

## University Studies and Ordination to the Ministry of George Gillespie (1613–1648)

By Chris Coldwell

History and accounts of Second Reformation divine George Gillespie portray him as somewhat of a child prodigy.<sup>1</sup> He came by this naturally judging from his Simson ancestry on his mother's side. However, since he was so young (not yet 17), some have questioned that he could have received his M.A. at St. Andrews in 1629, but rather must have entered his studies at that time.<sup>2</sup> If one compares Gillespie to other contemporaries slightly younger, it does not seem so unusual. The well-known and clearly gifted John Owen (1616–1683), took his B.A. in 1632 at about age 16 and took his M.A. in 1635 at about 19 years of age.<sup>3</sup> Andrew Gray (died. 1653) graduated M.A. at age 19 as well.<sup>4</sup> And it was not unusual to advance students at young ages and quickly at this period. “The students were mere boys, for it was customary to enter college at the age of 13, 14, or 15. Gilbert Burnet—rather a precocious child—graduated at 14.”<sup>5</sup>

However, in this case, one does not have to rely on generalities and comparisons. In 2012, a collation of

manuscript data on graduates of Saint Andrews University was published. In it, there is a record for George Gillespie, which states that he matriculated from an unspecified college in 1625/26 (age 12 or 13) to begin his M.A. studies, and received the degree in August 1629: “minus potens’ (thesis). Divinity student 1630/31.”<sup>6</sup> This record of his studies at St. Andrews proves the reports that George was somewhat of a wunderkind.

As for the course of his education, while it was not until 1636 that schools under the control of the parish churches in Kirkcaldy Presbytery were founded, George probably would have attended the grammar school at Kirkcaldy started by the burgh in 1582. By 1588 “the burgh had begun to build a school ‘on the common expensis’ and had provided its schoolmaster with a salary.”<sup>7</sup> The burgh schools beyond the university towns functioned more like the parish schools, which sent students directly to the university.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, there are gaps in the record as to who would

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1. This material in slightly different form first appeared in *The Shorter Writings of George Gillespie*, volume 1, Naphtali Press Special Editions V (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, 2021). New and less known information is presented in this first extensive gathering of facts about George Gillespie's education and ordination to the ministry at the commencement of the Second Reformation in Scotland. See Gillespie's portrait on the inside front cover.

2. See George Gillespie, *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7 (1908), p. 1238, and Kyle D. Holfelder's article in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Both appear to rely on Hew Scott, *Faḡti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, new edition, vol. 1 (1915), p. 58.

3. *DNB*, vol. 14 (1909), p. 1318.

4. *Faḡti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, vol. 3 (1920), p. 465.

5. G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge University Press, 1937, repr., 2011), p. 120.

6. Robert N. Smart, *Alphabetical Register of the Students, Graduates and Officials of the University of St Andrews 1579–1747* (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews Library, 2012), p. 218. “Note that the B.A.

is simply a step on the way to the M.A. and was not regarded as a degree in its own right.” There were “two rates of payment—the ‘potentes’ and the ‘minus potentes.’” This was based on the ability to pay, with the higher classes and nobility in the first category. Most ministers' sons were classed “minus potentes.” “The fact of graduation as master of arts may come from the graduation roll, the bursar's book or the presence of the name in the printed graduation theses or a combination of all three.” “Printed graduation theses in arts survive between 1603 and 1703, but whether they were issued every session is unknown.” Smart, pp. viii, x.

7. James M. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife* (Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1983), p. 5. “1582.—The Bailies and Council of Kirkcaldy arrange with the minister, Mr. David Spens, to open a day school in Kirkcaldy.” Lachlan Macbean, *The Kirkcaldy Burgh Records: with the annals of Kirkcaldy, the town's charter, extracts from original documents, and a description of the ancient burgh* (1908), p. 36. George's father John replaced the aged Spens in first charge in 1625. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

8. John Strong, *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland: an Account of Scottish Secondary Education from Early Times to the Education Act of 1908* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 106, 141.

have been schoolmaster during Gillespie's school-age years. Thomas Melville held the position from 1607 to January 20, 1613. Then the record is blank for all of Gillespie's early years until 1619 or 1620 when he would have been seven. John Row, second son of the minister of Carnock and historian of the same name, "was elected schoolmaster of that burgh by the Kirk Session, and his appointment was confirmed by the Town Council, 3rd November, 1619."<sup>9</sup> He had been the Doctor of Latin previously at the famous grammar school of Stirling (1617–1619), where John Livingstone had attended when William Wallace was the schoolmaster (1612–1617).<sup>10</sup> Row was at Kirkcaldy at least till July 8, 1622. After that, there is a gap in the record for who taught the school. He may have had Gillespie in his classes for at least eighteen months, and then it is unclear who taught the school

till George entered St. Andrews in 1625 at age 12 or 13.<sup>11</sup> In *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, G. D. Henderson indicates that the general type of studies in these schools was similar to that described in 1644 of the High School of Edinburgh.

During a five years' course instruction was given, beginning with the rudiments from Desplanter (interpolated), then the Syntax of Erasmus and some Corderius and Cicero, then more Cicero and some Terence and Ovid. There followed Buchanan's Psalms and Virgil and Horace, while in the final year study concentrated upon Rhetoric, Facility of expression in Latin prose and verse was expected.<sup>12</sup>

After grammar school, Gillespie entered an unspecified college at St. Andrews, from which he graduated as noted in 1625/26 at age 12 or 13. This means that he would have accomplished the four or five years of grammar school and the normal four years of university studies at a greatly accelerated rate, and probably beginning from a very early age, before the age of eight or nine prescribed by a 1496 statute regarding the eldest sons of landowners and Scottish barons in 1496.<sup>13</sup> As to his university studies, Henderson writes:

The school course prepared directly for the university where Latin was taken for granted, and Greek formed the basis of the philosophical studies. Hebrew was also sometimes studied.... Rhetoric and logic and the art of disputation and a little mathematics soon called for attention, to be followed by more Aristotle—metaphysics, ethics, politics, pneumatics, perhaps even some anatomy such as could be learned from mere lectures, and in the fourth and final year physics and geography and astronomy as these were then understood.

