"Poor Scotland—The Outcast of All the Nations of the World": The Reactionary Rhetoric of Suffering in Covenanter Sermons, 1638-1645

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From 1635-36, a frigid and stormy winter left Scottish fields barren and infertile—the blight of famine struck Scotland, and it was Minister Zachary Boyd's task to inform his parishioners why. Standing before his despondent congregation in Glasgow, Boyd preached from Psalm 79:8, declaring their present afflictions—the "plague of famine"—to be the "cheefe judgement of God that hath moved the Church this day to sound the alarum of a fast."[1]

> The root of all the plagues of God upon man are the sinnes of men. Wherefore is the living man sorowfull? Man suffereth for his sinnes. Seeing it is so, let all these that are in sorrowe under the correcting hand of God, as wee are all this day, learne what to doe in the words of my text. Let them take unto them words with the psalmist, and say whether the calamitie be publicke or private. *O remember not us our former iniquities.*[2]

Moreover, Boyd explained, the famine was not the "one judgement only wherewith we are afflicted"; the famine, he explained, was but a precursor for future afflictions to come.[3]

As it turns out, Boyd was correct—things would not get any better. In May 1636, bubonic plague crept into England from mainland Europe.[4] The Scottish Privy Council promptly responded by placing restrictions on cross-border trade.[5] Bad harvests and weather followed in early 1637, causing a nationwide shortage of coinage and food in addition to the threat of plague.[6] Despite their

efforts, by June 1637, the Privy Council reported that the plague had spread to Scottish towns along the southern borders area. Throughout the summer, the Council further restricted trade.[7] The Earl of Lothian, recording the widespread troubles of 1637, commented, "they that are not blind may see a judgement come on this land."[8] In Lothian's understanding, the ills besetting Scotland were no mere coincidence—they were a providential manifestation of the Lord's divine justice.

Boyd's sermon and its surrounding context demonstrate that for the Kirk of Scotland during the 1630s, Christian suffering and the judgement of God were not mere abstractions but living and breathing realities. Rooted in a Calvinist understanding of God's sovereignty, the Scottish Kirk and her ministers understood the purpose of suffering to be twofold. Firstly, suffering was God's judgement on His people for their corporate sins. Whether it be famine, plague, hail, or floods, communal suffering was the Kirk's due punishment for communal sin.[9] Secondly, and more positively, suffering was the means by which the Lord led the Kirk to repentance and restoration.[10] When God's hand lay heavy on the community, the greatest "plague" of all was that of false security—an apathetic failure to recognize the impending judgement of God.[11] Only when the Kirk, driven to action by the recognition of her sins, "repent and returne unfainedly to the Lord our God" could they "neede not feare that the sinnes of our fathers ever be able to hurt us."[12] It was in this context that ministers like Boyd interpreted the troubles of 1636-37 as divine judgement, while also directing their congregants to cry out to the Lord God for mercy. It was the minister's job to communicate both God's judgement and mercy, bringing "the people to their knees in despair, only to raise them up in the knowledge and experience of a merciful God."[13]

Moreover, in 1636-38, the judgement of God not only manifested itself physically but spiritually in the religious policies of Charles I. Beginning in 1636 with the implementation of the Book of Canons, Charles's ecclesiastical policies would strike at the heart of the Kirk's Presbyterian identity.[14] That November, the Scottish Privy Council issued a proclamation by order of the king: to place the new Prayer Book in every Scottish parish by the following Easter. The Prayer Book with its "popish" liturgy—such as kneeling to receive the sacrament—symbolized an attack on the Kirk and,

consequently, a frontal assault on Scottish identity itself.[15] Through its "human inventions," the fiery young minister George Gillespie declared that the "true life of godlinesse is smoared downe and suppressed" and that "many, who are both faithfull Servants to Christ, and loyall Subjects to the King, are evill spoken of, mocked, reproached, menaced, molested."[16] In response to the Book, nonconforming ministers met in secret to organize resistance against it. In July 1637, organized riots broke out in the streets of Edinburgh against the Prayer Book. Under Charles's orders, the Scottish Privy Council continued to insist that the Scots accept the Prayer Book, but to no avail. Noblemen and leading ministers in this resistance met in Edinburgh in December, forming a provisional government known as the Tables. On February 28, 1638, at Greyfriars' Kirk in Edinburgh, nonconforming ministers and nobility from across Scotland convened and signed the National Covenant, a religious document in which the Presbyterian Scots—now known as the *Covenanters*—vowed to stand against the tyrannical laws enforced by the episcopal church of the king.

Throughout the Covenanting period, the Scottish Kirk's self-understanding of Christian suffering—as reflected in sermons of its ministers—underwent a gradual and nuanced transformation. From 1638-44, the Covenanters' political, ecclesiastical, and military successes would reshape ministers' descriptions of suffering. Over these years, as their fortunes miraculously turned, the Kirk and its ministers would increasingly understand their suffering and "captivity" under the English episcopate as a necessary forerunner to the blessings now falling on Scotland. Thus, when afflicted by war in 1639-40, Scotland's sufferings were not interpreted as marks of divine disapproval but as visible demonstrations of her favor before God. However, following the Treaty of London in 1641, external threats to Scottish security began to reshape this nationalistic understanding of suffering. The beginnings of the Irish Rebellion and the English Civil War created a "puritan brotherhood" between the Covenanters, English Parliamentarians, and Ulster Presbyterians that sought to end the *international* suffering of the godly. Paradoxically, this development only increased the Kirk's sense of national blessedness. Ministers interpreted Scotland and the English Parliament's alliance of the Solemn League and Covenant as the culmination of her national blessings. Furthermore, through the

Covenant, the Kirk's ministers believed that the blessings granted to Scotland would now spread *internationally* across Britain. The calling of the Westminster Assembly signaled to them the first of these international blessings, as England would now follow the example of the "best Reformed churches." Little did the Kirk's ministers know, however, that, by 1645, this overoptimistic rhetoric of suffering and blessing would begin to undermine the very fabric of Covenanted Scotland herself.

