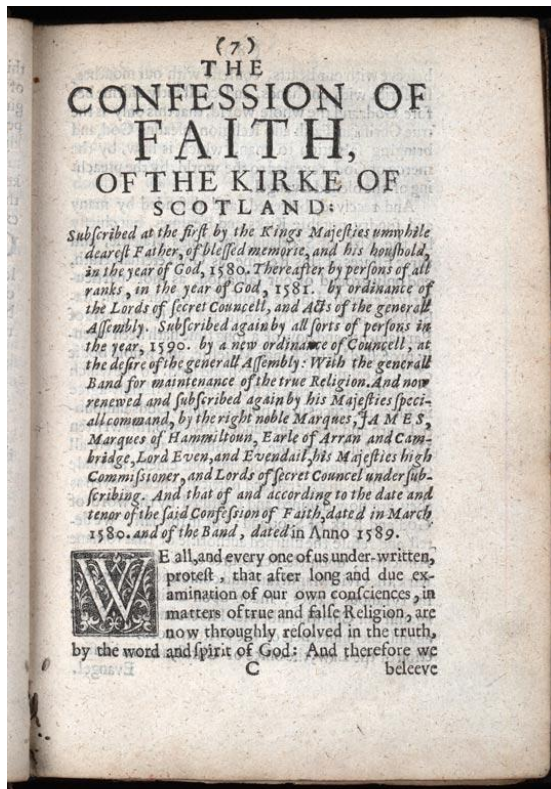




University  
of Glasgow



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# *Aiming High in Higher Scottish History: a Conference for Teachers and Learners*

## **The Age of Reformation**

Dr Steven Reid

1 December 2012

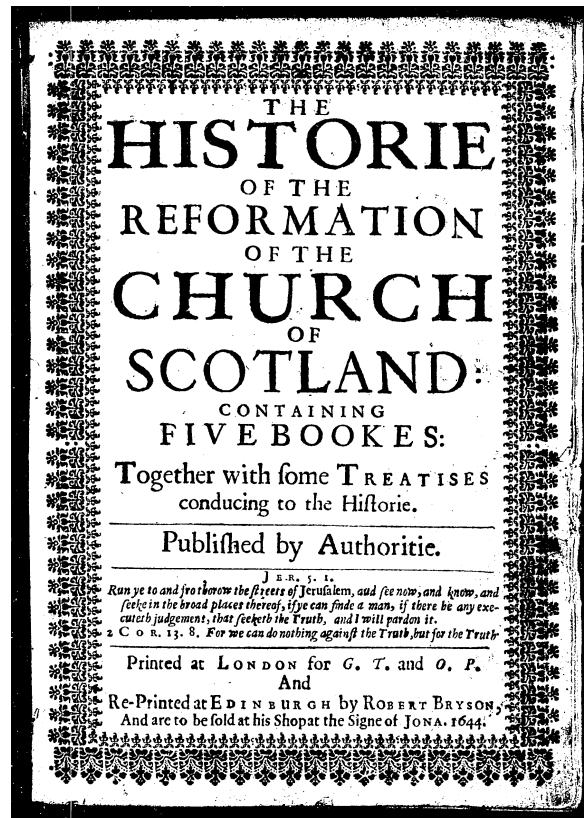
## Today's aims

- To explore latest research on Reformation Scotland, 1542-1603
- To share insights and examples of primary and secondary sources, including new web/audio/video resources
- Session 1
  - The Reformation of 1560 and the impact of the Reformation on Scotland to 1603 (Paper 2, issues 1 and 4)
- Session 2
  - James VI and the relationship between monarch and kirk (Paper 2, issue 3)
- Why no Mary?

## Research base for both sessions

- *Humanism and Calvinism: Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560-1625*, (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2011). ISBN 9781409400059.
- (Co-edited with Emma Wilson of the University of Pittsburgh) *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2011). ISBN 9780754667940 (includes authored chapter, entitled 'Andrew Melville and Scottish Ramism: a Re-interpretation').
- 'Aberdeen's "Toun College": Marischal College, 1593-1623', *Innes Review*, 58 (2) (2007). pp. 173-195. ISSN 0020-157X
- 'Early polemic by Andrew Melville: the Carmen Mosis (1574) and the St Bartholomew's day massacres', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30 (4) (2008), pp. 63-82. ISSN 0034-429X.

# Session 1: new perspectives on the Scottish Reformation, 1560-1603



John Knox, *Historie of the Reformation* (London, 1644)



# The Scottish Reformation

Key perspectives

## The ‘moderate’ reformation: Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (1960)

- ‘The survival after 1560 of the ancient ecclesiastical [and episcopal] structure is one feature, but only one, of the **essential moderation of the Scottish Reformation**...From many points of view the year 1560, the conventional date of the Scottish Reformation, is not very significant, and must have been much less definitive in the eyes of contemporaries than it has come to be in the text books. Many changes had already taken place before 1560...In many respects the proceedings of the Scots were much less violent than those of the English.’ (p. 74)

## Opportune protestantism: *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, ed. David McRoberts (1960)

- ‘For a time in the middle years of the sixteenth century there seemed to be a possibility that Scotland would preserve catholicism along with the French alliance...In Scotland fortune favoured the protestant party, in that there was at the critical moments – in 1559-60 in 1567, in 1573 – a momentary balance of political forces sufficient to decide the issue against the catholics and their allies. **The state of religious policy in England was throughout, of course, an essential element in the balance.**’ (J. H. Burns, ‘The Political Background of the Reformation, 1513-1625’, in *Essays*, p. 35)

## **‘Local’ reform – Ian B. Cowan, *Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation* (1978)**

- ‘Evidence of incipient protestantism in Ayrshire and unrepaired churches in Berwickshire, taken out of its local context, has been used to illustrate the rise of popular protestantism...on the other hand, staunch catholicism still existing in Aberdeenshire or Dumfriesshire could be used by other interpreters to support their belief that the majority of the Scottish people still adhered to that faith. **Few have tried to reconcile these apparently contradictory accounts and to accept that they reflect local important differences.**’ (p. 6).
- See also Ian B. Cowan, ‘The Scottish Reformation (1982), and ‘Blast and Counterblast’, p. 13.



