

The Life and Works of
ROBERT BAILLIE

(1602-1662)



*Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping
in the British Civil Wars*



ALEXANDER D. CAMPBELL

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ROBERT BAILLIE
(1602–1662)

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ROBERT BAILLIE (1602–1662)

Politics, Religion and Record-Keeping in the
British Civil Wars

Alexander D. Campbell

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I first recollect being told about Baillie – and being urged to look at his archives – when I stumbled into the rooms of John Morrill, now emeritus doyen of early modern British and Irish history at Cambridge. When I returned to Baillie during the second year of my doctoral studies, I was still skeptical: should I write a biography? Thanks to the encouragement of my supervisor, Clare Jackson, I decided to dispense with my original plan and focus on Baillie. With countless supervisions and even more hours with mangled chapter drafts, Clare has seen this project through from start to finish. She pushed me relentlessly to improve my prose; question my evidence; and sharpen my conclusions. This book would not be half the finished product that it now is without her ceaseless encouragement and support throughout the last six years.

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Abbreviations

- Baill MS Robert Baillie Papers, New College Library, Edinburgh.
- Baillie, *Anabaptism* Robert Baillie, *Anabaptism, the true fountaine of Independency, Brownisme, Antinomy, Familisme, and the most of the other errors, which for the time doe trouble the Church of England, unsealed. Also the questions of pædobaptisme and dipping handled from Scripture. In a second part of the Disswasive from the errors of the time* (London, 1647).
- Baillie, *Antidote* Robert Baillie, *A Scotch antidote against the English infection of Arminianism. Which little book may be (through Gods blessing) very useful to preserve those that are yet found in the faith, from the infection of Mr John Goodwin's great book* (London, 1652).
- Baillie, *Appendix Practica* Robert Baillie, *Appendix practica, ad Ioannis Buxtorsii epitomen grammaticæ hebrææ ...* (Edinburgh, 1653).
- Baillie, *Catechesis Elenctica Errorum* Robert Baillie, *Catechesis elenctica errorum qui hodie vexant Ecclesiam, ex nudis sacræ Scripturæ testimoniis, in brevibus ac claris quæstionibus ac responsionibus proposita. In gratiam studiosæ juventutis academiciæ Glasguensis. Imprimatur, Edm. Calamy. Imprimatur, Edm. Calamy* (London, 1654).
- Baillie, *Danger of Limited Episcopacie* Robert Baillie, *The unlawfulness and danger of limited episcopacie. VVhereunto is subioyned a short reply to the modest advertiser and calme examiner of that treatise. As also the question of episcopacie discussed from Scripture and fathers* (London, 1641).
- Baillie, *Disswasive* Robert Baillie, *A disswasive from the errors of the time: wherein the tenets of the principall sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together in one map, for the most part, in the words of their own authours, and their maine principles are examined by the touch-stone of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1645).
- Baillie, *Disswasive Vindicated* Robert Baillie, *The Disswasive from the errors of the time, vindicated from the exceptions of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes* (London, 1655).
- Baillie, *Errors and Induration* Robert Baillie, *Errors and induration, are the great sins and the great judgements of the time. Preached in a sermon before the Right Honourable House of Peers, in the Abbey-Church at Westminster, July 30. 1645. the day of the monethly fast: by Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow* (London, 1645).

ABBREVIATIONS

- Baillie, *Historicall Vindication* Robert Baillie, *An historicall vindication of the government of the Church of Scotland, from the manifold base calumnies which the most malignant of the prelates did invent of old, and now lately have been published with great industry in two pamphlets at London ...* (London, 1646).
- Baillie, *Ladensium* Robert Baillie, *Ladensium autokatakrisis, the Canterburians self-conviction: or, an evident demonstration of the avowed Arminianisme, poperie, and tyrannie of that faction, by their owne confessions ... Helped also in sundry materiall passages, wherein the author hath received better information* ([London], 1641).
- Baillie, *Operis Historici et Chronologici* Robert Baillie, *Operis Historici et Chronologici Libri Duo; In quibus Historia Sacra et Profana compendiose deducitur ex ipsis fontibus, a creatione Mundi ad Constantinum Magnum, et quaestiones ac dubia Chronologica, quae ex utroque Testamento moveri solent, breviter et perspicue explicantur et vindicantur* (Amsterdam, 1663).
- Baillie, *Parallel* Robert Baillie, *A parallel or briefe comparison of the liturgie with the masse-book, the breviarie, the ceremoniall, and other romish ritualls ... By R.B.K. Seene and allowed* (London, 1641).
- Baillie, *Review of Bramhall* Robert Baillie, *A review of Doctor Bramble, late Bishop of Londenderry, his Faire warning against the Scotese disciplin.* By R.B.G. (Delft, 1649).
- Baillie, *Satan the Leader in Chief* Robert Baillie, *Satan the leader in chief to all who resist the reparation of Sion. As it was cleared in a sermon to the Honourable House of Commons at their late solemn fast, Febr. 28. 1643.* By Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow. *Published by order of the House of Commons* (London, [1644]).
- Coffey, *Samuel Rutherford* John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997).
- EUL Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, Edinburgh
- FES *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (7 vols, Edinburgh, 1915–28).
- GUL Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Glasgow
- LJB Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M. Principal of the University of Glasgow. M.DC.XXXVII.–M.DC.LXII*, ed. David Laing (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1841–42).
- NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
- NCL New College Library, Edinburgh
- NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn).
- Peterkin (ed.), *Records* Alexander Peterkin (ed.), *Records of the Kirk of Scotland, Containing the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies from the Year 1638 Downwards* (Edinburgh, 1843).
- RSCHS *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*
- Scots Peerage Sir James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland: Containing an*

ABBREVIATIONS

Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of that Kingdom (9 vols, Edinburgh, 1904–14).

SHR *Scottish Historical Review*

Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* David Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644–1651* (reprinted London, 2003).

Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution* David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution, 1637–1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (reprinted London, 2003).