As L. Charles Jackson points out, the "National Covenant and its consequent success helped to create a language of common discourse for Scotland."[17] What was this common discourse? Historians have argued that the Covenant refined and reenforced a culturewide understanding of covenant (also called federal) theology that had been developing in Scotland since its Reformation.[18] While their assertion may be true to some extent, the broad heading of "covenant theology"—an exegetical framework also present in the theology of the English Puritans—does not capture the complexities of the Kirk's dynamic self-understanding of its afflictions in the 1640s. Such analyses narrowly attempt to place religion into the neat and systematic category of covenant theology while neglecting the relationship between religious belief and the historical context in which it emerges. In seventeenth-century Scotland, the primary expressions of the Kirk's theology were not found in systematic treatises or doctrinal dissertations, but in her ministers' weekly preaching of the Scriptures. The religious culture of seventeenth-century Scotland was *logocentric,* centered around the Word of God "preached, read, repeated[, and] hopefully understood."[19] Within this Word-based culture, then, "preaching retained its supremacy," for it was through the minister's preaching that the Word was publicly communicated to Scottish congregants.[20] Because of preaching's centrality during this period, sermons offer for the historian a glimpse into how contemporary events may have influenced the religious rhetoric of Covenanted Scotland. When assessing religious beliefs, then, it is not a general collection of a specific list of theological doctrines that the historian should examine, but rather the general *vocabulary*—the "rhetorical commonplaces"—of the sermons delivered from the pulpit.[21] Of these rhetorical commonplaces, a vocabulary of corporate suffering held a key place within seventeenth-century Scottish preaching.[22] The Covenant's

signing, as interpreted by ministers in light of the Kirk's recent sufferings under Charles I, initiated the transformation of this vocabulary, as ministers began to articulate their own afflictions in light of their new Covenant with God.

Following the Covenant's signing in February 1638, leading ministers of the Kirk launched a vigorous campaign of topical preaching to gather support for the Covenant. As parishes across Scotland corporately swore the Covenant, these sermons became the primary means by which ministers communicated the significance of the Covenant to their congregants.[23] Traditionally, Scottish ministers selected a section or book of the Bible—an "ordinary"—to preach over an extended series of consecutive Sundays.[24] However, starting in the spring and summer of 1638, many ministers broke this pattern to emphasize the national importance of the Covenant. In March of 1638, Harry Rollock of Trinity College Kirk in Edinburgh paused his ordinary featuring the Book of Job at Chapter Five.[25] Beginning on April 1 with Exodus 19:6-8, Rollock spent the remainder of the year preaching from texts centered around Israel's covenant with God. It was nearly a year until Rollock resumed the ordinary, with his earliest recorded return to Job dated January 13, 1639, when he preached from Job 6.

By primarily selecting texts from the Old Testament, Covenanter ministers drew rhetorical parallels between Israel and Scotland which highlighted the Kirk's imminent restoration to God. Out of fifty-three sermons preached in 1638, thirty-eight of their biblical texts are from the Old Testament.[26] From these thirty-eight texts, twelve drew from the prophets and historical books while the remaining twenty-six texts drew from the Book of Psalms. The majority of these 1638 sermons communicated a three-act narrative of Scotland's corporate rebellion, repentance, and restoration to God that closely resembles the cyclical relationship between God and corporate Israel in the Old Testament.[27] Like Israel's adulterous wife in Jeremiah 3, the Kirk had committed spiritual adultery, as testified by the idolatrous policies of the English episcopate.[28] Because of her sins, the Kirk had suffered various afflictions—both physically and spiritually—under the correcting hand of God. But now, by covenanting with Him, "the Lord was recalling and reclaiming his people… fra their former whoredomes and idolatries."[29]

The most common Old Testament texts preached by ministers to communicate this shift from suffering to restoration were the Psalms of Ascent.[30] The sheer number of these Psalms preached in 1638 indicate a common "network" of deliberately chosen Scriptural references and themes which reflected the similarities between the context of the Psalms and of Scotland. Prior to 1638, there had already been, as David Stevenson and Laura Stewart note, a "culture of dissent" or "radical party" of nonconformist ministers across Scotland.[31] After the Covenant's signing, these longstanding connections between ministers now manifested themselves through the shared themes, texts, and rhetoric of their sermons. Johnston of Wariston—co-writer of the National Covenant and the most influential layman in the Covenanting movement—notes that he listened to ten sermons from the Book of Psalms in 1638, with half of them drawn from the Psalms of Ascent. Zachary Boyd and Alexander Henderson would preach a combined seven sermons from the Psalms of Ascent in 1638.[32] The same year, as Alexander Campbell notes, Robert Baillie preached an ordinary from these Psalms as well.[33] Many of these sermons also overlapped in the specific chapters and verses selected. In June, Zachary Boyd would preach on Psalm 122:6 ("Pray for the peace of Jerusalem"); in November, Harry Rollock preached from the same text to his congregation at College Kirk. On May 20, Alexander Henderson preached on Psalm 123:2 to his congregation at Leuchars; a couple weeks later on June 3, Henry Rollock did the same at a public fast. Alexander Henderson delivered two sermons on Psalm 129 in May 1638; the last Sunday of 1638, Zachary Boyd closed the year for his parish in Glasgow by preaching from the same text. Moreover, the frequency of these sermons from the Psalms of Ascent indicates not only a common network of texts and themes, but a commonly held interpretation of these texts influenced by the Kirk's contemporary context. Sung by the Israelites on their return from Babylon to Jerusalem, the Psalms of Ascent represented the Israelites' "transition from idolatry to righteousness."[34] By emphasizing Israel's past deliverance through the Psalms of Ascent, the Kirk's ministers presented their own afflictions under the English episcopate as a necessary forerunner to the *future* deliverance of the Kirk from its *present* suffering. In these sermons, ministers utilized

three rhetorical themes that analogized Scotland's suffering in 1638 to the sufferings of Israel.

