, similar conditions sometimes necessitated the “brokerage” of ministers in order to provide for underserviced communities. In Germany, tensions emerged among rural communities regarding their obligations to the new ministry that largely operated in the towns.

In Scotland, the illegality of Catholicism largely prevented the occurrence of many of these problems, but the presbytery still took its obligations of supervision of the ministry’s doctrine and preaching seriously. When it asked four potential ministers to make their “privy exercise” in 1595 by preaching for fifteen days from John’s gospel, it clearly expected to hear these men express roughly similar Protestant messages. The supervisory role of the presbytery also played a role in the establishment of a more collective Kirk identity. The people in Rutherglen might be heartened to know that they could appeal to the presbytery for the provision of a minister in 1595. Parishioners like Jon Scott in Glasgow might also be pleased that complaints that “the sick are not so oft

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87 CH2/171/32A/28-9
88 CH2/171/31/298
visited as need requires” could be heard by someone other than the ministers and elders who were supposed to be doing the visiting. The pastoral role of the presbytery can be lost among the fornication cases and the business of ministerial provision, but it served the same role as Kirk discipline in terms of giving the faithful a sense that they belonged to a regional and national Kirk, and that they shared a common religion with people in other towns, especially considering this was all so new for everyone.

Michael Graham has shown that the mandates of different presbyteries in the last part of the sixteenth century generally reflected the needs of the locality. Stirling’s presbytery was able to concentrate on the “parochial mission” because it “was not a center of political power, like Edinburgh, and had no theology faculty with which to contend” as at St. Andrews. The other presbyteries would be forced to contend with the larger ideas more consistently. At St. Andrews, Andrew Melville clashed with the presbytery and consistently took a hard line approach to Church polity, which he considered a clear reflection of theology. In Edinburgh, proximity to the political establishment of Scotland necessitated the presbytery take a more assertive role, as they “saw themselves as defenders of the cause of Christ against the worldly political interests of the nation’s capital.” In comparison with these towns, Glasgow’s situation would be more reflective of the Stirling model. The university was still re-establishing itself after Melville’s re-foundation in the 1570s, and the presbytery rarely took on major theological questions. As we have seen, the presbytery was often concerned with ensuring the competence of its ministers. The basic provision of ministers also occupied

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89 CH2/171/32B/154
90 Graham, *Uses of Reform*, 201-2; for the larger discussion see 163-203.
91 Ibid, 184;
a good deal of Glasgow’s presbytery’s time, and its representatives could be found requesting money from both the General Assembly and local lords for payment of ministerial stipends. Yet whether the practical function of the presbyteries was parochial or intellectual, the very creation of a new regional model of Kirk governance remained central to establishing a Protestant Glasgow. In this way, all presbyteries were good presbyteries because they re-drew the map of the Scottish Kirk on Reformed terms.

Not surprisingly, it is in disciplinary cases that we see the best reflection of the new regional associations of Glasgow’s Kirk. In 1594 John Duncan was called before the presbytery because he had had sex with two sisters, which was considered incest. The presbytery punished Duncan as follows:

Therefore the Kirk enjoins to the said John to make his repentance twelve several Sundays in sackcloth in the Kirks after following to wit first two Sundays in the Kirk of Campsie, thereafter three Sundays in the Kirk of Cadder, thereafter three Sundays in the Kirk of Moneyburgh then three Sundays in the Kirk of Lyndsay, and the last Sunday in the Kirk of Campsie. And upon the last Sunday that he be absolved from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the minister of Campsie.

The travelling repentance of Duncan therefore communicated the gravity of his sin to other communities, none of which was very far away from Campsie. All indications are that Duncan and the women, Jonet Burne and Jonet Lein (who were actually half-sisters) came from Campsie, so the travelling was not necessarily meant as a satisfaction of the sin within affected communities, as Todd has suggested for similar cases. Instead, the major sin of incest is used as a conduit through which the presbytery’s

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93 CH2/171/32B/285, 298.
94 CH2/171/31/141
95 Culture of Protestantism, 134.
jurisdiction is asserted. Ideally, after three months of travelling humiliation, Duncan would return to his local parish to be absolved and welcomed back. For Duncan this proved difficult to achieve and he was not fully absolved until April of 1596.\textsuperscript{96} Duncan’s delays seem laudable, however, in comparison to Burne, who was not absolved until 1599.\textsuperscript{97} Glasgow’s presbytery is thus revealed to be an institution with a regional mandate against sin and a long memory.

The 1598 case of Thomas Stein is also helpful in exemplifying the role of the presbytery. Stein was brought before the presbytery because he had accused John Bell, the minister of Cadder, of sleeping with his wife and had failed to prove it. Stein got six Sundays in sackcloth. Both the first and last Sundays were to be served in Cadder, Bell’s parish, while he also had to travel to both Campsie and Lyndsay for one week each.\textsuperscript{98} The presbytery defended the integrity of the ministry in this case by communicating Stein’s supposed lie to an audience beyond Cadder, but also by ensuring Bell’s parishioners on two occasions that their local minister was not guilty. The concurrent warning against slander and affirmation of Bell exemplifies the role of Glasgow’s presbytery in the late sixteenth-century. In defending Bell in several parishes, the presbytery was protecting the individual minister’s reputation to the wider community. But it was also sending larger messages about the quality of the new ministry as well as the necessity of proof if people wished to criticize it. The presbytery maintained a unique position in this way, as it attempted to create regional and perhaps national religious affiliations by circulating more widely the hyper-local discipline of the Scottish Kirk. Most discipline was local, but the very idea of localized discipline had to be

\textsuperscript{96} CH2/171/32A/42-43. 
\textsuperscript{97} CH2/171/33/31. 
\textsuperscript{98} CH2/171/32B/275.
communicated to the larger community. This reality should allow us to take greater account of some of the smaller regional affiliations of the post-Reformation Scottish Kirk, even if they were not as wide-ranging as the pre-Reformation establishment.

Travelling repentances were more frequently the domain of the presbytery, but the Kirk session also made use of regional networks in its operation. The session would routinely communicate with other sessions by reporting on sins committed in Glasgow, or by seeking information on a local case. In 1589 the session ordered a letter be written to the minister of Perth to report the adultery of a Perth man in Glasgow. In 1588 the session wrote to the Edinburgh’s session to confirm the punishment for fornication against Margaret Barrie “signifying that surety is taken here, for her obedience to be made here...seeing as the offence was done in their parts.” The most frequent requirement for communication with other sessions was for confirmation of facts of a case. Janet Hervie produced a testimonial from Stirling confirming that she had made her repentance there. David Hamilton, the reader in Monkland parish, confirmed to the Glasgow session that he had married a couple and baptized their child in 1588. The session also ordered John Hucheson to confirm that he was regularly attending the preaching in Cadder by way of a testimonial from John Bell. Communication among sessions was widespread in Scotland. St. Andrews’ session can be found upholding the excommunication of a Perth woman as well as seeking confirmation that a woman had satisfied the Kirk in Edinburgh. In 1590, the Perth session allowed a woman from Leith to stay in the town on a promise of good behaviour after confirming that she had

99 CH2/550/1/221.
100 CH2/550/1/181.
102 CH2/550/1/211.
103 CH2/550/1/297.
104 St. Andrews Kirk Session, 562, 584.
done her repentance at home. Moreover, John McCallum has recently shown the key role that this inter-parish communication played in the distribution of poor relief in the period. Thus, just as the presbytery’s visitation and punishments served to regularize newly Protestant methods of supervision, so too did the Kirk session reach beyond its local borders to contribute to both the practical sustenance of other parishes and the creation of a larger vision of a national Kirk. Dawson has noted that Kirk sessions “gained strength from being part of a national system”, and Glasgow’s session records certainly confirm this fact.

Glasgow’s session’s ability to communicate openly with its Scottish brethren was a luxury not provided to many Reformed communities in Europe. In fact, the existence of Reformed communities “under the cross” contributed a great deal to formulations of Reformed identities across Europe as marginalized Protestants garnered strength from shared experiences, or from letters or material contributions from “the brethren” in other locations. Glasgow’s session expressed these wider ideological interests in making collections for co-religionists enduring hardship in Scotland and elsewhere. In December of 1589 the session ordered a collection to be taken up for “Blantyre folks who had their corn destroyed by hailstones.” More internationally, leaders of the session asked the council for money in 1588 for “the poor brethren of France banished in England for religious cause” and in 1590 the session sought money to help the Kirk of Geneva. These actions confirmed for townspeople the existence of the national and

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107 Dawson, Scotland Re-Formed, 218.
108 Greengrass, “Informal Networks in French Protestantism”, 84-86.
109 CH2/550/1/245
110 CH2/550/1/187, 269.
international religious affiliations and further incorporated Glaswegians into the international cause of Reformed religion.\textsuperscript{111}

National and international expressions aside, however, the Kirk session primarily functioned as a local institution and just as the presbytery re-drew the regional map, the Kirk session altered the much smaller map of Glasgow. An excellent example of both the town’s new divisions and its rigour in seeking sin can be found in the 1585 division of Glasgow’s inquest into different neighbourhoods of the town. The town was divided into ten districts: Drygate, Trongate, Briggate, Gallowgate, Stockwell, Rottenrow, Wyndhead, Beneath the Wyndhead, Beneath the College, and To the Burgh Gate from the Cross. Perth, a town of comparable population at the time, had only four districts in 1585.\textsuperscript{112} Fifty-five elders were assigned to Glasgow’s 1585 inquest, again dwarfing Perth’s 24, with Briggate having the largest number (10) and Rottenrow having the smallest (1, with one name crossed out).\textsuperscript{113} The last three districts listed are especially interesting, as they represent the expanded jurisdiction of the session beyond traditionally held boundaries and into other areas, beneath or in between those with which townspeople had been accustomed. It is in this newly established geography that Kirk session operated. The presbytery and the Kirk session had re-mapped the landscape of the Kirk, and the disciplinary methods of these institutions would also re-make the late sixteenth-century town into a theatre of Reformed Christianity.

\textsuperscript{111} McCallum addresses the international contributions of Scottish Protestant communities further in “Charity Doesn’t Begin at Home” 112-15. 
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Perth Kirk Session}, 327. The disparity in the number of districts likely reflects the maturity of Perth’s session in comparison with Glasgow’s, as it was perhaps able to achieve similar results while devoting fewer human resources. 
\textsuperscript{113} CH2/550/1/41
The expanded exercise of Kirk discipline in post-Reformation Glasgow certainly coincided with an expanded presence of repentance rituals in the town. Todd has noted the continuities between the Catholic and Reformed traditions in terms of the value they placed on penance, as the “ongoing negotiation” between traditional and Protestant forms created the new rituals that one finds in Glasgow and other Scottish towns.\textsuperscript{114} In Glasgow, these rituals changed two spaces most of all. First, they changed the Kirk itself, as they reoriented the faithful’s attention by replacing old dramas with new ones in the reconfigured Sunday service. Second, and most importantly, the new rituals made the entire town the stage of penance rituals, which effectively stamped the streets with the marks of Reformed religion.

We have already seen the prominent role that preaching played in the reorganization of post-Reformation Glasgow. The frequency with which repentance rituals were carried out in the Kirk is also clear in the session records.\textsuperscript{115} Instructions for so many penitents to spend up to “six several Sundays” at Glasgow’s pillar would make penitential ritual a near permanent fixture in Glasgow’s Kirk. The centre of most of the penitential action was the pillar. This was Glasgow’s central piece of repentance furniture, and it served the same role as the various stools of repentance used throughout Scotland.\textsuperscript{116} Glasgow’s penitents were told to make their repentance “in” the pillar most frequently, which tantalizingly allows for the possibility that it was a different piece of furniture than the stool, but this is unlikely.\textsuperscript{117} The presence of the penitent at the pillar, often in sackcloth or linen cloth, placed both preaching and

\textsuperscript{114} Todd, \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 128-29.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, 131.
\textsuperscript{116} For Todd’s fascinating discussion of the stools of repentance see \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 130-43.
\textsuperscript{117} People were also told to stand at the pillar, but this was also common across Scotland; CH2/550/1/59, 63, 65; \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 136-7.
discipline on permanent display for people in the pew. In the previously discussed case of John Glamis, one can also see the significance of movements within the Kirk itself. Like Glamis, many penitents were forced to wait at the door of the Kirk until everybody had entered and then proceed to the front when the preaching began. The ritual maximized the publicity of the sin by carrying it out in a place where everyone was required to be and it created a weekly morality play orchestrated by the Kirk within the context of the preaching.

Of course the publicity provided to the humiliation of the penitent would simultaneously be provided to those who might resist the Kirk. Marion Marten got two extra Sundays on the pillar for her disobedience there. James Davie was put in the tolbooth for his “mockery and dissimulation” while he was on the pillar. In these actions, the penitential ritual was turned on its head, and the Kirk was forced to contend with a new sin. Dawson has noted the importance of institutional control of these public scenarios in the trials and executions of Scottish martyrs. In some cases, enterprising victims could use the public stage of a martyrdom to turn “the theatre of death...into the theatre of martyrdom” hoping to win converts to their cause by drawing attention to the cruelty of the authorities. The careful orchestration of penitential rituals was therefore essential, and the infrequency of cases of people mocking the

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118 The Glasgow session is again more descriptive than others in its instructions for the clothing to be worn during repentance. The session routinely indicates the severity of the crime in this way, with penitents “progressing” from their own clothes, to linen cloth to sackcloth, the most severe. For an example, see CH2/550/1 p. 81.
119 For examples of the procession from Kirk door to pillar in Glasgow, see CH2/550/1/89, 111, 117, 217, 231.
120 CH2/171/31/258
121 CH2/550/1/131.
122 Todd, Culture of Protestantism, 127.
authorities shows that Glasgow’s Kirk was vigilant in protecting the integrity of the theatre it had created in the Kirk.

Perhaps the most striking thing one encounters in Glasgow’s Kirk session documents is the remarkable amount of Kirk-ordered repentance that takes place in and around the town itself. Although these rituals were not weekly occurrences in Glasgow, they were more frequent than in other towns where only the most heinous offenders were moved beyond the stool of repentance. Todd has noted that these rituals were “a complex theology brought to visible, tangible life” and certainly this was the case in Glasgow. Adam Elpinstone’s punishment for his Christmas celebrations in 1586 provides one of the best examples of the Kirk making use of the town to stage its penitential plays. Elphinstone and Robert Smyth were instructed to:

Come from their dwelling in the said apparel (sackcloth) and in the manner forsaid (without ostentation) up the high gate to the high Kirk door before the second bell be rung. And to stand at the said Kirk door until the third bell be rung in the said apparel...[after the sermon] to come down the gate in like fashion the said Sundays to their dwelling places. And that this may be humblie and penitently done.

Patrick Erskine received a similar treatment in 1592 after which he was instructed to remain quietly in his house until he was absolved of his sentence. In both cases, the travelling was significant as the solemn parade from home to Kirk and back again became quite literally the road to forgiveness. The instructions for penitents to remain quietly in their homes signalled the need for the inward, restorative reflection required of sinners. Further to this, the elders who sometimes accompanied penitents on these treks represented the public face of the Kirk in the secular world, communicating the

125 CH2/550/1/119.
126 CH2/550/1/361.
ambitions of the Kirk to the larger community. The streets of the town thus became the “anti-confessional” as penitents made the outward displays of internal contrition so central to the Reformed tradition.

In taking repentance to the streets, Glasgow’s Kirk session re-made the public expression of religion. The religious processions of the pre-Reformation period were replaced by Kirk discipline. The River Clyde became a centre for repentance rituals, especially sexual sins like adultery or prostitution. In May of 1592 Besse Shearer and the “poor beggar highlandman” she was caught in bed with had their heads shaved, were “dunked in the Clyde” and banished from the town.\(^\text{127}\) Janet Herbertson and Margaret Allen were ducked together for separate adultery cases in 1587, and when Effie Howie was given the choice to be ducked or banished, she initially chose banishment before changing her mind and making her repentance.\(^\text{128}\) Although those ducked in the Clyde were mostly women, men were also subjected to this treatment. Thomas Nesbitt was ducked for his fornication in 1589, while William Stobo’s third fornication conviction caused the session to order him “to be taken to the foulest and deepest water of the town and there to be thrice ducked.”\(^\text{129}\) Indeed ducking became so popular a method that the session requested that a pulley be made and placed on the bridge in Glasgow “whereby adulterers, incestuous persons and relapsers in fornication may be dunked in the water of the Clyde according to the manner used in other towns of this country.”\(^\text{130}\)

The use of the town spaces in repentance rituals was also frequently facilitated by the use of a cart. In April of 1584 Elaine Woode was brought before the session for a

\(^{127}\) CH2/550/1/347.
\(^{128}\) CH2/550/1/177, 307.
\(^{129}\) CH2/550/1/233, 73.
\(^{130}\) CH2/550/1/237; Todd has noted that ducking was very rare in Perth. *Perth Kirk Session*, 310, n. 62.
relapse in fornication and prostitution and was ordered to be banished. In July of the same year the session made a request that:

A cart be provided again this day seven days to cart throughout this town sundry harlots and ungodly persons and especially Elaine Wood, adulteress with William Reid...and sundry others infamous and ungodly persons whom the session shall give up worthy to be banished from the society of those that serves the name of God.

The ordering of a cart’s construction is significant in that it indicates the specific purpose of this piece of “Reformed furniture.” Although the penitent cart in other jurisdictions may have been the “dung cart” referenced by Todd, Glasgow’s session ordered a cart specifically for the purpose of repentance. The cart may have been made for Woode, but many others made use of it, including Margaret Allen who was carted in 1587. Kate Cuik was also ordered to be carted “without all excuse” in 1589. In fact, in the period after this cart was made the session expanded the use of carting to include relapsed fornicators, with fornication by servants eventually added to the list of “cartable” offences. In 1588 we find another cart being repeatedly requested by the session, attesting to the frequent use of the punishment. The popularity of carting in Glasgow stands in contrast to its use in other communities where it was reserved for only the most serious crimes. For instance, one of the only examples of carting in the Perth records came as a result of a couple being caught naked in bed during the

131 CH2/550/1/27, 85.
132 CH2/550/1/87
133 For Todd’s comment on carting, see Perth Kirk Session, 325, n. 116.
134 CH2/550/1/171
135 CH2/550/1/223
136 CH2/550/1/97, 163.
137 CH2/550/1/215, 225.
communion and during a fast that had been called as a result of the presence of the plague, exacerbating their crime several times over.\textsuperscript{138}

The request of the session for the construction of carts reflects the specific purpose of carting, but also the more general goals of bringing repentance out of the Kirk and into public spaces. The session clearly notes the need to parade ungodly people “throughout the town” and not simply to and from the Kirk. When Janet Bradie was to be “carted from the high Kirk to the water of Clyde, and there to be ducked” she would essentially be travelling the entire length of the town.\textsuperscript{139} These rituals clearly set the sinner apart from the larger community, which served the double purpose of punishing the individual, but also allowing the other townspeople to walk a bit taller knowing that they were not ungodly and therefore were worthy of inclusion in the “society of those that serves the name of God.” The public identification of the sinner was a key element of Reformed practice precisely because it confronted that belief system’s essential problem – how to express inner sanctity in the social world without falling too deeply into superstition. Raymond Mentzer has contrasted Reformed communities’ approach to repentance with Catholic confessors in noting the Reformed leadership’s preoccupation with public sin. While confessors might probe into the thoughts and feelings of sinners, Reformed leaders “fastened on public failings of word and deed” in order to distinguish their communities from others.\textsuperscript{140} Of course this distinguishing would be more relevant in heterodox French communities, but they were still relevant in Glasgow. This was why the session was so bothered by excommunicates carrying on as if nothing had happened to them, and why the minister consistently announced the names

\textsuperscript{138} Perth Kirk Session, 325.
\textsuperscript{139} CH2/550/1/83.
\textsuperscript{140} Mentzer, “Disciplina Nervus Ecclesiae”, 114.
of excommunicates so that the larger community might know to stay away.\textsuperscript{141} Godly Reformed communities needed to be vigilant in the clarification of who was in and who was not.

The use of traditionally secular spaces in repentance rituals made this job easier, as it ratcheted up the embarrassment for sinners by presenting publicly those sins that may have been able to be hidden in the traditional Church. Although the dunking in the Clyde and the carting up the high gate are some of the more interesting examples of this practice, the Kirk made frequent use of other traditionally secular spaces including the market cross and the tolbooth, the usual homes of the branks, the jougs and the cuckstool, the punishments for flyters and slanderers.\textsuperscript{142} The presentation of penitents in these settings, just as in carting and ducking, helped to clarify the penitent’s relationship with both the godly community and with God. Todd has noted that one of the essential points of Scottish repentance rituals was that they “reinforced by public demonstration the division between the elect and the reprobate.”\textsuperscript{143} In comparison to other Reformed communities, Glasgow’s efforts at distinguishing between these two groups were especially public, as the Protestant leadership laid claim to not only the Kirk, but the entire community.

The redefinition of time and space are significant tasks, and in post-Reformation Glasgow they fell on the new clergy and on the laity who now occupied more prominent leadership positions in the Kirk. The deacons, elders, readers and ministers in Glasgow,

\textsuperscript{141} CH2/550/1/163, 213, 227.
\textsuperscript{142} For examples of the use of the branks in Glasgow, see CH2/550/1/189, 217, 313; for the jougs, CH2/550/1/73, 163, 229; for the cockstool, CH2/550/1/179, 231, 287.
\textsuperscript{143} Todd, \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 169
along with their families, would have to endure the “endless practical problems” of establishing the new Kirk and enacting the changes we have seen in the previous pages.\footnote{144} This was painstaking work, and those who doubt the religious devotion of the Kirk leadership in the late sixteenth-century should consult the Kirk session and presbytery records and ask themselves whether they would have liked the job.