The students were much occupied in taking down and copying out and closely studying the Latin lectures. Divinity students had to submit to the Presbyteries their versions of the professors' dictates and sustain examination upon them.<sup>14</sup> There were further the disputations, private and public—the elaborate logical defence of theses after the method of all mediaeval academic discussions. As a mental discipline this practice certainly had some justification, for it tended to develop orderly thinking, logical accuracy, quick judgment, clear expression, fluent utterance, clever criticism, ingenious argument.<sup>15</sup>

Gillespie's student record as noted has "thesis" recorded

9. Andrew Fleming Hutchison, *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling, 1904), 50n1, 51n1. It is noted in the Wodrow Society edition of the history by John's father, John Row, that his son was then schoolmaster in the winter of 1619. See John Row, minister at Carnock, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland from the year 1588 to August 1637* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Wodrow Society, [1842]), p. xiii. Some apparent beginning and end dates of June 26, 1620, and July 20, 1622, are given in John Duncan, edited and revised by Jamie Reid-Baxter, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters 1560–1633* (Scottish History Society, The Boydell Press, 2006), p. 325.

10. Hutchison, *ibid.*

11. "It is not known how long he remained in Kirkcaldy, but for some years prior to his appointment to the Grammar School of Perth [1632] he was tutor to George, son of the first Earl of Kinnoul, Chancellor of the Kingdom." *Ibid.*, p. 51. Duncan et al. seem to preclude Row's being in Kirkcaldy after July 1622.

12. Henderson, pp. 119–120. Henderson cites: W. Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (1849), p. 130. *English Popish Ceremonies* has many classical references (see p. xlii).

13. See the old Scots rendering of the statute in Strong, pp. 30–31. One modernized rendering reads that, "all barons and freeholders who are of substance should put their eldest sons and heirs to schools from the age of eight or nine; they should remain in grammar schools till they are competently educated and have a perfect knowledge of Latin, and thereafter remain at schools of arts and law so that they may have the knowledge and understanding of the laws." Joanna Kopaczkyk, *The Legal Language of Scottish Burghs, Standardization and Lexical Bundles 1300–1560* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 281.

14. No records of this appear in the Kirkcaldy minutes for George Gillespie. It may be that Gillespie's examinations were done in the Presbytery of St. Andrews since he was a divinity student at St. Mary's. Jack C. Whytock, "An Educated Clergy," *Scottish Theological Education and Training in the Kirk and Secession, 1560–1850*, Studies in Christian History and Thought (Paternoster/Wipf & Stock, 2007), p. 47. The Minutes for St. Andrews Presbytery are not extant from 1606 to 1640. University of St Andrews Special Collections, GB 227 CH2/1132, Minutes, 1585–1605, 1641–1687 and 1693–1907; Scroll minutes, 1765–1774; Separate register, 1745–1932; Register of parochial benefices, 1801.

15. Henderson goes on to criticize this manner of education for creating intellectual duellists and the kind of literature and preaching of the period. Henderson, *ibid.*, pp. 120–121.

after his name. These theses or oral exams where one student argued for and one against the thesis took place at the end of the final year of studies for the M.A. Many were often published and contain the students' names. They also give an idea of what the students were expected to know at the end of their studies.<sup>16</sup> "These theses were part of the curriculum in all Scottish universities. At the end of the academic year, final year students took part in public disputations presided over by their regent. The theses that were discussed were eventually published under the name of the regent and included the students' names."

In general, these sets of theses contain three philosophical sections, respectively logical, ethical, and physical theses, with sometimes an astronomical section added. Sometimes the physical section comes before the ethical section. Following the scholastic practice of teaching, the topics are mainly drawn from the Aristotelian corpus, although the ethical sections are sometimes closer to humanistic topics. Thus the logical sections discuss mainly themes from the *Categories* and, less frequently, from the *De interpretatione* and the *Posterior Analytics*. More importantly, after 1620, a number of theses include a section on metaphysics.... Although the printed theses very seldom contain the complete arguments supporting the various theses, these graduation theses provide a detailed picture of the doctrinal landscape in the different universities [in Scotland].<sup>17</sup>

The divinity course was also normally a four-year course of study like the Master of Arts. However, this was fairly flexible at St. Andrews. "Divinity students did not undertake a fixed period of study at the college, but appear to have spent as many years as they either deemed necessary or could pay for, with students staying from one to six years...."<sup>18</sup> At the new foundation of St. Mary's in 1579 under Andrew Melville,<sup>19</sup> five professors of theology were instituted, which despite rejections under Episcopal domination of some of what he instituted, the basic foundation remained intact. There was a professor of Hebrew, two of the New Testament, another of Systematic Theology, and the principal held the chair of Systematic Theology.<sup>20</sup> It is unknown what specific courses George Gillespie took,<sup>21</sup> but it would likely have been what was thought necessary by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, which elected him bursar of theology.

From the Reformation forward, through, and after George Gillespie's lifetime, it was the custom to maintain one bursar of theology per presbytery.<sup>22</sup> The minutes for Kirkcaldy Presbytery do not survive for the period

before April 15, 1630, and the earliest notice of his being bursar is dated May 6, 1630. It would appear that he must have been appointed shortly after taking his M.A. in August 1629, because, as Hetherington noted from the unpublished Kirkcaldy Kirk-Session Records, "The Session are content that Mr. George Gillespie shall have as much money of our Session, for his interteynment [maintenance], as Dysart gives, viz., 20 merks, being our Presbytery Bursar."

There are additional notices regarding "Georg

16. Neither of the two examples of theses for St. Andrews in 1629 that are given in the English Short Title Catalog list Gillespie's name in the short list of students. Both of them do list an exam in metaphysics. *Decermina quaedam philosophica sive Theses problemata, & disputationes logicae, ethicae, physicae, astronomicae, & metaphysicae, de quibus V.F.D.O.M. In publico philosophantium confessu, in scholis Marianis Academiae Andreae.... Praeside Ioanne Ramisæo* (Edinburgi: Excudebat Ioannes Wreittoun, 1629). *Theses philosophicae, quas propitio numine, Adolescentes celeberrimi Collegii Divi Leonardi alumni, ad Lauream Magisterialem aspirantes, in publica Philosophantium diatriba propugnabunt Andreaepoli Kalendas Augusti. Anno. 1629. Horis & loco solitis. Praeside Ioanne Wedderburno* (Edinburgi: Excudebat Ioannes Wreittoun, 1629). The only student notebook with full papers showcasing what studies of the period were like is one compiled by George Palfrey circa 1623 while at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, which among other things, indicates many of the printed books students studied at the time for their M.A. degree. The notebook with commentary and analysis is an 802-page work. See C. J. Cook, *The Palfrey Notebook: records of study in seventeenth-century Cambridge*, History of the University of Cambridge, Texts and Studies, v. 7 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011).

17. Studies in seventeenth-century Scottish philosophers and their philosophy, *History of Universities*, Volume XXIX/2, edited by Mordechai Feingold et al. (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 97, 98. See also a discussion of these theses in Steven J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History) (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011; repr., Routledge, 2016), chapter six.