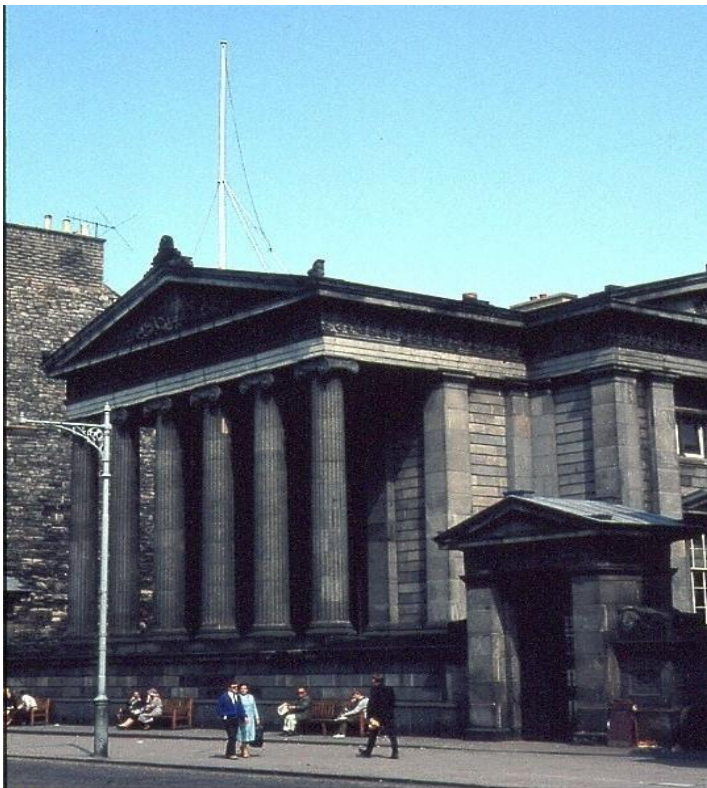
## Revolutionary reform? Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (2006)

- ‘The Scottish Reformation may have come about suddenly, but it marked a change profound enough that it may sensibly be called a revolution. It was not a mass movement like the great revolutions of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but the depth of the change it engendered; the radicalism of its ideologies; and the completeness of its break with the past were all sufficient that the comparison makes sense.’ (pp. 197-8)

# **A new perspective on Reformation**

Education, literacy and the training of the  
ministry: the Scottish universities, 1560-1625

## Education and the professions in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

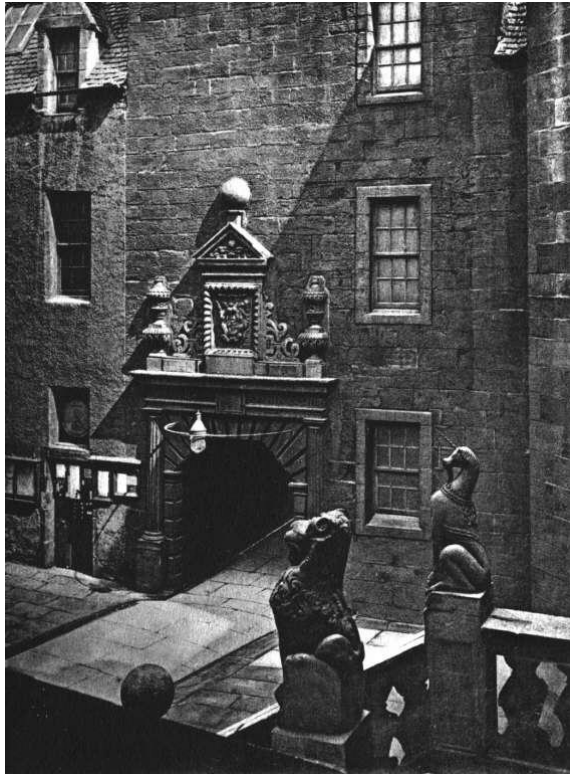


- Reformation promotes literacy for 'Godly' education (1633 School Act)
- Growth of new 'professions'
  - Lawyers
    - **College of Justice (1532)**
  - Physicians
    - **College of Surgeons (Edinburgh, 1505, left; Glasgow, 1599)**
  - Ministers
    - **St Mary's seminary, St Andrews (re-founded 1579)**
- **Church keen to catechise youth and fill ministry – but how well did it do this?**

## Plans in the *First Book of Discipline* (1560) – ‘The Necessity of Schooles’

- For as the youth must succeed to us, so we ought to be carefull that they have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort that which ought to be most deare to us, to wit, the Kirk and spouse of our Lord Jesus. Of necessity therefore we judge it, that ever severall Kirk have one Schoolmaster appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach Grammar, and the Latine tounge...[and] instruct them in the first rudiments, and especially in the Catechisme as have it now translated in the booke of the common order, called the order of Geneva.’
- And further we think it expedient, that in every notable Towne, and specially in the towne of the Super-intendent, there be erected a Colledge, in which the arts at least Logick and Rhetorick, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient Masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed. As also provision for those that be poore, and not able by themselves, nor by their friends to be sustained at letters, and in speciall these that come from Landward.