First, ministers interpreted the Scottish Kirk's sufferings in light of the Kirk's corporate suffering and deliverance in ages past. Preaching from Psalm 129, Alexander Henderson noted that the afflictions of the Kirk were "old afflictions."[35] He traced the antiquity of the church's suffering, beginning with the prophecy of the promised seed in Genesis 3:15 and moving all the way up to the present afflictions of the Scottish Kirk.[36] Similarly, Zachary Boyd (preaching from the same Psalm) states that "The Church of God was young in Egypt … [and] in all places from her youth hath beene afflicted."[37] Furthermore, by using the Psalms of Ascent, ministers drew more explicit connections between the Kirk's afflictions and her "captivity" under Babylon. For example, Boyd wrote that "It is the lot of Gods children here belowe to be besieged round about with calamities, as the people of Israel in Babylon were compassed round about with a river of teares."[38] In the same way, Boyd stated that the "Church of Scotland hath many a time beene afflicted by the enemies of this gospel."[39]

Secondly, the Kirk began to understand her suffering in relation to the suffering of the patriarch Jacob/Israel. Alexander Henderson highlighted this specific theme in his sermon on Psalm 129 by rhetorically linking the patriarch's life to the "estate of the kirk."[40] Henderson quickly pointed out that only after "he who was first Jacob prevailed with God … was [he] called Israel."[41] In the same way, Henderson declared that, through affliction, "so shall the kirk also be victorious over all her enemies."[42] Additionally, both Alexander Henderson and Zachary Boyd paralleled the suffering of the Kirk to those of Jacob's son, Joseph. Joseph, Henderson explains, suffered as great as any—"yet it was God who sent him to Egypt" so that the Lord might save him and his family.[43] Similarly, the Kirk suffers so that through her suffering she "shall not faile to prosper."[44] As these texts show, the Kirk's association with Israel and His seed not only signifies the Kirk's favor and blessedness before the Lord, but they also highlight her suffering as a necessary precursor to her blessings.

Thirdly, the Kirk's ministers understood its suffering in light of the Kirk's recent experiences of deliverance from affliction. On a fast day in June 1638, Zachary Boyd preached from Psalm 122:6. In

this sermon, Boyd exhorts his audience to "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem," lest God remove His presence from among His people in Scotland. This removal of God's glory, Boyd writes, never comes unexpectedly but with "divers warnings" and "feareful types of his wrath to tell them that, if they prayed not for the peace of Jerusalem, all their peace and prosperitie would depart."[45] Referencing Ezekiel 14, Boyd then explained how God used the sign of Ezekiel's tile to warn the Israelites of His coming judgement. Boyd states that the Scottish Kirk had received similar warnings in recent years. And not only did the Lord give the Kirk warnings of her future afflictions, but He also *delivered* her from them:

> Wee of this land have received more substantiall warning, and that both by fire and water, for both ways our enemies have sought to bereave us of our peace. First by water in eighty eight [1588] the Lord permitted our enemies to come against us … with an armado of ships … When this warning was given, our people fell all downe before God praying for the prince of Jersusalem. The Lord heard us, and helped us, and made his glory to runne thorow sea and land by drowning the pride of that Spanish pharaoh.[46]

Boyd spoke of how God also had rescued the kingdom from "six and thirty barrells of powder … ordained … to spew king, queene, prince, and all the nobles up into the aire."[47] By paralleling Scotland's recent experiences with those of Israel, ministers "canonized" these events as providential demonstrations of God's mercy to the Kirk. Threatened both spiritually and temporally by Roman Catholicism in 1588 and 1605, the Lord had miraculously delivered the Kirk from the clutches of Antichrist. Boyd then used these national events as the grounds of the Kirk's hope in 1638. Now, Boyd declares, "how much more will he now delibver us from these seene dangers, if in true repentance, with broken and contrite hearts, wee this daye joine our prayers together for the peace of Jersualem."[48]

Because of Israel's blessed deliverance in the past, Scottish ministers began to interpret the Kirk's suffering in 1638 as the beginning of their own blessings and deliverance. The first of these blessings was the signing of the Covenant. In a May 1638 sermon on Psalm 123:1-2, Alexander Henderson alluded to the Covenant as the means by which "the Lord has begun to be merciful to us, and to

bring back our captivity in some degree."[49] He declared that God "has begun to draw some droughts of the kirk's beauty again," through which "he will also make the kingdom glorious because of the glory of the kirk."[50] Here, Henderson presented the future blessings of the Kirk not only as blessings for herself; instead, her blessings will pervade the whole of Scotland itself. Henderson's remarks reflect a growing "providential hope" among Covenanter ministers, "especially as it related to Scotland's role in the future blessings of the kingdom of God."[51] In late 1638, the General Assembly in Glasgow fostered these hopes even further by abolishing episcopacy.[52] In doing so, the Assembly not only signaled for ministers the end of the wicked innovations plaguing the Kirk, but "the beginning of the rebuilding of Zion" itself.[53] In a sermon delivered in Glasgow on the last Sunday of 1638, Zachary Boyd reflected on the ways in which God had worked through both the Covenant and the Assembly. Preaching from Psalm 129, Zachary Boyd declared triumphantly that "The Lord hath most wonderfully this day delivered our Church […]. Our enemies were mighty, yet, saith our Church in her song, they have not prevailed against me."[54] He exhorted his audience to "praise the goodnesse of God and his wonderful workes in the wonderful harmonie of the Nationall Assemblie convened in this citie."[55] Because the Kirk had prevailed against episcopacy, she could now look in comfort to the day when the Lord would deliver her by "cut[ting] asunder the coardes of the wicked."[56]

Moving into 1639, further afflictions loomed on the horizon for Scotland and her Kirk as the threat of war grew. The defiant actions carried out by the General Assembly in abolishing episcopacy had made war with the king "virtually inevitable" for the Covenanters.[57] In January 1639, a group of leading Covenanter nobles met in Edinburgh and drafted a letter containing detailed instructions for the establishment of committees of war in each shire. Likewise, they issued a general call to Scottish Protestants serving abroad in the Thirty Years' War, urging them to return home to protect their Kirk and kingdom. Throughout the spring, military preparations progressed smoothly for the Scots. Thanks to the shire committees of war, the Covenanters effectively mobilized their countrymen for a defensive war to protect their kingdom and, more importantly, their religion.[58] The first Bishops' War would begin in

March 1639 as Covenanter forces captured the royalist-held town of Aberdeen in the Northeast. When the army of the Covenant finally met the king's forces at Duns Law in May, Charles's men—lacking supplies, training, and morale—immediately retreated from the Covenanter forces. The Scots, uninterested in continuing the conflict, extended peace proposals to Charles, which he accepted. Under the Pacification of Berwick in June 1640, Charles promised the Scots a General Assembly and a meeting of Parliament to settle Scottish matters on religion. Charles's concessions, however, would be short-lived. In August 1639, the Scots would continue to frustrate Charles when the General Assembly formally confirmed the acts of the previous Assembly in Glasgow, including the formal abolition of episcopacy. By the spring of 1640, Charles had raised another army to invade Scotland. This time, however, it would be the Scots who struck first. Under the command of General Alexander Leselie, Scottish troops would invade England on August 20, 1640. The Scots would then drive the king's force to the River Tyne, defeating them at Newburne on August 28. Negotiations followed in October, with both sides signing a temporary truce at Ripon. Nearly a year later, the Treaty of London (August 1641) officially ended the Bishops' Wars: Charles would be forced to recognize the autonomy of the Scottish Kirk while also compensating the Scots with £300 out of his own pocket.