18. Reid, p. 274.

19. For a detailing of Melville's *Nova Erectio*, what was embraced, what not, and the changes under Episcopal domination, see Reid and chapter 3 in Whytock.

20. "Under the new plan for St Mary's, theological instruction was to be divided among five specialist professors. While the first professor was responsible to provide instruction in Hebrew and Syriac, the second and third were to expound the Old Testament. The fourth and fifth professors were to lecture on the New Testament and Systematic Theology respectively with the principal occupying the latter position." Ernest R. Holloway III, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland 1545–1622* (Brill, 2011), p. 187. Holloway references Ronald G. Cant, *The New Foundation of 1579 in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1979), p. 7.

21. See Rutherford's studies for comparison. John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions, The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 62–70.

22. It was codified in 1641 that each presbytery maintain one bursar of theology. Walter Steuart of Pardovan, *Collections and Observations Methodized* (1709), p. 34.

Gillespie, burser,” in *The Presbytrie Booke of Kirkcaldie*,<sup>23</sup> but overt references to Gillespie as bursar cease after September 1631, which aligns with his ending his theological studies at St Andrews at that time. The next named bursar is his brother Patrick in 1635. The following are the entries through the appointment of Patrick (spelling and Scots modernized).

“Kirkcaldy, May 6, 1630. Desires the brethren to be careful to bring their moneys for entertaining [i.e., maintaining] the bursar of Theology, Mr. George Gillespie.” Page 8. Gillespie was seventeen at this point and his father had died three years earlier in 1627.

“Kirkcaldy, June 3, 1630. “Diligence used for the maintenance of the Bursar of Theology.” Page 8.

“Dysert, November 4, 1630. Mr Robert Cranstown delivered 10 merks<sup>24</sup> to Mr Georg Gillespie the Presbytery’s bursar of Theology.” Page 20.

“Kirkcaldy, March 17 [1631]. The Moderator delivered eight pounds<sup>25</sup> for the Kirk of Burntiland to the Bursar of Theology: received by Mr Georg Gillespie, present bursar.” Page 24.

“Dysert, September 22, 1631. Delivered by Mr. John Tullus minister at Wemyss, eight pounds for Mr George Gillespie their Bursar of Theology.” Page 31.

“Kirkcaldy, November 3, 1631. Kirkcaldy and Scoonie paid their contribution to the Bursar of Theology.” Page 32.

23. *The Presbytrie Booke of Kirkcaldie, being the record of the proceedings of that Presbytery from the 15th day of April 1630 to the 14th Day of September 1653*, edited, with introduction, notes, and index by William Stevenson, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. Minister of Auchtertool (Kirkcaldy: Published by James Burt, MDCCCC). This is a striking large folio volume of 420 pages, red ink titling, with the printing limited to 150 numbered copies. This writer’s copy is hand-numbered in blue ink as copy 74 and initialed W.S.

24. At this time, a merk was equal in coinage to 13 shillings and 4 pennies, or 120 pennies (DSL). One Scottish shilling equaled one English penny. By the 1630s, skilled workers earned one merk a day. Adam Fox, *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500–1785* (Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 36. At this period, a loaf of bread cost roughly 16 pennies to the pound. A. J. S. Gibson, T. C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550–1780* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 164.

25. Twenty shillings equaled 1£ Scots. James Maclaren Cobban, *The Angel of the Covenant: Memoirs of the Early Career of James Graham* (New York: R. F. Fenno & Co., 1898), p. 179.

26. Reid, p. 248. The degrees were restored “between 1606 and 1616” by Robert Howie. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

27. David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. 7 (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), p. 222; see also vol. 8 (1842), p. 95.

“Kirkcaldy, May 10, [1632]. The Parson of Dysart and the Moderator paid the Bursar of Theology for Dysert and Burntiland.” Page 38.

“Kirkcaldy, October 18 [1632]. Mr David Anderson paid the Bursar of Theology. All the brethren paid the Bursar of Theology except Kingorn and Wemyss who promises to pay shortly.” Page 57.

“Kirkcaldy, November 29 [1632]. Mr. John Tullus paid the Bursar of Theology.” Page 58.

“Dysert, November 19 [1635]. Mr Patrick Gillespie is nominated and chosen to be Buser of Theology for this Presbytery.” Page 88.

There is no mention of the bursar of theology and payments made after October 18, 1632, and the next mention is the appointment of George’s brother Patrick as the new bursar. It would appear George continued to be paid through October of 1632. The record of his studies at St. Andrews indicates he was not enrolled to study theology after 1631. It may be the year 1632 was a period of transition or perhaps indecision on the presbytery’s part about what to do with George and what George would do with himself.

The choices that one in George’s position faced were to continue theological studies for the D.D. or go through examination and licensing and ordination by Kirkcaldy Presbytery to enter the ministry. Given what we know about Gillespie, the first course would not have been a consideration. Degrees had been banished out of the course of study by Andrew Melville, who saw “all such qualifications” as having “Catholic overtones.”<sup>26</sup> After Melville’s removal from St. Andrews in 1606, degrees were eventually brought back, and with religious trappings. Slightly preceding the Perth articles to reshape the church in 1618, James sent reforms for St. Andrews in 1616 to make St. Mary’s (the theological school) a tool for his plans for the Kirk of Scotland. Specifically for the reinstated D.D. degree, there would be required conformity to the rites and ceremonies used in England. Indeed, in July 1616, when all but three professors at St. Andrews took the degree in the new ceremony, David Calderwood complained the “noveltie was brought in amongst us without advise or consent of the kirk.”<sup>27</sup> Along with the degrees, the holy days of Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday were forced on the university, “with the masters of St. Mary’s leading the university in services of prayer on each day.” These services had

to be a constant reminder to George about the ceremonies forced upon Scotland.<sup>28</sup>

George Gillespie's intended path, therefore, must have been for the ministry, and in fact, the presbytery appointment as bursar of theology would seem to make it conclusive that this was his intent.<sup>29</sup> However, here also, his pathway was blocked by the fact that he would not submit to the required ordination by the hands of a bishop. It may be that in embarking on his studies that he believed that the Lord would clear the way for him in time. He likely knew of the few cases that received some accommodation, such as Samuel Rutherford, who entered the ministry "without giving any engagement to the bishop."<sup>30</sup> When exactly it was clear to Gillespie that he could not pursue the ministry is not possible to pinpoint exactly because he was between 18 years seven months, and 18 years 11 months of age when he finished his theological studies. It would have been highly unusual to have been ordained before reaching the age of majority of 21 years.<sup>31</sup> It may well be the case that the common path of tutoring for a couple of years was not the alternate course but the usual next step to take, even for a prodigy.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, it is likely sometime while tutoring, as conditions grew far worse, that he realized that any former leeway or willingness to accommodate had vanished under King Charles's drive to bend the Scottish Kirk to his will. It may be at that point he simply continued tutoring and determined and/or was encouraged to put his talents to use writing his *Dispute* against the ceremonies.