Conventions

Quotations preserve original spelling and syntax and any abbreviations have been expanded silently. The year is taken to begin on 1 January. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated. All Scriptural citations are taken from the King James Version (KJV), unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

In 1661, Robert Baillie was languishing with an illness that would soon claim his life. Yet his troubles did not end with his health. Throughout his life, Baillie had witnessed riots, revolution and regicide, all whilst tactfully maintaining his standing as a minister in the Church of Scotland. He began his life as a loyal subject of James VI and I and he was to die in August 1662 as a loyal subject of Charles II. In the intervening years, however, Baillie had emerged as one of Scotland's most adept critics of Charles I's ecclesiastical policies and as a leading voice of the Covenanting regime. At the end of Baillie's tumultuous career, it was his life as Covenanter propagandist that came back to haunt him. Writing in September 1661 to John Maitland, earl of Lauderdale, at the royal court, Baillie was anxious to disclaim responsibility for the republication of an inflammatory pamphlet that he had written years earlier entitled *A Parallel or briefe comparison of the liturgie with the masse-book* (1641). In his *Parallel*, Baillie had cunningly argued that the essential facets of Roman Catholic worship were contained in the controversial Prayer Book that had been drafted by Archbishop William Laud of Canterbury and members of the Scottish episcopate, and which had provoked rioting on its introduction in July 1637. Hearing that 'these observations on the Scottish Service-book I writ twenty-four years ago' were now reprinted in London, Baillie beseeched Lauderdale that 'there is not a word of them reprinted but the title-page alone, by some cheating printer there, to make some old copies of the first and only impression sell'. Begging Lauderdale to 'clear my innocencie to his Majestie', Baillie explained that although he had 'written half-a-dozen little tractats against Books and Bishops, and near as many against Sectaries ... I would be loath now to reprint any of them'.¹

Embarrassed by his former life as Covenanter propagandist, Baillie expressed a desire that his contributions to the ecclesiastical and political controversies of the 1640s and 1650s would be forgotten. Since Baillie wrote

¹ Robert Baillie to John Maitland, earl of Lauderdale, 9 September [1661], *LJB*, vol. III, pp. 478–9. Following the Restoration, the Scottish episcopate did not attempt to force ministers to use a set liturgical form, likely as a result of widespread opposition to an 'English-style' Prayer Book in the late 1630s. This may be considered a pyrrhic victory for the Covenanting revolution and one which has not been given sufficient attention in the historiography.

these words, historians have largely followed suit, overlooking Baillie's voluminous published and manuscript writings and his turbulent career. Apparent shifts in Baillie's allegiance at crucial junctures in 1638 and after 1660 have presented previous biographers with an apparent conundrum. How could an avid defender of episcopacy join the decidedly anti-episcopal Covenanters in 1638? How could this same individual seamlessly become the Covenanting regime's chief propagandist? And, then, twenty years later, how could he conform to the reintroduction of episcopacy whilst voicing no public protest? Answers to these and other questions pertinent to Baillie's life have either been ignored or dismissed altogether. Indeed, the only two modern biographical accounts of Baillie's life follow uncritically the conclusion of a hostile contemporary, who had argued that the tracts that Baillie had written for the Covenanters 'flowed rather from the instigation of other persons, than his own inclinations'.²

Such inconsistencies notwithstanding, Baillie remains a mainstay in the historiography of the period because of the lucid account of contemporary events that he preserved in his outgoing correspondence. Bequeathing to posterity a wealth of material illustrative of his times, David Laing's 1841–42 edition of the *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* has become a central source for historians studying 1640s and 1650s Britain. Indeed, the narrative threads of Baillie's letters have shaped historiography of the British Civil Wars for well over three centuries and they continue to this day to furnish one of the most accessible, contemporary accounts of those events. Thomas Carlyle complained of the 'breathless loquacity' of Baillie's epistolary style and the early twentieth-century Scottish Historiographer Royal, Peter Hume Brown, extolled Baillie's 'vividness and insight', comparing passages in his correspondence 'with anything in Clarendon'.³ Baillie, the man, has largely been forgotten, whilst Baillie's words continue to be remembered for their brilliant portrayal of the British Civil Wars.

Yet Baillie was far more than a mere commentator on contemporary affairs and an avid collector of official documents. He was also an active participant in many of the debates over political and religious issues that he shrewdly recounted. No account of Baillie's *Letters*, then, is complete without prior acknowledgement of his role as pamphleteer in the religious debates of 1640s Britain. If his *Letters* show that he was concerned to document the conflicts from his own perspective, and his published works primarily showed

² Thomas Middleton, *An appendix to the history of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1677), p. 36. For the modern echoes of this partisan argument, see F.N. McCoy, *Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 60, 218; David Stevenson, 'Baillie, Robert (1602–1662)', ODNB [accessed 26 March 2014]. Also see Stevenson, 'Mere Hasty Babblements? Mr Robert Baillie', in *King or Covenant? Voices from Civil War* (East Linton, 1996), pp. 17–39.

³ Thomas Carlyle, 'Baillie the Covenanter', in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (7 vols, London, 1839–69), vol. VI, pp. 206–37, at p. 213; Peter Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1905), vol. II, p. 452.

his acumen in engaging ideological opponents, his astonishing manuscript remains add numerous additional dimensions to this remarkable life. Baillie may have only spoken out once during his time attending debates at the Westminster Assembly, but this reticence stands in stark contrast to his confident deportment when negotiating on behalf of the Church of Scotland with the exiled monarch, Charles II, in 1649.⁴ Much the same may be said about Baillie's surefootedness when engaging in protracted epistolary 'conferences' with recalcitrant parishioners or neighbouring ministers over points of theological orthodoxy. It was from his experience as a parish minister that Baillie honed the skills in disputation for which he became renowned and despised on both national and international stages. From his extensive notes and manuscript treatises on theological, philological and historical topics, Baillie emerges as a devoted university lecturer. He considered the printed material at his disposal insufficient for his teaching needs, so he composed from scratch his own works, specifically intended to be used as teaching aids during his career at Glasgow University. Three of these works appeared in print, and many more survive in manuscript. Beyond the lecture theatre, Baillie was also a dedicated preacher. There are only two extant volumes of Baillie's carefully handwritten sermon notes, yet these volumes dwarf in size all other surviving manuscript material, comprising at least half a million words in total. Coupled with the remarkable survival of documents for the period from 1637 to 1662 are a handful of sources providing evidence of Baillie's intellectual formation in the 1620s and his earliest lectures at Glasgow.

For the first time, this biography draws together discussion of Baillie's oft-cited *Letters and Journals* alongside analysis of his surviving corpus of manuscript and printed works. He emerges as a tortured and fretful figure, struggling to keep up with the shifting politics of his day. If an opportunity to challenge authority arose, Baillie first insisted on delaying any decision so that he could examine the scholarly volumes populating his personal library.⁵ Time and again, he was hesitant to overcommit to any side of the conflicts tearing apart Scotland, England and Ireland, and throughout the latter half of his life he became obsessive about managing his legacy. More broadly, this book provides a new account of the Covenanting movement and Scotland's involvement in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms through the prism of Baillie's extraordinary archive. Baillie's surviving manuscript and printed works cast new light on the intellectual dynamics of the Covenanting movement in the 1640s and 1650s. The movement has long been characterized as ideologically homogeneous, but Baillie repeatedly voiced subtly dissonant

⁴ Chad Van Dixhoorn, 'Introduction', in Van Dixhoorn (ed.), *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643–1652* (5 vols, Oxford, 2012), vol. I, p. 24.