At the level of the ministry, Glasgow was well served and obtained a minister relatively quickly after the Reformation. The first minister was David Wemyss, who was given the post in 1562. Wemyss would serve Glasgow’s Kirk for 43 years until his death in 1605. In the session records for our period, his presence is as reliable as a fornication case.\footnote{145} For the first fifteen years of his tenure he endured the job as the only minister in Glasgow, and did so with little pay.\footnote{146} In 1595 “the age, sickness, and present inability” of Wemyss made him unable to attend the General Assembly, but he seems to have recovered well enough that in the last meeting of the presbytery in the sixteenth century he is asking the baillies to seek out “erroneous books” in the town.\footnote{147} In February of 1587 the session welcomed John Cooper as the second minister.\footnote{148} Alexander Rowat was added as a third minister in 1595, and he was eventually given charge of the rural community outside the town with much controversy, as we will see in chapter 4.\footnote{149} The three ministers worked closely together and served as Glasgow’s representatives at both the presbytery and the general assembly.

\footnote{144} Dawson, \textit{Scotland Re-Formed}, 220-23.
\footnote{145} Biographical material on Wemyss can be found in Robert Wodrow, \textit{Collections upon the lives of the reformers and the most eminent ministers of the Church of Scotland}. v. 2, William J. Duncan ed. (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1834). part 2 “Collections on the Life of Mr. David Weems, Minister of the Gospel at Glasgow” 1-83.
\footnote{146} Eyre-Todd, \textit{History of Glasgow} v.2, 74.
\footnote{147} CH2/171/31/276; CH2/171/33/143.
\footnote{148} CH2/550/1/175.
\footnote{149} CH2/171/31/270; below, Chapter 4, 167-72.
The ministry played an essential role in preaching and the administration of the sacraments in the new Kirk, and they were also prominent figures in the session. But in late sixteenth-century Glasgow, much of the legwork of establishing the Reformed Kirk was heaped on the elders and deacons and other lay members of the Kirk’s organization. In the 1583 listing of elders and deacons, the first extant list, 33 elders and 22 deacons are listed. Also, 42 people are listed in the inquest, those charged with seeking out the sin of the town, which was divided into 8 districts.\textsuperscript{150} We have seen the inquest expand to 10 districts and 55 members by 1585. Interestingly, however, the number of elders and deacons shrinks by this time, with 26 elders listed in 1585 and 20 deacons.\textsuperscript{151} Although these fluctuations are not massive, one might assume that in the first few years of the session’s operation people may have been drawn to the work of the inquest, which would be less time consuming and decidedly more interesting.

Todd has noted that eldership “was an onerous burden” for anyone charged with the task, and it is difficult to disagree with this point.\textsuperscript{152} We have already seen the expanded weekly calendar of the Reformed settlement and the increased meeting requirements in terms of both days and hours. Lists of absent elders with names crossed through likely indicate those who were late for meetings, attesting again to the consistent pressures of eldership.\textsuperscript{153} When Andrew Baillie and David Hall were told to go to Margaret Chirmesyde’s house to assess whether she had secretly given birth to a child, they may have been uneasy about the sensitivity of the task. When they were instructed to let Margaret know of their “desire that the said Margaret’s papes (breasts) be drawn, sighted and considered by two honest women whether they should find milk

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\item \textsuperscript{150} CH2/550/1/p.3-5
\item \textsuperscript{151} CH2/550/1/p.41
\item \textsuperscript{152} Perth Kirk Session Books, 32.
\item \textsuperscript{153} CH2/550/2/p.13, 31.
\end{itemize}
there or not” the awkwardness of the scene may have caused the men to re-consider the value of their positions. But as we have seen, the business of Reformed discipline was difficult, and elders were required to make routine warnings to people to pay their fines, to seek out vice, or to ensure the integrity of the Sabbath.

The challenges facing the Reformed leadership were significant in many Reformed communities and very little separated success and failure. In Emden, a single individual vastly improved the provision of discipline and poor relief. In English communities, parishioners sometimes mocked the minister or walked out of his sermons when they rebuked parishioners, an event very unlikely to occur in sixteenth-century Glasgow. The disciplinary duties of Protestant ministers also served to separate them from the communities in which they served, creating a new clerical class. Where the Catholic clergy’s control over the sacraments separated them from the laity, the Protestant clergy’s control over discipline served the same function. This separation resulted in a “new clericalism” for Reformation Europe, which spurred, of course, a corresponding “new anticlericalism.”

The establishment of a godly society was not all so grim, however, and elders’ oversight was essential to pleasant occasions as well. At nearly every session elders and deacons helped to sanction the marriages of young couples, and on many occasions they ordered baptisms for infants who could not be blamed for the sins of their parents. The

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154 CH2/550/1/p.203.
155 CH2/550/1/p.205.
156 CH2/550/1/p.277.
157 CH2/550/1/p.105.
158 Fehler, Poor Relief and Protestantism, 244-70.
160 Susan Karant-Nunn has noted that the Protestant ministry in Germany often excluded itself from community celebrations in order to avoid association with immorality, a process which forced the ministry to associate primarily with one another. Karant-Nunn, “They Have Highly Offended the Community of God”, 220.
161 Ibid, 221.
elders and deacons also did the bulk of the work in caring for Glasgow’s poor in this period. Instructions for collection or distribution of the “poor silver” took place at every session, and the careful documentation of who was to receive the monies or who had already received their share took place throughout the period.162 Elders and deacons present in June of 1585 likely felt good about their day’s work when they ordained that “a poor one in the Drygate be helped with a cot” and then proceeded to buy the cot.163 A similar feeling would have emerged after a 1587 session when not only the “poor lepers” received money, but also “a young man of whom the brethren of the session has known good” who lost his goods and gear “through neither negligence nor wasting.” The session even omitted the poor man’s name in this case to ensure his anonymity.164 In the midst of all of the peeping in windows and monitoring the public spaces, then, the human resources of Glasgow’s new Kirk also applied themselves to the creation of godly society in forms beyond the punishments for which they are so renowned.

A worthwhile strategy for understanding the staffing challenges encountered in late sixteenth-century Glasgow is to follow the career and contribution of its bedell for much of the period, Christopher Knox. The bedell was an assistant to the minister and an official in the Kirk charged with ringing the bell, among other tasks. The bedell can often be found ringing the bell with proclamations surrounding the election of elders or the collection of monies for the poor.165 He represented in many ways the most practical elements of the Kirk’s operation, and only exacted the discipline of the Kirk in the capacity of an assistant. For instance, when Steven Sellar, an officer, was told to walk

162 Some examples can be found in CH2/550/1/17, 39, 81, 113, 147, 161, 253.
163 CH2/550/1/51.
164 CH2/550/1/179.
165 CH2/550/1/201, 215
through the town to look for Sabbath breakers, the bedell was ordered to accompany him and ring the bell.\textsuperscript{166}

Christopher Knox did not exemplify the ideal of service for the Reformed Kirk, and it would be generous to say that he had a less than stellar career as Glasgow’s bedell. In 1587 he was chastised by the session for failing to sing with the new songster.\textsuperscript{167} In 1591 he was in trouble for missing the sermon because he was “ganging in the Rottenrow.”\textsuperscript{168} The next year, he was involved in a dispute with a man who claimed that he had broken Knox’s staff because Knox had hit his dog with it.\textsuperscript{169} The most significant of Knox’s transgressions, however, occurred in the first part of January 1589. As bedell, Knox was charged with watching the box containing “the poor folks’ silver”, and the session asked Knox to produce the box as a matter of routine. Unfortunately Knox had lost the box and the 4lbs, 19s. contained in it. He was immediately ordered to replace both the money and the box and warned that “if he shall be found drunksome” in the future, he would lose his position.\textsuperscript{170} Knox did replace the money and the box at the next meeting. In fact, the new box was so nice that the session awarded Knox 20s for his efforts.\textsuperscript{171} But the session clearly had some doubts about Knox’s capabilities.

Whether because of his losing the money or another reason, the position of bedell was found vacant in November of 1590. Knox applied for the job again and it was granted to him, likely because he could read and write. The session warned him that it only gave him the job “at their pleasure upon his good behaviour.”\textsuperscript{172} Knox’s good

\textsuperscript{166} CH2/550/1/161
\textsuperscript{167} CH2/550/1/177.
\textsuperscript{168} CH2/550/1/305.
\textsuperscript{169} CH2/550/1/367. The man was ordered to replace Knox’s staff.
\textsuperscript{170} CH2/550/1/247.
\textsuperscript{171} CH2/550/1/249.
\textsuperscript{172} CH2/550/1/275, 277.
behaviour was not reliable, however. On 23 October, 1591 the session notes that “for the present continues Christopher Knox in his office.” Three weeks later, on 14 November, Knox was removed from the position for “many causes” and chastised for his “unthankful service”.\footnote{CH2/550/1/319.} What Knox did in those three weeks remains a mystery. Perhaps his unreliable sobriety got the better of him once again. Regardless of the reason for his final dismissal, however, Knox’s career represents some of the struggles of the Kirk in staffing the new offices. Capable contributors to the new Kirk’s mandate were sometimes difficult to find, and a dog abusing drunkard might be the Kirk’s best option in spite of his previous questionable performances. Human resources were limited, even in the comparatively rosy conditions for Reformed Christianity in Scotland. Knox’s case certainly does not characterize the whole of the laity’s injection into the business of Glasgow’s Kirk. We have seen countless laymen doing a good job in their new roles. It does, however, speak to the realities of enacting such a massive change as the institution of a Reformed model of religious society. Inevitably there would be hiccups in terms of strategy and personnel, but this was true in the traditional Church as well. The challenge for the new Kirk in Glasgow was to continually push towards the creation of a community that God might be proud of.

In December of 1586, James Roos was called before Glasgow’s session for refusing to sign the Confession of Faith, 26 years after the Reformation Parliament. The session repeatedly insisted that Roos conform to “the religion presently professed in this
realm.” The presbytery used a similar phrase at the beginning of their meeting in October 1593, noting that they had gathered for “maintenance of the true religion presently professed within this realm.” The use of the phrase “presently professed” calls to mind the precarious hold the Kirk leadership must have felt they had over their communities, even after several decades. The phrase acknowledged the existence of other religious truth claims, whether they were competing Protestant belief systems or the Catholic ideas of the past. People also acknowledged the changes brought on by the “Reformation of Religion” when discussing the methods of the new Kirk. Noting that they were practitioners of the religion “presently professed” also suggests self-awareness on the part of the Kirk, acknowledging that the religious beliefs of communities were subject to change in a way that could not have been imagined a century earlier.

The competing Christian visions of the sixteenth century required religious leaders to be diligent, and in the previous pages we have seen the newly established Kirk of Scotland work hard to claim the religious devotions of Glasgow’s community. This introduction was sometimes harsh because at its heart was a huge change based on a different belief in how God was revealed to people and how people should respond to his love. The stark theological differences between traditional Catholicism and Reformed religion necessitated sufficiently stark differences in religious practice and essential differences in the mentality of the community. In Glasgow, the Kirk fundamentally altered notions of time by altering the daily and weekly calendars, enforcing strict sabbatarianism and synchronizing the clock of repentance with the clock of the sermon. Glasgow’s Kirk also made massive changes to notions of religious space by establishing a
presbytery and a Kirk session that communicated with other religious communities while remaining focused on local discipline. In the practice of religion, the Kirk altered the places where religious actions occurred, both within its buildings and in the streets of the town. These changes in space and time were enacted by ministers, elders and deacons, among others. These men, most of them laypeople, carried out the new religious vision of Glasgow, and in spite of some stumbles, they did so successfully. They fundamentally changed Glasgow by focusing its people on the word of God and on the administration of discipline, two pillars of the Scottish Kirk established in the Confession of Faith. The third pillar, the proper administration of the sacraments, will be examined in the coming pages, and in discussion of the sacraments we are reminded of the continuities between the pre- and post-Reformation periods in Glasgow and the slow process of religious change.

Chapter 4

The Benefits of the Kirk: Real Presence, Real Sacraments and Popular Devotion in Post-Reformation Glasgow

When they wrote the Scottish Confession of Faith in 1560, the “six Johns” criticized the pre-Reformation Kirk for the manner in which it celebrated the sacraments. Among the
various “men’s inventions” that the authors chastised the “blind papists” for condoning was their treatment of baptism and communion, the two sacraments that the reformers retained in the new Scottish Kirk. The document criticized the “oil, salt and spittle” used in baptism and noted that the “adoration, veneration, bearing through streets and towns, keeping bread in boxes or busts are profanation of Christ’s Sacraments, and no use of the same.”¹ In the previous chapter we saw the discipline of the Kirk “bearing through the streets and towns” with sinners being carted and paraded to indicate their fault. “Godly discipline” occupied the same spaces once occupied by the “inventions”, which included parades by guilds or Corpus Christi celebrations, staples of traditional Catholicism. The presence of Kirk discipline in the streets of Glasgow provides something of a symbolic changing of the guard for the Scottish Kirk. To many, it could represent that most characteristic element of Scottish Reformed Protestantism, its disciplinary system, superseding the sacramental system of the old Kirk. To some degree the image of the Kirk’s presence in the streets of Glasgow before and after 1560 is illustrative – it indicates that a good deal changed as a result of the Confession of Faith and the Reformation Parliament, matters discussed in the previous chapter. But recent trends in Reformation historiography have shown us the importance of recognizing continuity between traditional and post-Reformation religion, and have called historians’ attention to the myriad of social, intellectual and religious phenomena that were shared across the imaginary line often called “The Reformation.”

The “three notes” identified in the Confession of Faith as indicative of the “true Kirk of God” the Reformers hoped to establish in Scotland included “the true preaching of the word of God…the right administration of the sacraments of Christ Jesus...[and]

Lastly ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered.”² These three marks of the true Church are often noted for the addition of discipline in contrast with Calvin who did not include it as a “true mark.”³ Discipline thus became an identifying third trait of Scottish Protestantism. ⁴ As the Reformers saw it, the three marks of the Church were contingent upon one another and worked with one another to form Church practice. Without proper adherence to the word, the sacraments would not be effectual; without discipline, both the community and Jesus’ sacrifice would be sullied; without the sacraments, the promises from God in the scriptures would not be made present on earth and the Kirk’s discipline would be reduced to the Catholic vanities of the past. The three marks, then, existed in a mutually contingent relationship which, if adhered to properly, would produce a more Godly society.

The contingent relationship between the three marks of the Scottish Church can be easily witnessed in investigations of Kirk session and presbytery records. In the previous chapter we saw the Kirk’s disciplinary machine running at full throttle, and we witnessed the important role that the relationships between scripture and discipline played in the making of Reformed Glasgow by attempting to shift the mentality of the community toward Protestantism. These changes were significant, but they did not happen immediately, and the Kirk’s documents therefore reveal continuities between the periods. The present section of this study deals with these elements of religious life. Of these, popular devotion to the sacraments is one of the most fascinating, if not one of

² Ibid, 110.
the most easily identified. Jane Dawson has recently noted the paucity of studies of Scottish discipline in the period surrounding the Reformation.5 This may be true to some degree, but careful study of the sacraments in the Scottish Protestant context is even less present in the historiography, and certainly less identifiable than discussions of discipline, preaching and devotion to the scriptures.6 This, of course, is not surprising, as sacraments are more elusive for historians because they depend on the divine intercessory elements of religious understanding, which often stand at odds with historians’ training and habits, but are no less worthy of their attention, a point made well by Carlos Eire and Brad Gregory. 7

In the first chapter of this study the sacraments were described as the “motor of religious life” and in Glasgow we saw the delivery of Church offices or the severity of crimes directly related to the sacramental elements of traditional Catholicism.8 In the period after 1560, the sacraments maintained this role, and in the late sixteenth-century one can see countless examples of the degree to which the sacraments, baptism and communion, continued to influence religious behaviour. The Reformed Kirk maintained a different theology of the sacrament than the Catholic Church, and this theology altered the frequency and preparatory elements of communion celebrations. Although it took new forms and was funnelled into new theologies and rituals, popular devotion to the sacraments is perhaps the most stable element of religious life in Glasgow in the sixteenth century. In the minds of the Scottish leadership the sacramental elements of

6 The notable exception being Todd’s work in Culture of Protestantism, Ch. 2, “Word and Form in the Sacraments”, 84-126.
7 Brad Gregory, “The Other Confessional History”; Carlos Eire, “The Good, the Bad and the Airborne.”
8 Above, Chapter 1, 38.
Reformed religion could not be accomplished without the preached word and the careful discipline of the faithful, but if the proper steps were followed, the Reformed sacraments continued to provide the magical component of religious life, proving that the “disenchantment of the world” was unlikely, even in Reformed Scotland.\(^9\) Theological text and practical context are revealed in telling combination through study of the sacraments, and their investigation represents an overlooked aspect of sixteenth-century Reformed religion.

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Any good meal requires practical preparation, and this fact was not lost on the elders of Glasgow’s session when they prepared to celebrate the Lord’s Supper. In early August of 1589 the session expressed its anger with Walter Stewart, Commendator of Blantyre, for his failure to provide the bread and wine necessary for the “ministration of the sacrament of the supper of the Lord Jesus.”\(^10\) The session continued, noting that “by their expectation the communicates within [the] town and parish of Glasgow for lack of bread and wine to that holy action are likely to be disappointed” and warned the commendator of his duties to provide these elements as often as they might be needed for celebration of the communion.\(^11\) The warning seems to have worked because Stewart was still being asked to provide these elements in May of 1591.\(^12\) In 1599 Patrick Simpson, the minister at Stirling, was told to travel to Campsie to gather not only the bread and wine, but also two cups from William Erskine. These cups, which incidentally “were made out of a chalice”, belonged to the parish at Stirling and were required for the


\(^10\) CH2/550/1 p. 231.

\(^11\) Ibid.

\(^12\) Ibid, p. 301
communion celebration. In another case, John Scott was asked to repair the tables used in the sacrament as part of the preparation for a Glasgow communion in 1587, and was granted monies for his expenses. The whole religious community, not simply the clergy, was busy as the most spiritual of Christian events required a good deal of practical organization.

Glasgow’s communion preparation was similar to that which took place in other Scottish towns. In St. Andrews, the Kirk session asked for help repairing the Kirk and cleaning the graveyard before celebrating the 1586 communion for its rural parishioners. In Perth, the session managed the communion down to its smallest detail. In addition to the elders assigned to maintain order and collect alms, others were assigned “to fill the cups”, “to convey the cups”, or “to repair the Kirk and furnish the elements and things appertaining to the table.” All over Scotland, a communion was a major Church event.

The most intriguing object required for participation a communion celebration in post-Reformation Scotland is surely the communion token, in Glasgow almost exclusively referred to as a ticket. The ticket was used French Reformed communities as well, where they were called mereaux. It had developed “at the general urging of Calvin” as an indicator of a person’s suitability before communion, although Calvin himself failed to achieve their use in Geneva where they were rejected by the city.

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13 CH2/171/33 p. 39.
14 Ibid, p. 143
16 Perth Kirk Session, 335.
17 In St. Andrews, it is also called a ticket, while in Perth it is called a token, the more popular usage.
government. In May of 1588, Glasgow’s session was busy with ticket business. It ordered a new stamp and a cart to hold the tickets, and ordained money from the penitents’ silver to be used to make communion tickets with “1588” written on them to avoid re-use of tickets from previous years. We can also identify tickets being made in 1593, 1595, 1603 and 1604. The necessity of Communion tickets for communicates was stressed throughout the period in Glasgow. The session insisted on them publicly on multiple occasions, and those who had entered without them were swiftly punished.

In 1597 Michael Donald came before the presbytery for entering the Kirk in Glasgow without a ticket and drinking the wine. In spite of the fact that Donald noted that he said “God be thankit” after he drank the wine, the presbytery punished him with several weeks at the pillar because he had “pretended the receipt of the sacrament of the Lord’s supper.” In another case in 1591 Ninian Duncan was made to make his repentance in sackcloth for operating a black market on communion tickets. Duncan had stationed himself on the wyndhead in Glasgow and had given tickets to several people who had not been examined by the Kirk. He also passed a piece of paper instead of a ticket at the door of the Kirk in further deception of the elders. A similar case of a man using a “feigned ticket” can be found in St. Andrews, where an apprentice tailor

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20 CH2/550/1 p. 181, 185.
21 NLS 2782, f. 37.
22 CH2/550/1 p. 183, 383.
23 The fact that Donald noted that “he cannot tell whether he took the bread” might speak to the state of this potential communicant’s sobriety. Ian Cowan has noted criticisms of the amount of wine consumed at communion celebrations both before and after the Reformation, evidence of one of the more predictable continuities between the periods. At Knox’s 1560 communions in Edinburgh, “no less than 23 gallons were consumed.” I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, 147.
24 CH2/171/32B/156-7.
25 CH2/550/1 p. 305.
used his master’s ticket to gain entrance into the communion. In these cases, the men were punished because they had undermined the usefulness of the communion ticket as a representation of one’s suitability to participate in the sacrament. The predicaments of Duncan and Donald are therefore telling because they speak to more than the simple possession of the communion ticket. The ticket was required because it was the outward expression of interior purity required of Reformed communicants. As such, it needed “to be withheld from any unregenerates whose behaviour was thought to be bringing the Church into disrepute.”

The requirements for participation in the Reformed communion lead logically to their theological underpinnings in Reformed Calvinism and their function in the Scottish context. To this end, a brief discussion of theological elements will be helpful for understanding their historical application. Two distinct elements of the Reformed Communion are most essential to understanding its role in late-sixteenth century Glasgow. First, one must understand what the Reformed communion in the Scottish context was. Second, one must understand who was eligible to receive it.