Thus at some point before or after the bursarship funding ceased, a place was found for Gillespie as tutor to the children of Viscount Kenmure, who though not well-reputed, yet with a desire to have regular services in keeping with "puritan presbyterianism," had set up the parish of Anwoth out of two parishes around his residence, "to which he secured the appointment of

Samuel Rutherford as Minister" by June 1627.<sup>33</sup> This employment may have commenced sometime in 1633 because Rutherford mentions Gillespie in a letter dated January 23, 1634, to Lady Kenmure. In it, he says he had communication from the "worthiest of the ministry of the kingdom" calling for prayer and fasting, desiring him to communicate this call to like-minded who "are afflicted to see the Lord's vineyard trodden under foot." He asked her to impart the information to Viscount Kenmure, and if she thought it needful, he would write to him "as Mr. G[eorge] G[illespie] advertise me."<sup>34</sup>

In 1634 at Viscount Kenmure's death, Gillespie found employment as a tutor "to the great Presbyterian

31. Patrick Simson began ministry at age 21 (see p. 58). In Scotland from 1560 and 1660, there were 197 ministers, and the average age between graduation and their first appointment to the ministry was about nine years ([www.http://maps.mappingthescottishreformation.org/](http://maps.mappingthescottishreformation.org/)). Even Hugh Binning, another example of "an extraordinary instance of precocious learning and genius," was 24 when ordained. The singular exception is Andrew Gray, who was ordained at 20, but this was during the Protester-Resolutioner schism, and other factors undoubtedly influenced this. See the entry for Binning in Robert Chambers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, volume 1 (1835), p. 208; and see Andrew Gray's entry in *Faeti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, vol. 3 (1920), p. 465. While he does not state it in terms of majority age, Campbell opines that "a lad of 18 or 19 years, however precocious, could hardly have exercised an active pastoral ministry with profit to himself and his hearers." Campbell, p. 108.

32. "Other future ministers were privately educated by tutors who acted as secretaries and chaplains in their homes, for a considerable number of those who gave themselves to the ministry in the seventeenth century were sons of lairds, and had in the house a constant companion one who was interested in theology." Henderson, 119.

33. Roy Middleton, Historical Introduction, *English Popish Ceremonies* (1993; revised ed., Naphtali, 2013), pp. xxvii–xix. Campbell suggests Rutherford secured the appointment but adduces no authority for this (Campbell, p. 108). It may be other connections put Gillespie with Kenmore, and it was then that he met Rutherford, who would only minister at Anwoth a few more years before the persecuting bishops removed him to sequester in Aberdeen. On the other hand, Rutherford had commenced his letter-writing from Anwoth in 1627, and he may have sent queries out for a tutor at the Kenmure's request.

34. *Letters of Samuel Rutherford*, ed. Andrew A. Bonar, fourth edition (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1891), p. 92. Rutherford wrote three known letters to George Gillespie, one upon George's approaching death in 1648 and two in 1637, when he was then with Cassillis, one before and one after the publication of *English Popish Ceremonies* (respectively, March 13, 1637, and September 9, 1637). Unfortunately, we do not have Gillespie's letters to Rutherford which may have helped fill some information gaps. While Rutherford does not mention Gillespie's writing project, it is interesting in the first letter he mentions his disputes with the Aberdeen doctors over Arminianism and the ceremonies. In the latter letter, he clearly is aware of the petitioner movement afoot and advises, "Let us be ballasted with grace, that we be not blown over, and that we stagger not. Yet a little while, and Christ and His redeemed ones shall fill the field, and come out

28. Reid, p. 177.

29. William M. Campbell, "George Gillespie," in *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, volume 10 (Edinburgh, 1949): 108.

30. "Although this was unusual in the late 1620s, a number of militant young ministers, including Rutherford's friends Blair and Livingstone, seem to have been presbyterially ordained, perhaps with the bishop taking his place among the other presbyters. In Rutherford's case this was made possible by his bishop, Lamb, who had himself been ordained in the Presbyterian manner and was a moderate Episcopalian, and by his patron Gordon [Viscount Kennedy, who hired Gillespie], who on his deathbed later exhorted the bishop 'most earnestly not to molest or remove the Lord's servants, and not to enforce or enthrall their consciences to receive the Five Articles of Perth....'" Coffey, p. 39. Lamb died in 1634, and things then became very difficult for Rutherford under Lamb's replacement, Thomas Sydsersf, which Gillespie would have witnessed at that point.

nobleman of the south west,<sup>35</sup> John Kennedy (1595–1668), the sixth Earl of Cassilis, where he acted as tutor to his eldest son.”<sup>36</sup> It is at this time he likely wrote *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*, and it is likely Kennedy helped with the expense of publication.<sup>37</sup> The book appeared very shortly after the uproar in St. Giles at the attempted reading of Laud’s service book on July 23, 1637.

There had been plenty of warning and alarm prior to the incident at St. Giles, with the king’s falsification of the vote in the 1633 parliament declaring the passing of the 1619 Perth Articles, with a threat from the king that questioning the tally was treasonous, as well as the imposition of a new book of Canons in 1635<sup>38</sup> (published in 1636) that threatened the same charge for any who would question his authority in church matters. So with the date so prominently posted for

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victorious. Christ’s glory of triumphing in Scotland is yet in the bud, and in the birth; but the birth cannot prove an abortion. He shall not faint nor be discouraged, till He hath brought forth judgment unto victory.” In both letters, he closes in saying to remember the covenant the two had made. *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 497. According to Whyte, in a fanciful and sentimental telling of what this may have been, it was a covenant of friendship to pray for one another. Alexander Whyte, *Samuel Rutherford and Some of His Correspondents* (Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1893), p. 152.