## The Scottish Universities, 1410-1560



- Three 'Ancient' Scottish Universities
  - St Andrews (1410x14)
  - Glasgow (1451)
  - Aberdeen (1495)
- Single colleges at Aberdeen and Glasgow, multiple foundations at St Andrews
  - St Salvator's (1450)
  - St Leonard's (1512)
  - St Mary's (1525-55)
- Failure of plans in *First Book*, 1560-1574

## Medieval curriculum and life

- Average age of entry 11-14 years of age, three-four years study
- Latin grammar and Aristotle
- Harsh examinations and collegiate living (*collegialiter*), under strict regime
- (Right: Mace of the University of Glasgow, c. 1465)





## The 'Melvillian' reform programme

- Andrew Melville
  - Educated St Andrews, France, Geneva
  - Principal Glasgow, 1574-80; St Andrews, 1580-1606
  - 'Leader' of radical Presbyterians?
- Curriculum
  - Latin and Greek
  - Humanist subjects – Geography, History, Sacred Chronology
  - Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic
  - Ramist 'Method' to teach Logic and Philosophy
  - Professorial specialisation



## The failure of reform and the rise of the protestant ‘arts college’, 1579-1625



- Andrew Melville and reform
  - Glasgow (*Nova Erectio*, 1577)
  - St Andrews (‘New Foundation’, 1579)
  - (Planned) at Aberdeen (*Nova Fundatio*, 1582/3)
  - Reform only partially successful at Glasgow and St Andrews
- Protestant ‘Toun Colleges’
  - Orkney (planned, 1558)
  - Edinburgh (1582)
  - Fraserburgh (1592: closed 1605)
  - Marischal College (1593, left)



## Resistance to ‘Melvillian’ reform – internal divisions

- Accusation by James Martine, visitation of April 1588
  - ‘Thay [the other masters] uss na maner of disciplin in correcting and punisching. Thay waige [wander] in the toune resorting to commounne tavernis and keitchpillis [tennis courts]. Thay mak their disciplis companyeonis and familiaris with thame. Thay attend not to conduct upone the play dayis thair disciplis to the feildis and agane to the college nather will thay [visit] their disciplis chalmeris at morning and evening. Thay do not resort to the commounne prayeris of the colledge nather upone preaching dayis in the wlk [week] will they conveyn into the yett [gate] of the colledge to go to ye kirk togidder wt thair disciplis...’ (NLS, *Balcarres Papers*, VII, ff. 139r-142v)

## Resistance to ‘Melvillian’ reform – intellectual

- Lecture notes of John Malcolm, Regent of St Leonard’s, 1583/4 – ‘Dialectic taught according to the wisdom of Aristotle, not the opinion of Ramus’
  - ‘I seem to be about to [teach] something perhaps in no way pleasing to the heathens (*gentilibus*) [that follow] Ramus, and to those who have been sworn to his sect... I could smell (*subolfecerim*) that this University’s quite absurd, pernicious opinion, which is dangerous to youth entering upon the Philosophical course, had filled up (*opplevisse*) the minds of many. And naturally I am unwilling to say that the dialectical opinion of Ramus’ narrow system (*stricti iuris*) should be given priority, but that it should be added together with Aristotle’s, [which is] broad, useful and necessary’ (St Andrews University, MSBC59.M2)

## Melville's track record as rector

- Melville in exile most of 1584-7 – and often absent on church matters
- Melville rector of St Andrews 1590-97 (deposed); succeeded by Robert Wilkie (1597-1608)
- 'For the whole period of the magistracy of these men nothing was inserted in this book, on account, I believe, of their modesty, because they thought nothing had been done by them that was worthy of setting down in writing. Yet it is beyond controversy that they had carried out a very many most worthy deeds, and each man had done so both with honour and the greatest praise, but without any pretence of show.' (StAUL, UYUY305/2 – *Acta Rectorum*, II, p. 105)

## Reform and civic education at the University of Glasgow

- Visitation to the University of Glasgow by Queen Mary, July 1563: 'apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor ony wyse to reknit ane establisst fundatioun' (Glasgow Munimenta, vol. 1, pp. 67-9).
- 22 April 1582 – student riot:
- [Mob of students] to the nowmer of fouretie personis, all bodin in feir of weir, with jakkis, stelibonettis, hagbuttis, pistolettis...come and enterit be leddirs in the revestrie of the Hie Kirk of Glasgow, and detenit the same be force of armes the space of sex houres or thairby, of mynd to have attemptit sum uther heich interpryse, to the troubling of the gude and quiet estate of the cuntrie.

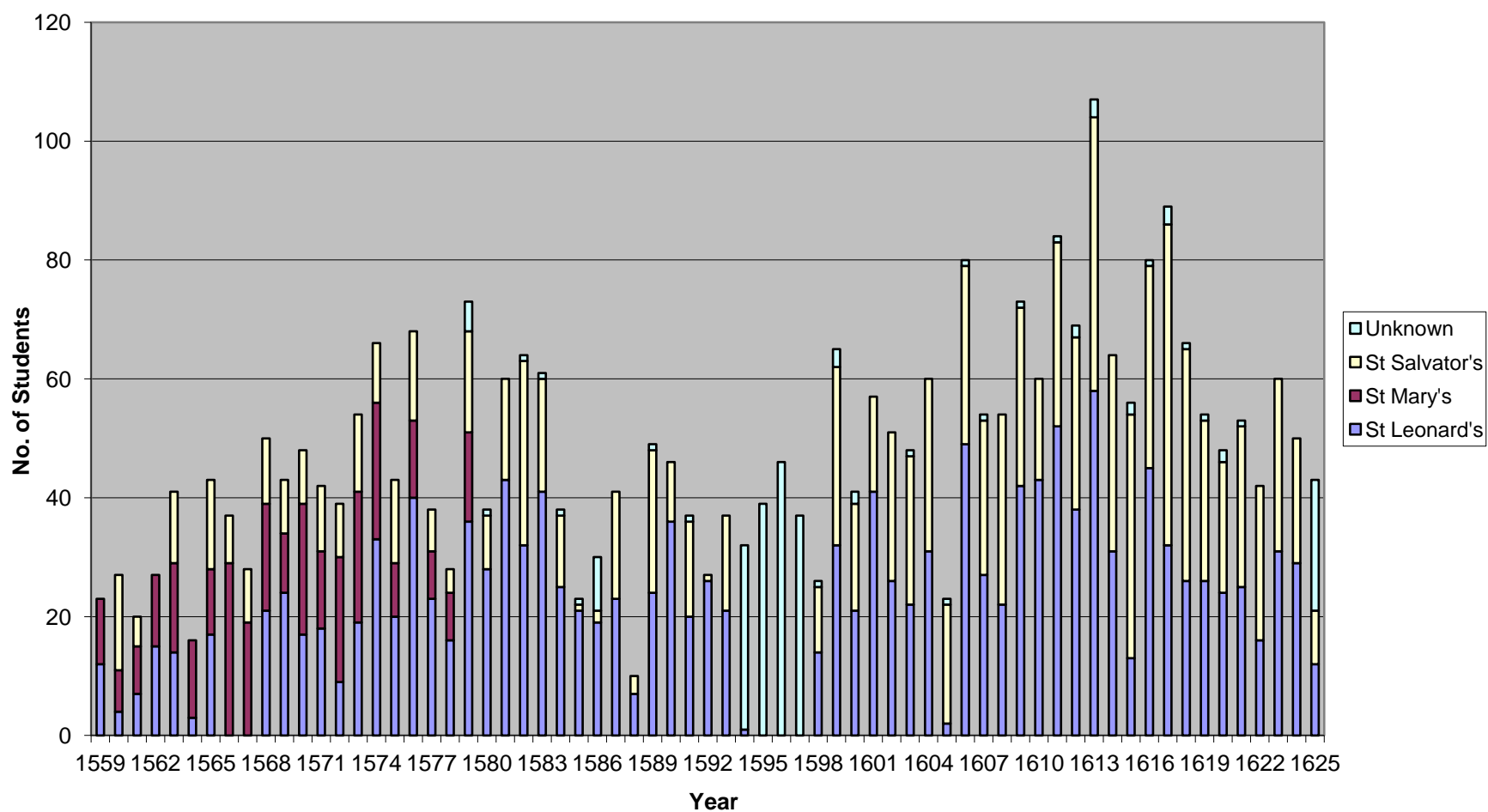
## Bursars and provision for poor/local students