Rather than demoralizing the Kirk, the two Bishops' Wars reenforced the rhetoric of affliction and blessings that had begun to emerge in 1638. In their sermons, ministers presented the conflicts of 1639-40 as further "evidence" of the Kirk's Covenanted identity. The Bishops' Wars were not Scotland's due judgement for her unfaithfulness but the *opposite*—the reason why Scotland suffered the afflictions of war was because the Kirk's enemies sought to destroy the blessings being lavished upon her. And just as they had done in 1638, Covenanter ministers grounded these claims in the history of Old Testament Israel. Out of twenty-seven sermons preached in 1639-40, twenty-one of these texts are selections from the Old Testament, with the Book of Psalms remaining the most frequently preached of these texts (ten of the twenty). However, unlike in 1638, these psalms drew not from the Psalms of Ascent but are instead Imprecatory Psalms and Psalms of Lament.[59] The other ten Old Testament texts drew from the prophetic and historical books which

also dealt with the history of Israel. Out of these twenty Old Testament texts, six of them explicitly reference war, enemies, and/or "the nations," an obvious indication of the Bishops' Wars' influence on the topical and textual selection for ministers' sermons.[60] Through these texts, ministers justified war against Charles by rhetorically placing it within the biblical narrative of the Kirk's Covenant blessings. God had blessed Scotland and the Kirk under the Covenant, but like Israel, only by defeating these enemies could she obtain the fullness of these promised blessings. Ministers preached from texts like Exodus 17—in which the Israelites fight the Amalekites as part of the conquest of Canaan—to reinforce these hopes by linking the text to contemporary events.[61] Similarly, many ministers preached from texts that presented the war as a spiritual necessity. For example, on February 26, 1639, Johnston of Wariston would listen to David Dickson preach from Psalm 142, "anent Davids defending himself in the caive against Saul." Johnston notes that Dickson went on to demonstrate "the lawfulness of resistance."[62] In taking up arms against the king, the Covenanters were not acting rebelliously. Instead, they were following the biblical precedent of righteous self-defense against idolatrous enemies.

Reflective of these new trends are a series of four fast sermons preached by Samuel Rutherford in August 1640. On August 20, 1640, the Covenanter army crossed the River Tweed into England. That same day, parishes across Scotland began a week-long period of fasting for the troops marching southward. Two days later, on August 22, Rutherford began preaching these fasting sermons. Delivered just days before the Battle of Newburne, Rutherford firmly declares in these sermons his belief that the Lord will deliver Scotland and her Kirk from her enemies. He grounds this hope by rhetorically connecting the Kirk's suffering to the earlier afflictions and deliverance of the patriarch Jacob, Old Testament Israel, and, more recently, Scotland herself.

Firstly, Rutherford associated the Kirk's afflictions with the name of the patriarch Jacob. Preaching from Isaiah 41:14-17, Rutherford explained God's prophecy to "thou worm Jacob." Before Rutherford, most ministers of the Reformed tradition—beginning with Calvin—had interpreted the title of "worm" as an indicator of Israel's smallness before the Lord.[63] For example, in a 1635 sermon from the same text, future Covenanter David Dickson preached that

God calls Jacob a worm because of his weakness, unworthiness, afflictions, and guilt.[64] In Rutherford's understanding, however, this title is not actually derogatory. Instead, Rutherford asserted that, by calling Jacob a worm, "The Lord is now speaking of them as they are *in the eyes of the world*, and *not* as He thinks of them" (italics added).[65] In actuality, the Kirk was not a "worm" but instead "the Lord's jewels, His beloved people."[66] Yet, like a worm, the Kirk "has as many enemies as there are feet going upon the ground ready to tramp upon it."[67] To Rutherford, the Kirk's affliction—her "worminess"—is not a curse. Instead, it is quite the opposite: though the Kirk's enemies regard her as a worm, they cannot strip away from her the title of Jacob and the promises associated with it.

Secondly, Rutherford associated the current troubles of the Kirk with its corporate suffering in ages past. Rutherford—in an echo of Henderson's 1638 sermon—stresses the antiquity of the Kirk's sufferings, stating that ever "since that day that war was pronounced in Paradise between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; they have never been at peace yet to this day."[68] In typical Covenanter fashion, Rutherford also draws a comparison between Scotland's present circumstances and Israel's return from Babylonian captivity. But, instead of focusing on the spiritual significance of Israel's return from captivity, Rutherford highlighted the judgement carried out by the nations against Babylon.[69] Through this judgement, the Lord enabled the Israelites to return to Israel where they would rebuild the temple. In light of this past deliverance, Rutherford trusts that God will act similarly with the Kirk in 1640: that, through the Kirk, He will execute judgement on the wicked while simultaneously delivering the Kirk from her suffering.

Thirdly, Rutherford presented the National Covenant as evidence that God would deliver the Kirk from the affliction of her enemies. Just as Zachary Boyd viewed the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot as examples of Scotland's deliverance, so also did Rutherford interpret the signing of the National Covenant as a watershed moment of national deliverance. Rutherford asserted that, "we trust our Lord's salvation is not far off" and that "He will help us in time … seeing we are a people that are in covenant with him."[70] For Rutherford, this approaching salvation is not a vague reference to death but to the ongoing war itself. Because the Scottish Kirk is in Covenant with God, Rutherford trusts that the Lord will grant her

and her armies with the worldly strength to conquer her enemies.[71] He will make her a "sharp threshing instrument with teeth"[72] to "take vengeance upon the enemies of our Covenant" which is, Rutherford declares, the very "cause that we are now called to go unto the fields for."[73]

As the sermons demonstrate, Rutherford's rhetoric of suffering reenforced the understanding of suffering that had begun to emerge in 1638 with the National Covenant. Like the ministers of 1638, Rutherford placed the Scottish Kirk's present sufferings—and, consequently, her future deliverance—within the Scriptural narrative of Israel's redemption. However, Rutherford's rhetoric also reflects the new perspective on the Kirk's suffering that emerged during the Bishops' Wars.