35. Gillespie is mentioned in Rutherford’s *The Last and Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure of John Viscount Kenmure* (1649). Later writers say, when Kenmure withdrew from the 1633 parliament instead of standing for the Presbyterian cause in the face of the tyranny of Charles I, that he then took Gillespie with him as chaplain at Kenmure Castle. Earlier writers, such as Howie, do not tie the two events immediately together. It is certainly possible that Gillespie went to Edinburgh for the king’s long delayed Scottish coronation in June of 1633, when right after there was the meeting of Parliament when Kenmure forsook the Presbyterian cause and was not present to vote. The vote was majority not to pass the innovations, but the king overruled the vote and claimed they were passed. It may be Gillespie accepted the arrangement before Kenmure’s actions, but it does not seem likely that Gillespie would have “signed up” to be Kenmure’s tutor right after that display of self-interest. This may argue that Gillespie was already a tutor for Kenmure before June of 1633. Cf. *The Last and Heavenly Speeches and Glorious Departure of James Viscount Kenmure* (1827), introductory memoir by Thomas Murray, pp. 27–28. *The Scottish Christian Herald*, Volume 2 (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1837), p. 819. James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage: Founded on Wood’s Edition of Sir Robert Douglas*, volume 5 (1908), p. 119. John Howie, *Biographica Scoticana* [Scots Worthies] (1775); repr. (1781), pp. 174, 196; repr., ed. William McGavin (1858, repr., A Press, 1981), pp. 161, 189.

36. Middleton, *ibid.*, p. xxviii. As to how Gillespie was introduced to Cassillis for this position, it was most likely through Rutherford’s connections, who through his letters turned “his small parish into the local centre of opposition to episcopacy.” See his activities and high placed connections described in Coffey, pp. 41–42.

37. One may also speculate that Cassillis helped obtain books if he did not have them in the family library. “The family still retains

the first reading of the service book, there were protests such as the incident at St. Giles planned, though the riotous aspects of it were not likely endorsed by those opposed to Charles’s plans. These opposers of Charles’s tyranny next organized petitions to the Privy Council, being careful to follow custom for the allowed act of petitioning, and rather than lay the fault on the king directly, they chose to lay it on the bishops for misleading him.<sup>39</sup> “By going through the council, the supplicants observed the acknowledged practice of seeking intercessors from amongst the king’s leading subjects rather than importuning the king directly.” The petitioners “hoped that this would give the government time and space to find a face-saving formula for abandoning the Book.”<sup>40</sup> Private non-circulating petitions were prepared and presented in August, but not waiting for the results of these, the opposers of the service book gathered in September to craft additional petitions. This group contained “about twenty nobles, with a ‘great many barrons’ and ‘above 80 or neer 100

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at Cassillis House ... fragments of the library of the 5th Earl....” Michael S. Moss, *The ‘Magnificent Castle’ of Culzean and the Kennedy Family* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002), p. 271fn. Cassillis may have added to the library of his father. The Kennedy family owned the house until 2009, when it was sold and significantly updated for millions of dollars more than the property could fetch on reselling. The tenth Earl built Culzean Castle in the late 18th century, which is now owned by the National Trust for Scotland.

38. The Book of Canons, which was approved on May 23, 1635, and published in the early part of 1636, omitted any reference to the authority of sessions, presbyteries, and general assemblies. *Canons and constitutions ecclesiastical gathered and put in for me, for the government of the Church of Scotland: ratified and approved by His Majesty’s Royall Warrant, and ordained to be observed by the clergie, and all others whom they concerne* (Aberdeen: Raban, 1636). See also, William Laud, *Works*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Parker, 1853), v, part II, pp 583–606.

39. Laura A. Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution, Covenanted Scotland, 1637–1651* (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 62, 280. A prior incident also warned the petitioners not to charge the royal authority directly. In 1634, there was the trumped-up case against Lord Balmerino for mere “possession of an unsuccessful petition,” that challenged the king’s policy directly, which the government made a capital case because they claimed he simply showed it to “others of the king’s lieges.” He was found guilty, sentenced to death, and that sentence immediately commuted. A supportive crowd had welcomed Balmerino on the first day of the trial, clearly indicating the unpopularity of the proceedings. See Stewart, pp. 62–63.

40. Stewart, p. 65. All these actions were highly unpopular in Scotland, which is why “King James never ventured to attempt the introduction of a liturgy into Scotland, nor even the enforcement of the vestments and rites of the English church. The people could not be induced to a conformity with the articles of Perth.” William Muss-Arnolt, “The Scottish Service Book of 1637 and Its Successors: A Bio-Bibliographical Study,” *The American Journal of Theology*, 24, No. 3 (July 1920): 388. Charles on the other hand, was intent on forcing it all on the Scottish people by his personal edict.

ministers.”<sup>41</sup> They merged and refined the petitions into one to present to the Privy Council on September 20, 1637. The Earls of Cassilis and Wemyss, both zealous for the cause against the service book, were at this meeting in September and signed, and the latter was one of two that presented it before the council.<sup>42</sup> That night the ministers who had come to help draft petitions met for dinner, where “they drew up considerations concerning the manner of their public procedure, the causes of a fast, or motives to humiliation, motives for encouraging their faith and hope in God, and overtures for remedying the impending and felt evils.”<sup>43</sup>

While it would have taken him away from his tutoring duties, given the significance of the event, Cassilis may have brought George Gillespie with him to Edinburgh in September. And since it has been said Gillespie’s book arrived within weeks after the uprising against the service book in St. Giles, it is also possible the book was coming or had arrived that month while people were gathering and may have begun seeing it while Gillespie may have been there. Gillespie likely finished the manuscript in late spring or early summer to have time to get it into the network of clandestine printers and smugglers that had developed over the decades of Stewart rule.<sup>44</sup> The printer was likely Willem Christiaens,<sup>45</sup> and the books may have followed a similar path and tactic as did Calderwood’s *Perth Assembly* in 1619, which was packed unbound in vats as though it were wine or brandy and smuggled to Burntisland in Fife south of Kirkcaldy, and then over to the

port of Leith in Edinburgh.<sup>46</sup> So, as people began to marvel at the work, it may have begun to leak out, at least among friends, that Gillespie was the author of *English Popish Ceremonies*. However, the need to keep this information between just the circle of petitioners would prove out in the reply the petitioners received from the Privy Council.

The council delivered its reply on October 18, declaring that all noncitizens of Edinburgh should vacate in twenty-four hours, stating that the Privy Council would move and sit for the next meeting at Linlithgow (presumably out of reach of troublesome petitioners), and ordered all copies of *English Popish Ceremonies* to be turned in and to be burned by the hangman. Those who had not turned in the book by a date specified (left blank in the record) were to face the same censure and punishment as the author.<sup>47</sup> The petitioners continued to press their case, but in the meantime, it is possible that key connections were made that led to George Gillespie’s ordination.

The minister of Wemyss at this time was Robert Mearnis. He may very well have come up to the same meeting in September. He was a servant of the Earl of Wemyss. The earl had asked the Edinburgh council that he fill the vacancy left on the prior minister’s death.<sup>48</sup> Mearnis died young and unmarried at about 35 years of age in December 1637.<sup>49</sup> The question may be asked, why were the town council of Edinburgh and the earl involved in the choice of minister for this church? The medieval hospital of Soutra, part of a complex including a church and friary founded in 1164, held “the kirk and

41. Stewart, p. 65.

42. Andrew Stevenson, *The History of the Church and State of Scotland* (1754); repr., complete in one volume (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1840), 175, 176.