- 1601: 12 bursars to be appointed who must be 'parentles haveing na thing for their awin sustentatioune or give they have parentis that thair povertie be cleirlye notifeit to the admitteris' (John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577*, pp., 423-9)
- 1607: 'Robert Gray, Merchand, is maid burges and frieman of this bruch [burgh] in favouris of John Bogle, sone to Marcus Bogle, student in the college of Glasgow, for help of his claithis quhen he is maid Master, at Lambes nixt, becaus of his fathiris povertie' (*Extracts from the Records of Burgh of Glasgow*, pp. 268, 340, 345).
- Similar 'civic' emphasis of universities at Fraserburgh (1592) and New Aberdeen (Marischal College, 1593)

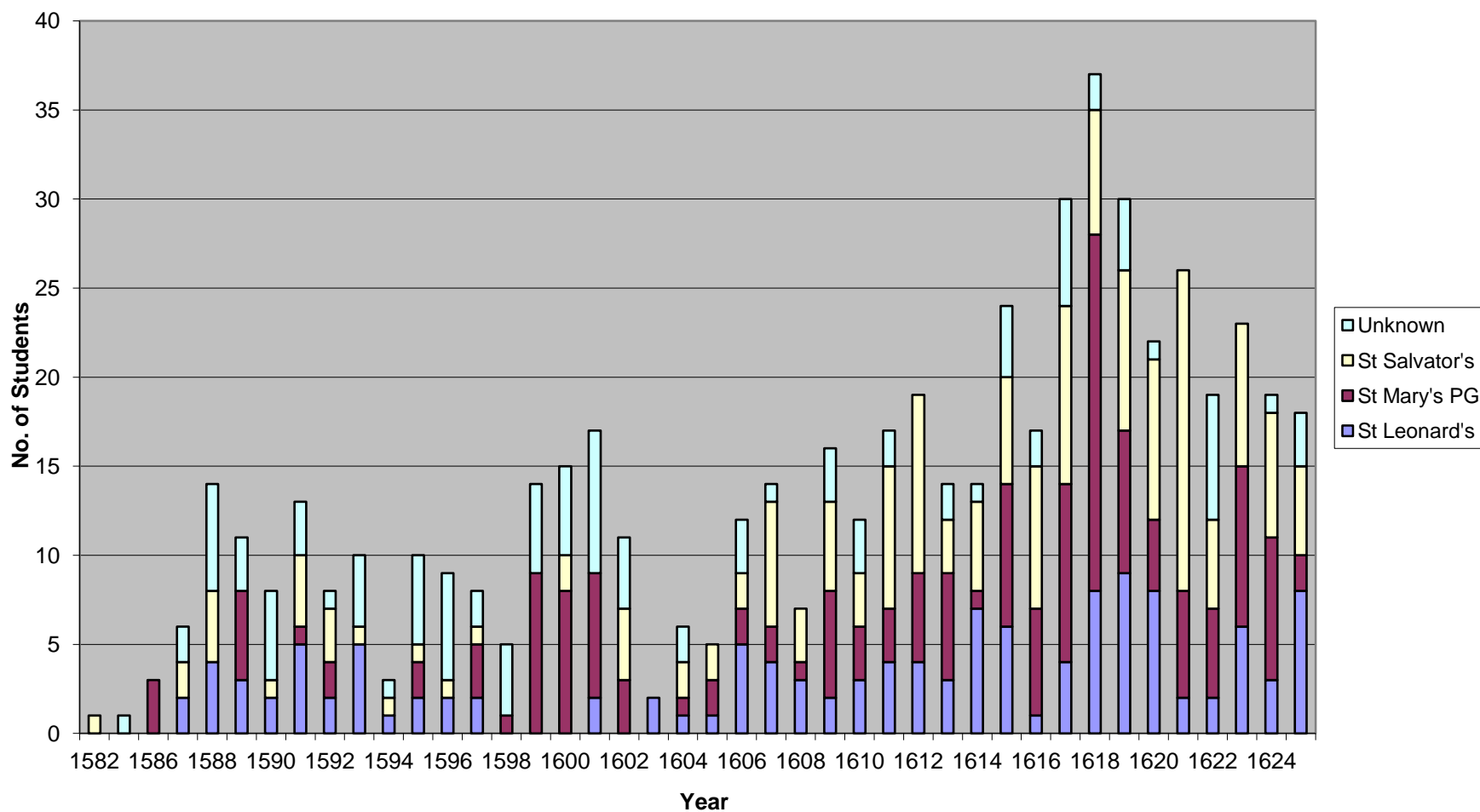
# **Who was going to university, and what for?**