Through his emphasis on the Kirk's enemies, Rutherford blurred the distinction between the sufferings of the Kirk and of Scotland itself. In his first sermon of the series, Rutherford made an implicit reference to the war against Charles, stating that the Kirk is "environed with enemies on all hands […] ready to overtake the children of God, especially if there be armies about them."[74] In the next sermon Rutherford preached from the same text as "thou worm Jacob" and described the enemies of the Kirk as "mountains." Just as mountains might impede a servant carrying out the errands of his master, so do the "mountains of the world" block Christ's servants in their service to him.[75] He quickly shifts to explaining how these mountains have done the same to Scotland itself, clouding the distinction between Kirk and kingdom. "Poor Scotland!" he cries, "is the outcast of all the nations of the world."[76] In his third sermon, preached from Hosea 8, Rutherford's references to England similarly obscure the distinction between church and nation. At one point, Rutherford explicitly mentions the English prelates, calling them the "worst enemies that the Kirk of Christ has in our neighbor kingdom."[77] He proceeds to draw parallels between the Israelites and the Scottish armies who, carrying "the Lord's ark […] in[to] the fields," are "entering into a strange land."[78] Rutherford's references to "Assyria"—a clear allusion to England—who "come[s] against the Kirk of God as an eagle" reenforce this conflation of the Scottish Kirk and the Scottish nation.[79] By rhetorically pairing Scotland and her Kirk together, Rutherford conflates the sufferings of the Kirk and those of Scotland. Likewise, by pairing the Kirk's enemies with

"Assyria," Rutherford places her enemies—the source of the Kirk's suffering—outside of Scotland herself.

Although the Lord would grant the Covenanters with blessed deliverance from war in 1640, it would not be long before suffering reared its ugly head once again. The peace achieved by the Treaty of London in August 1641 proved to be transitory; in October 1641, the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion would reinvigorate Scottish fears of Catholicism while also renewing sympathy for Ulster Presbyterians.[80] Irish immigrants from Ulster would flee to Scotland, bringing with them haunting stories of the violence wrought by the Catholic rebels. In February 1642, the Scottish Parliament responded to the crisis and authorized the raising of troops to send to Ireland. That April, General Robert Monro and an army of 2,500 Scots landed in Ulster; by November, Scotland had sent over 11,000 Scottish troops to Ireland.[81] Meanwhile, on August 22, the English Civil War began when Charles I raised his banner against the English Parliament. By the end of October, the inconclusive outcome of the Civil War's first battle at Edgehill had prompted both sides to appeal to Scotland for aid. Pressured by events in Ireland and England, in late 1642 the Scottish Committee of Estates would begin considering the possibility of an alliance with the English Parliament. In January 1643, a group of Scottish Royalists responded to this potential alliance by drafting the Cross Petition, a document that cautioned against a Scottish alliance with the English Parliament. Both the Privy Council and the commission of the Kirk voted against the petition. Orders were promptly issued by the commission of the Kirk requiring all ministers to read the petition from their pulpits, warn their congregants against signing the petition, and denounce its signers as "secret malignants" and "enemies of religion."[82]

In July and August 1643, the Scottish Convention of Estates and the General Assembly of the Kirk accepted the English Parliament's overtures to begin formal negotiations for an alliance. On August 17, both the Convention and the Assembly would approve the General Assembly's first draft of the treaty, known as the Solemn League and Covenant. Written as a religious covenant (in clear imitation of the National Covenant), the Solemn League stated the two kingdoms' common religious goal of protecting the "true Reformed religion." According to the Covenant's terms, Scotland would provide the English military assistance on the condition that

the English Parliament established a uniform Presbyterian church in all three kingdoms. Shortly after, the General Assembly appointed a group of six Scottish ministers to serve as representatives at the Westminster Assembly, where they would take part in the formation of this church. On September 25, the Convention of Estates formally ratified the Covenant. Copies of the Covenant were distributed and subscribed in parishes across Scotland; in echoes of 1638, a vigorous wave of preaching would accompany these subscription ceremonies.[83] On September 28, the Committee of Estates formally began its military preparations by requesting each shire for a list of all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Finally, on January 19, 1644, the Army of the Covenant would cross the River Tweed with high hopes that Scotland would bring peace to the three kingdoms.[84]

While the rhetoric of suffering during the Bishops' Wars had been binary—"faithful Scotland" versus her external enemies—the growing British crisis in 1641-43 would create a tension in the Kirk's understanding of suffering. In 1639-40, ministers described the enemies of the Kirk in national terms; now, in 1641-43, tumults across the Isles would leave these labels obsolete. As in the Bishops' Wars, Scotland's enemies in these years were external. Ministers still acknowledged that the source of Scotland's afflictions were the forces of Antichrist in England and Ireland—but they gradually acknowledged the reality that, within the three kingdoms, they were not alone in their suffering. Both the Irish Rebellion and the English Civil War would foster a sense of solidarity between the Scots and her "Puritan" allies, as they all were fighting against the same Antichristian enemy. Paradoxically, this isle-wide Puritan mission would only heighten the Covenanters' sense of national blessing that had been present since 1638.[85] Scotland was a covenanted and chosen nation whose repeated successes against the king had proven as much. Now, it was her duty to go forth and drive out the forces of darkness from the British Isles.[86] Moreover, she would also be a beacon to all Europe, with the Solemn League and Covenant ensuring Presbyterianism in all three kingdoms.[87] However, the massive influx of Irish refugee ministers—hitherto labeled as "unorthodox" for remaining in Ireland under the Black Oath—placed pressure on leading ministers to protect the Kirk's Covenanted identity.[88] Likewise, growing Royalist sentiments in

Scotland—the most explicit statement of such sympathies being the Cross Petition—increasingly presented ministers with the possibility that the Kirk's enemies also resided in Scotland itself.

From 1641-43, Scottish ministers continued to preach from texts highlighting the Kirk's Covenanted identity, while simultaneously placing this identity in a new international context of suffering. Predictably, Old Testament passages remained the dominant texts chosen by Covenanter ministers. Out of twelve sermons preached between August 1641 and December 1643, nine of them center around Old Testament texts. There is also a continuation of the themes of war, enemies, and the "nations" that had begun to emerge in 1639-40. However, there also appears to be a fresh emphasis on the *spread* of Scotland's Covenant blessings to the nations. For instance, as early as April 1642, Robert Baillie would preach from First Thessalonians 1:7, where Paul refers to the Thessalonians as "examples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia."[89] This theme would reach its peak in the fall of 1643 as parishes subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant.