Both Calvin and Knox reviled the notion posited by Zwingli that the sacraments were “mere signs” as much or more than they disliked the Catholic teaching of transubstantiation. In fact, *The Confession of Faith* takes on both of these groups, noting that “we utterly damn the vanity of those that affirm sacraments to be nothing else but naked and bare signs” and continuing by denying transubstantiation as

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26 *St. Andrews Kirk Session*, 505.
28 Hazlett, “The Scots Confession 1560” describes its “anti-Zwinglian” nature as one of the key features of the portion *The Confession* dealing with the communion. 307-310.
something “the papists have perniciously taught and damnably believed.” Both Calvin and Knox were confident of the “real presence” of Christ in the communion. The Confession reads:

...this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ Jesus in the right use of the sacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carries us above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly, and makes us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which is now in the heaven, and appears in the presence of his Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place, which is between his body now glorified in heaven, and us now mortal in this earth, yet we most assuredly believe, that the bread which we break is the communion of Christ’s body, and the cup which we bless is the communion of his blood.

Brian Gerrish’s excellent analysis of Calvin’s view on the Lord’s Supper, summarizes the Reformer’s views of the connection between the Communion and the Word this way:

The sacraments have the same function as the Word of God: to offer and present us to Jesus Christ. In other words, the sacraments, like preaching, are the vehicle of Christ’s self communication, of the real presence. Only the most perverse misreading of the sources could conclude that the sacraments have for Calvin a purely symbolic and pedagogical function...to treat the sacraments as, for him, merely didactic would undermine not only his view of the sacraments but also his conception of the Word of God. What we have in his teaching is not an either-or, but a both-and: Word and Sacraments certainly have a pedagogic function, but this does not make them any the less vehicles for Christ’s self-giving.

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\(^{30}\) Ibid.

The “real presence” spoken of in both descriptions of the communion is important for distinguishing the divine elements at the heart of the Scottish sacrament, and should cause us to be careful before imagining Scottish Protestants ridding their Church of the magical and mysterious elements of Christian life. Indeed Calvin himself adhered to the idea of a “secret communion” in the Eucharist that he maintained was a mystery beyond his comprehension.\(^{32}\) Todd has recognized this in her assertion that communion celebrations represented an opportunity to “experience the holy”, that people were “anxious to communicate” and that “communion [was] a singularly sacred event.”\(^{33}\) Dawson has done well to recognize the divine elements of communion celebrations as well in noting “preachers laid immense emphasis upon the spiritual presence of Christ to be experienced within the believer’s heart during this re-enactment of the Last Supper” and has noted that such an environment could create “an intense emotional atmosphere and produced ecstatic experiences among some communicants.”\(^{34}\) Indeed it is these emotive elements of Scottish religion, particularly the communion, which Leigh Schmidt has shown to be some of the most enduring and far-reaching aspects of Scottish Protestantism.\(^{35}\) Yet, when one considers Dawson’s perceptive claim that exclusion from communion brought “social and religious” shame, it is not unfair to suggest that most historians consider the social shame far more relevant to understanding the people of the past than the religious shame, or consider a

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\(^{32}\) Ibid, 108-9

\(^{33}\) Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 100, 117, 118.

\(^{34}\) Dawson, “Patterns of Worship in Reformation Scotland” in *Worship and Liturgy in Context: Studies and Case Studies in Theology and Practice*, 147.

communion or religious celebration “an act of corporate worship” or a “public expression of corporate identity” instead of a dynamic example of individuals experiencing divinity.  

The suggestion that we should pay closer attention to the spiritual elements of the communion does not diminish the social elements of these religious actions, but instead enhances them by providing a truer understanding of the practitioners’ motivations. We can more accurately assess the gravity of the feelings of shame, isolation, solace or joy when we allow the experiences of the holy to move to the front of our understanding. When we consider that those without a communion ticket were missing out on a chance to experience God rather than simply a chance to commiserate with their neighbours, the stakes are raised considerably. These higher stakes can lead historians to a more empathetic view of their subjects, and in this particular case cause us to look more closely at that which might cause someone to be prevented from participating in the communion in order to better understand their predicament.

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When the Glasgow presbytery punished Michael Donald, the wine drinker mentioned previously, it was particularly upset that his drinking the wine “pretended the receipt of the sacrament” implying that what actually transpired was just a man drinking some wine.  

The “pretended sacrament” was a particularly Reformed fear, as it reflected a new theology of the communion, sometimes described as “symbolic instrumentalism” because it required the participation of a pious person in order to

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37 Above, Chapter 4, 146-47. My emphasis.
achieve efficacy.38 This concept bred an apparatus of inspection all of its own, what Todd calls “an orgy of self-examination, recrimination and repentance.”39 In Glasgow, matters related to the communion lit up the disciplinary records at particular seasons and as it was elsewhere in Scotland, the communion season became a relatively rare religious event where the three pillars of the Scottish Kirk were on consistent and full exhibition.

Although they reflected a different theology, Reformed communion celebrations had deep roots in Scotland’s Catholic past. First, the actual ingestion of the sacrament was a rare event in both traditions, usually occurring once a year at Easter, so the introduction of Reformed Christianity would not have represented a major rupture in this regard.40 The daily celebration of the medieval Catholic mass, however, was still a participatory event for medieval Catholics. People’s mere presence in the Church when the bread and wine were transformed into the body and blood of Jesus helped to secure their relationship with God.41 It is also important to note the number of relationships that were facilitated by the sacrament of communion in the Christian west. Through communion people formed bonds with those sitting beside them in the pews, with their clergyman, with their guild brethren and with the larger Christian community.42 It was the central act in the “social miracle” of medieval Christianity described by John Bossy.43

38 Brian Gerrish, The Old Protestantism and the New, 14.
39 Todd, Culture of Protestantism, 94.
40 For a good description of the Catholic tradition, see Mairi Cowan, Death, Life and Religious Change 92-5. For the continuities in terms of the frequency and date of communions, see Culture of Protestantism, 87-9.
41 Cowan, Death, Life and Religious Change, 93.
42 Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, 213-288.
The collective aspects of communion continued in late post-Reformation Scotland where, whether they liked it or not, the whole town was involved in preparations for the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. In fact, the shared experience of sacramental celebration has been seen by Alec Ryrie to be one of the foundational elements of the so-called “privy-Kirks” in the mid-sixteenth century. From these early days to the 1580s and 1590s, however, the machine of the Protestant sacrament had developed into a more broadly encompassing force. A communion would usually be announced a few weeks prior to the occasion, with two Sundays set aside in the calendar to leave time and space for everyone to participate. In 1588, the session instructed the west side of the town to communicate the first week in order to avoid anticipated confusion. Though we do not have sufficient records of all of Glasgow’s communions in this period, they were mostly held in the spring, usually May, which coincided with the Easter or Pasch celebrations from the pre-Reformation Kirk.

The examinations leading up to the celebration of the sacrament itself included a significant amount of scripture and sermon. This was in keeping with Calvin’s belief in the priority of the scripture, which in the Reformed context took on many of the divine characteristics previously reserved for the sacraments. Longer sermons accompanied “brief exhortations”, or shorter sermons, in which the minister expounded on the merits

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45 CH2/550/1 p. 185
46 Todd, in Culture of Protestantism 87-89, claims Glasgow’s communions “from the 1560s” were held during this time. The source Todd cited in n. 16 does not include material from the 1560s or 70s, but only from 1583 onward. No records survive to prove this point fully. Communions certainly occurred in the years previous to the extant records, as the Privy Council Records show a complaint from the “whole inhabitants” of Glasgow that bread and wine were not being made available for a communion in 1566. This source notes the provision of bread and wine “continually since the time of the Reformation” further attesting to existence of communions. Records of the Privy Council of Scotland First Series, J.H. Burton ed. vol. 1. 1877. 492-3.
47 Brian Gerrish, The Old Protestantism and the New, 110.
of the sacrament through the countless scriptural references made available to him in *The Book of Common Order* commonly known as *Knox’s Liturgy.*

People would be told “the sacrament is a singular medicine for all poor sick creatures” and be instructed to pray to avoid becoming “so unkind as to forget so worthy benefits, but rather imprint and fasten them sure in our hearts.” The sacrament’s dependence on the preaching of the Word was thus clear to most ministers and communicants who understood that “the sacraments were adjuncts to the Word, and not vice versa.”

Kirk sessions were frequently concerned with people’s spiritual preparedness for the communion, and in the days leading up the event the Glasgow session offered people a chance to make good. When Matthew Thomas was told to make his repentance at the pillar before he could participate in the communion in 1587, the session included a more general warning to anyone “who has offended the Kirk and not satisfied the same” to make their satisfaction or risk deprivation. The presbytery also barred Geillis Maxwell from participation in the sacrament because she was “under suspicion” of having been secretly pregnant in the last year, the case having not yet been settled. Some communions included an “act anent reconciliation of persons at variance” which warned people that their sins should be “revealed and signified” so that they could “labour for rehabilitation” before the communion. A similar act in 1591 describes the position of the Kirk more fully. The session ordained that all those at variance should “declare and make manifest that they bear no rancor or malign in their hearts or minds against any

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48 Knox, *The Liturgy of John Knox* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1886.) 138-146
49 Ibid, 141, 145.
51 CH2/550/1 p. 143.
52 CH2/171/32B p. 256-7
53 CH2/550/1, p. 185.
person whom to they have offended, or that has offended them.”54 Before the 1591 communion Issobel Winning settled her dispute with Janet Aldersoun by admitting her fault in slandering Aldersoun, and asking “God, the session, and the said Janet’s forgiveness.”55 Elsewhere, in Perth, personal feuds of this type were sometimes settled before communion through men sharing a drink symbolizing the end of the variance.56 In England, ministers also used participation in communion celebrations to leverage people towards settlement of their disputes, although attempts at achieving these settlements publicly, as they did in Scotland, often failed.57

In the preparation for communion, the importance of The Confession’s theology of the communion again emerges as important, as communities expressed two of its essential characteristics. First, they stressed the purity required – in heart and mind – for reception of communion, which if received without belief was received to the condemnation of the communicant.58 Secondly, communion preparation reveals the sacrament to be the culmination of a protracted religious process that reflected the key elements of the new faith. The process was as much a part of the sacrament as the sacramental moment. Thus, Calvin’s communion can be described as “the deepening of a communion already begun” or “not faith, but a consequence of faith.”59

Again, however, it is important to acknowledge that communion preparation was an essential aspect of the Catholic tradition as well. For Catholics, participation in

54 Ibid, 301.
55 CH2/550/1 p 303.
56 Perth Kirk Session, 324.
58 Gerrish, The Old Protestantism and the New, 114.
communion was tied directly to another sacrament, penance or confession.\textsuperscript{60} In the Catholic sacramental system, communion and penance worked in concert with one another in hopes of achieving orthodoxy, as communion preparations offered “an occasion for exchange of orthodox views from the mouth of the priest, for incomplete and often erroneous ones, from the confessed.”\textsuperscript{61} In Scotland, Archbishop John Hamilton’s \textit{Catechism} offered instructions for Scots’ communion preparation, warning against the dangers of receiving communion irreverently and encouraging people to come to communion with “a right intention”, “a whole faith”, and “a clean conscience perfectly clad with love of God and thy neighbour”, elements that largely remained in the Protestant communion. \textsuperscript{62} Instructions for people to “pursue personal holiness” facilitated sacramental preparation and resulted in “lay awareness of personal sin and of the necessity for personal ‘purification’.”\textsuperscript{63}

The Reformed sacraments thus built on their medieval foundations to contribute to a culture of examination in sixteenth-century Scotland that we have seen at work in the disciplinary context and which will be discussed in the context of baptismal preparations and excommunications. This culture is also found in disciplinary cases that took place \textit{after} the period of communion when one can witness the consequences of absence or poor behaviour. In the preparation for the 1589 communion, the session made a general call of all those who did not attend the previous communion to be examined by the Kirk.\textsuperscript{64} Much more common, however, was the disciplining of an

\textsuperscript{60} Rubin, \textit{Corpus Christi}, 84-85.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid, 84.
\textsuperscript{62} The ninth chapter of Hamilton’s \textit{Catechism} is devoted to communion preparation. See \textit{Catechism}, 211-15.
\textsuperscript{63} Good discussion of communion preparation in the medieval Catholic tradition in Scotland can be found in Audrey-Beth Fitch, \textit{The Search for Salvation}, 161-68.
\textsuperscript{64} CH2/550/1 p. 221.
individual for absence from the communion. Absence from communion was a serious
goof and so it was frequently dealt with at the level of the presbytery.\textsuperscript{65} Although
plain absence from the communion was penalized, David Landes’ error was especially
bad when he was called before the session after the 1591 communion. The session found
that not only had he skipped the communion, but he had also undermined the solemnity
of the occasion by being a general nuisance in the town. The session described Landes as
“a drunkard from house to house” during the time of the communion in addition to his
being a “flyter and a glaster (boaster)” and who had mistreated his wife by denying her
“food and sustainment.”\textsuperscript{66}

The presbytery also punished those who disturbed the communion, including
David Wodrop who had disrupted the minister by arriving late at the 1599 communion
and banging on the door to get inside.\textsuperscript{67} The same strategy was employed with equal lack
of success by James Mayne who banged on the door “roughly” when he was half an hour
late for the communion in Dalmarnock. Witnesses testified that when Mayne was told to
stop he said “plight and peril light upon the minister who would not let him in” and
continued to bang on the door after he was told to stop, insisting that the minister was
not suitable if he was denying people the sacrament.\textsuperscript{68} The problem of people trying to
enter the communion late or without permission necessitated that individuals be
assigned to guard the doors in most Scottish parishes. \textsuperscript{69} Elders also searched the Kirk
before communion in some towns in order to find those who had hidden, clearly
exemplifying both the popular desire to communicate and the Kirk leadership’s desire to

\textsuperscript{65} Some examples from Glasgow can be found in CH2/171/31/141-2 or CH2/171/32A p. 43, 55-56, 68, 73.
\textsuperscript{66} CH2/550/1 p. 315
\textsuperscript{67} CH2/171/33 p. 45.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, 46-7.
\textsuperscript{69} Todd, \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 116-119.
protect the supper from profanation.\textsuperscript{70} In Perth, they sometimes locked the doors to prevent people from sneaking in, but on most occasions sessions simply commissioned an elder to guard the door, a common practice for most Kirk services, especially the distribution of alms, which often began at four a.m.\textsuperscript{71}

Two weeks after the May 1595 communion in Cadder, a parish roughly 7 km north of Glasgow Cathedral, the presbytery was forced to deal with an especially egregious violation of the communion table. After being denied entry to the Kirk because he had not been examined and did not have a ticket, John Stirling entered the Kirk with a “drawn whinger” held in his hand. Stirling proceeded to “terrify the people” and tip over the table used in the communion, whereby “the bread and wine of the sacrament...was casted to the ground.”\textsuperscript{72} The repercussions of this action were significant. Stirling insisted that after being denied entry he had waited for two hours in the Kirk yard during the preaching, only afterward insisting on his entrance in order to communicate, as he likely thought he had done his time. His fellow parishioners did not view this event the same way. Fifteen witnesses were called before the presbytery to testify against Stirling, including his father John Stirling Sr. who agreed with the majority that his son’s actions were “trouble [to] the whole people.” William Reltoun testified that he “saw no misbehaviour in John Stirling that might either offend God or man”, but this dissenting opinion was clearly overruled and Stirling was eventually excommunicated.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{70} I.B. Cowan, \textit{The Scottish Reformation}, 149.
\textsuperscript{71} Perth Kirk Session, 361.
\textsuperscript{72} CH2/171/31/p.249.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, 250, 290-1.
Even under excommunication, John Stirling would be a continual bother to the presbytery, Cadder parish and its minister John Bell. It is important here, however, to note how Stirling’s actions and the more general actions of both the Kirk and its communicants exemplify the degree to which the sacraments, and the communion in particular, continued to serve as a fulcrum of religious life after the Reformation. In the same manner that we witnessed in the pre-Reformation Kirk, crimes were exacerbated by their proximity to the sacrament and those who disturbed the communion were punished. Popular devotion to the sacrament was also clear. People endured extensive examinations of their doctrine and two hour sermons to experience the supper. Some people who failed these examinations tried to gain tickets from illicit sources or tried to literally bang down the door of the Kirk to gain access to the event. If they were denied, they questioned the suitability of the minister who would do such a thing or they committed acts of violence. In Stirling’s case, we see a man ruining other communicants’ sacramental experience because he had not been able to communicate, a strategy we will see used in baptism as well.

The communion had thus become the centre of the Reformed calendar in a way that the “six Johns” may not have anticipated, and which clearly contained echoes from the pre-Reformation Kirk. Popular devotion to the communion had surely been funnelled into new forms in the new religious reality, but people adapted to the new scheme because they clearly desired what was waiting for them at the end. Although the Kirk and its practices had changed, people clearly believed that Jesus had retained both the desire and ability to make himself really present in Glasgow, and in communion celebrations we see Glaswegians eagerly seeking him out.
Continued devotion to the power of the sacraments in post-Reformation Glasgow is also exemplified in the session’s approach to baptism. The nature of baptism necessitated that there was no “baptism season” as there was for communion, so throughout the session books, at all times of year, one can find this sacrament being requested, denied or ordered. Although the theology of the sacrament had been changed at the Reformation, many elements of baptism remained the same. Most importantly, baptism in the Reformed tradition was still supplied to infants, so the responsibility for the sacrament lay with the baby’s parents, who would undergo the examinations on his or her behalf, in which they were expected to have knowledge of the Lord’s Prayer or the Ten Commandments. Investigations of baptism in post-Reformation Glasgow are thus complicated by the fact that the person receiving the sacrament is not the person qualifying for the sacrament. Early modern baptism also involved a seemingly endless combination of theological, familial and social relationships that were further obscured in Scotland by their practice in a nascent Church rife with the tensions between old and new, and the culture of examination that attempted to enforce and establish the new.

Baptism was a divisive subject in Reformation Europe, and the continuation of infant baptism was, of course, the cause of the primary breach in the creation of the Reformation’s ‘radical’ wing. Nearly all Reformers detested the Anabaptists because

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75 I.B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, 151.
their beliefs threatened the concept of a universal Christendom, and so even though it often led to contradictory and confusing theological positions, most of the Reformation leadership insisted on the continuance of infant baptism.\textsuperscript{76} In Scotland, infant baptism was unequivocally affirmed. The necessity of the sacrament for the faithful as a “seal in their hearts of the assurance of his promises” was made in the \textit{Confession of Faith}, as was a specific condemnation of the Anabaptist position on the subject.\textsuperscript{77} The liturgical order for baptism also included a statement on the matter, noting that it was not necessary that all who receive baptism understand the faith, “but chiefly that they be contained under the name of God’s people.”\textsuperscript{78} Baptism, then, was essential because it created Christian membership and a relationship with God, or as the \textit{Confession of Faith} put it, baptism made “a visible difference betwixt his people and those that were without his league.”\textsuperscript{79}

Baptism created much more than simple Christian membership, however, and the social elements of baptism have been widely considered by historians.\textsuperscript{80} Todd has noted that “the ongoing process of negotiation between the pew and the session” allowed baptism to retain many of its medieval characteristics in post-Reformation Scotland and thus sustain many of the kinship and social bonds that medieval baptism

\textsuperscript{76} Zwingli’s position on the ‘symbolic’ sacraments coupled with his violent persecution of Anabaptists is most striking in this regard. See, MacCulloch, \textit{Reformation}, 148-150.
\textsuperscript{77} Knox, \textit{Works}, vol. 2, 113, 117.
\textsuperscript{78} Knox’s \textit{Liturgy}, 154.
had established. Jane Dawson has investigated the medieval roots of ideas of baptism further to note how the spiritual relationship created by godparentage had profound implications for social life. For instance, people could not marry either their godparents or “font siblings” because the spiritual bond instituted by baptism was “as real and as permanent as a blood tie.” Many of these familial associations with baptism survived the Reformation, as Reformed concerns about “the elect” spawned conceptions of baptism in which parents would pass their elect status to their children through baptism.

The social and spiritual bonds of baptism are apparent in the Glasgow records. The Kirk’s official desire for the baptism of all children is one of the most prominent features of the documents, especially because sexual crimes are so prevalent in them. When William Ferguson was brought before the session for his pre-marital fornication with Janet Keppillis, he was provided with specific instructions for his punishments. The session instructed him to make his repentance according to the act of parliament, stay away from Keppillis until they were married, pay a fine and assure that “the bairn gotten betwixt William and Janet be baptized.” Elaine Wood was banished from the town and threatened to have her cheek burned for her relapse in fornication, but the session insisted that before the banishment “the baby she has lately born first be baptized.” A variety of similar cases were common in the session records. Some were

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83 Mullan, 67-8
84 CH2/550/1 p. 23.
85 Ibid, 27.
relatively straightforward, like instructions for both a marriage and baptism to be performed for a nearly-married couple who had a baby in 1585.\textsuperscript{86} Some were more complex, such as the case of Janet Campbell who claimed that the father of her child, Hughie Rankin, was away in Ireland when she came before the session. The session instructed Campbell that when Rankin returned he would be called to the Kirk and examined as to whether he was the father. If he swore that he had not had sex with Campbell, she would be forced “to get a father for her bairn.”\textsuperscript{87} Regardless of the outcome of the case, however, the session ordained the baby to be baptized, exemplifying again the Kirk’s official position regarding the necessity of the sacrament.

Although baptism was considered essential, the Kirk still had to maintain its standards and preserve the quality of the sacrament, so the session also denied baptism in some cases. In Glasgow, explicit denial of baptism was infrequent, but it did happen. In 1594, the presbytery warned ministers in Lyndsay and Monyaburgh that they would be given a five hundred pound fine for baptizing the child of Lord Fleming who was under investigation by the Glasgow session for double adultery.\textsuperscript{88} The next summer we see Ninian Drew, a somewhat hapless minister at Lyndsay, called before the presbytery to make his confession because he baptized Fleming’s baby, after which he was made to make his repentance in front of his own congregation with John Bell, minister at Cadder, “receiving the repentance.”\textsuperscript{89} In St. Andrews, denying baptism was more

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid, 57.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid, 61.
\textsuperscript{88} CH2/171/31 p. 215, 216
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid, 293-4, 297-8. Ninian Drew serves as a textbook example of how not to be a minister in this period. In addition to his baptizing Fleming’s baby, he had many other failures. He failed the initial examination of his doctrine and was involved in a somewhat major scandal when one of his servants became pregnant and Drew had his mother attend to the newborn raising suspicions the child was his. He was ultimately cleared of the charges, but his failure to answer to them found him in contempt of the presbytery, and he was eventually deposed of his ministry. After this, Drew continued to preach until it was required that a
common. The session routinely allowed for baptism only after the Kirk had been satisfied through penitents’ performance of their “humiliation.” In Perth, a couple was denied baptism for their child until their marriage could be confirmed by the minister in Edinburgh.