43. See the text of these in Stevenson, pp. 177–179. If he was in the city with Cassilis and assuming the nobility would have their own gathering, Gillespie may have attended this dinner meeting of ministers.

44. See a description of the elaborate network of those supporting clandestine printing and smuggling of puritan books back into England and Scotland in Keith L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600–1640* (Brill, 1993), pages 34–35.

45. English Short-Title Catalogue notes evidence of a second printer or compositor at Quires KKK, NNN, and PPP, but the differences must be small or at least invisible to the untrained eye, as this writer could see no significant difference in the typesetting in those sections in his example of the 1637 printing. However, I do note that the same headpiece used at the top of the first page of each of the four parts of *English Popish Ceremonies* appears in *Exuviae Davidicae, id est Svspiria Davidis vltima prophylactica* published by Willem Christiaens in 1637. This type of evidence may be why STC credits Christiaens with the printing of *English Popish Ceremonies*.

This headpiece is reproduced at the end of this article. Both Christiaens and John Canne were charged and fined with printing Gillespie’s and other books, but since, apparently, the case was deemed questionable, *English Popish Ceremonies* was dropped from the final judgment. Sprunger, page 99.

46. Sprunger, p. 160. Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, volume 8 (Wodrow Society, 1849), p. xxii. Edward Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606–1623 A. D.: As Told by Themselves* (Ward and Downey, 1897), pp. 239–242.

47. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd series, v. 6, 1635/1637, ed. P. Hume Brown (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1905), p. 537.

48. Prior to this, the church of Wemyss had a long-time “weak” minister in John Tullus from 1585 till June 1636. *Rambles in the Parishes of Scoonie and Wemyss* (Leven: Purves & Cunningham, 1905), p. 217. February 5, 1636. “The council promise the next vacancy at the Church of Wemyss to Mr. Patrick Mairnis, at the request of the Earl of Wemyss.” June 15, 1638. “Mr. Robert Mearnis, servant to the Earl of Wemyss, is presented to the vacant place of minister at the Kirk of Wemyss.” Marguerite Wood, editor, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1626–1641* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1936), pp. 174, 178.

49. *Faſti Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ*, volume 5 (1925), p. 120.

kirk-lands of Wemyss.” In 1462 “the Queen of James II” annexed the hospital to Trinity College Church in Edinburgh, which after 1560 “was bestowed on the city of Edinburgh.” Thus “the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and other representatives became the patrons and titulars of the teinds” for Wemyss’ lands.<sup>50</sup> On July 24, 1635, the Earl of Wemyss obtained the lands and teinds of Wemyss for annual payments to the town council. On July 23, 1635, the town council had reached an agreement with the minister of Wemyss (John Tullus) on “the amount of his stipend, and on the following day, that agreement was ratified by the Commissioners of Parliament for Surrenders and Teinds.”<sup>51</sup> Thus it was key for a prospective minister for the church to have the earl’s backing, as well as the council’s approval, since they paid the stipend.

It would seem reasonable to assume that the Earl of Wemyss had prior knowledge of Gillespie and/or

gained it or more facts about him from Cassilis and possibly met Gillespie if he had indeed come to Edinburgh. For it did not take the earl long (not more than a month, perhaps far less) to fix on the next person he desired to fill the Kirk of Wemyss. While there is not the same request of the council from the earl noted in the council minutes as for Mearnis, it does note that on January 5, 1638, “Mr George Gillaſpie, miniſter at Kirkcaldy, is preſented to the church of Wemyſſ, vacant by the death of Mr Patrick Mernis.”<sup>52</sup> The earl also was ſpeedy in contacting the archbishop because the latter wrote the moderator of Kirkcaldy Presbytery who wrote to the presbyters. This is noted in the minutes for January 11, 1638.

Dysert, January 11. The Moderator ſent a letter to the brethren ſhowing that the Archbiſhop had written to him to try Mr. George Gillespie for the Kirk of Wemyſſ but becauſe he would do nothing in that kind by himſelf without their knowledge and concurrence, he adviſed the brethren to preſcribe a teſt to him to teach the next Thursday in Kirkcaldy and he ſhould be preſent, God willing, to hear him, whereupon they preſcribed to him a text, viz., 2 Theſſ. 2:13, to handle the next Thursday becauſe his edict could ſuffer no longer delay.

On the ordered day, the entry appears in the minutes,

Kirkcaldy, January 18. The which Mr. George Gillespie preached upon the text preſcribed to him viz. 2 Theſſ. 2:13, wherein he gave the brethren full contentment ſo that they were content to ſignify their approbation of him by their teſtimonial which they appointed the Clerk to write to him and ſubſcribe in their names and to write back answer to the Moderator...<sup>53</sup>

Like other aſpects of his life, Gillespie’s trial for ordination was rather unuſual, if not ſingular. While he was noted as bursar of theology, Gillespie is never noted as an expectant for the miniſtry or allowed to preach (as expectant or licensed)<sup>54</sup> prior to his call to Wemyſſ, and there are no recorded exerciſes aſſigned to him by the Presbytery as there were to other expectants later noted, ſuch as his brother Patrick, or Joshua Meldrom, later miniſter of Auchtertule.<sup>55</sup> Nor is there any diſcuſſion recorded of his caſe of conſcience about ordination by the archbiſhop, though given the circumſtances or ſimply the nature of the minutes, that may not have been ſomething recorded. There may be multiple reaſons for this, including that he had been away tutoring and that by the time the call from Wemyſſ occurred in

50. *Parish of Wemyss*, p. 215.

51. See James D. Marwick, *The History of the Collegiate Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity and the Trinity Hospital, Edinburgh, 1460–1661* (Edinburgh: Reprinted for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, [1910]), p. 165 and n2.

52. Marguerite Wood, p. 199. Gillespie was not ordained yet, so it is unclear why the council uses the term minister, though it may simply be a customary reference with no intent to represent all the facts of his status.

53. *The Presbyterie Booke of Kirkcaldie*, p. 122. This and the following passages have been modernized in the spelling.

54. Howie writes that Gillespie was licensed to preach sometime before 1638 but on no authority. Howie, *Lives of the Scottish Covenanters* [i.e., *Scots Worthies*, i.e., *Biographica Scoticana*] (1981), p. 189.