Covenanter ministers would understand the national and international blessings of the Solemn League and Covenant by articulating the alliance through the biblical framework of Israel's redemption. In a sermon delivered at a subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant, Zachary Boyd presented the renewal of the Church across all of Britain as an international blessing. For his text, Boyd preached from Isaiah 44:5: "This one will say 'I am the Lord's,' another will call on the name of Jacob, and another will write on his hand, 'The Lord's' and name himself by the name of Israel."[90] Boyd opens his sermon by explaining how this text fits into the greater narrative of redemption, writing:

> These words were first fulfilled when the Isrelits were delivered by the captivitie of Babylon when they forsaking all idolaes and fals gods renewed their covenant with the true God: secondly they were cheefely fulfilled when both Jewes and Gentiles (Isa. 4:2) did embrace Jesus Christ the Branch of the LORD who came to be the saviour of the world; and daily these words are fulfilled upon any people that hath gone astray returne to God, and renew their covenant with him as wee are to doe this day. [91]

Here, Boyd made it clear that this prophecy has not only *been* fulfilled for the Church in the past but is also *being* fulfilled through the Solemn League and Covenant. In the text, there are three individuals that say to another, "I am the Lord's"; likewise, Boyd exhorts his listeners to "subscribe with our hand unto the LORD a glorious covenant made between GOD and three nations SCOTLAND ENGLAND and IRELAND which by Gods blessing shall be like a threefold cord which is not quickly broken"[92] Boyd declares that, just as Christ told the disciples in Luke 4, "this is a day where in this [subscription] [the] text shall be fulfilled in both your eares and eyes, one shall say I am the LORDs and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the LORD."[93] In the same sermon, Boyd's rhetoric also reconciled the seeming tension between international blessings and the superiority of Scotland's national blessings as a Covenanted nation. Boyd explained that, according to Isaiah's prophecy, those who say, "I am the Lord's," do so through the "emulation & holy states amongst Gods servants who shall honor God most."[94] Only after Scotland said, "I am the Lord's," did the other two kingdoms follow their example and sign the new Covenant. This is even further evidenced in Boyd's list of the three kingdoms signing the Covenant: Scotland is listed first, followed next by England, and then by Ireland. Boyd also characterizes corporate sin differently than Rutherford does in 1640 by stressing the necessity of repentance for restoration. While individual sins may still have national consequences, in Boyd's understanding, corporate restoration to God and blessings are still available if individuals within the nation repent. Conversely, this rhetoric allows for the possibility that the unrepentant may reside in the nation and are capable of heaping judgement upon it.

At the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the rhetoric of international suffering and blessing that had created godly unity between the Covenanters and their allies would only foster division in 1644-45. When the Assembly began, the Scottish Commissioners entered Westminster Abbey filled with confidence, as the goals of the Presbyterian Scots and the English Independents appeared to be identical. Engendered with missionary zeal, the Solemn League and Covenant and the Assembly represented for both groups—despite their ecclesiological differences—the beginnings of international blessing that signaled the approaching millennium.[95] However, as the

Assembly turned to the issue of church government, it became increasingly obvious to each side that their visions of this millennium were quite different.[96] As the Scots saw it, only through the institution of Presbyterianism in all three kingdoms would Britain be blessed: they firmly grounded their eschatology in their ecclesiology.[97] The Independents similarly interpreted their congregational system as the key to kingdom-wide blessing, while the Presbyterian system was nothing more to them than a "strange monster."[98] By the spring of 1644, the reluctance of Independents in the Assembly to adopt a Presbyterian polity had become so unbearably evident to the Scottish Commissioners that the Scots began to step back from the very "puritan mission" they had initiated.[99] In the Commissioners' eyes, the Independents' hesitancy to adapt a Presbyterian polity was not merely a minor difference, but the central issue on which "the entire success of the puritan enterprise" hung "in the balance."[100]

Furthermore, in 1645, any lingering hopes of the Scottish Commissioners to unify the two kingdoms would be crushed by the new afflictions arising for Scotland both within and beyond her borders. In January 1645, the failed negotiations of the Treaty of Uxbridge would deepen divisions between the Scots and their southern allies, as Parliament opposed the Scots' insistence on the priority of religion in negotiations with the king.[101] Back in Scotland, political pressures also mounted for the Covenanted government. An outbreak of plague in Edinburgh in April, maintenance of the army in Ulster, and the English Parliament's increasing demands for Scottish troops would place a growing strain on Scotland's resources across all three kingdoms.[102] That summer, military operations at home only compounded Scotland's problems, as Scottish forces suffered a pair of disastrous defeats against the royalist forces of the Marquess of Montrose—a former Covenanter turned royalist—at Aberdeenshire and Kilsyth.[103] Meanwhile in England, the growing influence of the Independents in both the Westminster Assembly and the House of Commons was causing Scotland's relations with the English Parliament to deteriorate rapidly. Thus, by the beginning of 1646, the tumultuous and afflictive events of 1645 would leave Covenanted Scotland religiously, politically, and militarily weakened.

In 1645, with Scotland now afflicted both internally and externally, the ministers' internationally oriented rhetoric,

emphasizing the blessings which flowed from international Covenant-keeping, was now inverted to expose the ungodly within the Covenanted nations themselves.[104] Of the six surviving sermon manuscripts from 1644-45, all six are sermons preached by the Scottish Commissioners in London before the Houses of Parliament.[105] In these sermons, the Commissioners would increasingly identify Covenant-breakers (or malignants) as the root of national suffering in both kingdoms. For the English, the Scottish Commissioners identified their failure to endorse Presbyterian government—an indirect breach of the Solemn League and Covenant—as the cause of England's national ills. Because the sermons address an English audience, the general thrust of the sermons' application(s) center around England and reflects the Commissioners' frustration with the Independents. But, as events escalated in Scotland throughout 1645, the Scottish Commissioners would not neglect to address the afflictions now besetting Scotland. Unlike England, however, the ministers identified the primary root of Scotland's afflictions not as ecclesiological but moral: the source of Scotland's national guilt was not the unfaithfulness of the Scottish Kirk but rather the unfaithfulness of malignant Royalists in Scotland who had betrayed the Covenants.