The Kirk’s position on baptism is superbly exemplified in a May 1588 “Act Against Ignorants” read at Glasgow’s Kirk session. The act expresses clearly the official position of the Kirk:

The Kirk ordains that all and sundry fathers who are to have bairns baptized shall tell distinctly the commandments of the eternal God, the articles of faith and the lord’s prayer, which fathers that shall be found to want the same and be ignorant thereof shall be publicly intimated in the Kirk and declared ignorant and judged unworthy to present their bairns to baptism.

The act continues, stating that the baby of “the ignorant” should be brought forth for baptism by another godly man in the parish and that the father should be punished publicly and be banned from “the benefits of the Kirk” – communion, baptism and marriage – until he was re-examined by the minister. The doctrinal and social elements of baptism are thus well-defined. Preparation of the father was important to

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90 For examples, see St. Andrews Kirk Session, 557,582,587.
91 Perth Kirk Session, 347.
92 CH2/550/1 p. 185.
93 Ibid. The inclusion of marriage among the “benefits of the Kirk” along with the sacraments of baptism and communion is interesting, as it provides marriage with a status within the Kirk but below the sacraments. It also speaks more generally to the high value Protestantism placed on family life. See John Witte, From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion and Law in the Western Tradition Second Edition (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012); Nugent, Marriage Matters: Evidence from the Kirk Session Records of Scotland, c. 1560-1650; Todd, Culture of Protestantism, 265-314.
baptism because “it aught greatly to rejoice you”, to have knowledge of God and raise your children within it, but the father himself was not essential.\footnote{Knox’s Liturgy, 157.} Another member of the community could substitute in order to avoid the child being deprived of the sacrament through the ignorance of his father, and the social and religious bonds of the community could also be strengthened.

The insistence on baptizing infants in spite of their parent’s failings may suggest to some the remnants of medieval belief that children who died without baptism would be destined for hell. Although we see some elements of this belief in the popular devotion to baptism, the official Church position still claimed these actions were superstitious. In France, concern for the souls of sick children was “deeply entrenched” and post-Reformation consistories were forced to contend with families sometimes having their neighbours baptize children, or with the new clergy condoning these traditional beliefs.\footnote{Mentzer, “Ecclesiastical Discipline and Communal Reorganization”, 170-1.} Todd has suggested these actions might exemplify the flexible nature of Kirk leaders who saw the gains of comforting the faithful as their children neared death as more beneficial than rigid dogmatism.\footnote{Todd, Culture of Protestantism, 121-22.} Mullan has taken a similar line in noting that the relationship between theology and practice in post-Reformation Scottish baptism demonstrates a complicated theology being tested in practical terms. He is careful to note, however, that for all of their perceived flexibility hard line Presbyterians still maintained a clearly Reformed idea of baptism as a public sacrament that needed to be protected against profanation, a fact that would become apparent when James VI’s early seventeenth-century Five Articles of Perth allowed for private baptism and caused great distress as many Kirk leaders viewed this as backsliding.
toward Catholic superstition. Clearly Scottish approaches to baptism were less flexible than those found in some French towns where Huguenots continued to have their children baptized in Catholic Churches because of the lack of available ministers. What is also clear is that social and religious relationships were created with baptism, and that these relationships were long lasting and important as they contained combinations of religious and social affiliations that might be subject to challenges in theological forums or common practice, but which all could agree were essential to the maintenance of Christendom.

Though the official positions of the Kirk toward baptism have been identified as somewhat flexible in this study and others, historians can access popular desires for baptism by examining the cases of those who pushed this flexibility to its limits in order to receive the sacrament. This sometimes occurred when people attempted to disguise the parentage of the baby from authorities. After being brought before St. Andrews’ session three times on accusations that he had fornicated with Effie Orkney, Andro Nicholson finally admitted his guilt in Glasgow in 1599. In doing so, he also admitted that he had presented the baby he had with Orkney as if it was his child with his wife, Margaret Brown. The presbytery chastised Nicholson for his “great dissimulation” and “counterfeit doing” and punished him with two weeks at the pillar in linen cloth. A similar strategy was attempted with equal success by Henry Wilson who had presented a baby for baptism that his wife had conceived through fornication with David Dikie. The session punished Wilson for “such blinding of the minister”, noting that such actions

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97 Mullan, 67-8.
99 CH2/171/33/103-4.
made it that “there has been had no difference betwixt bairns lawfully and unlawfully gotten.”

The sanctity of baptism clearly had to be protected from liars, but it also had to be protected from those who were administering it unlawfully. In 1587 Alexander Wodrow was given six Sundays at the pillar for having one of his children baptized by an excommunicated priest, Steven Wilson. The presbytery must have been equally upset with their decision to place Alexander Livingston as the minister at Monyaburgh when they discovered that he had not kept any session or sacramental records and that he “has no intelligence.” Livingston was eventually deposed from his ministry, and in what must have been an embarrassing scene, was made to declare publicly that he would no longer teach or use discipline in the Kirk because he was unfit to do so. Public declarations aside, however, Livingston was continuing to baptize people after he was deposed, and after sending someone to tell him to stop, the presbytery eventually summoned him to warn him in person in July of 1598.

In its dealings with baptism we see the Christian community in Glasgow demonstrating many of the same elements of sacramental devotion we saw in its efforts with communion. The institutional desire for maintenance of a pure sacrament and the popular desire to experience its powers coalesced daily in Glasgow. As children were born into abnormal situations, their parents tried to do their best and guarantee the child’s membership in the local and universal Christian community. As with

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100 CH2/550/1 p. 195, 197.  
101 Ibid, 141. Wilson had died and so escaped punishment, at least from the Kirk session.  
102 CH2/171/31 p. 67.  
103 CH2/171/32B p. 150-1.  
104 CH2/171/32B p. 268.
communion, people often endured hardship and took risks to gain inclusion. At the level of the session and the presbytery, the Kirk’s leadership was aware, as precarious leaderships are, that it needed to pick its battles, and although many elders likely squirmed at the maintenance of some medieval beliefs, they understood the risks of alienating a population still learning about Reformed Christianity.

It is worthwhile to consider another case that represents well both popular and institutional concerns regarding the sacraments. It began with the presbytery establishing “a flock of their own” for the Barony parish in Glasgow in 1596, which would essentially contain the land “without the burgh” or the rural areas surrounding the town.\textsuperscript{105} It was decided that the minister would be Alexander Rowat, who had been the third minister in Glasgow for a time, but was now being given charge of this new parish that would worship in the Blackfriars Kirk in Glasgow. As was custom, Rowat was instructed to preach before the parish in order for them to assess his “life and doctrine.” When only one member of the parish attended, the presbytery passed an act insisting that the parishioners attend or else “they shall receive no benefit of the Kirk, which are the sacraments of baptism and the holy supper of the lord Jesus and the celebration of marriage.”\textsuperscript{106} When the parishioners continued in their absence, the presbytery threatened to deny the “benefits” again.\textsuperscript{107}

At issue was the reality that many of the parishioners “without the town” wanted to remain a part of Glasgow parish and practice the sacraments in the high Kirk rather than the less distinguished Blackfriars. Many of these “Barony men” protested their

\textsuperscript{105} CH2/171/32A p. 79. 
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid, 102-3.
requirement to listen to the preaching “as a congregation separated from the inhabitants of Glasgow” and were likely troubled by the social isolation they foresaw, especially considering they had been long time parishioners at Glasgow.\footnote{Ibid.} John Cooper, one of the ministers in Glasgow, disagreed and passed an act against all who refused, who represented a broad spectrum of communities surrounding the town, insisting that they should be denied the sacraments if they did not attend the preaching. Cooper went even further ordaining “the parishioners of Glasgow without the town be a particular and special congregation by themselves, separated and divided from the town of Glasgow” and instructing the ministers from the surrounding parishes to deny these people the sacraments unless they hear the word from John Rowat.\footnote{Ibid, 103-4.}

The Barony men were not defeated easily, and they showed their perseverance by securing an act from the March 1596 general assembly ordering Cooper and the Glasgow ministry to provide the “benefits of the Kirk.” The ministers continued to refuse, noting that the sacraments were easily available to these men as it stood, and that they already had a minister who was “daily ready to minister to them the sacraments.” The Barony men protested this act as well, noting that they preferred to receive the sacraments in the “Cathedral of Glasgow as their own parish Kirk, according to their old accustomed use...since the time of reformation.”\footnote{CH2/171/32B p. 109-111.} As they tend to do, the disagreement ended in an act of violence that took place on 20 March, 1596. As John Cooper was preaching before celebrating baptisms, Arthur Colquhoun expressed his displeasure at the ongoing disagreement:

\footnote{108 Ibid.\footnote{109 Ibid, 103-4.} \footnote{110 CH2/171/32B p. 109-111.}}
And there having his [Colquhoun's] sword in his hand, leaping over the women and crying up in a fury to the said Mr John being in pulpit what is this that the said Mr. John will not baptize their bairns (the bairn the said Arthur had not being his). And that the said Arthur said he was a Barony man as the said Mr John was a minister, and that he would have their bairns baptized or else there should none be baptized the said day. And that he said the pulpit was theirs and that he will have them baptized in the choir or else he should make the house do.\footnote{Ibid, 114-15.}

Needless to say the presbytery was upset with Colquhoun and called him before the session for his actions. Colquhoun appealed his charges to the presbytery at Dumbarton in order to get a more just trial, and since the records for that presbytery do not exist for this period, we do not know for certain what happened to Colquhoun.\footnote{In June of 1597, a man named Wilkeyne “who dwells with Arthur Colquhoun” was called before the presbytery, but there is no proof that this was in an attempt to contact Colquhoun or whether it was regarding another matter. Ibid, 145.}

Again, it is important here to consider that Colquhoun’s case exemplifies the integral role the sacraments played in the operation of the post-Reformation Kirk. With all of the centrality of the word, it is, of course, the sacraments that are described as “the benefits of the Kirk.” They were the primary tool with which the presbytery attempted to leverage parishioners into conformity with its mandate. In threatening to refuse them, the presbytery was withholding the supernatural experiences of the divine discussed previously as well as the religious and community memberships we have seen the sacraments provide. These were big threats from the presbytery, but on occasion they were necessary in order to maintain control over a system that could be flexible at times, but which was pursuing a particular vision of the Kirk that necessitated good order.
Those who doubt the degree to which early modern people understood the sacraments or what was happening at Church need look no further than Arthur Colquhoun’s case. In an interesting reversal of our present world and its seemingly continual stories of Church closures, Colquhoun and his many neighbours were upset at Glasgow Kirk’s expansion. The “Barony men” felt that they had been shortchanged in the new scheme, and wished, like many modern people do, to practice their faith in the community and congregation that they knew best. In order to express his frustrations, Colquhoun targeted what he believed to be the heart of the Kirk – the sacraments. He verbally and physically abused the minister and he used the event of the sacrament as a place of protest. He insisted that a “Barony baby” receive baptism, and threatened the entire community by indicating that no baptisms be performed if these Barony children were ineligible. Further to this, by indicating that “the pulpit was theirs” he insulted the minister and demoted the power of the clergy – just as so many had done in the pre-Reformation Kirk. Finally, and most interestingly, Colquhoun threatened to subvert the entire order of the Reformed Kirk by asserting the power of the parishioners to take sacramental matters into their own hands. In threatening to have babies baptized in private and at home he clearly knew that he was striking at a key element of Reformed theology that Calvin had envisioned, making baptism “a child’s entrance not only into the Church, but into society more generally.”\footnote{Spierling, \textit{Infant Baptism in Reformation Geneva}, 54.} Just as the Kirk had used the sacraments to leverage its cause against parishioners, so too did the parishioners use the sacraments against the Kirk. If Protestants were in search of a “priesthood of all believers” they certainly found it in Glasgow.
Colquhoun’s case provides an interesting comparison with aspects of C. Scott Dixon’s study of the German principality of Brandenberg Ansbach-Kulmbach. As the region endured tensions during the first generation of reform, its ministry sometimes came under attack by parishioners. In one case, although the focus of the dispute was financial provision for the clergy, rural parishioners centred their criticism on their minister’s abilities in preaching, claiming “the principal act of the clergyman...was abused in his hands.” Dixon argues that these criticisms represented a strategy of resistance for parishioners who used their knowledge of the key duties of the ministry to leverage a case, “irrespective of the real issue under dispute.” He goes on to note that popular and specific knowledge of the ministry’s duties was, “in a backhanded way, testimony to the impact of the Reformation” which had communicated to parishioners these new clerical roles. Yet, Colquhoun’s hijacking of a baptism shows that in Glasgow some people still considered the administration of the sacraments to be the primary duty of the clergy. Although Colquhoun commented on the minister’s duties to preach, his major fault was undermining the celebration of the sacrament. According to Dixon’s measure, this might indicate that the Reformation had less of an impact in Glasgow than it did in Brandenberg Ansbach-Kulmbach. This would be misguided, however. More accurately, Colquhoun’s actions show that popular devotion to the sacraments remained an essential aspect of Christianity in the Reformed Kirk. To overlook the sacraments in favour of discussions of Reformed preaching and bible study is to understand the Reformation partially. Preaching and scripture surely played an important role in Glasgow’s Reformation and as a part of the wider European movement. But as we have

114 Dixon, “Rural Resistance, the Lutheran Pastor, and the Territorial Church”, 99-100.
115 Ibid, 100.
116 Ibid.
seen, the Word, the sacraments and Kirk discipline were engaged in a complicated
dance that was fundamentally codependent, a fact that had significant influence on the
nature of Glasgow’s Reformation.

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Discussions of preventing people from accessing the sacraments lead logically to the
subject of excommunication, the long practiced Christian tradition that fundamentally
disallowed one under its censure to participate in the sacramental life of the Church. In
chapter one we saw the major role that excommunication played in the pre-Reformation
Kirk in Glasgow. It contributed to a religious culture centred on sacramental life by
helping to define Christian roles and punishing people for their misdeeds. Its overuse
was a source of much annoyance for the Reformers, who envisaged it as a classic
element of the Catholic Church’s arrogance and proprietary relationship with the
sacraments. Some of the earliest Protestants in Scotland, the so-called “Lollards of Kyle”
cited the abuse of excommunication as a source of dispute, and in the early pages of his
History Knox writes that the practice had lost its meaning altogether.117

After the Reformation, excommunication was fundamentally changed. Firstly,
the new Kirk reacted against the old one by making excommunication a last resort for
repentant sinners. The First Book of Discipline noted that “proceeding to excommunication ought to be slow and grave” and insisted that all measures should be
exhausted before the person became isolated “from all society of the Kirk.”118 The
collection of public admonishments and requests for repentance that preceded

118 First Book of Discipline, 165-173.
Excommunication also offer a view into the level of detail present in the procedural elements of session and presbytery operations. Potential excommunicates were continually called by name from the pulpit in a series of warnings the Kirk believed might encourage repentance. Excommunication in post-Reformation Scotland followed trends of other Protestant communities across Europe where it was considered a last resort for punishing the most serious offenders.\(^\text{119}\)

The second major change to excommunication in post-Reformation Scotland was that its sacramental censure was significantly diminished, as the socio-religious elements of the penalty became more prominent. Of course it is true that social isolation was felt by excommunicates in the medieval period and post-Reformation excommunicates were still prevented from receiving the sacraments, but sacramental deprivation became less prominent in the operation of excommunication after 1560. The primary reason for this is that the expanded disciplinary repertoire of the post-Reformation Kirk provided many more ways to ban someone from the sacraments before excommunication was necessary. In the cases we have seen, people were prevented from sacramental participation for offences much smaller than those punished by excommunication, and where poor attendance and ignorance could isolate you from participation, larger isolations were less essential.

Both Todd and Graham have downplayed excommunication’s role in post-Reformation Scotland, with Todd noting the scarcity of individual cases in Perth and Graham warning against overstating its role in Kirk discipline.\(^\text{120}\) Excommunication


\(^{120}\) Todd, “Introduction” in *Perth Kirk Session Books*, 38-43. In fairness, Todd simply notes a lack of cases in Perth, while still acknowledging the social and religious implications of being excommunicated. This
features prominently in Glasgow’s records, however, and is one of the most consistent features of the Kirk’s post-Reformation operations there. Perhaps the prominent use of excommunication stems from the medieval legacy of its use in the town. Gavin Dunbar has been recognized as a “notorious” excommunicator and the author of the *Curse of the Border Reivers* discussed previously was known to excommunicate “frivolously.” The roots of the prominence of the practice are difficult to assess, but it is clear that excommunication retained a prominent influence on the religious life of the town throughout the period.

Part of the reason why excommunication has been underestimated as a force in post-Reformation religion is because a simple counting of cases grossly underestimates the effect of an excommunication on a religious community. Lynch has noted the economic impact that excommunication might have on an excommunicate due to loss of business or rents. The economic losses of an excommunicate are certainly relevant, but only as one aspect of the wider implications for those who might be found associating with him or her. An excommunicate was a diseased Christian, and an excommunication was fundamentally public, with the minister insisting on the broad publication of the sentence “lest that any man should pretend ignorance.” An excommunicate’s ability to infect the religious community was thus significant, which was why *The First Book of Discipline* noted that:

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123 *The First Book of Discipline*, 170.
No person (his wife and family only excepted) have any kind of conversation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and selling; yea in saluting or talking with him except that it be at commandment or licence of the ministry for his conversion.\textsuperscript{124}

In Glasgow there are as many warnings and disciplinary cases involving those associating with excommunicates as there are dealing with the excommunicates themselves. In 1588, George Pollok was fined and made to make his repentance for receiving Effie Dikson into his home.\textsuperscript{125} Kate Gibson was found guilty of the same crime in 1592, just as James Kincaid found himself in hot water for housing an excommunicate in 1597.\textsuperscript{126} In Archibald Hegate’s case, associating with an excommunicate caused his excommunication, as the presbytery ordered him to be disciplined “in the manner of excommunicates” for receiving excommunicated people in his home.\textsuperscript{127} Even Marion Andro was chastised for receiving her son William Wilson into her home and made to promise to report to the session should he return in the future.\textsuperscript{128}

Other towns also took cases of those associating with excommunicates seriously. In Perth, people were chastised for not reporting them, or for welcoming them into their homes.\textsuperscript{129} In St. Andrews “resetting” excommunicates was of similar concern, exemplifying the impact an excommunication had on the wider community.\textsuperscript{130} No wonder, then, that people like Cristene Zwill in St. Andrews took pains to have her excommunication lifted in order “to be received again in the bosom of the Kirk among

\begin{footnotes}
\item[124] Ibid.
\item[125] CH2/550/1 p. 215.
\item[126] Ibid, 359; CH2/171/32B p. 164.
\item[127] CH2/171/31 p. 231-2. Hegate was initially in trouble with the session for his maintenance of Catholicism, as we will see in chapter 5, p 12-15.
\item[128] CH2/550/1 p. 69.
\item[129] Perth Kirk Session, 313, 430.
\item[130] St. Andrews Kirk Session, 379, 846, 867.
\end{footnotes}
her neighbours and other true Christians.” She had been isolated from participation in most aspects of social life. The general disciplinary fallout from an excommunication thus demonstrates the close connections between social and religious life in the sixteenth century, as well as the benefits for historians of casting a wider net in examining excommunication as a key aspect of town life in the period.

The punishment of individuals who housed or resorted with excommunicates spoke to the larger goals of Glasgow’s Kirk in isolating excommunicated people, what the Kirk sometimes called “putting the difference.” On several occasions the session acknowledged the difficulties of distinguishing between who was excommunicated and who was not, and advertised the roles of both the excommunicate and other townspeople. In 1588 the session warned excommunicates to “keep themselves closed within their house” until their excommunication was lifted. When the excommunicated Besse Sellar was found “resorting with all people in this town almost” she was reminded that she was required to remain within her home. In 1592, the session ordained that the minister warn the people from the pulpit about associating with Patrick Erskine, an excommunicated person who was “gangin openly in the streets of this city.”

In broader attempts at isolating excommunicates, the Kirk session would collect a list of excommunicated people and read it from the pulpit. Yet even this could sometimes be difficult for elders, as we see in the case of Elspeth Gallagher, who was

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131 Ibid, 564.
132 CH2/550/1 p. 163, 213.
133 Ibid.
135 Ibid, 367.
136 Ibid, 57.
brought before the session because she “spoke filthy words” to the man gathering the list.\textsuperscript{137} The session also tried to discover excommunicates by contacting other parishes. Glasgow requested a list of Renfrew’s excommunicates in 1589 and promised to return the favour with a list of their own.\textsuperscript{138} In April of 1594 Patrick Sharp, minister at Cadder, helped the Kirk’s cause by warning the presbytery that he had excommunicated Jean Dalrymple in Cadder and that the people of Glasgow should adhere to the citation.\textsuperscript{139} These regional affiliations attempted to fill the gaps where the social isolation of excommunicates failed, although they too faced challenges.