⁵ Through careful comparison of book lists in Baillie's manuscripts alongside catalogue entries in Glasgow University Special Collections, I have been able to identify, with confidence, approximately 500 titles that were once in Baillie's personal possession.

opinions about major issues regarding monarchical power, church government, liturgical reform and the Bible's authority. Despite outward shows of ideological unity, the Covenanters remained hopelessly divided amongst themselves and leading thinkers – Baillie included – held myriad opinions concerning the ecclesiastical and political reforms that ought to be exported into England. Through careful reassessment of the intellectual landscape of mid-seventeenth-century Scotland, then, this biography demonstrates, contrary to entrenched opinion, that pre-Enlightenment Scotland gave rise to a richly variegated, cosmopolitan and dynamic nation of thinkers.

A study of Baillie's political and religious writings opens a window onto an impressive array of intellectual trends prominent in the Scotland of his day. His writings show an assured command of source material, a calculating wit and a razor-sharp polemical edge. Hardly succumbing to the dictates of a hegemonic Calvinism, Baillie's theological interests interacted in creative and unexpected ways with other modes of thinking. Indeed, Baillie's orthodox theological beliefs drove him to search out novel – if ultimately misguided – solutions to apparently intractable questions regarding the antiquity and authority of Scripture. Finally, this book offers an opportunity for reflection on the creative processes of remembering and forgetting that informed early modern archival formation and early practices of life-writing. Considering that historians from the seventeenth century down to the present day have drawn on Baillie's *Letters and Journals* to furnish accounts of the Civil Wars, it is remarkable that no one has asked why Baillie went to such painstaking efforts to transcribe a selection of his outgoing correspondence in carefully organized volumes. Meticulous analysis of the compilation and transmission of Baillie's impressive manuscript remains provides a key to understanding the ways in which documentary survival shapes an individual's historical legacy. Despite Baillie's best efforts to manage his posthumous reputation, his memory remains contested and his life obscured to the present day.

I

What follows draws comprehensively on the collection of surviving documents both in print and in manuscript relating to Baillie's life. It is this paper legacy that comprises the building blocks of this biographical study. I will analyse the provenance and transmission of these documents later, but for now it is essential to familiarize readers with the contents and scope of Baillie's extant print and manuscript corpora. In one respect, this book provides a biographical and conceptual grounding for future readings of Baillie's *Letters and Journals*. It urges historians to take greater care when drawing on this and similar sources. After all, Baillie's correspondence survives because of decisions made by Baillie and his heirs to preserve and disseminate it. These acts, alone, are inscribed with numerous meanings essential to analysis of the content of the letters themselves. In another respect, though, this book

sets aside Baillie's efforts to document and preserve evidence about the Civil Wars as only one of an array of intellectual concerns that he maintained throughout his life. Not every waking hour of Baillie's day was spent writing and transcribing his outgoing correspondence. In fact, as soon as the conflict in Scotland gathered pace, Baillie appears to have found himself preoccupied with his duties as a minister in Kilwinning, Ayrshire, and he deemed it necessary to enlist the help of amanuenses to transcribe his letters after he had drafted them.

Baillie may be remembered today for his biting comments about John Milton's views on divorce, or his glib assessment of the Solemn League and Covenant, but to contemporaries his renown stemmed, in the first place, from his published contributions to theological controversies.⁶ In his own lifetime, Baillie authored fifteen published tracts through which he attracted both the praise and the criticism of leading churchmen and intellectuals of his day. Gisbertus Voetius acclaimed Baillie's 'keen judgment and indefatigable toil' as a Biblical scholar alongside Johannes Hornbeek's and Georg Horn's praise of 'the most renowned and revered D.D. Baillie'.⁷ Baillie's *Ladensium Autokatakrisis* (1640) provided the most thorough critique of the Laudian episcopate, appearing in four editions and furnishing Continental theologians, such as Horn, with valuable evidence for their own treatises.⁸ Writing in December 1640, Baillie remarked that his *Ladensium* offered 'sundrie countrie ministers ... much help' in framing a remonstrance against the English bishops.⁹ An expanded version of Baillie's anti-Arminian speech at the Glasgow Assembly (1638), *An Antidote against Arminianisme*, was published in 1641 and 1652, the latter in response to John Goodwin's *Redemption redeemed* (1651). Baillie's *Parallel of the liturgie with the masse-book* (1641) provoked a response from the Restoration bishop of St David's, Laurence Womock.¹⁰ Baillie's *Dissuasive from the Errours of the time* (1645) and *Anabaptism, the*

⁶ For Baillie's attack on Milton's tract on divorce, see his *Dissuasive*, p. 116. For his oft-quoted appraisal of the Solemn League and Covenant, see Robert Baillie to William Spang, 26 July 1643, *LJB*, vol. II, p. 90.

⁷ H.M.B. Reid, *The Divinity Professors in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1923), p. 97; Baillie, *Operis Historici et Chronologici*, n.p. ['Judicia Virorum Clarissimorum De Auctore et ejus Opere Historico-Chronologico'].

⁸ It was printed in Amsterdam, 1640; Glasgow, 1640; London, 1641; and expanded with an appendix entitled 'Large supplement of the Canterburian self-conviction', and printed under the title, *The life of William now Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, examined* (London, 1643). I am grateful for discussions with Anthony Milton on this point. For Horn's use of Baillie, see Georgius Hornius, *De Statu Ecclesiae Britannicae hodierno, liber commentarius* (Danzig, 1647), 'Praefatio ad Lectorem'.

⁹ Robert Baillie to the presbytery of Irvine, 12 December 1640, *LJB*, vol. I, p. 282. Baillie repeated to Spang in another letter that English opponents of Laud derived 'good help' from his *Ladensium* (*LJB*, vol. I, p. 286).

¹⁰ Laurence Womock, *Beaten oyle for the lamps of the sanctuarie; or The great controversie concerning set prayers and our liturgie, examined in an epistle to a private friend: with an appendix that answers the paralell, and the most materiall objections of others against it* (London, 1641).