Preaching to the House of Lords on August 27, 1645, George Gillespie articulated the growing threat of malignancy as a cause of Scotland's suffering. Choosing for his text Malachi 3:2—"But who may abide the day of his coming? And who shall stand when he appeareth? for he is like a refiner's fire, and like a fuller's soap"[106]—Gillespie argues that Christ refines His Church in three ways: through reformation, tribulation, and mortification.[107] For his points on reformation and mortification, most of Gillespie's application focused on England.[108] For example, speaking on reformation, Gillespie urged the House of Lords to remove the "dross of malignancy" and to remember "the fourth article of your solemn league and covenant" by which the Parliamentarians had vowed to cleanse the kingdom of malignants.[109] However, for his point on tribulation, Gillespie did not limit the sermon's application to England but also addresses Scotland herself. In doing so, he continues to highlight Scotland's Covenanted identity amid her suffering, while also stressing her need to be cleansed inwardly from malignants, the root of her suffering.

Gillespie viewed Scotland's tribulation to be a mark of her Covenanted identity before God. Gillespie opened his discussion of tribulation by laying out the following "doctrine" of tribulation: "Tribulation doth either accompany or follow after the work of reformation or purging of the house of God."[110] Applying the doctrine to 1645, Gillespie presented Scotland's recent invasion in light of the doctrine:

> As for the invasion of Scotland by such an enemy after a reformation, is it any new thing? May we not say, that which is hath been? Did not Sennacherib invade Judah after Hezekiah's reformation? 2 Chron. Xxxi.1. And though, after the reformation of Asa, and after the reformation of Jehoshphat also (2 Chron. Xiv. 9; xx. 1), the land had a short rest and a breathing time, yet not long after a foreign invasion followed both upon the one reformation and the other. Nay, look what is the worst thing which hath befallen to Scotland as yet;—as much, yea, worse, hath formerly befallen to the church and people of God toward whom the Lord had thoughts of peace, and not of evil,—to give them an expected end.[111]

Here, Gillespie paralleled Scotland's tribulations with those of Old Testament Israel and, in doing so, demonstrated two features of Scotland's present sufferings. First, Gillespie's rhetorical parallels placed Scotland's afflictions in historical continuity with the past sufferings of Israel/the Church. Second, and more importantly, Gillespie's understanding of the relationship between national reformation and external invasion underscored his firm conviction of Scotland's Covenanted status before God.

For Gillespie, however, Scotland's Covenanted status did not undermine her national guilt before God; instead, it highlighted her need to be purified of malignants, the source of her guilt. After paralleling Scotland's recent reformation(s) to those of Old Testament Israel, Gillespie readily admitted that he has said such things "not for diminishing anything either from the sin or shame of Scotland" but to answer those critics "that reproacheth in the gates, and by way of pleading for the truth of God."[112] These critics, Gillespie explained, misuse the Scriptures to challenge Scotland's Covenanted status by misinterpreting God's promise in Exodus 34:23-4: that if the Israelites obediently appeared before God three

times a year in Jerusalem, then no outsiders would invade Israel. From this text, these critics present Scotland's invasion as proof of her unfaithfulness before God.[113] Using the same text from Exodus, Gillespie refuted these opponents by placing the biblical text in its proper context. According to Gillespie, only when "the Caananites, and the Amorites, and the Jebusites of our time had been all cast out of our borders (we find this day too many of them lurking there, and waiting their opportunity)" can this text be correctly applied to Scotland.[114] Here, Gillespie once again paralleled Scotland to Israel, though negatively this time. Like the Israelites, the invasion falling upon Scotland is the result of the spiritual "Caananites" within her borders; for Gillespie, "it is not the covenant, but the broken covenant" that has drawn the judgement of God upon His people.[115]

In 1646-47, Gillespie and the Commissioners' new rhetoric of suffering would begin to reshape the Kirk's domestic responses to malignancy by presenting malignants as both religious and political threats to Scotland's purity. In January 1646, while royalist forces continued to squabble with Scottish forces in northern Scotland, the Scottish Parliament met in St. Andrews where they would pass the Act of Classes. Firmly supported by the government of the Kirk, the Act punished royalists and malignants through fines and exclusion from political offices.[116] The Kirk reenforced the Act, as ministers across Scotland used their pulpits to denounce royalists as "malignants" and "enemyes to trew religion."[117]

Nevertheless, despite the Kirk's efforts to denounce Royalists, the growing tensions between Parliament and the Covenanters throughout 1646 would convince many Scottish noblemen to pursue an alliance with Charles I.[118] However, at the same time, Charles's support of Montrose had implicitly linked malignancy to the person of the king himself in the eyes of the Kirk and its ministers.[119] Thus, when a group of noblemen within the Scottish Parliament signed the Engagement with Charles in December 1647, the commission of the Kirk unhesitatingly objected to the agreement and labeled its signers as malignants.[120] In 1648, the Kirk's rhetoric intensified, as Gillespie and other ministers threateningly declared that the "Lord is about to purge his churches" from "the malignant enemies of truth and godliness."[121] This rhetoric reached its climax in January 1649, when the Scottish Parliament passed a new Act of Classes which excluded for life all

signers of the Engagement from the army and government.[122] Little did it matter that the Engagers technically upheld the Covenants of 1638 and 1643. By associating with the king, their actions proved them Covenant-breakers who were heaping national judgement upon Scotland.[123] The culmination of this judgement would come in 1650 when Oliver Cromwell and the New Model Army invaded Scotland. In just twelve years, the Kirk's cycle of rebellion and restoration had come full circle: like Israel before her, God was using the nations to judge the Covenant-breakers of Scotland.