The larger goal of excommunication was certainly the removal of sin from the community, and although sacramental deprivation of excommunicates was less prominent in the post-Reformation Kirk, the spiritual goals of the censure were still clear. They are expressed clearly in a 1588 act calling for the banishment of certain excommunicates from the town. The benefits of the action are clear:

That the town and city of Glasgow being purged of such pestiferous persons the blessing of the lord may be in the said city which by the foresaid persons cohabitation in the same has become spotted and accursed in God’s sight.\textsuperscript{140}

The redemptive elements for the town of banishing excommunicates were also possible at the personal level, and the stated goal of an excommunication was the eventual reception of the person back into the Christian community.\textsuperscript{141} In the same manner as the town, the individual sinner could “purge” his sin by submitting to the process of

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid, 217.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid, 225.
\textsuperscript{139} CH2/171/31 p. 107.
\textsuperscript{140} CH2/550/1 p. 193.
\textsuperscript{141} The First Book of Discipline, 172.
regeneration. This action was routinely accompanied by individual examinations, in which the minister would assess the excommunicate’s contrition, assign him repentance and eventually absolve him of his excommunication. The sinner was then encouraged to do better in the future in order to prove the effectiveness of the punishment and to avoid the “mocking of God” that continued misbehaviour would indicate, a point clearly lost on Patrick Erskine, who was absolved from excommunication for the fourth time in 1596. Although individuals might fail to live up to the ideals set down in the Book of Discipline, the sustained efforts to cleanse the town from the stain of excommunicates were still worthwhile for the session and the presbytery. They increased the reach of the Kirk into the social relationships that formed the godly society and surely caused people to consider their actions and relationships more carefully.

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In excommunication and in its treatment of the sacraments the Reformed Kirk took major elements of the Catholic Church and transformed them into some of the central building blocks of the Reformed alternative. The religious change involved not simply the introduction of new ideas, but rather the transformation of old ideas and their accompanying memories, practices and allegiances. Although it was a Church of the Word, Reformed Christianity in Glasgow retained its central sacramentality, which it inherited from its more prominent place in the medieval Kirk. The influence of sacramental devotion was everywhere. We have seen it carve out new seasons in the religious calendar and dominate the attention of those in charge of discipline for the

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142 CH2/171/32A, p. 107-8
144 Ibid, 64.
session and presbytery. The centrality of the sacraments was expressed by the theology of its foundational documents as well as the practical elements of its polity. The day to day lives of Christians were profoundly affected not simply by the Kirk, but by the specific element of the Kirk that the sacraments provided and it exerted great effort to protect the sanctity of the sacraments against misuse or backsliding into Catholicism. For parishioners, the sacraments also mattered deeply, and we have seen them desire “the benefits of the Kirk” in ways that were reminiscent of the pre-Reformation Kirk. The devotion to the sacraments among ordinary parishioners was not just a lingering memory, however. It was a deeply held belief that Christ would routinely make himself present to Christians and would sustain them even if they were unfamiliar with the rest of the new processes.

The social role of the sacraments was also clear. As the primary signs of Christian membership, they formed and strengthened relationships and provided conduits through which people could resist authority. Although the Confession of Faith stated that the sacraments created “a visible difference”, the Kirk in Glasgow was constantly confronted by the difficulty of distinguishing between real and pretended Christians as they existed in the social world. The Kirk also made use of excommunication, another holdover from the medieval Kirk, which in the Reformed context was significantly less sacramental but functioned as a major tool of the institutional Church in terms of the consolidation of its influence. The Kirk tried to “put the difference” between excommunicates and the larger community and found itself chastising both recidivist parishioners and the people who socialized with them.
In all of these actions, the servants to St. Mungo – both Kirkmen and parishioners – negotiated the fundamental elements of a new Kirk out of beliefs and practices that had carried over from its medieval past, and the influence of medieval Catholicism on Reformed Protestantism in Glasgow is clear. But what about the Catholics themselves? Did any survive? How can we find them? Could Catholic belief survive within the strict disciplinary culture of post-Reformation Glasgow? The next chapter will attempt to answer these questions and will continue to reveal the complex set of negotiations taking place among Glasgow’s sixteenth-century Christian community.
In the previous two chapters we have seen a myriad of ways in which the arrival of Protestant belief and practice influenced religious life in Glasgow. The emergence of the prominent and public disciplinary system of the Kirk changed the public face of its operation and altered parishioners’ religious experiences by subjecting them to its censure. In addition, the Kirk and its parishioners’ continued devotion to the sacraments reflected an element of pre-Reformation religion reinvented in a Protestant guise, as popular desires to receive the sacraments were confronted by new theologies and new practices that created new sacramental experiences. From the distance of 500 years, we have peeked through the windows of the newly established Kirk and seen the clear influence of Catholicism, as particular remnants of its belief system were hidden in the belief systems that created Reformed religion in the town. These influences were and are significant for historians as they assess matters of religious change, but they represent only a small element of Catholicism’s continued presence in the town in the period after it was made illegal at the Reformation parliament.

The current chapter will consider in detail the survival of Catholicism in Glasgow in the period after the Reformation. It will do so by examining Catholicism from a number of perspectives. First, it will consider elements of religious practice
that might seem Catholic or might exemplify the maintenance of Catholic belief or ritual without explicitly identifying themselves as such. Second, this chapter will consider more clearly identifiable Catholicism and assess the level of Catholic belief and practice in Glasgow in the late sixteenth-century. Finally, and most significantly, this chapter will examine the death of St. John Ogilvie, a Jesuit priest executed in Glasgow in 1615. It will offer an alternative view of Ogilvie’s execution and assess the implications of current views on his death for larger discussions of the place of Catholicism in Scottish Reformation studies. Jane Dawson’s claim that “a national Protestant identity embraced most Scots” is no doubt true, but this chapter will assess the degree to which Glasgow’s Catholics returned the embrace.¹

In describing popular Catholicism in early modern history, Peter Burke has advised that “historians who like neatly circumscribed territories had better look elsewhere for a subject.”² Of course the elusive nature of historical “territories” is true of many areas of research, but the history of Catholicism in the early modern world is particularly fraught with these challenges. The differences between official doctrine and unofficial practice are only a small element of the diversity of early modern Catholicism, which produced a dynamic religious culture through its global dissemination and its local derivations.³ Early modern Catholicism’s influence on the world is without question, and that it was changed by the arrival of Protestantism is also clear. These factors and the almost overwhelming diversity of

¹ Dawson, Scotland Re-Formed, 232.
³ Robert Bireley, The Re-Fashioning of Catholicism, 1450-1700 offers one the clearest overviews of early modern Catholicism, 1-25.
Catholic belief and practice have caused problems in naming this historiographical mammoth. It has led John O’Malley to call the subject “Early Modern Catholicism” in order to unify loaded terms like “Counter Reformation” or “Catholic Reformation” that lead historians down particular paths at the expense of others, a problem “Early Modern Catholicism” remedies by supplying “a designation providing for aspects [others] let slip through their grasp.”⁴ “Early Modern Catholicism”, then, is both everywhere in our period and nowhere in particular as it represents a large and sturdy tent under which Catholic belief and practice can be constructed, de-constructed and understood.⁵

The knowledge that the Catholic experience in the early modern period was diverse is as important for understanding “Protestant” Scotland as it is for “Catholic” Spain or Italy. Many of the “Catholic laity” in post-Reformation Scotland studied by Scott Spurlock were major magnates like the Earl of Huntly and were thus very different in terms of financial and political power than those other members of the “laity” that we will see hiding Catholic books in Glasgow.⁶ At a basic level, distinguishing among “the laity” exemplifies the difficulties of gaining purchase on the subject of post-Reformation Catholic Scotland. Keith Luria has noted that in the wider European context the creation of an “elite-popular” dichotomy among European Catholics is unhelpful. Luria has noted many

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⁵ There are, of course, criticisms of O’Malley’s term as well, especially its vagueness. See, Hillenbrand, “Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?” 543-44.
similarities among the religious habits of these two groups, as the rich and powerful “sought out holy people, flocked to shrines [and] invoked saints for miraculous cures or divine protection” in the same manner as the general population.7 Although Spurlock has argued in favour of a special role for the gentry in maintaining Catholicism in early modern Scotland8, he has also shown us that magnate families often facilitated Catholic life in their regions of influence through organizing the visitation of priests and the administration of sacraments, thereby connecting one aspect of the laity with another and adding a sacrament-providing priest for good measure.9 That these priests might sometimes be Jesuits adds a further layer to the diversity of post-Reformation Scottish Catholicism, as it speaks to the presence of that new and decidedly international religious order in Scotland, complete with its perceived spectre of political intrigue and foreign influence.10 The Catholic Church in post-Reformation Scotland thus had many faces, which reflected elements of its local and international aspects. This chapter will endeavour to reveal the faces of late sixteenth-century Catholic Glasgow by attempting to entice both veiled and unveiled Catholicism from the records.

9 Spurlock, “The Laity and the structure of the Catholic Church”.
An event that allegedly occurred in 1578 at Glasgow Cathedral provides a telling example of occasions in post-Reformation Glasgow that seem to indicate elements of Catholic survival yet are not definitive evidence of the religion’s survival. According to Spottiswoode’s *History*, Andrew Melville, then principal of Glasgow University, and other Protestant Churchmen “had condescended to demolish the Cathedral” in the spring of the year. Among the reasons provided were the overly large size of the building that made it difficult to hear the sermons, the Reformers’ desire for removal of “the idolatrous monument” and the tendency of “superstitious people to do their devotion at that place.” As the group sounded a drum calling the workers to begin the demolition, members of the local craft guilds supposedly intervened to protect the building insisting that “he who cast down the first stone should be buried under it” and forcing the demolition to stop before it began. The Reformers then took their cause to the thirteen year old James VI, who sided with the crafts insisting that “too many Churches had been destroyed” as a result of the religious change.

This story has survived in the lore of Glasgow’s crafts and of the Cathedral itself, and present-day tourists are welcomed to the Cathedral by a large mural depicting the event. Yet two obstacles remain for our purposes. First, the only existing account is from Spottiswoode, who was not only antagonistic to Melville and his staunch Presbyterianism, but also a critic of the wanton destruction of

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12 Ibid, 259.
Churches in the period. Second, even if we grant that the craft guilds protected the Cathedral, it remains difficult to assess whether the crafts’ devotion to the building was religious, or whether they saw it as a place of work, to which they and their predecessors had devoted many hours over the years. In either case, it is unlikely that they would have liked to see it demolished. Adding to the curiosity is the claim of M’Crie who suggests in his *Life of Andrew Melville* that the crafts intervened because of a perceived violation of their rights in a planned *repairing* of the cathedral, but this claim is even less reliable than Spottiswoode’s.

There are, however, reasons to believe that the crafts could have had some religious motivations for protecting the Cathedral. Lynch has shown the key role that craft guilds played in maintaining Catholicism in Edinburgh, and there is no doubting the longstanding connection of the guilds with the Church. The crafts had made significant financial contributions to the cathedral for masses and altars that they had been forced to abandon in favour of donations to the poor in the post-Reformation period, which may have garnered a level of resentment against the new establishment. In particular, the Webster (or weaver) craft in Glasgow had made significant contributions to an altar at the Cathedral honoring St. Serf, who was essentially the step-father of St Mungo and a highly influential figure in Glasgow’s patron’s life, which may have motivated intervention on the part of the

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15 Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, 30-1; discussion of craft associations with Catholicism in Scotland can also be found in Fitch, *The Search for Salvation*, 100-103.
16 *Charters and Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow*, 534-5.
Websters.\textsuperscript{17} The involvement of the Glasgow crafts in further discussions in 1582-3 to maintain the cathedral also speaks to their devotion to the building, although this is less identifiably spiritual.\textsuperscript{18} However fragile the evidence for the crafts’ role in protecting the cathedral, it is relatively easy to see at least the shadows of religious conservatism in their behaviour.

As the final resting place of St. Mungo, the cathedral was also an important pilgrimage site. An inventory of the pre-Reformation relics at the site lists pieces of Jesus’ manger, a vial of the Virgin Mary’s milk, St. Mungo’s comb as well as his and other saints’ bones among the sacred items.\textsuperscript{19} People from Glasgow and elsewhere had traditionally traveled to the Cathedral to make use of the healing power of its relics, and pieces of a cross made by St. Mungo were considered a cure for madness.\textsuperscript{20} Thus even though the Kirk session would have frowned on the role of Glasgow Cathedral as a sacred place, for parishioners it had long been associated with holiness, and had served as a conduit through which they could request intercession. The prospect that people might intervene to protect a holy site might then indicate continued adherence to traditional ideas of the sacred as well as the

\textsuperscript{17} Robert Renwick and John Lindsay, \textit{History of Glasgow} (Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson and Co., 1921-1934) 3 vols. vol. 1, 352.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Glasgow Burgh Records} vol. 1, 100-102.
\textsuperscript{19} John Dowden, “The Inventory of Ornaments, Jewels, Relicks, Vestments, Service-books, etc, belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow in 1432, illustrated from various sources, and more particularly from the Inventories of the Cathedral of Aberdeen”, in \textit{Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland}, vol. 32 (1898-9), 280-329. 298-305.
\textsuperscript{20} Cowan, \textit{Death, Life and Religious Change}, 61-2
role of local elements of religious practice on the maintenance of traditional religion.\textsuperscript{21}

It is significantly less difficult to view elements of Scottish Catholicism in the rituals associated with a Church office in post Reformation Glasgow. In these rituals, whose pre-Reformation predecessors provided the basis for chapter 1, the integrity between the periods is clear as the public declaration of the duties of Churchmen are essential parts of the rituals associated with their installation. In 1588 when a new collection of elders was chosen for Glasgow’s session, the group was instructed to appear at the pulpit the next week in order to make themselves known to the community, and to swear “by the elevation of their hands” to keep the session confidential and not reveal the “words or worders” that they might hear in session cases.\textsuperscript{22} The rituals thus assured parishioners of both the membership and integrity of the session.

Even more striking are the instructions provided for the installation of a new minister by the presbytery. In 1594 when William Stirling was given charge of the parish in Baldernock, located ten miles north of Glasgow, his installation included a ritual nearly identical to those we saw used in the first decades of the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{23} After approving of Stirling’s doctrine, the presbytery indicated that he should take “real, actual and corporal possession” of his new position as minister. The presbytery instructed ministers from other parishes to achieve this by “placing

\textsuperscript{21} Good discussion of relics and holy intercession can be found in Cowan, Death, Life and Religious Change, 52-81; on local religion, see Mary Laven, “Encountering the Counter-Reformation” Renaissance Quarterly, vol. 59, no. 3. (Fall, 2006) 706-720. 709-710.
\textsuperscript{22} CH2/550/1 p. 201.
\textsuperscript{23} Above, Chapter 1, 35-45.
of him in the pulpit of the said Kirk. And by deliverance of the book of God called
the bible into his hand.”24 Of course all of this was to take place in the presence of
the congregation who were instructed to accept Stirling as “the pastor of their
souls.”25 A very similar case can be found in Monyaburgh in 1599 when William
Livingston was installed as minister of that parish.26 In his autobiography,
Livingston’s son John, a prominent seventeenth-century minister in the Ulster
plantation, describes his father as “all his days straight and zealous in the work of
reformation against episcopacy and ceremonies.”27 If this is true, William
Livingston was likely bothered greatly to see (or feel) the presbytery providing him
his position “solemnly by imposition of hands” and by the ritual placing of the new
minister in the pulpit and the handing over of the bible.28

The presence of these rituals in late-sixteenth Glasgow is interesting for the
degree to which it exemplifies the nature of religious change during the
Reformation period. Clearly Catholic forms persisted because the instructions and
rituals provided for new ministers might be found as easily in Simon’s protocols as
the presbytery records. As we have seen in chapter 3, and as Todd has noted,
ritualistic religious expressions retained their importance in post-Reformation
Scotland in spite of the logocentric nature of the theology.29 But, of course, rituals

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25 Ibid.
26 William Livingston was the son of the Alexander Livingston we saw deposed in Chapter 4 (p.22).
He was passed the possession of the vicarage by another Alexander Livingston, Lord Livingston.
27 John Livingston, “The Life of Mr John Livingstone, Minister of the Gospell, Written by Himself”
in *Select Biographies Edited for the Wodrow Society* ed. W.K. Tweedie (Edinburgh: Wodrow
28 CH2/171/33 p. 66-8.
29 Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 85.
changed. Where the pre-Reformation priest in Glasgow might sprinkle holy water or touch the ornaments of the altar, the post-Reformation minister was placed in the pulpit and handed a bible. While the archbishop of Glasgow might be called more ethereally “the father and shepherd” of the souls in Glasgow, the minister was simply called “the pastor” of these same souls.\(^{30}\) These changes reflected a new theology and a new Kirk, but in these cases in particular we see faces of Catholicism confronting us more prominently.

Assessing the reasons for the retention of these practices is more difficult, and in these cases it is sometimes problematic to measure cause and effect. When we see the retention of Catholic rituals across contexts it is tempting to interpret the retention as a strategy employed by reformers to facilitate a more complete religious change by serving it “with a sauce of practical tradition.”\(^{31}\) More theoretically, Todd has argued that the substitution of Protestant theology into traditional Catholic repentance rituals served a dual purpose: “to underpin the commonality of catholic and protestant concern with sin...and to undermine catholic clericalism, the ‘superstition’ of absolution and the theology of works co-operating with grace.”\(^{32}\) In this view, there is an implied understanding that the Reformed leadership tolerated ceremonies and rituals retained from Catholicism in order to subtly dismantle the remnants of the Roman Church by using its own rituals against it.\(^{33}\) Although William Livingston might be heartened to know that

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\(^{30}\) Above, Chapter 1, 56.  
\(^{31}\) Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 232.  
\(^{32}\) Ibid, 181.  
\(^{33}\) Ibid, 182.
in his installation at Monyaburgh he was participating in the destruction of Catholic Scotland, this view might provide the Reformed leadership with a misplaced degree of strategic foresight.

The source of the retention of ritualistic aspects of religion can just as easily be seen as deriving from a popular demand among parishioners to experience religion in this fashion. Karant-Nunn has shown us that in Germany attempts to “Protestantize” marriage rituals resulted in parishioners only arriving to “witness the supernatural” causing us to reconsider the degree to which people were ready to embrace new religious forms.\textsuperscript{34} Allowing for the possibility that the impetus for ritual retention resided with congregations rather than ministers allows us to garner a better assessment of the sustentation of Catholicism over time, however informal its elements might be. The very suggestion that ministers \textit{allowed} rituals to continue attests to their popularity, but a more general desire to experience religious ritual is difficult to prove. Yet, so is the suggestion that the Reformers sought anything but complete and swift removal of superstitious Catholic forms of religion. \textit{The Confession of Faith} or \textit{The First Book of Discipline} can hardly be perceived as having a flexible relationship with Catholic ritual even though Reformed practitioners often used flexible methods.\textsuperscript{35} Dawson has noted the Scottish Protestantism was “defined as much by Catholic beliefs not held as by the

\textsuperscript{34} Karant-Nunn, \textit{The Reformation of Ritual}, 36-7.

\textsuperscript{35} As we have seen, Todd has shown the flexible relationship of ministers with regard to baptism, but this evidence is more indicative of the pastoral nature of the ministry than a larger strategy for the dismantling of Catholicism. Todd, \textit{Culture of Protestantism}, 121-22; above, Chapter 4, 165.
basic tenets of Reformed doctrine that were.”36 Making a greater allowance for popular desire for ritual, then, equalizes the relationship between Kirkmen and their parishioners, reducing some of the minsters’ power. In doing so it places the ministry more accurately within a negotiation with parishioners in the protracted formation of the Scottish Kirk. This Kirk better reflects the long course of “achieving Reform”, which was guided by spiritual tenets, but which had to be achieved at the level of the parishes.

Allowing for the possibility that religious devotion played a role in the craftsmen’s protection of Glasgow Cathedral or that continued use of “Catholic” rituals emerged from a popular desire to experience them provides historians with options when investigating post-Reformation Catholicism in Glasgow. These options sometimes test the rigours of scholarship because they involve measurement of elusive aspects like “motivation” and “belief”, but they can bear fruit by encouraging us to challenge narratives of the past that isolate Catholicism into a niche field of study in a period when it continued to exert tremendous influence at all levels of European and Scottish society. Indulging the position that events and patterns that seem to indicate Catholicism might actually indicate Catholicism is also helpful in providing evidence of a critical mass of support for Catholicism within the religious culture of Glasgow. Allowance for this critical mass of support would contribute to better assessments of the “Catholic threat” in Glasgow and elsewhere in Scotland. For instance, the “lack of evidence of recusancy” that McCallum has found in Fife might be altered if one moves beyond

36 Dawson, Scotland Re-Formed, 232.
counting recusancy cases at the level of the session.\textsuperscript{37} Indeed, although David Hay Fleming has noted “only one obstinate Papist” in St. Andrews’ Kirk session records after 1582, Michael Graham has shown that as the Reformation progressed, the St. Andrews session placed a greater emphasis on punishing “traditional religious practices associated with the old religion” rather than obvious recusancy.\textsuperscript{38} Looking too exclusively for obstinate Papists might thus prevent one from seeing the man brought before the session in 1586 for having his child baptized according to the Catholic rite, or from questioning why all of the guilds were warned about keeping the Sabbath in 1588.\textsuperscript{39} These cases in other towns indicate the benefits of casting a wider net in search of Glasgow’s Catholics. In addition, allowing for some elements of unspoken and unwritten adherence to Catholic beliefs and practices contributes to the “de-isolation” of isolated instances of overt Catholicism. The benefit of this approach is clear, as formerly odd occurrences of Catholicism can be considered more accurately as elements of a religiously conservative subculture confronting a Christian culture in flux.