55. The caſe of Patrick is complicated by an apparent intention to transfer to Glasgow, perhaps to look for a call there, and a controversy when he received a call to the ſecond charge in Kirkcaldy juſt a month later and transferred back (*Presbyterie Booke of Kirkcaldie*, pp. 218, 221). The trials of Josua Meldrom are more ſtraightforward. He received permission to preach as an expectant at Auchtertule (pp. 206, 207), is entered into his trials after ſome delay over confusion about the vacancy (215, 216), is aſſigned the exerciſe on Hoſea 5:14 (218), aſſigned and approved for the common head of theology, “*De Naturali Fidei* in Latin to give in *Theses* for diſputations thereupon” (220, 221), “appointed to give his trials of his Hebrew the next day viz. the 6 chapter of Hoſe and of his Greek, and to answer to the catechetique queſtions” which were ſuſtained (221), next appointed to preach “popular doctrine the next day in Dysert for his further trial” on Timothy 3:16 (221), that preaching approved and appointed to “handle his Hebrew and Greek the next day (221), and approved giving “grave contentment to his hearers, and was approved in his laſt point of his trials, and the clerk appointed to give him his edict as it was appointed the laſt day to be ſerved upon the Sabbath next for charging all that has anything to object againſt him, to compare before the Presbytery upon Thursday next where they ſhall be heard, and if none compare the ſaid Josua to be received, miniſter at the kirk of Auchtertule, upon the next enſuing Thursday the 17 of this inſtant” (223). Spelling updated.

1638, between five and seven years had passed since finishing his studies. The word may also have been noised around, and he was becoming famous for *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*. With what the presbytery would have already known about Gillespie, the display of learning in that work may have amazed them as much as it did Robert Baillie<sup>56</sup> and thus shortened the trials to a single sermon.

It is unknown if the archbishop made his way to Kirkcaldy to hear Gillespie preach, but whether he did or did not, he clearly had some objection since after many weeks he had still not written to the Presbytery with his blessing to continue. On March 15, the presbytery renewed the covenant, and on March 29, 1638, they make note of the churches who had not yet renewed the covenant, including “the Kirk of Wemyss whose Minister is not yet placed.”<sup>57</sup> Then on April 12, 1638, a commission from the church appeared before the presbytery “humbly supplicating the Presbytery to ordain and admit Mr. George Gillespie for their Minister who having abided his trials was approven, etc.” The presbytery put off an answer till the next meeting.

Apparently some presbyters were in doubt whether they could lawfully proceed with the ordination without involving the archbishop, and apparently this was not a secret to the church or to Gillespie. On the same day, April 12, 1638, Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston, received a letter from George Gillespie asking for his help. Wariston was already involved in the “next step” after the renewal of the covenant, which “was the ordination and admission of ministers by the imposition of the hands of the brethren of presbyteries without the knowledge or consent of the bishops.”<sup>58</sup> He had just aided the first instance of this which occurred not a “fortnight before” Gillespie’s eventual ordination, when “the Presbytery of Haddington had met at Prestonpans, and ordained Mr. Robert Ker to be ‘conjunct Minister with his father.’”<sup>59</sup> The king considered this rejection of his governing of the church through bishops to be nothing short of rebellion. Wariston records that Gillespie asked him to provide the justification needed to convince the presbytery to proceed. “[12 April, Thursday] Afternoon I got a letter from Mr. George Gillespie to clear the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy of their legal doubts anent the admission of ministers against Tuesday next.”<sup>60</sup> He obliged Gillespie and after much work on the drafts, he records “On Tuesday, 17 April, I wrote over two treatises,—the one dogmatic to be read to the Presbytery,—the other dialectic anent the admission of ministers by Presbyteries....”<sup>61</sup>

Wariston’s work was apparently a success, convincing

all but one objector. The presbytery met again on April 19, and at that time determined,

About the supplication of the commissioners from the Erie and parochine of Wemyss the whole brethren all in one voice (except Doctor Lawmouth) thought their suit both lawful and expedient and therefore his ordination and admission to be this day eight days the 26 of this instant and appoint Mr. Robert Douglas to preach there the said day instead of his exercise.<sup>62</sup>

The appointed day came, and the minutes note the important occasion:

Kirktown of Wemyss, April 26. The which day Mr Robert Douglas preached upon the 1 Epistle of Peter v. 2, 3, 4, whereafter the consent of the parishioners being required and Master George Gillespie demanded of certain questions proponed to him by the moderator and his oath of allegiance to the King’s Majesty being taken,<sup>63</sup> the said Mr. George was admitted and ordained

56. See the quotation at the end of this essay on page 91.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 125, 126.

58. *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston 1632–1639*, ed. David Hay Fleming (Scottish History Society, 1919), p. xxxvii.

59. William McMillan, *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550–1638* (London, [1931]), p. 354. Wariston convinced the noblemen in a discourse and they sent him to the Presbytery to convince them to proceed on April 5–6. See Wariston, *ibid.*, pp. 332–333. Before Gillespie’s request, it appears he had not yet formalized the case on paper.

60. Wariston, *ibid.*, p. 338. Spelling modernized.

61. Wariston, *ibid.*, pp. 339–340.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

63. The Oath of Allegiance pledged loyalty to the king and disclaimed the authority of the Pope. It was taken by all civil and ecclesiastical office holders under James I and Charles II. “I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES, is lawful King of this Realm, and of all other His Majesties Dominions and Countries: And that the Pope neither of himself, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by another means with any other, have any power or Authority to depose the king, or to dispose of any of his Majesties Kingdoms or Dominions, or to Authorize any Foreign Prince, to invade or annoy Him or His Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to His Majesty, or to give License or leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to His Majesties Royall person, State or Government, or to any of His Majesties Subjects within His Majesties Dominions. Also I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope or his Successors, or by any Authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his Sea, against the said King, His Heirs or Successors, or any Absolution of the said Subjects from their Obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and Him and Them will defend to the

minister of the Kirk of Wemyss by imposition of hands with prayer to God and singing of psalms and received by the elders and parishioners who both promised mutual duties to others [to each other].<sup>64</sup>

The next month, on May 17, 1638, the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy felt compelled to justify this action officially, and perhaps drew heavily from Warisston's paper.

Follows the act about Mr. George Gillespie at Easter. Wemyss, April 26, 1638.

The which day, the Presbytery being met in the Kirk of Wemyss upon occasion of a supplication presented to them by the parishioners of the said kirk, wherein they desired that for as much as Mr. George Gillespie had been presented by the provost, baillies, and town council of Edinburgh to the said Kirk of Wemyss and local stipend thereof, had been recommended by the Archbishop of St. Andrews to be tried by the Presbytery

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uttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, by reason or color of any such Sentence, or Declaration or otherwise, and will do my best endeavor to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and Traitorous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against Him, or any of them. And I do further swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and Heretical this damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes which be Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be Deposed or Murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever have power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all Pardons and Dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation, or mental evasion or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian. So help me God." William Ingoldsby, *Englands Oaths: Taken by All Men of Quality in the Church and Common-wealth* (1642), pp. 2–4. Spelling modernized.