True Fountaine of Independency (1647) prompted rejoinders from the New England minister John Cotton and the Anabaptist John Tombes, to which Baillie responded in his *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, Vindicated* (1655).¹¹ At the General Assembly's behest, Baillie composed *An Historicall Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland* (1646), refuting an earlier treatise by the former Scottish bishop John Maxwell.¹² During negotiations with Charles II in The Hague, Baillie responded to anti-presbyterian attacks from Bishop John Bramhall of Londonderry with *A Review of Doctor Bramble ... his Faire Warning* (1649), which, in turn, provoked responses from two prominent Restoration churchmen, Richard Watson and Robert Creighton.¹³ During the Interregnum, Baillie published two pedagogical works on religious controversies and Hebrew: *Catechesis elentica errorum* (1654) and *Appendix practica, ad Ioannis Buxtorsii* (1654). Baillie's final, post-humous work, *Operis Historici et Chronologici* (1663) – a concise introduction to Biblical chronology – was printed three times in Amsterdam and Basel.¹⁴ Recommended as an introduction to the complexities of Biblical chronology well into the eighteenth century, Baillie's *Operis* was studied by prominent figures such as Benjamin Wadsworth, President of Harvard University from 1725 to 1737, and John Adams, the second President of the United States.¹⁵

Baillie's published tracts provide another hitherto neglected layer to the story of his life, but it is only through the appreciation of his letters and pamphlets alongside his enormous archival remains that a clear picture may be seen. I make comprehensive use of Baillie's extant manuscripts, comprising over five hundred folio leaves and over three thousand quarto leaves. These manuscripts provide a broader chronological indication of the origins and

¹¹ John Cotton, *The way of Congregational churches cleared. In the former, from the historical aspersions of Mr. Robert Baylie, in his book, called a dissuasive from the errors of the time* (London, 1648); John Tombes, *An addition to the Apology for the two treatises concerning infant-baptisme... In which the author is vindicated from 21 unjust criminations in the 92 page of the book of Mr. Robert Baillie, minister of Glasgow, intituled Anabaptisme* (London, 1652).

¹² See the letters Baillie sent to Alexander Henderson and David Calderwood, *LJB*, vol. II, pp. 372–4.

¹³ See Richard Watson, *Akolouthos or A second faire warning to take heed of the Scottish discipline, in vindication of the first* (The Hague, 1651). The previous tract included a letter from Robert Creighton. This tract, along with those of Bramhall and Baillie, were reprinted together after the Restoration as *Three treatises concerning the Scottish discipline* (The Hague, 1661).

¹⁴ Amsterdam, 1663; Amsterdam, 1668; Basel, 1669.

¹⁵ For recommendations of *Operis Historici et Chronologici* as a good introduction to Biblical chronology, see Jacques Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra in Binos Syllabos Distincta* (Paris, 1723), p. 1053; Caspar Sagittarius, *Introductionis in Historia Ecclesiasticam Tomus II* (Jena, 1720), p. 28; Johann Georg Walch, *Bibliotheca theologica selecta litterariis annotationibus instructa, tomus tertius* (Jena, 1762), p. 65. A copy of the Amsterdam 1668 edition in the Boston Public Library (Adams 22.2 Folio) is inscribed 'Benjamin Wadsworth His Book Anno Dominis 1687'. According to another ownership inscription, this copy was sold by Wadsworth to 'N. Williams' on 1 April 1695 before Adams probably purchased it at a later date.

genesis of many ideas which Baillie presented in published pamphlets or to which he briefly alluded in correspondence. They also help to cast Baillie in a variety of roles to which he devoted much of his time, but for which we have hitherto lacked sufficient documentation. Baillie's manuscripts are mainly preserved in New College Library, Edinburgh, where the collection comprises five shelfmarks: 'Baill MSS 1–5'.¹⁶ 'Baill MS 2' and 'Baill MS 3' are early eighteenth-century transcriptions of Baillie's outgoing correspondence and they provide important evidence about the early uses and transmission of his manuscript correspondence, discussed in the final chapter. 'Baill MS 4' comprises three quarto volumes, containing the original transcriptions of Baillie's outgoing letters, interpolated with transcriptions of documents that Baillie sent to correspondents, some of which are not published in Laing's edition. Baillie annotated and corrected transcriptions throughout all three volumes of 'Baill MS 4', and his grandson, also Robert Baillie, used the blank pages left at the end of one volume to take notes on the contents of the correspondence. 'Baill MS 5' is a thick quarto volume containing over five hundred leaves of sermon notes in Baillie's hand. Sermons in this volume are dated between 1648 and 1651, spanning the period when the Covenanters' rule in Scotland crumbled and Oliver Cromwell seized control. Finally, 'Baill MS 1' is a single folio volume written entirely in a neat secretary hand. It was probably compiled late in Baillie's life because it contains items dated between 1627 and 1658 and includes corrections by Baillie. In chronological order, 'Baill MS 1' contains orations that Baillie gave at Glasgow University in 1627 and 1629; two 'conferences' on the lawfulness of kneeling to receive communion (c. 1634) and the Arminian tenet of the Saints' apostasy (1634–36); disputation theses on philosophical and theological subjects (undated); additional correspondence Baillie exchanged with his parishioners over patterns of worship (1643); surveys of controversies on presbyterian and congregational politics and Roman Catholic beliefs (1640s); and an unfinished treatise on the formal causes of justification (1658).

In addition to the New College manuscripts, another quarto volume of sermons, entirely in Baillie's hand, dating from 1637 to 1639, is in the National Library of Scotland.¹⁷ Among David Laing's own manuscripts, preserved in Edinburgh University Library, there is an extant student notebook probably composed by Baillie in 1620 and a slim volume of notes taken by Baillie's son on sermons that he heard in Glasgow between 1650 and 1652, including many sermons preached by his father.¹⁸ Finally, a quarto volume preserved in Glasgow University Library contains Latin tracts in various hands with

¹⁶ They are cited throughout this book as NCL, Baill MS 1–5. See the bibliography for a complete list of manuscripts that I have identified as belonging to, or having been produced by Baillie.

¹⁷ NLS, Adv.MS.20.6.4, Robert Baillie, Sermons, August 1637 to June 1639.

¹⁸ EUL, La.III.109, Robert Baillie, Student notebook, [c. 1620]; La.III.543, Robert Baillie [c. 1634–58], Sermon notes, c. 1650–c. 1652.

annotations and corrections by Baillie.¹⁹ The majority of this volume comprises an early copy of Baillie's *Operis Historici et Chronologici*, including a preface that does not appear in subsequent printed editions. This volume also contains the only extant copy of a survey of controversies on episcopal church government, a tract that includes Baillie's most detailed statements concerning episcopacy.

II

Considering that critics of the Covenanters often attacked their unbending religious zeal, it is remarkable how little scholarly attention has been paid to the Church of Scotland after 1638.²⁰ Historiography of the English Civil Wars still engages with John Morrill's claim that they represented the last of the European Wars of Religion, but in Scottish historiography religion has been marginalized since David Stevenson's revisionist accounts of the field in the 1970s.²¹ There has been no study of the Church of Scotland in the 1640s since Walter Makey's *The Church of the Covenant, 1637–1651* (1979), which presented the distinctively un-religious argument that rampant inflation encouraged the spread of revolutionary Calvinism amongst Scotland's ministry.²² Laura Stewart's reappraisal of Covenanted Scotland presented political strife as the result of the negotiation of unequal and unstable power relations.²³ Her argument rests on the idea that the 'Covenanted state' was a 'confessional state', but her analysis does not attend to the complexities of religious belief and their impact on politics. Chris Langley, conversely, offers an initial foray into our understanding of the impact of civil war on parish kirks in Scotland.²⁴ These exceptions notwithstanding, religion still typically features as little more than a short-hand explanatory device or a catalyst for

¹⁹ GUL, MS Gen 375.