The presence of the Hegate family in the records provides some of the most sustained and interesting evidence of the survival of Catholicism in Glasgow. Archibald Hegate was the son of William Hegate and both father and son had

\textsuperscript{37} McCallum, \textit{The Reformation of the Scottish Parish}, 89, 94.  
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{St. Andrews Kirk Session}, 567, 634.
served as notaries in Glasgow. Andrew Pettegree has noted the number of notaries who joined the Reformed clergy in Scotland, but the Hegates showed that “the power of the pen” could work against the Reformed Kirk as well. William Hegate had been Glasgow’s notary at the time of the Reformation, and had not approved of the new Kirk. In 1586 he was threatened with excommunication for “contemptuous speaking” after he stormed into a meeting of the session, denounced its authority and called its members “wreckers and demolishers of the Kirk.” Though William’s punishment is not indicated, Archibald soon took his father’s place in antagonizing Glasgow’s session. In 1589 a letter was sent to the king specifically asking him to intervene to prevent Archibald Hegate and his associates, many of whom were excommunicated, from gathering together for “private reasoning” that served to confuse “simple and ignorant people” and led them to “decline from the truth.” Though the king’s intervention is not specifically indicated, Hegate was excommunicated for apostacy and appears to have satisfied the session because three months later the session indicates that Hegate had made his repentance. The entry, however, is telling in that the session notes “so far as they can perceive, Archibald Hegate outwardly [has] repented”

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40 William was the town clerk from 1547-76, volumes 1-4 in Renwick’s Protocol Books of the Town Clerks of Glasgow; Archibald’s protocol books can be found in vols. 8-10, 12. William Hegate also had a son called William Hegate who became a lecturer at Paris. See John Durkan, “A post-Reformation miscellany II” Innes Review vol. 55, no 1. (Spring, 2004. 52-72.) 66-9.
43 Ibid, 227.
indicating a clear lack of confidence that Hegate had truly experienced internal repentance.44

The Kirk’s acknowledgment of the limits of perception and outward repentance calls to mind the challenges of examining the lives of religious minorities in Early Modern Europe. As legal and dynastic settlements changed, people’s abilities to fully and publicly express their religious beliefs often had to follow. Eamon Duffy has shown evidence of religious dissemblers in England, as well as the value of seeking out “the conservative voice” in the English Reformation. Duffy’s research has shown that those who avoided public criticism for fear of persecution under Edward VI revealed harsh criticisms of Protestantism when such arguments were less dangerous upon Mary I’s accession.45 Similarly, Alexandra Walsham’s work on “Church Papists” in England has shown that outward conformity does not necessarily indicate inward conversion.46 There was also a longstanding tension regarding “Nicodemism” in the Reformed context. Calvin vehemently disapproved of religious conformity that prevented full participation of the faithful, but dissimulation obviously had its advantages to those on the ground in contested communities, thus it could variably be a challenge47 or a “source of strength”48 depending on the context or the position of the local leadership.49

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44 Ibid, 233.
The session’s suspicions about the dissimulation of Archibald Hegate were confirmed several times at the level of presbytery where he found himself a frequent visitor. In December of 1592 the presbytery specifically mentions Hegate’s violation of his 1589 censure for apostasy as he was excommunicated for housing Catholics from England, an occasion which included a meal before which the grace was said in Latin.\textsuperscript{50} This excommunication also proved difficult to enforce for the presbytery, and in 1594 it warned all of the Kirks in the presbytery not to associate with Hegate, whom some had been patronizing for his writing services.\textsuperscript{51} Later in the same year, the presbytery found itself fooled again. In the period after Hegate had conferred with members of the presbytery with an eye towards absolution, he met with several noblemen in the Blackfriars’ Kirk. Here, he “used his office of writing to the great displeasure of all that fears God” – likely through the dissemination of Catholic writing – indicating to the presbytery that “his deeds are found contrarious to his words.”\textsuperscript{52}

Though we cannot be certain which piece of writing the presbytery was referring to, we do have an indication of Hegate’s religious thoughts found on pages in his protocol book from 1581-84.\textsuperscript{53} The material is primarily a collection of biblical passages with commentary by Hegate. He writes that he collected the material, “for my comfort in the time of my trouble” although as we have seen he

\textsuperscript{49} Good discussion of Nicodemism can be found in Carlos Eire “Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal” \textit{The Sixteenth Century Journal}, vol. 10 No. 1 (Spring, 1979). 44-69.
\textsuperscript{50} CH2/171/31 p. 11. Above, Chapter 4, 175.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, 179-80
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, 190-1
\textsuperscript{53} The writings, “Extract of Certain Authorities and Notable Places of Scripture” are printed as an appendix to vol. 8 of Renwick’s \textit{Abstracts of the Protocol Books}, xii-xix.
was in trouble rather frequently. Throughout the writing Hegate provides pointed criticism of Protestants. He insists that “monstrous Luther and Calvin, with all their disciples, are worthy of death” and that those who teach these Reformed doctrine “flatter themselves when they have sinned.” In one section Hegate takes specific aim at Luther, whom he claims betrayed the Catholic Church in the manner of Judas by breaking his religious vows and taking a nun for a wife. In another, he describes Protestants as the “wasting wolves in Christ’s vineyard” all the while providing biblical references for his readers, engaging with Protestants on their own terms. At its end, Hegate’s writing even includes a sonnet addressed to God. In all, the brief commentaries provide evidence of a convinced Catholic whom we have seen commiserating with other Catholics against the censure and public pressure of the Kirk.

In 1595 Hegate made another attempt at reconciliation, this time writing a public confession of all that he had done against the Kirk. In addition to receiving Jesuits into his home, the confession admits to nearly every method of recusancy available to Catholics:

I have resorted openly against the heads of religion, traduced the good discipline of the Reformed Kirk, and railed against the pastor of the truth to bring the word thereby into contempt... And observing superstitious rites on days in abstinence from certain meats on certain days to the offence of the godly in haunting and receiving and assisting papists

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54 Ibid, xii.
55 Ibid, xiii-xiv.
56 Ibid, xvi-xvii.
57 Ibid, xix.
more affectionately and such that are suspect of papistry than the professors of the truth.\textsuperscript{58}

Even after this confession, Hegate would continue to struggle to find his way in the new Kirk into the seventeenth century, never remaining in its good graces for very long. He was restored to his position as notary in 1604 and stayed in it until 1612, but in 1615 his associations with John Ogilvie caused him to be banished to the continent where he had some connections and his wife received patronage from the papacy.\textsuperscript{59}

Archibald Hegate’s public and consistent Catholicism was an exceptional case, but other cases of overt Catholicism can also be found in the records. Prior to the 1587 communion, the session instructed elders to travel to the homes of “sundry people” suspected of Catholicism to ensure that they attended communion.\textsuperscript{60} In 1592 several men were brought before Glasgow presbytery for associating with David Graham, the well-known Catholic laird of Fintry who was executed in 1592, and were made to promise they would not “privately or publicly show ourselves favourers of the untrue and papistical Kirk.”\textsuperscript{61} Threats for associating with the laird of Fintry can also be found in Perth in 1588 where he parishioners are admonished for associating with the notorious “Jesuit

\textsuperscript{58} CH2/171/31 p. 277-280.
\textsuperscript{59} Durkan, “A post-Reformation miscellany II” 67.
\textsuperscript{60} CH2/550/1 p. 143.
\textsuperscript{61} CH2/171/31 p. 18-19; Sanderson notes the laird of Fintry as one of the more prominent Catholics in Scotland. Sanderson “Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century” \textit{Innes Review} vol. 21, Autumn, 1970. 87 – 107. 91; Michael Graham also notes the difficulties encountered by David Graham as a number of his kinsmen became prominent members of the Presbyterian leadership. \textit{Uses of Reform}, 277.
trafficker.” On three different occasions the presbytery also requested examination of the “Irishmen Scholars” at the grammar school to be sure that their doctrine was suitable, a concern that existed elsewhere in Scotland that speaks to the Kirk’s concerns with indoctrination of children and the fear of the influence of the Catholic Irish.

People also found themselves called before the presbytery for possession of Catholic objects or iconography. George Scot was ordered to stop painting pictures of God and the crucifix in people’s homes, presumably because the paintings were deemed superstitious. David Calderwood was made to endure an examination of his doctrine in 1597 because he was found in possession of “an old papist book”, Archbishop Hamilton’s *Catechism*. Alexander Mure also found himself disciplined by the presbytery for selling “erroneous books”, among them *The Golden Legend* and a “catechism” written by Scottish Catholic Nicol Burne. The most compelling Catholic possessions were found in the home of Margaret Muir, who was called before Glasgow’s Kirk session in February of 1592. Muir not only had Catholic books in her loft, but also chrism oil, two stolls, pictures of both the virgin Mary and baby Jesus, mass cloths, mass books, and a priest’s hat. Muir said she had received the items from her dead husband, George Herbertson, but the

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64 CH2/171/32B p. 167. The entry in this case is incomplete.
65 Ibid, p. 198; Alastair Mann has noted the increased presence of Catholic books in Scotland as Counter-Reformation activities increased on the continent in the seventeenth century. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Lothian: Tuckwell, 2000). 169.
66 CH2/171/33 p. 119.
session was suspicious and questioned her as to whether she “passed secretly to her loft to pray” and instructed her to burn the material publicly at Glasgow cross.67

In 1587, a man in Perth was also called before the session for having Catholic books and vestments, calling to mind the widespread association of devotional objects with Counter Reformation activities across Europe.68 Although chastised even in some Catholic districts for their potential to lead parishioners toward unorthodoxy, objects like holy water or relics could have significant power in places where regular service from the clergy was unavailable. On the continent, this was especially clear in the popularization of the rosary. Introduced by Catholic missionaries in Counter-Reformation Europe, the rosary facilitated regularized prayer and devotion to the Virgin Mary, even in the absence of a priest. Eventually, however, its popularization led it to “take on a material life of its own” and “the rosary became a holy object in its own right, capable of miraculous feats like the relics of saints.”69 Although evidence of use of the rosary is limited in Scotland, the presence of holy objects does provide evidence of larger trends of Counter Reformation Europe.70

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67 CH2/550/1 p. 377-9; Burne’s “catechism” is likely his Disputation Concerning Controversit Headdis of Religion initially published in Paris in 1581. It can be found in Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century, 1573-1600 T.G. Law ed. (Scottish Text Society, 1901) 107-172.
68 Laven, “Encountering the Counter-Reformation” 710-12.
70 As John Ogilvie was led to his execution, he was supposed to have thrown his rosary from the gallows, striking a Bohemian Calvinist nobleman in the chest causing him to subsequently convert to Catholicism. Mark Dilworth, “Three Documents Relating to John Ogilvie” Innes Review 34, (1983): pp. 51-65. 55
Public criticism of the clergy might also be seen as indicative of Catholic beliefs. Although we have seen William Hegate criticize the “wreckers of the Kirk”, critique of the ministry was also frequently a woman’s domain. For instance, Janet Mair was made to do repentance in 1592 for mocking the minister and not knowing the Lord’s Prayer. Janet Blair, “a blasphemer of God’s name”, was given three Sundays at the pillar in linen cloth for her crimes in 1599, exemplifying the “boldness” Sanderson has associated with Scottish recusant women. Recognition of women’s roles in confronting the ministry adds to our ever-increasing understanding of women’s ability to subvert social orders through both violent and non-violent forms of “disorderliness.” The women we encounter in Glasgow’s session and presbytery records also broaden our understanding of the role of Scottish women in maintaining Catholicism beyond the noblewomen discussed in Alasdair Roberts’ study of Catholic women and from an earlier period.

Female Glaswegian’s criticisms of the clergy are perhaps best exemplified in the period following the death of Margaret Aiken, the supposed “Great Witch of Balweary.” Aiken (or Atkin) was arrested for witchcraft in Fife in 1597 and in order to avoid her execution convinced some ministers, most notably John Cooper of Glasgow, that she could detect witches by looking into their eyes. Excited by this,

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71 CH2/550/1 p. 359
72 Sanderson “Catholic Recusancy in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century”, 100.
Cooper engaged on a three month commission to find witches “especially at Glasgow” and several were condemned and burnt to death.\(^{75}\) Over time, however, Aiken’s abilities were exposed as fraudulent. As Spottiswoode put it: “In [the] end she was found to be a mere deceiver (for the same persons on the one day she had declared guilty, the next day in another habit she cleansed.)”\(^{76}\) Aiken admitted her deception and maintained this position until she was killed, but the case seemed to leave a bad taste in many people’s mouths. “The credulity of the minister (Cooper)” was thought to have contributed to “too great forwardness” in the execution of witches on scant evidence.\(^{77}\) Spottiswoode notes upon hearing of Aiken’s case King James required stricter criteria for the execution of witches.\(^{78}\) Goodare has disagreed with this point, but has associated Aiken’s tour with the “Scottish witchcraft panic of 1597.”\(^{79}\)

For our purposes, Aiken’s story is important for the involvement of Marion Walker, who is known to some for hosting John Ogilvie in 1615.\(^{80}\) In October of 1597 Walker and several others were brought before the presbytery as part of an effort to discover the source of copies of Aiken’s confession that had been circulating in Glasgow after having been originally discovered in the possession of John Mureson, minister at Cambuslang.\(^{81}\) Cooper was upset because the confession

\(^{75}\) A narrative of Aiken’s story can be found in Spottiswoode, *History of Church of Scotland* vol. III, 66-7.
\(^{76}\) Ibid, 67.
\(^{77}\) Ibid.
\(^{78}\) Ibid.
\(^{81}\) CH2/171/32B p. 178
“tended to the reproach of John Cooper” for his role in the burning of innocent women.82 The documents and the criticism must have been widespread because the presbytery passed an “Act Against Slanderers of the Ministry of Glasgow” in November of the year that threatened the branks for any who claimed “the ministry of the said city as the author of putting to death the persons lately executed for witchcraft.”83

The animosity between Marion Walker and John Cooper grew over time and Walker was the staunchest critic of Cooper’s behaviour. She continuously refused to give testimony in the case, as it attempted to uncover the source of Aiken’s confession, of which she had a copy.84 As the time of her excommunication neared she also refused to acknowledge her “slanderous speeches” against Cooper, or to provide information on “the blasphemous writs” which were “blasphemously used to the slander of Mr. John.”85 In time, Walker’s criticism became even more clearly directed at Cooper than at the ministry more generally. In 1599 Walker was accused of missing the communion in Glasgow and of being a “railer against the ministry.” Walker insisted she had attended the communion, and corrected the presbytery by stating that she had only “spoken against them that had done wrong to her” which, of course, was Cooper who had caused her excommunication.86 In an almost certain recognition that Walker had a legitimate argument against Cooper for not only his role in the Aiken case, but also his generally difficult and

82 Ibid. 178-9.
83 Ibid, 185.
84 Ibid, 192, 209.
85 Ibid, 211 -12.
86 CH2/171/33 p. 122-3.
combative nature, the presbytery offered Walker a chance to air her grievances.\(^{87}\) David Wemyss and John Bell offered to meet with Walker after Sunday service to discuss “any grief she has conceived in her mind against any of the ministry” and further evidence of the legitimacy of Walker’s criticisms of Cooper can be seen in the presbytery’s discipline for Walker – a basic warning not to rail against the ministry in the future.\(^{88}\)

The many roles of Marion Walker – witch-defender, document-disseminator, clergy-criticizer, Jesuit host – speak to the dynamic and diverse experiences of the post-Reformation Catholic community in Glasgow. From her humble beginnings as a social critic without any obvious Catholic associations, Walker was transformed to near martyr status, with some claiming she died in jail for her associations with Ogilvie.\(^ {89}\) How did this happen? Perhaps Walker’s criticisms of Cooper were a by-product of a latent Catholicism we cannot identify in the records. Perhaps Cooper’s behaviour had been so odious that Walker had turned to Catholicism and nourished her faith among the elements of the Catholic subculture we have seen present in the town. Perhaps Walker’s Catholicism was a combination of these two possibilities, which was brought to fruition by the endeavours of Ogilvie to fulfill his Jesuit mission of “saving souls.” Regardless of

\(^{87}\) Cooper was the subject of much criticism throughout his tenure and on several occasions charged parishioners with slandering him. In 1594, in what might have been another witch case, Cooper brought Walter and William Bowie before the presbytery for blaming him for their wife and mother’s death. CH2/171/31 p. 212-19, 229. In 1599, two men were brought before the burgh court for posting a piece of writing containing “blasphemous, vile and menacing words” against Cooper on the minister’s gate at night. They were fined and made to promise not to repeat their crime. Glasgow Burgh Records, 200-201.

\(^{88}\) CH2/171/33 p. 123.

our conclusions, it is important to recognize that Walker’s roles were diverse and changing and that they could possibly exemplify a more Catholic Glasgow than we have recognized previously.

In fact, in investigating the “relationships, negotiations, and encounters” of Catholics in Glasgow we have seen many of the elements of the larger culture of early modern Catholicism present in Glasgow, integrating its Catholic elements into larger European trends. We have seen women at all levels of society play a key role in the maintenance of Catholicism, especially in its “non-institutional nature”, a reality present in Scotland and elsewhere, and which Michael Mullett credits for the elements of the “quiet, domestic reflective faith” that emerged in England. 90 Glasgow’s residents also trafficked Catholic books and composed controversial writing based on scripture that challenged the authority of the new Kirk in principle and in practice, all commonplaces within early modern Catholicism. 91 More publicly they screamed at their ministers or refused to do as they said, as they had in St. Andrews and Edinburgh and throughout the Catholic world, risking isolation from the larger community. 92 Later in this chapter we will see Glaswegians housing Jesuits and saying mass with them. In all of their actions, Glasgow’s Catholic community made a claim, sometimes boldly, sometimes quietly, for the place of their religion within the town. In a religiously divided town, as Glasgow certainly was, Catholics could make no reasonable claim to a majority

92 Ibid, 102.
position, but recognition of the validity of their claim to at least some portion of the religious community can provide a better understanding of sixteenth-century religious life there.

The early part of this chapter was concerned with perception. It claimed that if we allow for elements of religious life that seem Catholic we might be provided with a more thorough understanding of the strength of Catholic life in the town. “Seeing Catholic”, as this might be called, is also important for our discussion of the martyrdom of John Ogilvie, not because it aims to engage in the confessional history writing that has been rightly jettisoned in modern scholarship, but because “seeing Catholic” provides historians with more options for understanding this death. It allows historians to re-assess traditional narratives and re-evaluate the degree to which we are beholden to them. One is reminded here of Eamon Duffy’s interesting discovery that the cause of large-scale re-glazing of Ipswich Churches in the 1540s, often thought to indicate the Protestant leadership’s ridding of Churches from superstitious images, “was not Protestantism, but a freak storm” in which hail had damaged several Churches.93 In other words, one must look – and look again – before one leaps.

In 1615, after completing his reading of the formal indictment made against John Ogilvie, William Hay, King James VI/I’s representative at the trial, took pause to give the Jesuit a summary of the accusations made against him, so the priest would understand “without mistaking.” Hay said:

You are not accused of saying Masse, nor of seducing his Majesties subjectes to a contrarie religion, nor of any point touching your conscience, properly; but for declining his Majesties authoritie, against the lawes and statutes of the land, and for maintaining treasonable opinions; such as we, of this Realme, have not heard by any avowed.94

Although Hay might have been surprised to read the portion of the indictment that specifically mentions Ogilvie’s saying of the mass,95 it is clear from Hay’s statement that the king’s government wanted no part in the creation of a religious martyr and preferred to frame the trial as one against treason. Ogilvie had different ideas, however, and despite Hay’s best efforts at clarification, as the moment of his execution approached, the Jesuit spoke to the crowd assembled saying “I am delivered up to death for religion alone” – staking his claim to a more glorious death and a place among the Catholic martyrs.96 These passages illustrate the ongoing interplay between early modern politics and religion, the reality of a ‘long Reformation’, as well as the fiercely contested efforts to frame this particular death.

In reading the opposing statements it is apparent that even before historians got hold of John Ogilvie’s story, there were questions of whether Ogilvie died for

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95 This portion of the indictment tells Ogilvie “you have...by your conferences, intisements, auricular confessions, Masse-saying, and other subtle and craftie means, indevoured your selfe...to corrupt many of his Majesties lieges in religion.” Ibid, p. 341.
treason, for Catholicism, or for both. These questions still challenge historians after nearly four hundred years, and this chapter will attempt to provide some perspective on the execution by featuring Ogilvie’s Catholicism more prominently in the explanations for his death, placing him more carefully in an historical context to which he is better suited.

There are barriers preventing historians from understanding the Catholic elements of John Ogilvie’s story, but none that cannot be overcome. Interpretations of Ogilvie’s death essentially survive in two narratives represented in the passages above. To the point of his execution, Ogilvie’s story is supplied from his own prison writings, his Relatio incarceracionis et martyrii P Ioannis Ogilbei Natione Scoti e Societate Jesu Presbyteri (Relatio). The second half of the pamphlet is often called the Continuatio, eyewitness accounts of both the execution and its aftermath provided by Ogilvie’s fellow prisoners and other witnesses. The Relatio and Continuatio were originally printed together in 1615 at Douai, and survive today in both the original Latin and in various translations.\textsuperscript{97} One of the authors of the Continuatio was the Benedictine priest John Main who along with some others was imprisoned with Ogilvie and documented his experiences. In support of the

\textsuperscript{97} A copy of the original Douai printing is owned by the Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh (JO/1) but is held at the National Library of Scotland (BCL.S165). It is reprinted in W.J. Duncan ed. Miscellaneous Papers Principally Illustrative of Events in the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI (Glasgow, 1834) 79-108. C.J. Karslake’s translation An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of John Ogilvie, cited above is the English translation of the account. It is copied with various derivations in W.E. Brown, John Ogilvie: An Account of his Life and Death with a Translation of the Documents Relating Thereto, 171-201; W. Forbes-Leith ed., Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1889) 297-316; J. Forbes, Martyre de Jean Ogilvie (Paris, 1885); Jean Ogilvie: Ecossais, Jesuite (Paris, 1901). Also, there is Thomas Collins, Martyr in Scotland: the Life and Times of John Ogilvie (London, 1955), but it is less inaccurate and unreliable.
authenticity of both the Relatio and Continuatio, Main gave a sworn deposition in the beatification process for Ogilvie, begun in 1628.98 The depositions provide interesting evidence for the provenance of Ogilvie’s narrative, as they describe his imprisonment, the writing of his narrative, and the secret passage of portions of the work to visitors through the space surrounding the prison door.99 In spite of the lack of manuscript evidence, there is little reason to doubt the authenticity of Ogilvie’s account, but a clear interpretive agenda can be seen in the narrative that insists that Ogilvie was killed “for religion alone.”