Matriculation and graduation data

### St Andrews Arts Students Matriculations, 1559-1625

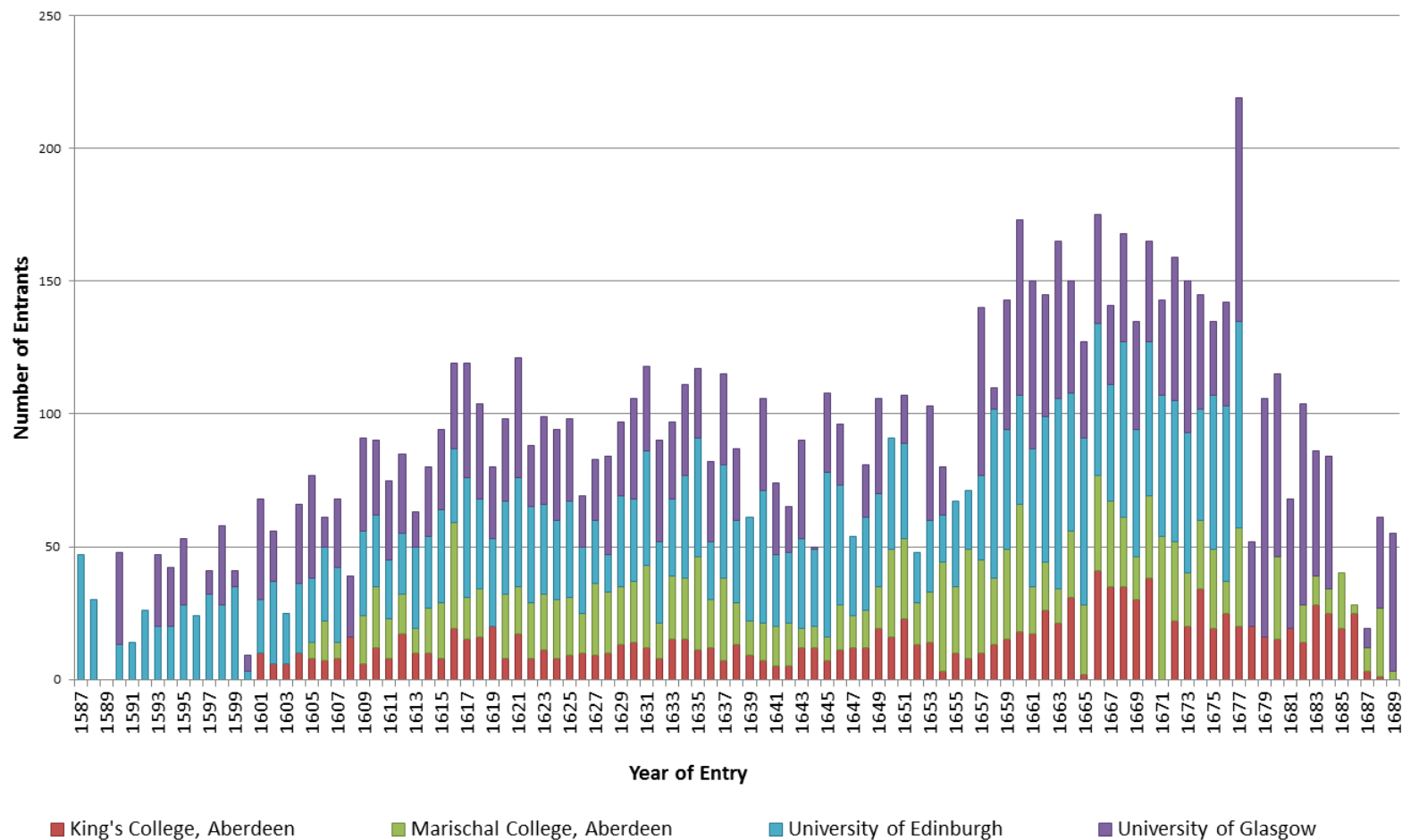


### Recorded Number of Entrants to Divinity at St Andrews (Broken Down by College Where Known), 1582-1625





## All Scottish entrants to the Scottish Universities



## What does education tell us about ‘The Age of Reformation’?

- ‘It is often assumed that there was some great forward momentum transforming the Scottish universities into Protestant institutions after 1560 that made them look and feel fundamentally different from their Catholic predecessors. **In truth, the process of Protestant reform and expansion that engulfed the Scottish universities was more akin to a slow-moving wave, with tides of activity that advanced and retreated in line with the rhythms of local and national politics.**’  
(Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p. 268)