²⁰ Not least in Charles I's unofficial rebuttal to the National Covenant, see Walter Balcanquhall, *A large declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland, from their first originals together with a particular deduction of the seditious practices of the prime leaders of the Covenanters* (London, 1639).

²¹ John Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 34 (1984), pp. 155–78. For recent engagement with Morrill's claim, see Charles W.A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited* (Farnham, 2011). For Stevenson's revisions of the historiography of the Covenanting Revolution, see *Scottish Revolution; Revolution and Counter-Revolution; Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980); and *Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates: Scottish–Irish Relations in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Belfast, 1981).

²² Walter Makey, *The Church of the Covenant, 1637–1651: Revolution and Social Change in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979).

²³ Laura A.M. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637–1651* (Oxford, 2016).

²⁴ Chris Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660* (London, 2015).

an ill-defined process of 'radicalization', obscuring the broader contours of religious debate that persisted during this period.

In this vein, historiographical interpretations of the post-Reformation Church of Scotland generally, and the Scottish Covenanters in particular, are still characterized by a narrative of internecine conflict between 'presbyterians' and 'episcopalians'. This stubborn historiographical trend may be traced back to the confessional accounts of the Reformation penned by David Calderwood and John Spottiswoode. It is remarkable, though, how little critical work has sought to revise the accounts presented in these works of partisan scholarship. Whilst studies have challenged these portrayals for the periods before 1638 and after 1660, analysis of the intervening years of Covenanting ascendancy remains unrevised.²⁵ The result is an obfuscating hermeneutic that fails to account for the nuances of printed and manuscript polemic and, more seriously, overlooks individual cases who do not easily conform to either category, as was the case with Robert Baillie.

Historiographical orthodoxy thus asserts that, in 1638, a large portion of Scottish adult males swore the National Covenant, pledging to defend the Church and its worship from 'antichristian' innovations, thereby succumbing to the influence of a small but powerful junto of 'radical' ministers, including Rutherford, Alexander Henderson and George Gillespie, and laity, such as Archibald Johnston of Wariston and Archibald Campbell, marquess of Argyll.²⁶ This powerful junto seized control of Scotland's civil and ecclesiastical institutions and, under the watchful eye of the zealous lawyer Wariston, rigorously policed Scottish beliefs, partly through close control of Scotland's printing presses.²⁷ Ideological fissures amongst the Kirk's ministry after 1638 tend to be explained as the result of latent 'episcopal' and 'Royalist' sympathies or exogenous factors, such as Oliver Cromwell's invasion of Scotland with a 'sectarian' army in 1651.²⁸ In reconstructing the formation

²⁵ For the earlier period, see Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998). For the later period, see W.R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661–1688* (London, 1958). Also, see David George Mullan, 'Theology in the Church of Scotland, 1618–1640: A Calvinist Consensus?', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), pp. 595–617.

²⁶ Stevenson catalogued extant signed copies of the National Covenant (1638) which suggested that the Covenanters enjoyed widespread support throughout Lowland Scotland. He published a similar survey of signed copies of the Solemn League and Covenant (1643). See David Stevenson, 'The National Covenant: A List of Known Copies', *RSCHS*, 23 (1988), pp. 255–99; Stevenson, 'The Solemn League and Covenant: A List of Signed Copies', *RSCHS*, 25 (1995), pp. 154–87.

²⁷ Kirsteen Mackenzie, 'A Glimpse Behind the Censor: Baillie and the Covenanting Printing Press', *Notes and Queries*, 60 (2013), pp. 42–3; David Stevenson, 'A Revolutionary Regime and the Press: The Scottish Covenanters and their Printers, 1638–51', *The Library*, 7 (1985), pp. 315–37.

²⁸ For this older view, see W.I. Hoy, 'The Entry of Sects into Scotland', in D. Shaw (ed.), *Reformation and Revolution: Essays Presented to the Very Rev. Hugh Watt* (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 178–211; Gordon Donaldson, 'The Emergence of Schism in Seventeenth-Century Scotland', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Cambridge,

of ‘episcopal’ and ‘presbyterian’ confessional cultures in late seventeenth-century Scotland, Alasdair Raffe has referred to the ‘essential uniformity of mid seventeenth-century [Scottish] religious culture’, while a prominent historian of the Jacobean and Caroline Church of Scotland has claimed that Scots who developed ‘sophisticated thought[s]’ about worship and theology before 1638 thereafter fell ‘prey in such large proportion to [the] puerile nonsense’ of a Roman Catholic ‘conspiracy theory’.²⁹ By these accounts, a culture of fear successfully allowed radical presbyterian clerics and nobles to exploit widespread terror of Roman Catholic conspiracies in order to impose a homogeneous religious culture on Scotland.

Rather than asking why Baillie’s ideas changed after a certain date, this biography asks how Baillie’s religious and political ideas may have shaped, and were shaped by, the political changes of 1638 and 1660. Previous studies have cast 1638 and 1660 as watershed moments that, alongside the mass expulsion of episcopalian ministers in 1690 and the Disruption of 1843, rank as the most tumultuous periods in the Church of Scotland’s history. It is precisely the chaos and apparent partisanship of this period that has contributed to its historiographical neglect. Any surviving works are considered as evidence of a radical form of presbyterianism, and are tacitly dismissed as conceptually uninteresting. This book, on the other hand, draws attention to the relative continuities in Baillie’s thought across his career, according with recent historiography that has emphasized the consensual nature of Scottish religious culture before 1638 and after 1660.³⁰ By older accounts, the ministry and episcopate of the Jacobean and Caroline Kirk were united behind a ‘Calvinist’ theological consensus, and Reformed patterns of worship and discipline flourished because of the flexible and calculating implementation of reforms undertaken by local Kirk sessions.³¹ After the re-establishment of episcopacy in 1661, moreover, at least two-thirds of ministers conformed because they were more committed to the maintenance of a Protestant national church than either a presbyterian or episcopal polity.³² Scotland’s

1972), pp. 277–94; Harry Escott, *A History of Scottish Congregationalism* (Glasgow, 1960).

²⁹ Alasdair Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 45; David George Mullan (ed.), *Religious Controversy in Scotland, 1625–1639* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 13.

³⁰ With regards to the earlier period, a helpful discussion of the problems of these labels may be found in MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*.