64. Ibid., p. 127.

65. This appears to refer to, and the Presbytery seems to have applied the form used in the ordination of John Spottiswoode (the father) to Superintendent in 1560. The oath of allegiance noted previously, which was a declaration of fidelity to the king and renouncing the pope, does not form a part of the form. The oath was introduced in 1563 by James and revised in 1609 after the gun powder plot (1605). Cf. *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter* (Heires of Andrew Hart, 1635), after the confession of faith and of the weekly assembly, through C4.

66. Ibid., pp. 129–130.

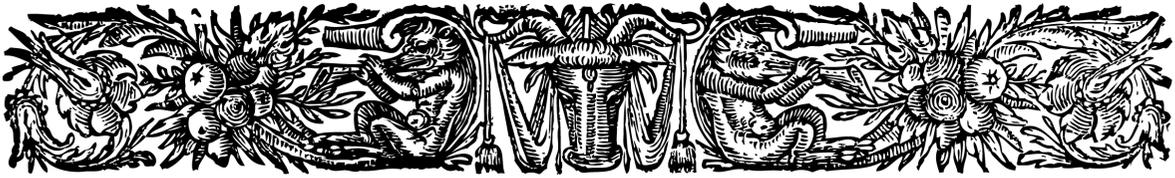
67. Stevenson, p. 199.

68. Stevenson, pp. 202, 205.

and after trial approved by the Presbytery as qualified for the ministry, an edict also being granted by the said Archbishop which was duly served and returned again endorsed, notwithstanding the Archbishop had refused both by word and writ ever to admit the said George unless he gave an oath and subscription which was not warrantable by any law of this kirk or kingdom and withal forasmuch as the parish has sustained great prejudice by wanting an actual ministry so long, the Presbytery would therefore be pleased to admit the said Mr. George to the ministry of the said kirk.

Which supplication being considered and the premises found all true and evident, the Presbytery having the power of ordination and admission *jure divino*, being also after the Reformation invested therewith *jure nostro parlamentario*, and never deprived of the same by any posterior act either of parliament or general assembly, hath admitted and ordained the said Mr. George Gillespie into the ministry of the said kirk according to the form of admission set down before the Psalm Book,<sup>65</sup> by taking his oath of allegiance to his majesty, and giving to him imposition of hands with full powers to preach the word, minister the sacraments, exercise kirk discipline, and do all the other offices of a complete minister there, all which to be of verity we testify by these presents written by our clerk of Presbytery at our command and subscribe with our hands.<sup>66</sup>

As to why Archbishop John Spottiswoode first approved the earl's request and then did an about-face, it may be he was not aware of who was the author of *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies*. Spottiswoode was a member of the Privy Council and had ensured its sanction to the Articles of Perth. It may be that after he wrote the moderator of Kirkcaldy Presbytery in late December or early January, he subsequently heard rumors that Gillespie was the author of the book the Privy council had by the king's order just a few months earlier, ordered all known copies confiscated and burned by the public hangman. Or, if the authorship of the book remained unknown to him, it may have been due to the fact things had come to a head in February 1638. While the petitioners of the Privy Council had made the issue the bishops to try to forestall any direct challenge to the king, Charles, on the archbishop's advice to crush the movement,<sup>67</sup> declared distinctly in February that these were his policies and they were to obey them.<sup>68</sup> This was a significant miscalculation. The presenters of the supplications met and determined to renew the National Covenant and officially became the



Covenanters. By the time the matter came to a head in April, the events in Scotland were spiraling out of the government's control, and the covenant had been signed by Kirkcaldy Presbytery and across the kingdom, and the archbishop, after simply not responding, could hardly have gone against his own advice to the king or the king's wishes to stop the movement. And so he insisted that Gillespie must subscribe to the articles before he would endorse the ordination.

Having settled into the manse designated by the presbytery by May 31,<sup>69</sup> George Gillespie entered into his short ministry in the Church of Scotland. However, his would not be a quiet life as a pastor of a parish church. Gillespie was already being called to wider service. The manner of the king's dealing with the petitioners, now Covenanters, had led, as Baillie writes, to consider what had been the view of only a few heretofore, "to keep a Generall Assemblie." Reasons for keeping an assembly were drawn up by "three or foure of the best witts."<sup>70</sup> It appeared in print along with the text of the renewed Covenant and at the same time with a tract against the service book, which the new minister of Wemyss had been called upon to write. Gillespie's second publication against the popish ceremonies is a far shorter endeavor, a tract called *Reasons for Which the Service Book Urged upon Scotland Should Be Rejected*.<sup>71</sup> In a letter of July 22, 1638, Baillie notes that this was by then in print, commenting on both of Gillespie's publications.

We have some reasons against the service in print. Our press at Edinburgh is now patent: we hope not to trouble you so much there as we were wont. I took the author to be Mr. Henderson, but I am informed since, they came from Mr. George Gillespie, a youth who waited on my Lord Kennedy, and is now admitted to the kirk of Wemyss maugre St. Andrews beard, by the presbytery. The same youth is now given out by those who should know, for the author of the *English Popish Ceremonies*: whereof we all do marvel; for though he had gotten the papers, and help of the chief of that side,<sup>72</sup> yet the very composition would seem to be far above such an age: but if that book be truly his making, I admire the man, though I mislike of his matter; yea, I think, he may prove amongst the best wits of this Isle.<sup>73</sup> ■



Headpiece (and detail) from *A Dispute Against the English Popish Ceremonies obruded vpon the Church of Scotland* (1637), which was printed in the Netherlands and smuggled into Scotland. Publication at least in part has been attributed to Willem Christiaens (Leiden), who used this same headpiece in other publications. See footnote 45.

69. Ibid., p. 130.

70. Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, 1637–1662*. 3 vols. (Edinburgh: [For the Bannatyne Club], Robert Ogle, 1841–1842), 1.92.

71. Gillespie's tract is bound with editions of *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, subscribed by the Kings majesty ... 1580 With a designation of such acts of parliament, as are expedient, for justifying the union, after mentioned And subscribed by the nobles, 1638* (Edinburgh: G. Anderson, 1638). These were also printed with the Latin edition of the Confession, and with *Reasons for a General Assembly* (1638).

72. While it may refer to Rutherford, this probably refers to David Calderwood, who was the leading writer against the Articles of Perth.

73. Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, 1.90.