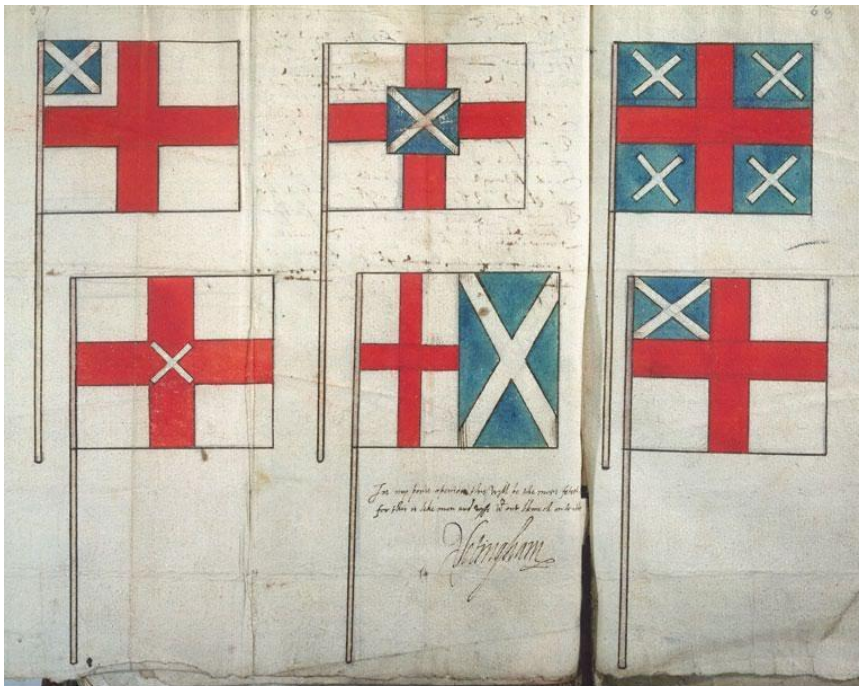
## Conclusions for Session 1


- Reformation of education in Scotland faced the same problems as reformation of religion – slow and complicated process
- Universities as crucial as schools, yet reform programme fails to have same success
- Ministry not being trained in large numbers – where do they come from? Seems to be *less* of a priority than we traditionally think.
- Reformation culture creates civic-minded laity and burgesses who look after education of children – beginning of the Scottish ‘democratic intellect’?

## Session 2: James VI and the relationship between monarch and kirk



# New perspectives on the crown-church struggle



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- 1542-1603: massive shift in traditional Scottish foreign diplomacy, resulting in Union of Crowns (left)
- Beginning of a permanent (so far!) union with England
- What did Scots like Melville think about it? Why did they support it? How did it affect relationship with James VI?
- Links:
  - [www.dps.gla.ac.uk](http://www.dps.gla.ac.uk) (poetry)
  - <http://universityofglasgowlibrary.wordpress.com/> (Melville blog)



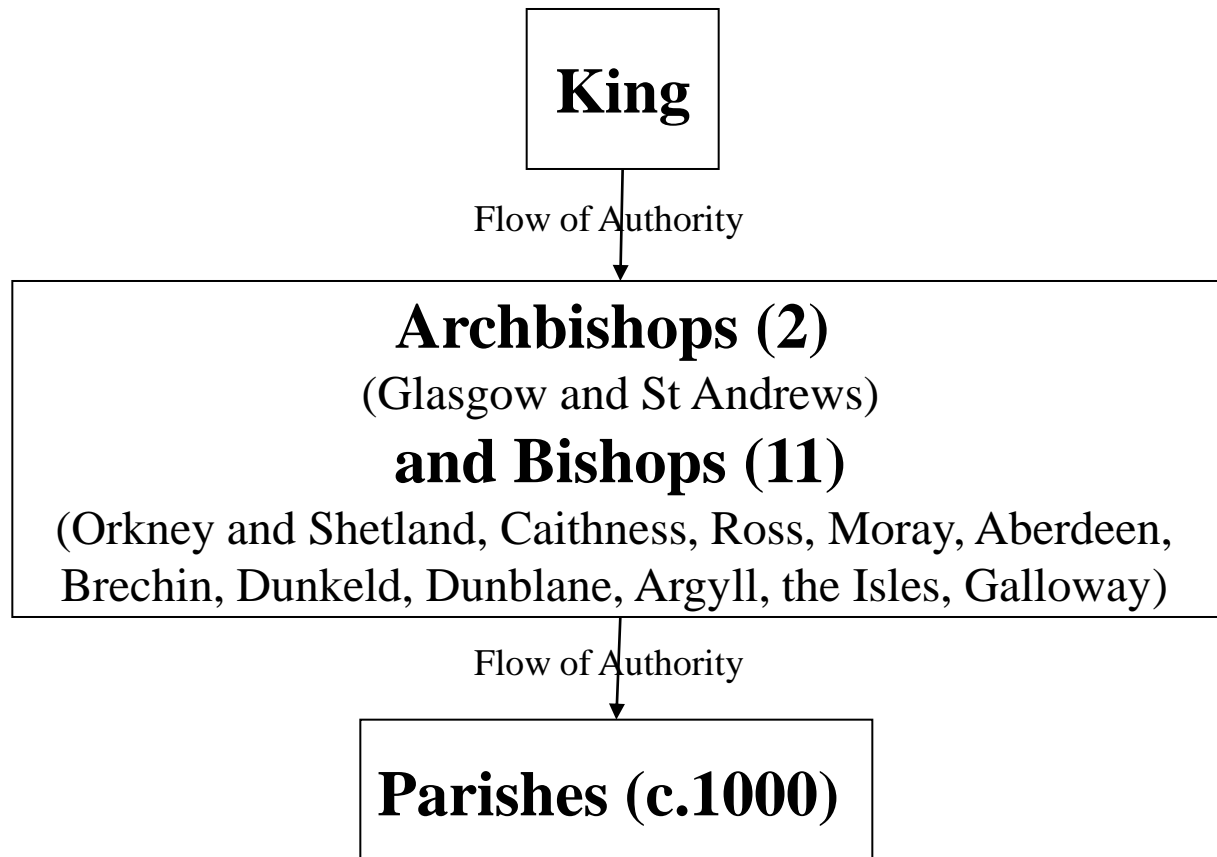
# Presbytery and episcopacy

Key perspectives

## **The Reformation and Local Temporal and Spiritual Power**

- Competing systems of church management
  - Episcopacy ('top-down' church run by bishops)
  - Presbytery ('bottom-up' committees of clergy and elders)
- Why is this important? Competing issues of authority:
  - Erastianism: king supreme head of church
  - 'Two Kingdoms': separate realms of church and state