³¹ On a ‘Calvinist’ consensus, see Mullan, ‘A Calvinist Consensus?’, Mullan, ‘Arminianism in the Lord’s Assembly, Glasgow, 1638’, *RSCHS*, 26 (1996), pp. 1–30; Mullan, ‘Masked Popery and Pyrrhonian Uncertainty: The Early Scottish Covenanters on Arminianism’, *Journal of Religious History*, 21 (1997), pp. 159–77. On worship and Protestant culture in the post-Reformation Kirk, see Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, 2002), pp. 402–12.

³² Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, ‘Alternative Establishments? Insular Catholicism and Presbyterianism’, in Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Insular Christianity: Alternative Models of the Church in Britain and Ireland, c. 1570–c. 1700* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 1–27, at pp. 21–2. Also, see I.B. Cowan, ‘The Covenanters: A

political elite were able to institute a predominantly Erastian episcopal settlement because of widespread anti-clericalism as well as the restored episcopate's failure to develop a convincing account of its *jure divino* status.³³ Likewise, many Scots who had hitherto shown presbyterian tendencies were reluctant to accord any ecclesiastical polity with *jure divino* status, thus further depleting the ranks of those Covenanters who refused to conform after 1662. Significantly, Scots were not required to adopt the Prayer Book, and the form of episcopacy that was re-established was not completely alien to Scots. At least seven out of fourteen members of the restored episcopate – including Archbishops Andrew Fairfoul of Glasgow and James Sharp of St Andrews – may be identified as 'Covenanters' before 1660.³⁴ Kirk sessions, presbyteries and synods continued to enforce discipline – albeit in a moderated form – alongside the restored episcopate.³⁵ In fact, this type of episcopal polity largely reflected that under which Baillie had grown up in the 1610s.

The transitions of ecclesiastical and political power that occurred in 1638 and 1660 appear even less momentous if we consider the fluidity of 'presbyterian' and 'episcopalian' identities evident in Baillie's writings. By one recent account, it has been suggested that it is more helpful to refer to 'presbyterian' tendencies, emphasizing that confessional identities were imperfectly formed.³⁶ Whilst this approach is useful, a further word of caution is required regarding the currency of confessional labels in religious historiography. In the pages that follow, I certainly make use of common labels, yet it is worth highlighting that many of the arguments I develop complicate traditionally held views about the intellectual preoccupations of a Scottish presbyterian during the Civil Wars. I would go so far as to argue that labelling individuals in religious historiography has injected a degree of confessional anachronism, transplanted, in a Scottish context, from the religious conflicts of nineteenth-century Scotland to the fertile soil of the seventeenth century.

Revision Article', *SHR*, 47 (1968), pp. 35–52, at p. 46; Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*, pp. 33–4.

³³ Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660–1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), ch. 5. In similar vein, David Mullan also suggested that the pre-Civil War episcopate had failed because of their 'want of an appreciable historic institutional dignity'. See David George Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560–1638* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 196.

³⁴ Those that may be identified as Covenanters include Sharp (St Andrews), Fairfoul (Glasgow), George Haliburton (Dunkeld), James Hamilton (Galloway), John Paterson (Ross), Patrick Forbes (Caithness) and Robert Leighton (Dunblane). Those who may be definitively identified as opponents of the Covenanters include George Wishart (Edinburgh) and, the only survivor of the pre-1638 episcopate, Thomas Sydserf (Orkney). David Mitchel (Aberdeen), David Strachan (Brechin), David Fletcher (Argyll), Murdoch MacKenzie (Moray) and Robert Wallace (The Isles) do not have ODNB entries and other evidence of their pre-1660 allegiances is not readily available.

³⁵ W.R. Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland, 1661–1688* (London, 1958).

³⁶ Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin, 'Alternative Establishments?', p. 2.

Labels may often be used as convenient shorthand, but the interpretative baggage implied by their usage can potentially be misleading. If a minister like Baillie is described as a ‘presbyterian’ this often is taken to convey that Baillie held a predictable set of views on a range of issues. By such an account, we might expect Baillie to be a strict opponent of episcopacy, averse to kneeling to receive the communion elements, and a believer in a ‘rigid’ form of double predestination. The chapters that follow on Baillie’s ecclesiology, liturgical writings and theology, respectively, all complicate these basic assumptions about what a ‘presbyterian’ might think about these topics.

In order to fashion a new and convincing account of Baillie’s life and writings, then, this biography builds on a modest collection of studies that have uncovered points of ideological tension within the Covenanting movement. In an attempt to erase moments of embarrassing dispute amongst ministers obsessed with maintaining their ‘godly’ credentials, contemporaries and later historians have smoothed the edges of surviving source material and removed or destroyed evidence of disputes over key points of doctrine and policy. Baillie, more than perhaps any of his contemporaries, was careful to manage the documentary legacy that he left and our analysis here must attend to the reasons why some material may be preserved whilst other material – the existence of which may be inferred from other sources – was excluded or destroyed. Given the scarcity of Scottish primary material in contrast to the reams of material surviving for England at the same time, it is not unsurprising that relatively few historians have provided sustained accounts of intra-Covenanting disputes. Despite such evidentiary problems, studies have convincingly shown, for instance, that a group of so-called ‘radical’ ministers persisted with some degree of cohesion throughout the 1640s in their belief that the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 had not gone far enough in reforming worship in the Church.³⁷ A meticulous study of debates over ecclesiology at the Westminster Assembly has recently shown clear ideological differences amongst the Scottish delegates Baillie, Rutherford, Gillespie and Henderson when it came to finer issues regarding the power of particular congregations.³⁸ And the best study of religion in Interregnum Scotland convincingly argued that the cacophony of religious beliefs that followed Cromwell’s invasion sprung from the influence of English ministers as well as from homegrown sources.³⁹

Rather than asking why an apparently ideologically homogeneous culture of presbyterianism crumbled so quickly after the Restoration of Charles II, I contend here that it is more accurate to ask how the Covenanting regime

³⁷ David Stevenson, ‘Conventicles and the Kirk, 1619–37: The Emergence of a Radical Party’, *RSCHS*, 18 (1973), pp. 99–114; Stevenson, ‘The Radical Party in the Kirk, 1637–45’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25 (1974), pp. 135–65.

³⁸ Hunter Powell, *The Crisis of British Protestantism: Church Power in the Puritan Revolution, 1638–44* (Manchester, 2015).