The other narrative of Ogilvie’s death, and the one most frequently chosen by historians, belongs to John Spottiswoode, (d. 1639), the Archbishop of Glasgow at the time of the trial and Ogilvie’s primary antagonist. Spottiswoode’s version of the events was first printed by Andro Hart in Edinburgh in the months after the execution, and reprinted in full in Robert Pitcairn’s Ancient Criminal Trials of Scotland.100 In comparison with Ogilvie’s narrative, Spottiswoode’s is remarkably similar in terms of the facts of the trial and there are few conspicuous omissions or additions found in either work. As one might expect, Spottiswoode’s narrative insists that Ogilvie was killed for treason, and like Ogilvie’s narrative is clearly intended to persuade readers to share a particular view of the Jesuit’s death.

98 The Process of Beatification can be found at the Scottish Catholic Archives, JO/2/1-2. It is edited and translated in W.E. Brown, John Ogilvie 257-306 (hereafter, Process).
99 Process, 296.
100 Spottiswoode’s version of the events can be found in his A True Relation of the Proceedings Against John Ogilvie quoted above, as well as the portion of his History vol. 3, pp. 521-23.
Discussions of why Spottisoode’s ‘treason narrative’ has been chosen so often by historians provides an interesting glimpse into the treatment of the sources for early modern Scotland. Pitcairn notes that the report of the trial was compiled for printing “with the view of being extensively circulated in England”, which suggests Spottiswoode’s desire to frame the execution and to discount suggestions that Ogilvie was a persecuted Catholic martyr. Spottiswoode also discusses the Ogilvie case in his History of the Church of Scotland, again adhering to this view. Like the exchanges between Ogilvie and the authorities, the near immediate publication of different interpretations of the same event speaks to the principal parties’ own preoccupations regarding interpretation and exemplifies the need for historians to be careful in their approaches to the documents.

The recognition of the presence of two differing interpretations of Ogilvie’s execution seems to have been quite common among the editors of the documents. In 1833 Pitcairn clearly indicated that A True Relation was the institutional version of the case and even encouraged readers to be wary of Spottiswoode’s interpretations of the trial considering the archbishop’s role in the proceedings.101 Additionally, W.J. Duncan’s preface to Ogilvie’s Relatio calls A True Relation “the Protestant account” noting that the inclusion of Ogilvie’s narrative might be of value for historians interested in this trial, while implying that it might counterbalance Spottiswoode’s version.102 The editors’ warnings have not led to a corresponding balance in the historiography, however. Although there have not

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101 Pitcairn, Introduction to A True Relation, 332.
102 W.J. Duncan, Preface to Miscellaneous Papers, xiv-xv.
been many formal treatments of Ogilvie’s trial by historians, it remains true that those who have discussed Ogilvie have unequivocally chosen Spottiswoode’s ‘treason narrative’. A representative view is that put forward by Allan MacInnes when he writes that “Ogilvy was convicted of treason less for his activities as a Jesuit priest than for his uncompromising denial of the royal supremacy in Kirk and state.”

This line of thought is in keeping with several other scholars and it remains difficult to find contrasting vision of the execution.

Why is it that Spottiswoode’s narrative has been chosen so frequently by historians? Of course speculating on the motives of historians is fraught with difficulty, but some conclusions can be drawn. The first, as mentioned, is that there have been very few full treatments of Ogilvie by historians, so his story has yet to be subjected to the rigours of quality scholarship. The passing nature of the discussions of Ogilvie by modern historians has, however, taken some identifiable patterns. One formation considers Ogilvie within the context of the political strife of James VI/I’s later reign and considers his death to be a consequence of the unstable relationship between king and Kirk during that period. Another view refers to Ogilvie’s case as an anomalous exception to the dearth of religious violence in early seventeenth-century Scotland. This view on the relative civility of the early modern Scottish Kirk is usually accompanied by an additional comment.

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that Ogilvie’s death was not *really* for religion. In one example, Keith Brown prefaces his comments on Ogilvie by noting that “Roman Catholics suffered under a wide range of political and civil disabilities, but Catholics were not put to death for the faith”, a statement with which Ogilvie would have certainly disagreed. In considering these views, one sometimes gets the impression that Ogilvie was not a priest at all, or that he was arrested for something other than the performance of the specific duties of a priest. In fact, Brown writes that Ogilvie “was punished for his treasonable activities not for holding catholic beliefs”, failing to acknowledge that the priest’s Catholic beliefs were the treasonable activity for which he was executed, namely holding the pope’s authority above the king’s. Only the late John Durkan has emphasized at all the spiritual element at the heart of Ogilvie’s mission in Scotland, supplying at least some balance to the analysis by noting that for Ogilvie his death was clearly a “spiritual issue.” In short, beyond Durkan the ‘treason narrative’ has become the default position for references to John Ogilvie’s execution.

The primary endeavour of this chapter is to reassess the common views of John Ogilvie’s execution by placing his Catholicism more squarely at the centre of his story. Applying an outlook more sensitive to Ogilvie’s religiosity is valuable in two specific ways. First, more careful acknowledgement of the fascination early modern Catholics had with the culture of martyrdom make it plausible, if not likely, that he sought his own martyrdom and that he entered into his mission in Scotland.

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106 Brown, *Kingdom or Province*, 73.
possibly expecting that he could lose his life there. The implications of this are significant. Certainly if Ogilvie himself considered his own execution to be a productive end to his work in Scotland, then the manner in which historians regard his approach to the mission and trial can be dramatically altered. The notion that Ogilvie pursued his own martyrdom de-emphasizes the victimization of Ogilvie and “activates” the Jesuit to a degree previously overlooked in the historiography. In addition to revealing the possibility that Ogilvie pursued his own martyrdom, approaches to the material that are more sensitive to their religious underpinnings also lead to larger discussions of the major domestic religious controversies in seventeenth-century England and Scotland, namely the Gunpowder Plot (1605) and the controversy surrounding King James VI/I’s Oath of Allegiance. Ogilvie’s Catholicism informs both the crown’s initial reaction to the Jesuit’s presence in Glasgow as well as the preoccupation of both sides with how the execution might be construed. Consideration of Ogilvie’s religiosity, then, places him in a historical context to which he is more suited, more appropriately addresses the issues of the period, and contributes positively to a quality understanding of religious life in Glasgow in the early seventeenth century.

Scotland’s only post-Reformation Catholic saint, Ogilvie was executed at Glasgow cross in 1615. He had been born into a Reformed family in 1579, left Scotland for the continent in 1592, and spent a number of years in the monasteries
that came to be known as the *Schottenklöster.* Over the last number of decades, some scholarly efforts have been made in sorting out his biographical details. This work indicates that Ogilvie followed a path similar to many Scottish priests in the period. He first enrolled at the Scots College at Louvain in 1595 and spent time in Regensburg, Graz, Vienna and Paris, among other places. His time on the continent clearly would have immersed him in the particular Jesuit educational culture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. This educational environment emphasized the adaptability of its academic programme to the disparate settings Jesuits might find themselves in in the early seventeenth century. It also trained students in public disputation and emphasized that members of the Society should “influence their students more by their example than by their words.” Participation in this brand of education would have been impossible to experience in Scotland, where Catholicism was illegal, although it had had survived in various regions to various degrees.

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108 The late Mark Dilworth completed some excellent biographical work on the Ogilvie that remained unfinished at the time of his death in 2004. Many of his notes can be found in his Scottish Catholic Archive, Columba House, Edinburgh “Keeper’s Records (KC).”


Although there were confessional differences, in many ways Jesuit training for work in Scotland was similar to the training of the Reformed clergy that emerged out of Geneva.\textsuperscript{113} The need for clergy in underserved and contested regions necessitated requests to Calvin and other leaders in exiled communities for provision of ministers, with Geneva providing the central elements of leadership through the “Company of Pastors”, the group of Calvinist ministers that included Theodore Beza and others.\textsuperscript{114} These ministers would then travel to regions governed by complex and changing local conditions that were often hostile to their message, resulting in an itinerant clerical existence similar to that which Catholic missionaries experienced. The \textit{Schottenklöster} thus served many of the same functions for Catholics as Geneva did for Calvinists.

Ogilvie was ordained a Jesuit in 1611, and his associations with this era in the Society’s history would have important implications for his experiences in Glasgow. Celebration of martyrdom was one of the most conspicuous characteristics of this generation of Christian culture. The mark John Foxe’s \textit{Acts and Monuments} (1563) has left on our understanding of early modern Christian life attests to its importance for Protestants, but martyrrologies were an important aspect of Catholic culture as well. It is well known that martyrdom affirmed the value of earthly works for Catholics in this period, as it aided in restoring the

\textsuperscript{114} Fitzsimmons, “Building a Reformed Ministry in Holland”, 177-78; Penny Roberts is careful to point out, however, that “the Genevan organisation was only part of the story”, noting the high ratio of French clergy serving French communities, Roberts, “The Demands and Dangers of the Reformed Ministry”, 153-54; Scott Manestch, \textit{Calvin’s Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536-1609} (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012.)
austerity of the priesthood so vilified by reformers and helped to “stiffen the Catholic spine.” More specifically, increased persecution of Jesuits in England in the Elizabethan age had caused a corresponding increase in the order’s celebrations of its martyrs, especially Edmund Campion, and of the merits of martyrdom generally. In the Scottish context, a 1607 letter from William Murdoch, one of Ogilvie’s fellow Scottish Jesuits, lamented that no Scottish members of the Society had been martyred and openly wondered about the possibility of his own martyrdom. Whether or not they chose to carry it out, for Ogilvie, Murdoch and other Jesuit priests, the pursuit of martyrdom was a widely accepted convention, and would have been considered a more agreeable ending to a Christian mission than a more “conventional” death like old age or illness.

The prospect of achieving the ‘martyr’s crown’ in the Scottish context may have seemed even more reasonable considering the problematic nature of the Jesuit work there. The Scottish mission was primarily an offshoot of the English one, and would usually only generate strategic interest from the superiors of the Society when it was thought that a Scottish intervention could have direct impact

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119 For more on the Jesuit mission to Scotland see Yellowlees, ‘So Strange a Monster as a Jesuite’; Thomas M. McCoog, “Pray to the Lord of the Harvest”: Jesuit Missions to Scotland in the Sixteenth Century".
on southern concerns. In the late sixteenth-century, much of this interest was centred on the conversion of the king, whom the Jesuits mistakenly assumed might be better accessed and convinced of his Catholic pedigree through the influence of his relatives in Scotland. As the prospects of converting the king dwindled, so did the Scottish mission, and by the time Ogilvie took his place in the mission it was one characterized more by secret masses than political machinations. Pursuing martyrdom and providing oneself as an example to future generations of Scottish Catholics would have seemed quite reasonable in these circumstances. In this way, Ogilvie would have exemplified increased Jesuit quests for martyrdom that soon became so problematic that the staunch general Claudio Acquaviva began to be put off by the presence of certain Jesuits who seemed “more eager to die for the faith than to survive and minister to Catholics.”

In his education, Ogilvie encountered a pedagogy that espoused the value of the martyr’s sacrifice for Catholics. Collections of Catholic martyrologies can be documented in the records of the Scots colleges, and it is widely known that these volumes were standard reading for Catholics at the time. While at Louvain, Ogilvie was also catechumen of Cornelius a Lapide, one of the most prominent Jesuit biblical scholars of the era. Lapide’s commitment to the merits of martyrdom was widely known and is reflected in his over thirty volumes of biblical

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121 Ibid, pp. 190-201.
123 One can find the Scots College Rome’s copy of the *English Martyrologie* (1607), at the Scottish Catholic Archive, MM/3/2; Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, pp. 66-67.
commentary written in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. In his Great Commentary he writes:

It is a distinguishing characteristic of a martyr not to resist, not to defend himself, but to suffer himself to be slain for Christ. For, "a soldier fights, not a martyr." A martyr is a sharer in the Passion of Christ.  

Evidence that Ogilvie was a dutiful student was initially manifested in his badgering of Acquaviva to let him serve in Scotland in spite of the dangers there. Though we only have the General’s letters to Ogilvie, the young priest’s opinion that “such an enterprise should not be abandoned through fear of persecution” exemplifies the priest’s approach to his assignment and fits well into the larger Christian trends of the post-Reformation period.

Before coming to Glasgow in August of 1614, Ogilvie spent about a year in Edinburgh secretly visiting Catholic prisoners and devoting “all his time to the conversion of the old and the young, the noble and the poor.” Why he came to Glasgow is not certain, but the evidence we have seen of Catholic practice and belief there likely made it a potentially fruitful place for a missionary. Archibald Hegate was also specifically indicted for harbouring of Jesuits in the 1580s, an era in which

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125 Letter from General Acquaviva to Ogilvie, January 30, 1612. Translated in Brown, John Ogilvie, p. 154. Xerox copies of the correspondence regarding Ogilvie’s mission to Scotland from the Jesuit archives in Rome (ASRI) can be found in Glasgow University Library (MS Gen. 777). They are edited and translated in Brown, John Ogilvie pp.153-157. Again, the plight of the Catholic missionary compares well with the conditions in many Reformed communities, “under the cross”. See Barbara Diefendorf, Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) especially Ch. 7 “The Underground Church”.
126 Narratives of Scottish Catholics, 298
there were Jesuits in Perth as well, so Catholic networks likely existed among communities.\textsuperscript{127}

According to Durkan, he arrived in Glasgow “to make an issue of mass-saying” and upon his arrest Ogilvie continued to welcome the notion that he could lose his life on account of his religion.\textsuperscript{128} This was not as easy as it would seem in Scotland, where executions on religious grounds were relatively rare in the Reformation period.\textsuperscript{129} Yet, throughout the trial, before there was even a suggestion of execution, Ogilvie made reference to his willingness to prove his constancy “with my own blood” and clearly prioritized his potential heavenly reward over his earthly comfort when he noted that he was “born for greater things than to be overcome by sense” after being threatened with torture by authorities.\textsuperscript{130} As any good martyr would, Ogilvie also shunned opportunities to save his own life. In his narrative, there are several occasions in which the Jesuit was presented with opportunities to avoid death. In one, he was offered and refused a rich benefice in the Scottish Kirk should he convert to the Protestant side.\textsuperscript{131} Spottiswoode was also rumoured to have offered his daughter’s hand in marriage.\textsuperscript{132} The Archbishop certainly offered exile as an alternative to execution, as long as Ogilvie promised to never return to Scotland. Ogilvie obstinately replied: “I came by commandment, and if I were even now forth of the kingdom, I should return ... If all the hairs of

\textsuperscript{127} CH2/171/31 p. 278-280; \textit{Perth Kirk Session}, 383, 390.
\textsuperscript{129} Jane Dawson, “The Scottish Reformation and the Theatre of Martyrdom”, 259-270.
\textsuperscript{130} Ogilvie, \textit{An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of John Ogilvie}, 14, 29.
\textsuperscript{131} Ogilvie, \textit{An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of John Ogilvie}, 54.
mine head were priests, they should all come into the kingdom.”\textsuperscript{133} In another example, Ogilvie was visited in prison by “Mr. John Browne of Logh-hill” who offered to make arrangements for Ogilvie’s escape. The priest again refused:

The Father smiled affectionately, and embracing this distinguished gentleman with great marks of friendship, expressed to him his extreme gratitude for the offered kindness, but assured him that death for so splendid a cause was more acceptable to him than any life, and that he looked forward to it with so sincere a desire as to fear nothing so much as that he should by any accident be snatched away from it.\textsuperscript{134}

Ogilvie’s shunning of multiple opportunities to escape martyrdom reveals a much more active John Ogilvie. This active Ogilvie should, at the very least, cause historians to take pause before they accede to the view that “John Ogilvie was a scapegoat” or the opinion that the Jesuit was a “tragic victim” of jurisdictional battles between Scottish bishops and King James VI/I.\textsuperscript{135} There is little doubt that the heated religio-political landscape of early seventeenth-century Scotland had a role to play in Ogilvie’s death. Certainly this was the view of the Presbyterian historian David Calderwood in his \textit{History of the Kirk of Scotland} when he wrote that “some interpreted this execution to have proceedit rather of a care to blesse the king’s government, than of anie sincere hatred of the Popish religion.”\textsuperscript{136} But relying too heavily on this view of the execution victimizes Ogilvie too severely and

\textsuperscript{133} Spottisoode, \textit{A True Relation}, 345.
\textsuperscript{134} John Browne of Logh Hill’s story was originally relayed in 1672 by his son James who became a Jesuit. James Browne’s 1672 statement can be found in the Scottish Catholic Archvies (JO/3/2). It is included as an appendix in C.J. Karslake ed., \textit{An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of John Ogilvie}, pp. 52-55. The statement is also discussed by Mark Dilworth in “Three Documents Relating to John Ogilvie” 55-61.
\textsuperscript{135} MacDonald, \textit{The Jacobean Kirk}, 155.
\textsuperscript{136} David Calderwood, \textit{History of the Kirk of Scotland} vol. 7, 196.
limits the priest’s role in the events. It is clear that John Ogilvie was more personally committed to his martyrdom than has been acknowledged previously. He likely would have been greatly distressed at being portrayed as either a “scapegoat” or a “victim.” These images were not in keeping with the austere bravery expected of a martyr. Instead, Ogilvie would have much preferred the depiction of his death in which he is supposed to have said “I would willingly and joyfully pour forth even a hundred lives” as he made his way to the gallows, and in which he displays all of the characteristics of the contemporary Jesuit martyr. Irrespective of how one imagines Ogilvie’s preferences regarding his legacy, affording him more agency in the progress of his execution is necessary based on the sources of his trial.

John Ogilvie’s pursuit of his martyrdom is also supported by the degree to which those who were captured with him and in the surrounding years avoided extreme punishment. Many of those found consorting with Ogilvie in Glasgow were examined and made to give confessions about their associations with him. Several people, including Marion Walker, Archibald Hegate and his brother Robert, confessed to hearing mass, drinking with the priest, or making their confessions and receiving absolution from Ogilvie. Others were investigated as to where and how many times they had taken the sacrament. In spite of some of them admitting before the court that they remained Catholic to that moment or that they had participated in the sacraments with the priest, none of them received the

\[\text{\footnotesize\cite{OGILVIE} An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of John Ogilvie, 55.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\cite{MAROTTI} Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy, 77-89.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize\cite{TRIALS} Ancient Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. 3, part 1, 352-354.}\]
extreme punishment that Ogilvie did, and most escaped with fines or instructions to make repentance and “be better informed in the truth.”

Three Edinburgh men, William Sinclair, Robert Wilkie, and Robert Cruikshank, were also implicated. Charged with “treasonable resetting of Jesuits and trafficking priests” these men were incriminated more specifically for their associations with one of John Ogilvie’s fellow Jesuits, James Moffett. Sinclair and company were charged because they “kept daily society and company with the said Jesuit, upon the streets, kept trysts and meetings with him and with the said John Ogilvie, a notorious traitor.” Sinclair, on behalf of the rest, insisted that he had not helped Ogilvie at all, and that he had not known Moffett was a priest when the group had given him aid. Sinclair insisted that the case should not go to trial, but in spite of his objections, the assize found the three men guilty and sentenced them to be “brought forth of ward to the market cross of Edinburgh; and there to be hanged upon a gibbet, until they be dead.”

Though they had been sentenced to die, the king intervened at the last moment, changing their penalties to banishment, Cruikshank from the town and Sinclair and Wilkie from the kingdom.

Moffett’s case provides a good contrast with Ogilvie’s trial. Moffett was charged with having come to Scotland “of plain purpose and intention to pervert and seduce his Majesties subjects from the true religion presently professed.” After he had “landed in some part up the water of the Forth” Moffett had lived in

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142 Ibid, 372.
143 Ibid, 376.
144 Ibid, 378.
secret in Edinburgh and had studied at St. Andrews. Like Ogilvie, Moffett insisted that he had come to Scotland to “venture his life for the safety of souls that war in danger,” but he certainly did not pursue martyrdom as Ogilvie did. After his arrest, Moffett’s deposition was scheduled exactly three months after Ogilvie’s execution, and in it he denied hearing the mass, saying that he did not have the mass clothes necessary. Unlike Ogilvie, Moffett behaved pleasingly with the authorities, agreeing with them on several occasions regarding the authority of the king, and thereby escaping with a sentence of banishment from the country, what Spottiswoode aptly described as “a safer course.” A similar story emerged five years later when Patrick Anderson, another Jesuit, was captured and jailed. After his trial, Anderson, was also sentenced to be executed, but just as he had done previously, the king intervened at the last moment, having Anderson banished instead, although the banishment only resulted in Anderson’s move to London, where he died in 1624.

That those implicated in Ogilvie’s own case or in similar cases in the surrounding years avoided death, even though some were sentenced to be killed and in a few cases even brought to the gallows, underlines the conspicuousness of Ogilvie’s execution. It is some of the most convincing evidence that Ogilvie pursued his own martyrdom in that it shows that the king was reluctant to create martyrs, and that the creation of a martyr in Glasgow would need a cooperative participant. James Moffett’s acknowledgment of the king’s authority and eventual freeing does

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not necessarily prove that Ogilvie was guiltier of treason than Moffett. Instead, it might provide further proof that Ogilvie’s commitment to his own martyrdom was an integral factor in changing the king’s usual policy of condemnation followed by clemency to the more violent conclusion of Ogilvie’s case. After all, Moffett was also a Jesuit who would have been schooled in the same tradition as Ogilvie and been subject to the same suspicions regarding the subversive nature of the order.

The possibility that Ogilvie may have pursued his own martyrdom exemplifies the benefits of an approach that places his Catholicism at the centre of the reasons for his execution. The John Ogilvie who “wilfully and joyfully” made his way to the gallows stands in blunt contrast to the comprehensively pathetic John Ogilvie described by Spottiswoode as “a man unwilling to die.”\(^\text{147}\) Nor does Spottiswoode’s depiction that “this was the ende of that unhappy man, in whose death, any man that had eyes might see what a graceless and comfortless religion Poperie is”\(^\text{148}\) seem to correspond with the jovial Ogilvie who was supposed to have said “it’s past joking when the head is off”\(^\text{149}\) as he was paraded through an angry mob of his detractors.