## Episcopal Structure, c.1560



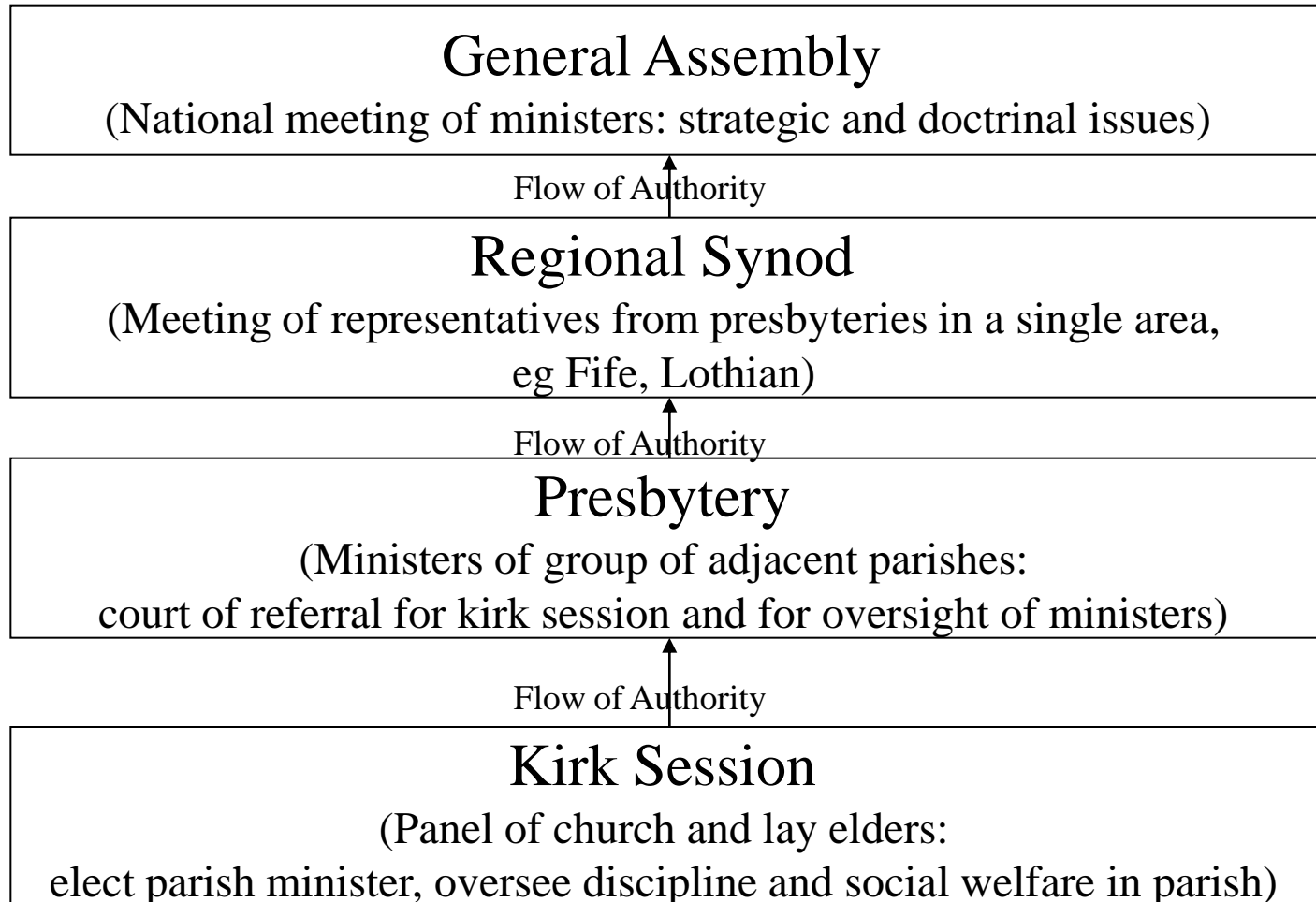


# Episcopacy and Erastianism



- Erastianism – king supreme head of church
- James VI's (left) own theology – *Basilikon Doron* (1598)
- Convenient form of church for royal authority
- Precedent from medieval period

## Presbyterian Structure, c.1581



## Andrew Melville on the ‘Two Kingdoms’



- ‘And, thairfoir, Sir, as divers tymes befor, sa now again, I mon [must] tell you, thair is twa kings and twa kingdoms in Scotland. Thair is Chryst Jesus the King, and his kingdome the Kirk, whase subject King James the saxt is, and of whase kingdome nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member!’  
(James Melville, *Autobiography and Diary*, p. 369-371)

## St Paul and the ‘Temporal Magistrate’

- Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. (Romans 13: 1-2 [King James Version])

## James VI and the kirk – current consensus

- ‘James VI was rarely on amicable terms with his Kirk, and this was strongly reflected in his turbulent relations with the General Assembly. Between 1586 and 1596, there were moments of peace, but true concord did not prevail. As a result of the uncontrolled outburst of opposition in December 1596, the initiative passed to the king, and it is clear that many ministers who had previously been happy to criticise him discovered a new loyalty...**By 1603, the opportunity for the establishment of royal control over the Kirk with the consent of most of the ministry appears to have been available.** After James left Scotland, however, that opportunity was lost.’ Alan MacDonald, ‘James VI and the General Assembly’, in Goodare and Lynch, *The Reign of James VI* (2000), p. 184. See also MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk* (1998)

# George Buchanan, Kingship and Tyranny



- *De Iure Regni Apud Scotos Dialogus* ('Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots', 1579)
- *Historia Rerum Scoticarum* (1582)
- Electoral monarchy since 330BC
- Lawful to punish, depose, and kill king
- 'Salus populi suprema lex esto' – 'the wellbeing of the people is the ultimate law'



# James VI and Absolutist/‘Divine Right’ Kingship



- *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies* (1598)
- *Basilikon Doron* ('The King's Gift', 1598)
- Monarch 'above the law, as both the author and giver of strength therto'
- However, king should conform *morally* to law

## James VI on the presbyterians

- ‘But the reformation of Religion in *Scotland*...not proceeding from the Princes order, as it did in our neighbour countrey of *England*, as likewise in *Denmarke*, and sundry parts of *Germanie*; some fierie spirited men in the ministerie, got such a guiding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the gust of gouvernement sweete, they begouth to fantasie to themselues a Democraticke forme of gouvernement...as they fed themselues with the hope to become *Tribuni plebis* [*tribunes of the people*]: and...to beare the sway of all the rule.’ (James VI, *Basilikon Doron* (1598), ed. J. P. Somerville (1994), p. 26)