³⁹ R. Scott Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion, 1650–1660* (Edinburgh, 2007).

maintained the appearance of a unified movement for as long as it did. Baillie's writings provide an ideal case study for exploding the historiographical tendency to cast Covenanting Scotland as torn between presbyterian and episcopal factions precisely because Baillie's intellectual commitments often blurred distinctions between these groups. Baillie's religious and political writings instead reflected the ambiguities of the Reformation settlement in Scotland. After 1560, the Church's polity remained in flux, its pattern of worship was cast in deliberately broad terms and its ministers' doctrinal beliefs remained subtly variegated. As a Reformed minister, Baillie aspired to maintain rigorous moral discipline in his parish, whilst leading worship according to God's Word.⁴⁰ Reformed ministers throughout Europe implemented these two broad ideals in a variety of manners, adapting them to local social, economic and political contexts.⁴¹ Whilst Margo Todd and John Coffey have suggested that the post-Reformation Church of Scotland may be described as a 'Puritan church' – more fully reformed than the Church of England – it is more useful to think about the Scottish Church as a Reformed church.⁴² First, this decision allows analysis of Baillie's ideas to transcend a simplistic binary opposition between 'presbyterian' and 'episcopalian' positions. In Scotland, ministers who evinced either presbyterian or episcopalian tendencies lacked detailed intellectual justifications for their respective platforms, in the way that Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1604) had provided for defenders of the episcopalian Church of England.⁴³ Baillie's writings about church polity, discussed below, reflected the more ambiguous settlement of the Church's polity at the Reformation. Secondly, this decision reorients analysis of Baillie's ideas to account for the influence of the rich variety of intellectual traditions of Reformed Europe, without precluding

⁴⁰ Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (London, 2002), pp. 458–9.

⁴¹ The precise ways in which this was affected throughout parish Kirks in Scotland is the subject of Todd's *The Culture of Protestantism*. Also, see, John McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640* (Farnham, 2010); Christopher R. Langley, 'Times of Trouble and Deliverance: Worship in the Kirk of Scotland, 1645–1658' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2012).

⁴² Margo Todd, 'The Problem of Scotland's Puritans', in John Coffey and Paul Chang-Ha Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 174–88; John Coffey, 'The Problem of "Scottish Puritanism", 1590–1638', in Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550–1700* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 66–90.

⁴³ *The First Book of Discipline* (1560) and *The Second Book of Discipline* (1578) offered little more than the bare outlines of church polity: a large reason why this issue became so hotly contested in the seventeenth century. The first detailed and persuasive account of the Kirk's presbyterian polity written by a Scot was either George Gillespie, *An assertion of the government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1641) or Samuel Rutherford, *A peaceable and temperate plea for Pauls presbyterie in Scotland* (London, 1642). On the emergence of presbyterian and episcopalian confessional identities, see Alasdair Raffe, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660–1715', *English Historical Review*, 125 (2010), pp. 570–98.

discussion of Baillie's contributions to English religious debates; indeed, the Church of England should be counted amongst Europe's Reformed churches.

This book resolves Baillie's thinking according to a broader set of themes that run through his extant writings, rather than analysing his writings through the prism of an idealized 'presbyterianism'. Approaching his writings, I ask what a work may tell us about Baillie's understanding of the problems of church government, for example, or his thinking on liturgical formulae. I explore the sources for his thinking on questions related to Reformed theology and show how his adoption of particular readings of texts may have strengthened his convictions. I also ask why Baillie chose to compose works in particular formats and what this might tell us about Baillie's diverse occupations as parish minister, polemic theologian, divinity professor and foreign diplomat. This enables a far more nuanced assessment of Baillie's writings than merely casting him against the backdrop of an ahistorical 'Scottish presbyterianism'. Although his writings may fall under a broad category, illustrative of presbyterian tendencies, Baillie's outlook here is developed from its disparate parts rather than by imposing a coherent vision from the outset.

III

More broadly, this biography casts serious doubt on interpretations of pre-Enlightenment Scotland as intellectually moribund. Its aims, though, are more constructive than they are destructive. Baillie's diverse and expansive corpus of surviving manuscript and published writings provide an ideal lens through which to re-evaluate the intellectual milieu of his day. Studies of the intellectual culture of post-Reformation Scotland have begun to transform engrained assumptions about the inherent narrow-mindedness of Scottish Calvinism. We have caught glimpses of the cosmopolitan outlook of early modern Scots, notably in John Coffey's biography of Baillie's contemporary, Samuel Rutherford.⁴⁴ Recent essays by Giovanni Gellera and Alasdair Raffe have uncovered and explained the early reception of Cartesian ideas in Scotland's universities.⁴⁵ This work continues to build on the foundations laid long ago by Christine Shepherd in her groundbreaking thesis on arts curricula and the adoption of 'New Scientific' thinking in seventeenth-century Scotland.⁴⁶ The book-gathering habits of polymaths, such as Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, and the writings of theologians, such as Robert Leighton, have

⁴⁴ Coffey, *Samuel Rutherford*.

⁴⁵ Giovanni Gellera, 'The Philosophy of Robert Forbes: A Scottish Scholastic Response to Cartesianism', *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, 11:2 (2013), pp. 191–211; Alasdair Raffe, 'Intellectual Change before the Enlightenment: Scotland, the Netherlands and the Reception of Cartesian Thought, 1650–1700', *SHR*, 94:1 (2015), pp. 24–47.

⁴⁶ Christine Mary Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the 17th Century' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974).

provided glimpses of conceptual depth and variance hitherto neglected.⁴⁷ Indeed, rare-books librarians in Scotland's university libraries today are documenting, with remarkable care, ownership marks and marginalia that furnish details about provenance and reading habits unparalleled in an English context.⁴⁸ The humanist obsession with textual criticism and ancient languages influenced the writings of figures as ideologically diverse as George Buchanan and James VI and I.⁴⁹ Ramist logic held a short-lived and contentious influence over the reform of university curricula spearheaded by Andrew Melville, and carried out by teaching staff at institutions in Aberdeen, St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow.⁵⁰ By the time that Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660 and Baillie was at the end of his life, Scotland was poised to enter a period of intellectual ferment. Newtonian physics took hold and was adopted more readily and quickly in Scotland than in England. Royalist ideas were formulated and given clearer historical roots than ever before, and presbyterian and episcopalian authors conceived of their rival ecclesiastical polities with greater clarity and exegetical precision than was ever necessary under the Covenanting regime of the 1640s.⁵¹

Despite such tantalizing glimpses, vestiges of an older interpretative paradigm still persist.⁵² By this account, seventeenth-century Scotland was awash with an illiberal and hegemonic Calvinism that eschewed reason and scholarly rigour for the sake of blindly defending orthodoxy. Hugh Trevor-Roper thus eulogized Baillie as 'the confident grave-digger of Anglicanism ... the voluble, invaluable letter-writer, that incomparable Scotch dominie, so learned, so acute, so factual, so complacent, so unshakably omniscient, so infallibly wrong'.⁵³ Such dismissive accounts of seventeenth-century Scotland may be traced back to writers such as Samuel Johnson, who derided the effects that the 'waste of reformation' had exerted on Scottish culture, and Victorians such as Henry Buckle, who denounced the Church of Scotland's ministry for

⁴⁷ Crawford Gribben, 'Robert Leighton, Edinburgh Theology, and the Collapse of the Presbyterian Consensus', in Elizabethanne Boran and Crawford Gribben (eds), *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550–1700* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 159–83. An excellent outline of Scotstarvit's library may be found online at <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/specialcollections/collections/rarebooks/named/scotcollection/>

⁴⁸ See, for instance, the wonderful online material included in the digital catalogues for Glasgow University Library's Special Collections and the wealth of material included in the descriptions of book collections housed in St Andrews Library Special Collections.