Of course historians should handle both of these narratives with caution, and John McGavin’s recent work has done well to make Scottish historians more aware of the legacies of particular narrative approaches to its history.\(^\text{150}\) More specifically, McGavin has noted the drastically different perceptions of single

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\(^{147}\) *A True Relation*, 351.

\(^{148}\) Ibid.


events that seventeenth-century historians like Spottiswoode and David Calderwood could have and the importance of understanding these narrative approaches as “cultural facts” with clear elements of context and motive. Yet it remains rare to see a historian approaching Ogilvie’s narrative at all. On one level the value of applying an alternate perspective is clear, as an increased consideration of Ogilvie’s Catholicism might lead historians to other questions about the nature of Scottish Jesuit education on the continent. For instance, what elements of the particular course of Ogilvie’s education in the Society might have led him to the obstinacy that we fail to see with Moffett and Anderson? Also, what does the conspicuousness of Ogilvie’s execution tell us about the nature of Catholic life in Glasgow in the second decade of the seventeenth century, and what might this have to do with the Catholic activities we saw earlier in this chapter?

More importantly, however, our encountering of the elements of John Ogilvie the “happy martyr” forces historians to engage explicitly with questions of the relationships between individuals, death and God that are at the very heart of the religious revolution of the Reformation. The manner in which Ogilvie approached his death demands that we recognize that many early modern people prioritized their service to God over what they considered to be a fleeting earthly existence. Considering John Ogilvie’s death as an aspect of his divinely inspired destiny does not, then, bear witness to early modern extremism, but instead

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151 Ibid, 28-33.
represents an identifiable nugget of a man’s internal devotion, an element of religious life so longingly sought by historians of religion in all periods.\textsuperscript{152}

An approach that de-emphasizes Ogilvie’s victimization and is more sympathetic to the spiritual elements of his execution leads logically to discussions of the Jacobean era’s primary religio-political discourse. Questions about the nature of authority among ecclesiastical and governmental powers are at the front of many discussions of James VI/I’s rule, and they were clearly the focus of Ogilvie’s trial. As with the discussions of Ogilvie’s pursuit of martyrdom, investigations into the arguments that took place upon Ogilvie’s arrest and prior to his execution reveal how essential his Catholicism was to the progress of his trial.

Even a passing look at the documents relating to Ogilvie’s case uncovers that questions about the nature of his crimes are their most prominent feature. Archbishop Spottiswoode devoted three pages of his History of the Church to Ogilvie’s trial. Of this, only a brief introductory passage \textit{does not} relate to the squabble between the bishop and the priest over whether Ogilvie should be considered a political or religious prisoner.\textsuperscript{153} The debate is witnessed further in Spottiswoode’s History of the Church and State of Scotland, where he includes a letter sent to the king requesting guidance on how to deal with “the Jesuit who calls himself Ogilvie.” In response, the king sent Spottiswoode a list of questions that were to be asked of Ogilvie to determine if “he had been a practiser for the stirring

\textsuperscript{152} This argument mirrors one made by Brad S. Gregory in “Can We ‘See Things Their Way’? Should We Try?” 24-45.
up of subjects to Rebellion or did maintain the Popes transcendent power over Kings."

The questions were:

1) Whether the Pope be judge, and have power in spiritualibus over his Majestie? 2) Whether the Pope have the power to excommunicate kings as his Majestie? 3) Whether the Pope have the power to depose Kings, by him excommunicated? And in particular Whether he have the power to depose the Kings Majesty? 4) Whether it be no murther to slay his Majesty, being so excommunicated and deposed by the Pope? 5) whether the Pope have power to assoile subjects from the oath of their borne and native allegiance to his Majestie?155

Ogilvie replied to these questions by insisting that “all who are baptized are under the Popes power,” essentially revealing the central issue of the trial, whether or not Catholics could maintain a civic loyalty to the king in conjunction with the loyalty they owed to the pope.156 Of course Ogilvie’s answers would not have pleased the authorities, but they do provide a baseline for understanding that the motivations for Ogilvie’s trial were a matter of spirited argument, and far from the exclusively political event that historians have considered them to be.

Most discussions of the seventeenth-century tensions between the Jacobean authority and the Roman Church are manifested through discussion of James VI/I’s Oath of Allegiance. The essence of the Oath, which the king defended anonymously with his An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance (1607) and then with revisions under his own name in 1609, is reflected in the questions provided for

154 Ibid, 521.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid, 522.
examination of Ogilvie listed above. In the early seventeenth century, the Oath was the primary point of contention between James VI/I and English Catholics, but it was especially pointed at the Jesuits. It included what was effectively an inherent accusation that the order was forever plotting and scheming against the crown with an eye toward regicide. The Catholic sources of Ogilvie’s trial, most notably his own narrative, reveal the crown’s loathing of the Jesuits more plainly. The interrogators were most bothered by Ogilvie’s membership in the Society, as his associations with the order conjured memories of the Gunpowder Plot and of the assassination of Henry IV of France by the zealot Ravaillac in 1610. Ogilvie writes that he was questioned “a great deal” about Henry Garnet, the English Jesuit executed for his alleged involvement in the plot, and about the plot itself. In refuting these claims Ogilvie regularly insisted on Garnet’s innocence and denied Jesuit involvement in the 1605 plot, finally telling his captors “I came into this country not to preach Garnet, but Christ.”

In Scotland, the Oath had a reliable devotee in the person of Spottiswoode. Although once a disciple of Andrew Melville, the Archbishop had shunned Presbyterianism by the end of the sixteenth century. By the time he crossed paths with Ogilvie, Spottiswoode was a firm believer in the king’s religious policy and one of his most reliable men in Scotland. His role was significantly greater than that

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159 Ibid.
of Churchman, as he “wielded tremendous authority – spiritual, social, political.”\textsuperscript{161} In defending the Oath, Spottiswoode had learned well that the Jesuits were its target, an attitude reflected in the section “To The Reader” at the beginning of \textit{A True Relation}. The passage is an extended diatribe against the order in which Spottiswoode exaggerated their numbers in Scotland and compared them to the Templars in that that their scheming is “cloake(d) with the mantle of Religioun.”\textsuperscript{162} The Archbishop worked hard to establish connections between Ogilvie and what has proven to be an essentially fictional tradition of Jesuit conspiracy, and to promote what Peter Burke has called the “black legend” of the Jesuits, the nature of which has been applied to many historical groups, including the Reformed clergy.\textsuperscript{163} Even after the passage in his \textit{Historie} in which he writes of Ogilvie being hanged, the Archbishop went on to note that Ogilvie was “well instructed in the Jesuitical doctrine of deposing and dethroning Kings.” The Archbishop then assured his readers that he could confirm the truth of a rumour that spread after Ogilvie’s death that claimed the priest actually did have a desire “to have played another Ravilliack.”\textsuperscript{164} Similar accusations were made against Patrick Anderson five years later, which that priest also denied vehemently.\textsuperscript{165}

In reality, the controversy over the Oath of Allegiance was much more complicated. The Catholic position on regicide varied across contexts, and the

\textsuperscript{161} Kirk, \textit{Patterns of Reform} p. 438.
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Ancient Criminal Trials of Scotland}, 333; For Jesuit numbers in Scotland see McCoog “Pray to the Lord of the Harvest” 156-159;
\textsuperscript{163} Harro Hopfl, \textit{Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540-1630} (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.) 324-25; Burke, “The Black Legend of the Jesuits” 173-4; Lewis, “The Geneva Academy” notes that there were some suspicions of Geneva being a place of “international plots and intrigue”, common threats against the Jesuit community as well.
\textsuperscript{164} Spottiswoode, \textit{History of the Church and State of Scotland}, vol. 3. 523.
\textsuperscript{165} Durkan, “Two Jesuits”, 159.
Jesuits had an unreliable corporate standard for teaching on the subject. Some Jesuits like the famed Robert Bellarmine (d. 1621) and Francisco Suarez (d. 1617), both of whose writings were suggestively placed before Ogilvie during his questioning, espoused theories on regicide to varying degrees and in particular circumstances. But the Society’s official position was different, and was best exemplified when General Acquaviva specifically outlawed discussion of tyrannicide in both 1610 and 1614 – the Jesuits did not teach tyrannicide, even if some of its members had supported the practice. The varied attitudes of the Jesuits towards the Oath hardly bothered their detractors who were buoyed by a simple but effective argument. If an alleged Catholic refused to take the Oath, he would be alienated from his community through excommunication and civil punishment; however, if one suspected of recusancy did indeed take the Oath as a means of avoiding this public alienation, as many contemporary Catholics did, suspicion would remain and one might be accused of a more clandestinely hostile disloyalty. This brand was also perhaps more cunning, as it fit neatly into pre-conceived Jesuit conspiracy theories.

Ogilvie’s position on the Oath fell in line with his superior Acquaviva. When asked about the Gunpowder plot, he noted “I said that I detested parricides and do not approve of them” going on to place the blame for the plot squarely on the

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166 Hopfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, 324.
167 Burke calls this process of stereotyping “unification”, the association of the part with the whole. “The Black Legend of the Jesuits”, 172.
Puritans while dismissing any implications of the Jesuits as “lying suspicions.”

He maintained that James was “de facto King of Scotland” and insisted that the crown had no jurisdiction to question him on matters of faith because “thefts, treasons, homicides, poisonings belonged to the King’s forum, not the sacraments of religion.”

It was clear that Ogilvie was well schooled in the particulars of this most important contemporary debate and that he and Spottiswoode were both perfectly comfortable with making questions over the Oath of Allegiance the fulcrum of the trial. In fact, preparation for this moment had been part of Ogilvie’s training for his mission, as he had asked for and received permission from General Acquaviva to read “heretical books” in order to combat his opponents in Scotland. In reading both Spottiswoode’s and Ogilvie’s narratives, one would be hard pressed to find any issue that mattered quite as much as the question of whether Ogilvie should be considered a religious or a political prisoner.

Questions about King James’ Oath have continued to matter to the modern day as historians, particularly those researching the English context, seriously debate its role in the early modern English Church. Some historians characterize the Oath as an explicitly anti-Catholic policy designed to root out Catholics and remove the religion’s presence in England. Others suggest that it was a reasonable method of verifying the loyalty of Catholic subjects who by the nature of their

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169 Ogilvie, An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of John Ogilvie, p. 16.
171 Letter from General Acquaviva to Ogilvie, November 6, 1612. Translated in Brown, John Ogilvie pp. 155-156.
religious allegiances were sworn enemies to James VI/I’s kingship. The issues at the heart of these more modern discussions are eerily similar to those that concerned Spottiswoode and Ogilvie in 1615. Historians in the present day often analyze the actual viability of the “Catholic threat” in the early seventeenth century in relation to the desire of King James and his leadership to destroy the Roman Church. As they were in 1615, these are valuable discussions about the nature of Christian life in the political world, made all the more fruitful in the present day through the gradual toning down of polemic over the last four centuries.

The centrality of the Oath of Allegiance controversy for both Ogilvie’s contemporaries and modern historians further exemplifies the need of a more nuanced approach to how his story is investigated. At the very least, the theory that Ogilvie’s death was the execution of a prisoner on the basis of his religion must be developed as a legitimate option for its explanation. Thus, when historians write that his execution “was for treason for affirming papal supremacy,” or that “Ogilvie was duly hanged, not for Popery, but for sedition” they are only half right. Historians would be better served in arguing that Ogilvie was hanged for sedition and Popery – popery in the Jesuits’ and Ogilvie’s minds, and sedition in Spottiswoode’s and the king’s. As we have seen, this is an entirely plausible

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173 For a fine analysis of the synthesis of “Catholic history” and Reformation studies generally see, Ethan Shagan “English Catholic history in context” in Catholics and the ‘Protestant Nation’ pp. 1-21.
174 Kirk, Patterns of Reform, p. 446.
evaluation, but it can only be made if one is willing to embrace multiple narratives and discuss them in their proper context.

Ogilvie’s case fits in well with larger calls for the re-centralisation of religion as the essential element for Reformation research. This approach has emerged in opposition to secularized approaches that are anachronistic when applied to the early modern past. Recent work, especially Brad Gregory’s, has served as a good reminder to historians to avoid removing religion from any explanatory equations for early modern events. Gregory insists that to do so “would misrepresent [early modern people] badly: if they did not separate religion from their political engagements ... then neither should historians who want to understand them.”

John Coffey and Alister Chapman have echoed these feelings in their sharp criticisms of reductionist approaches to the early modern world, which they claim “allow historians to ignore what their subjects actually say.” As noted earlier, John Ogilvie said “I am delivered up to death for religion alone” as he made his way to the gallows, thus unmistakably associating what this particular historical subject actually said with his religious devotion.

The story of John Ogilvie’s death can tell us a lot about the value of keeping the ‘long Reformation’ in perspective in Scotland. Ogilvie’s execution bears witness to the classic Protestant-Catholic tensions we have found in earlier decades of Glasgow’s history front and centre in the second decade of the seventeenth. Even as

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the variances between different Protestant sects were becoming more crystalized and more essential to the religious story in Scotland, the threat of a return to Catholicism still had the potential to garner attention from the authorities. Regardless of whether the ‘Catholic threat’ was legitimate or not, Scottish Protestants of all persuasions still considered Catholics an impediment to the Godly society they had been working so hard to achieve in the previous decades. The difficulties of creating “Protestant Scotland” have been pointed out by several historians who note the protracted nature of the rooting out Catholicism in Scotland, and in Glasgow we have seen Catholic mentalities were more durable than Reformers might have wished. Ogilvie’s presence in Glasgow and the ‘Jesuit scare’ which it accompanied indicate further that in the minds of both Protestants and Catholics the Reformation was not really over more than five decades after the Reformation parliament. In this way, Ogilvie’s execution provides a good case study in how difficult all Reformations were and how long they took to achieve.

John Ogilvie’s story can also tell us a good deal about how careful historians need to be in their approaches to the early modern past. The propensity of historians to choose Spottiswoode’s ‘treason narrative’ exemplifies the extended shelf-life of these outlooks, and reminds us that there are likely still several

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179 Spottiswoode wrote of the presence of twenty-seven Jesuits in Scotland at the time of Ogilvie’s trial, a sure exaggeration. For more accurate numbers, see McCoog, “Pray to the Lord of the Harvest”, pp. 156-159.
instances in which these views have yet to be suitably accounted for, especially with regard to post-Reformation Scottish Catholic sources.¹⁸⁰ Alec Ryrie’s recent acknowledgement of the legacies of what he calls “the heroic Protestant narrative” speaks to the inadequacies of this view, an opinion increasingly shared by historians.¹⁸¹ The “heroic Protestant narrative”, originally espoused in the work of John Knox, David Calderwood and John Spottiswoode, among others, would clearly be unkind to Catholics. These approaches are easily put in perspective because they represent involved participation of the Reformers themselves, but it should be better accounted for in the professional, schooled analysis produced today. As it stands, the reasons given for Ogilvie’s execution by Archbishop Spottiswoode in 1615 are nearly identical to those provided by historians in the late twentieth century. The historians who have done the most recent analysis of Ogilvie’s trial and execution are hardly prone to writing confessional history, but their perspective will remain incomplete until the Jesuit’s narrative is more suitably integrated into their analyses of the event. When this is done, historians may not come to the conclusion that Ogilvie died “for religion alone”, but they will at least be provided with all the tools needed to develop a more balanced understanding of his death.

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¹⁸⁰ A good, recent example of bringing a more measured approach to Scotland’s Catholic past can be found in Alec Ryrie, “Reform without Frontiers in the last years of Catholic Scotland” English Historical Review 119 (2004): pp. 27-56; It is still clear, however, that as it moves beyond its fiftieth anniversary of publication, David McRoberts’ collection Essays on the Scottish Reformation remains the standard for the history of Catholicism in Reformation Scotland.

¹⁸¹ Alex Ryrie, the Origins of the Scottish Reformation, 3-10.
Quiet women hiding sacred objects in their attics, intimate Christian rituals, and martyrs’ motivations worked alongside anticlericalism, real or imagined Jesuit intrigues, and the religious disputations of senior notaries to make Catholic Glasgow in the decades after Catholicism became illegal. The religion’s illegal status clearly limited its influence in the town, just as proscription limited Reformed communities across Europe. But there is no doubt that Catholicism survived the Reformation in Glasgow. The Cathedral stood as a constant reminder of the Catholic history of the town, and when Mungo Wilson stood as a cautioner in the Kirk session in 1583, he surely knew that the bones of the man he was named for were only down the street, a fact the remaining Catholics would think was significant.182 After the Reformation parliament, Glaswegians could intermittently encounter a priest or meet secretly with their co-religionists or adhere to an old calendar, and increasingly they could access Catholic books. In this way, they could attempt to encounter God as people had several decades earlier. New conditions brought new realities, however, and all Catholics would almost certainly have to be secret Catholics as the seventeenth century progressed. Because of this secrecy it is difficult to fully account for the level of Catholic practice in Glasgow, although surely there were more Catholics in Glasgow than we can count in the records. These difficulties aside, Catholicism clearly remained a significant force in Glasgow into the seventeenth century, and the endurance of Catholic people, objects, practices and, most importantly, thoughts, demonstrates the considerable challenges facing those who wish to change mentalities in any century.

182 CH2/550/1 p. 23.
Conclusion:

Finding the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Glasgow

The investigation of religious life in sixteenth-century Glasgow is, more than anything else, an investigation of the delicate dance of continuity and change that informs so much of the discipline of academic history. When he asked if there was a Reformation in the sixteenth century, Hans Hillenbrand was asking a very specific question about how present-day historians consider the Reformation. Hillenbrand noted that the explosion of historiography showing the influence of medieval Christianity on early Protestants, or of the delays of “confessionalization” until the end of the century resulted in the Reformation being “challenged from two sides”, and he warned of the dangers of associating the sixteenth century too exclusively with the centuries that bookended it.¹ For many of the same reasons, Michael Lynch found himself “in search of the Scottish Reformation”, noticing trends in the historiography that constructed “forerunners” to the Reformation, but often perpetuated the “standard myths” of the period.² The questions of these historians are cogent and probing in that they recognize the diversity of the period while simultaneously attempting to gain purchase on something that can be accurately described as an event, a movement, a revolution, or a fundamental shift in the mentality of Western Europeans. Finding the Reformation is a difficult task indeed.

¹ Hillenbrand, “Was There a Reformation in the Sixteenth Century?” 548.
² Lynch, “In Search of the Scottish Reformation” 86, 89.
One of the keys to finding the Reformation in sixteenth-century Glasgow is to challenge preconceptions of the period that have informed understandings of the Scottish past for nearly every generation of history writing previous to the present day. Knox, Spottiswoode and Calderwood were actually engaged in the processes of the Reformation. They were pursuing heretics and praising a particular brand of Christianity with as much energy as any Christians that came before or after them. They are very important figures for our understanding of this period, but their versions of events are not “facts” in the sense that they can tell us what actually happened, but “cultural facts” that explain to us what actually happened from the view of a particular person who, at best, might represent a vision shared by his co-religionists.\(^3\) John McGavin has written that going beyond these traditional narratives and embracing new ones “is not to give up on the search for greater certainty”, but to understand and recognize that they are only “part of the available truth.”\(^4\) This dissertation has shown that there are other available truths in the local context of Glasgow that confirm the competence of its bishops and the devotions of its martyrs. It has also shown that there is very little truth to claims that the Catholic Church was in massive decline in the first half of the century or that it did not survive into the second half.

In trying to find the Reformation in sixteenth-century Glasgow, this dissertation has also shown the tremendously complex endeavour that was the establishment of a Reformed faith in the town. Although there is much of interest

\(^3\) McGavin, *Theatricality and Narrative in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, 32.
\(^4\) Ibid.
in the practical application of Presbyterian Kirk polity, the goals of the Kirk reflected in its different conception of time and space demonstrated that it carried a distinct view of God and that it intended to enforce this vision on parishioners. Shifting ideas of time and space also indicate the great power that religious institutions had to alter mentalities in the sixteenth century, as a tendency toward localization continued to characterize Scottish Christianity in its endeavours in the New World.

More than anywhere else, this dissertation has found the Reformation in the continued popular devotion of people to God. This is the chief way in which Glasgow was, to borrow Jane Dawson's phrase, “re-formed”. Throughout the sixteenth century, we have seen Glaswegians’ desire to participate in sacraments that literally brought God into their town. Although there were clear differences between Catholic and Reformed sacraments, the desire of townsfolk to have their children baptized or participate in communions was beyond doubt. Thus while the rituals surrounding the celebration of the sacraments were changed, the popular desire to communicate or seek baptism remained constant, and people simply had their devotions diverted into Reformed forms. In popular devotion to the sacraments, we see one of the best examples of simultaneous continuity and change in sixteenth-century Glasgow.

Finding the Reformation is a complex task, and thus there is more work to be done in providing a fuller picture of sixteenth-century Glasgow. Work on its merchants and guilds may reveal more about the influence these organizations had
on both the Church. Investigations of larger Christian networks might also bear fruit for historians. Historians’ study of illicit networks that brought Protestant ideas and literature into the town before the Reformation or Catholic information afterward would provide information about the nature of underground Christianity in the period. Investigation of more official networks might also show more evidence of the regional and national Christian identities we saw demonstrated in the presbyteries’ communications with each other. These are only some of the possible ways forward that might help us find the Reformation more fully in Glasgow.

This project has revealed the sixteenth-century Glaswegians to be a complex group, generally united by their locality and their faith. When St. Mungo arrived in the sixth century he could not have foreseen the changes to Christianity that would occur a millennium later. In finding the Reformation in Glasgow, this project has shown that in borrowing from the past and looking to the future, sixteenth-century Glasgow formed a dynamic community worthy of historians’ interest. It has also shown that Glasgow’s Christian community had indeed flourished as its patron had requested a thousand years before.
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**Unpublished Dissertations**