## James VI on episcopal government

- ‘And for preservative against their poison, entertaine and aduance the godly, learned and modest men of the ministerie, whom-of (God be praised) there lacketh not a sufficient number: and by their prouision to Bishoprickes and Benefices (annulling that vile acte of Annexation, if ye finde it not done to your hand) yee shall not onely banish their conceited paritie...which can neither stand with the order of the Church, nor the peace of a Commonweale and well ruled Monarchie: but ye shall also re-establish the olde institution of three Estates in Parliament.’ (James VI, *ibid*, p. 27)

# **What did Andrew Melville think of kingship and tyranny?**

New perspectives from his poetry

## ***Stephaniskion Ad Scotiae Regem, habitum in coronatione Reginae* ('The Small Crown given to the King of Scots on the coronation of the Queen', 1590)**

'It is a great, majestic, huge honour,  
That from the highest seat one should be respected  
Above all others to give commands, to impose laws,  
To protect both seas and lands, both peace and wars...  
But with this greater honour, there is the greatest burden. How hard a  
thing it is  
To reign, and to curb the proud races with kingship,  
Both reason and example teaches.' (lines 45-58)

## Melville on the Divine Contract

‘O how are we as one

Joined together, we who are ruled, with a king as a bond?

Does he, the leader, having gone forward first, guide the way of virtue?

We, his companions, follow behind. Does he carry us headlong through  
difficult paths?

Then we press onwards. Does he flourish under the west winds?

We too flower. Does winter press death upon him? Cut off in the prime of  
life,

We totter and fall down. In such a way are we drawn close,

Bound in a tight knot: as the common good, so the common danger.’

(*Stephaniskion*, lines 99-106)

## Melville on Tyranny

‘Can King Tyrant, therefore,  
Be a father to a country? Or guardian of the people, and of the senate?  
Or the sacred and holy minister of justice and the laws?  
When he, each King, comports himself as inferior to God,  
This is God: or the living image of the living God: ...  
He is an animal – he is worse than an animal, he is a wild beast! –  
Who believes that he has been born for himself alone: who thinks that the power  
of ruling  
Exists solely in his rule: and finally who by himself  
Does not think that he has given himself to his citizens, or the citizens to him...  
Is it not that the ruler is set in power above the people – not, therefore, by the  
power of the prince,  
But by the people? **And the salvation of the people a golden law for a king?**  
(*Stephaniskion*, lines 156-172)

## Poems on Union

- ‘On the Birth of the Scoto-Brittanic Prince’ (*Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia*, 1594)
- John Johnston’s (c. 1565-1611) *Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum* (Amsterdam, 1602)
  - *Gathelus, sive fragmentum de origine Scotorum* (Gathelus, or a fragment on the origins of the Scots’)
- Union poems in the *Andreae Melvini Musae* (1621)



# Gathelus and Scota

- 'Scotia sailing from Egypt' by Owain Kirby (1997)



## Gathelus and Democracy

‘Here in the fields ordained by fate and taking his place  
On the marble chair, he receives for the first time  
His titles of majesty and his royal authority,  
And the other symbols of kingship bestowed on him by the people...  
[And he proceeds] to teach the arts of peace and war,  
To establish laws and justice for the people,  
And to give rights to the assembled fathers [chiefs of the people]  
And he exerts himself in handling the shared reins of governance.’  
(*Gathelus*, lines 88-96; George Buchanan, *Political Poetry*, pp. 292-3.)



## **‘To Elizabeth the Languishing (*Aegrotantem*) Queen, [2]8 April 1603’**

‘Divine stock of the dear Goddess, a Virgin most pleasing to God,  
Immortal in age, and exceedingly blessed with peace,  
Queen of the waves, celebrated mother of the British,  
Terror of the Spanish, remarkable love of religion,  
And ready support and powerful defense  
to the Scots, and to the French, and to the Germans, in a range of  
circumstances...

Is it to be believed that this is your forty-fifth year of reigning?  
And you still have a sound mind in a sound body?  
Are you, Elizabeth, called Elisium? Should we call you this? In the  
golden age

You lived: Henceforth, King James, it ought to be lived in by you:  
Live in God: and the honour, and offspring, and kingdom of Christ:  
He who hears the King, he will himself be King.’

## ‘To the King, on the Calends of April 1603’

‘O Best Anglo-Scottish Prince of Princes, (*Scotangle Princeps optime principum*)

O Greatest Anglo-Scottish Prince of Princes,

O Prince of Scotland, England and Ireland:

O Prince risen, born, and sprung from heaven

United England calls you to royal governance,

All Wales calls you, all Ireland calls you...’(lines 1-6)

## **‘To the Most Serene King of the British Isles, 1603’**

‘Up to this point, alas, arrogance and soft living stands in the way of she  
who weeps; Elizabeth has shown favour to her men who wear linens.

The divine virgin calls you, o sixth of men:

Return a modest style of dress:

Lift off the tragic costumes of the unclean whore.

In such a way now, by your means, may your Britain, at peace, perceive  
you

Ruling: and may Christ give to you the kingdoms of Heaven.’ (lines 15-  
20)

## Conclusions for session 2

- Protestantism and the Union of Crowns
  - Protestantism changes traditional Franco-Scottish alliance into an Anglo-Protestant one
  - Articulation of an idea of formal union stems back to early sixteenth century, and consistent right up to 1707
- Melville, Kingship, Tyranny and Union
  - Melville a unionist, Protestant, monarchist
  - But issue of electoral monarchy a constant challenge – theological, not classical worldview, rooted in Romans 13
  - He believes in protesting to the king, but has real problems with ideas of deposition and tyrannicide
  - Poetry and Latin writings changing our view of whole crown-kirk struggle

## Free Reformation-related web resources

- The Aberdeen Breviary: <http://digital.nls.uk/aberdeen-breviary/pageturner.cfm?id=74487406>
- Survey of dedication to Saints in Medieval Scotland: <http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/saints/>
- [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk) – excellent image database
- The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft, 1563-1736: <http://www.shc.ed.ac.uk/Research/witches/>
- Singing the Reformation: The World of Reformation Britain as seen in The Wode Psalter (includes an app!): <http://www.wode.div.ed.ac.uk/resources.html>