⁴⁹ David Allan, *Virtue, Learning and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1993).

⁵⁰ Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Farnham, 2011).

⁵¹ Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*; Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy*.

⁵² For another claim that this paradigm still holds sway, see Crawford Gribben, 'Introduction', in Gribben and David George Mullan (eds), *Literature and the Scottish Reformation* (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 1–20.

⁵³ Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'Scotland and the Puritan Revolution', in *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London, 1967), pp. 392–444, at p. 401.

‘prolong[ing] the reign of ignorance, and stop[ping] the march of society’.⁵⁴ In such accounts, Baillie is considered symptomatic of an ‘intellectual fare ... as uniform, as monotonous and as unpalatable as [Scots’] unvarying daily diet of salt-beef and oatmeal’.⁵⁵

The assumption, *a priori*, is that Scots were so caught up with a particularly rigid brand of orthodox theology that all other intellectual concerns were set aside. Just as English Puritans in the 1650s cancelled Christmas and attempted to censure all other expressions of a loose, ungodly morality, Scottish presbyterians have long been characterized as utterly opposed to any forms of intellectual creativity. Reformed orthodoxy is typically considered inimical to intellectual innovation or change.⁵⁶ This is nowhere more evident than in the work of Jonathan Israel, who traced the genesis of modern conceptions of liberty, the state, individual rights, and secularism to the decidedly heterodox writings of Baruch Spinoza.⁵⁷ By this account, the willingness of Spinoza, Hobbes, Descartes and others to question the epistemological foundations of divine knowledge drove humanity to conceive of the world in terms divorced from ‘superstitious’ ways of thinking. If heterodox ideas drove intellectual change, or progress towards intellectual development, then it is assumed that orthodox theology led divines backwards to increasingly outdated systems of thought. It is hardly my contention here that Baillie should be considered an early figure of the Scottish Enlightenment. Rather, I am arguing that claims about the origins of this later intellectual culture have encouraged scholarly complacency towards the ideas and ways of thinking that held currency during Baillie’s life.

To suggest that such characterizations are unfair, though, is not to go far enough in this critique. Such an understanding of Calvinist or Reformed theology persists even in studies by historical theologians more attuned to the complexities of theological debate. The Covenanters have featured regularly in accounts of the Reformed theological tradition in Scotland and more irregularly in discussions of Reformed theology broadly conceived.⁵⁸ For historical theologians working in a Reformed tradition, the documents written by the Westminster Assembly and the commentaries by Scottish and English participants comprise a body of evidence of a vibrant but cohesive and living

⁵⁴ Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. Peter Levi (London, 1984), p. 48; Henry Thomas Buckle, *On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect*, ed. H.J. Hanham (Chicago, 1970), p. 12.

⁵⁵ Trevor-Roper, ‘Scotland and the Puritan Revolution’, p. 427.

⁵⁶ For a recent manifestation of this trend, see Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (eds), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy, c. 1600–1750* (Leiden, 2012).

⁵⁷ Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001); Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670–1752* (Oxford, 2006); Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution and Human Rights 1760–1790* (Oxford, 2011).

⁵⁸ Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology: From John Knox to John McLeod Campbell* (Edinburgh, 1996); M. Charles Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology: The Doctrine of Assurance* (Edinburgh, 1985).

theological tradition. There is a degree of intellectual variance *within* this tradition but, according to the foremost commentator, there are distinctive lines at which 'orthodoxy' becomes 'heterodoxy'.⁵⁹ These impenetrable boundaries of orthodoxy tend to transcend particular moments and create a sense that theologians in this tradition were always cognizant of their common, confessional identity. The Westminster Confession of Faith, for instance, is seen not as the outcome of complex and (embarrassingly) fractious debates in the 1640s but, rather, as a crucial document in the genesis of a Reformed tradition that stemmed from previous debates at Dort, and were only fully realized by Francis Turretin and Johann Heidegger who co-wrote the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* (1675). In these discussions, Covenanters typically play a less significant role perhaps because many of them failed to produce works of systematic theology akin to those of contemporaries in Geneva or Amsterdam. When the works of Rutherford, Gillespie and Baillie's colleague at Glasgow David Dickson are highlighted, they are typically discussed only insofar as they conform to, or depart from, the doctrines laid down by Knox, Calvin and the first generation of Reformers. Both intellectual historians and historical theologians have been far too susceptible to accepting at face value the Manichean rhetoric of Covenanting tracts that present the intellectual landscape of their day in black-and-white terms. Such rhetorical techniques deliberately brought areas of questionable ideological divergence into focus, in the process obscuring points of overlap that persisted.

Baillie's printed and manuscript output was informed by a simplistic rhetoric of 'orthodoxy versus heterodoxy', 'truth versus error' and 'good versus evil'. Yet these stark lines in the sand dissolve with the slightest breeze. Such rhetorical tactics, for Baillie, were essential to communicate to his readers in simple and accessible language the content of debates that had raged for centuries amongst incredibly learned theologians. This book adopts the perspective that currents of humanist, reformed-orthodox, empiricist and Ramist thinking persisted alongside, and in creative tension with, each other.⁶⁰ Rather than trying to chart Scotland's *progress* towards the early Enlightenment, this book throws into high relief the contours of Baillie's thought on myriad subjects. Historiography of the Covenanters' ideas is characterized by almost single-minded discussion of the genealogy and implications of the 'concept of the covenant'. As with discussions of Reformed theology, these treatments of Covenanting intellectual culture eschew distinctive individual contributions in favour of building a picture of intellectual trends that transcend historical time. Accounts of the social, legal and theological dimensions of covenanting

⁵⁹ For the classic formulation of what follows, see Richard A. Muller, 'Calvin and the "Calvinists": Assessing Continuities and Discontinuities between the Reformation and Orthodoxy', *Calvin Theological Journal*, 30 (1995), pp. 345–75, and 31 (1996), pp. 125–60.

⁶⁰ Thus, more in line with the work of scholars like Anthony Grafton. See his work on early modern intellectual culture, especially his essays in *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).