Notes

[1] Boyd, *Selected Sermons*, 245.
[2] Boyd, *Sermons,* 245.
[3] Ibid.*,* 246.
[4] Ibid.*,* 314.
[5] Brown, ed., *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.*
[6] Parker, *Global Crisis*, 333.
[7] Boyd, *Selected Sermons,* 314.
[8] Parker, *Global Crisis,* 333.
[9] Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 88; Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 349-50.
[10] Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 90.
[11] Ibid., 88-9.
[12] Boyd, *Selected Sermons,* 252.
[13] Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism,* 92.
[14] See Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution*, 38-43; Todd, *Culture of Protestantism,* 408-9.
[15] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism,* 411.
[16] Gillespie, *A dispute against the English-popish ceremonies*, 1,
[17] Jackson, *Riots, Revolutions, and the Scottish Covenanters*, 81.
[18] Jackson, *Riots,* 133; Torrance, "The Covenant Concept," 225-43; Steele, "The 'Politick Christian,'" 46-51.
[19] Todd*, Culture of Protestantism*, 1.
[20] Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, 192.
[21] Morissey, "Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons," 1116-17. For an example of this methodology in an alternative context, see also Stout, *The New England Soul*, 19-20 and 37-8.
[22] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 349-52.
[23] Stewart, *Rethinking,* 108-11.
[24] Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-century Scotland,* 195-6.
[25] Johnston notes that he heard Rollock preach on Job 5:17 on March 11, 1638. The next two Sundays, Johnston did not attend Trinity Kirk, so it is plausible that Rollock, upon finishing Job 5, decided to halt his progress through the book to preach topical sermons in response to the Covenant's signing. See Johnston, *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston,* 330.
[26] John F. Wilson notes a similar phenomenon among the printed sermons delivered before the English Parliament during the Civil Wars. See Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, 148-9.
[27] Hood, "Corporate Conversion Ceremonies," 31. Harry Stout's following statement concerning New England Puritan sermons' use of Israel's

history is equally applicable to the Covenanters: "Faith for the Puritan was rooted in the past." Stout, *The New England Soul*, 33.
[28] Johnston, *Diary,* 330.
[29] Ibid.
[30] The Psalms of Ascent are Psalms 120-134.
[31] Stevenson, "Conventicles in the Kirk," 135-165; Stewart, *Rethinking,* 38-9.
[32] Henderson, *Sermons, Prayers and Pulpit Addresses*; Boyd, *Selected Sermons.*
[33] Campbell, *The Life and Works of Robert Baillie*, 191.
[34] Ibid.*,* 192.
[35] Henderson, *Sermons,* 294.
[36] Ibid.*,* 300-302.
[37] Boyd, *Sermons,* 160.
[38] Ibid.*,* 158.
[39] Ibid.*,* 159.
[40] Henderson, *Sermons,* 299.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.*,* 300.
[43] Henderson, *Sermons,* 335; Boyd, *Sermons,* 151.
[44] Boyd, *Sermons,* 151.
[45] Ibid., 148.
[46] Ibid., 149.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Boyd, *Sermons,* 153.
[49] Henderson, *Sermons,* 367. Here, Henderson draws another explicit connection between the context of the Psalms of Ascent and the Scottish Kirk's afflictions under Charles and Laud.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Jackson, *Riots,* 133.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Jackson, *Riots,* 152; Stewart, *Rethinking,* 145.
[54] Boyd, *Sermons,* 167.
[55] Ibid.*,* 171.
[56] Ibid.*,* 168-69.
[57] Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution,* 128.
[58] Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars*, 76-7.
[59] These imprecatory/lament psalms are (in order of the date preached): Psalm 2, Psalm 43, Psalm 142, Psalm 137:4-8 (spread out over four sermons), and Psalm 27. An exception to this new trend is a thanksgiving sermon by Zachary Boyd preached from Psalm 118.

[60] These texts are (in order of the date preached): Psalm 2, Psalm 43, Isaiah 2:1, Exodus 17, Zechariah 1:15, Isaiah 4:14-16, and Hosea 8:1-3.
[61] Johnston, *Diary,* 400.
[62] Ibid.*,* 411.
[63] Calvin, *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, 261.
[64] Dickson, *Select Practical Writings*, 136.
[65] Rutherford, *Quaint Sermons*, 8.
[66] Ibid.*,* 8.
[67] Ibid.*,* 14.
[68] Ibid., 30.
[69] Ibid., 23. A reference to Jeremiah 51.
[70] Ibid., 52.
[71] Ibid., 22.
[72] Isaiah 41:15, KJV.
[73] Rutherford, *Quaint Sermons,* 23.
[74] Ibid., 14.
[75] Ibid., 31.
[76] Ibid., 33.
[77] Ibid.*,* 59.
[78] Ibid., 51.
[79] Ibid., 59.
[80] Langley, "Sheltering Under the Covenant," 144-46.
[81] Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution*, 245.
[82] Ibid.*,* 258-61.
[83] Hewison, *The Covenanters,* 337; Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community*, 133-4.
[84] Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution,* 297.
[85] Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium*, 123-124.
[86] Stewart, *Rethinking,* 132.
[87] Langley, "Sheltering Under the Covenant," 138.
[88] Ibid., 150.
[89] 1 Thessalonians 1:7, KJV; Baillie, "Sermon on 1 Thessalonians 1:7."
[90] Boyd, "Christs Contract with Scotland England and Ireland," 523-524.
[91] Boyd, "Christs Contract," 523.
[92] Ibid., 525.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 528.
[95] Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium,* 120. Gribben argues that this millenarian vision placed the Covenanter commissioners on more common ground with the Independents rather than the English Presbyterians. Gribben also

notes that the Covenant was sent to Protestant nations across Europe with the object of establishing a "pan-European protestant league." Likewise, it was also sworn in the North American colonies, inspiring greater missionary efforts among the Indians. See also Makey, *The Church of The Covenant*, 57.

[96] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium,* 126.

[97] Ibid., 125-6.

[98] From Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals,* cited from Gribben, *Puritan Millenium,* 126.

[99] Gribben, *Puritan Millenium*, 142.

[100] Ibid.*,* 126.

[101] Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 17.

[102] Ibid.*,* 28.

[103] Ibid.*,* 31-32, 33-35.

[104] Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community,* 134.

[105] Of the six ministers appointed as commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, four of them would preach at one time or another before the English Parliament. These four were Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie.

[106] Malachi 3:2, KJV.

[107] Gillespie, *The Works of George Gillespie,* 826.

[108] He also does this in an earlier Parliamentary sermon from March 1644. For an analysis of that sermon, see Gribben, *Puritan Millenium,* 115-45.

[109] Gillespie, *Works*, 832.

[110] Ibid.*,* 839.

[111] Ibid.*,* 840.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.*,* 840-41.

[114] Ibid., 841.

[115] Ibid.*,* 842.

[116] Stewart, *Rethinking*, 247.

[117] Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community,* 134.

[118] Langley, "Making and Remaking the Covenanters," 7.

[119] Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community,* 134.

[120] Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* 99-105; Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 406.

[121] Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions*, 219.

[122] Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution,* 129-40; Benedict, 406.

[123] Benedict, 406.

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