

and the perceived Catholicism of Staley. Staley was convicted and drawn and quartered for the offense of treason. Stater demonstrates the high-stakes consequences that could result from such perceptions of the Catholic ‘other.’

Stater also utilizes several different types of source material, but principally, printed primary sources are the basis of the work, perhaps because it was written during the period of pandemic. Archival sources and various other primary collections supplement the narrative as well. Collectively, these sources allow for a thorough and detailed examination of the Popish Plot. As Stater points out, he has tried to keep the references to a minimum (303). From a scholar’s perspective, it would be great to have more, but the narrative format does align better with a minimal use of footnoted citations. Along with this, Stater did not include a historiographical and analytical treatment of the topic, though the author does include a short, but helpful essay on potential avenues of further inquiry associated with the event. This is especially valuable for the novice reading this work.

As this is an informative work, one will encounter a comprehensive account of the relevant seventeenth century political figures associated with Popish Plot, proceedings of Parliament, and social aspects of urban life in London. I would highly recommend this work to anyone interested in the political, religious, or social history of the seventeenth century, but it is also approachable for a general audience who may have a limited background in later Stuart England.

Chris Langley, ed. *The National Covenant in Scotland 1638–1689*. Woodbridge (Suffolk): Boydell Press, 2020. xii + 248 pp. \$115.00. Review by ROBERT LANDRUM, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA BEAUFORT.

The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant have never lacked for attention. They were enjoined to every parish in the land and subscribed with rapturous enthusiasm in many of them. Events demanded that they be renounced in the Restoration, and they were decried or extolled by polemicists through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until in the 1970s David Stevenson in-

augured a reimagining of them. Stevenson demonstrated that that which had been dismissed as irrational and fanatical was in fact and in practice a rational, conservative, defensive response to extraordinary circumstances. Stevenson's revisionism soon became a foundational consensus that endures to the present. It is a consensus, moreover, that is has been continually refreshed by new scholarship, *The National Covenant in Scotland, 1638–1650* is one of several recent titles that begin where Stevenson led.

If there is a single theme that unites the book's twelve independently-authored chapters, it is diversity. The volume convincingly demonstrates that the Covenants were interpreted in a diversity of ways by diverse audiences. Reaction to them was, at first, divergent, and the uniformity of a "Covenanting Nation" is shown to be a self-conscious near-fiction that the Covenanters themselves created. As the covenants retreated in time, moreover, those who chose to remember them made use of them in diverse ways.

In his introduction, "Making and Remaking the Covenanters," volume editor Chris Langley identifies where *The National Covenant in Scotland, 1638–1689* will reside in the expansive and expanding historiography of the Covenants. He accepts it as obvious that the Covenant of 1638 was a vague document, made deliberately so since it both affirmed and challenged the crown's authority. The Solemn League and Covenant (1643) was also carefully inexact, "a marriage of convenience [which] accorded with the Covenanters political ambitions but did not sit so easily with their religious sensibilities" (7). Both of them, interpreted uniquely by every parish and every parishioner who subscribed them, were nullified by English conquest, but endured as a powerful component of individual and corporate identities up to and beyond the Restoration.

Subscription is the common theme of Jamie MacDougall's "Allegiance, Confession and Covenanting Identities, 1638–51" and Nathan Hood's "Corporate Conversion Ceremonies." MacDougall surveys all of the surviving kirk session and presbytery records to conclude that no two Covenanters agreed on what they subscribed, which for many included a generous dollop of royalism. The Solemn League and Covenant was less encompassing, but any consensus it once represented evaporated in the Engagement crisis in 1648. Hood

discusses the parish subscriptions witnessed by Archibald Johnston [not yet “of Wariston”] to conclude that they were textbook “corporate conversion” experiences (23). He deftly dissects the techniques that Thomas Chartres and Henry Rollock, ministers at Currie and Trinity College kirks respectively, employed to drive their flocks to “sobs, tears, promises and vows” but the narrow base of his evidence prevents any grander conclusions (36).

Individuals were compelled to subscribe the Covenant, but so too were institutions: parishes, synods, municipalities and universities. The latter is the theme connecting chapters three: ‘United Opposition? The Aberdeen Doctors and the National Covenant’ by Russell Newton; and eight, ‘The Engagement the Universities and the Fracturing of the Covenanting Movement’ by Salvatore Cipriano. Russell finds that the Aberdeen Doctors, university theologians who led the burgh in resistance to the Covenant, were neither united nor successful. He disputes several durable beliefs about the Doctors: their remarkable cohesion, their steadfast opposition and their unity of response. Amidst this harsh judgement, however, it should be recalled that all of them were subject to Covenanting coercion. Two conveniently died in August 1639, another capitulated in October, two more were forced into exile and one offered a full recantation in May 1642, some three years after a covenanting army occupied the burgh. Cipriano’s examination of the reforms imposed on the universities is a tale of purges and counter-purges as the Covenanting movement devolved into bitterly opposed factions of Engagers and anti-Engagers, later Protesters and Resolutioners. The warring parties contended to name professors and principals “and thus distill their own competing versions of what made the covenanted nation” (159). All their infighting, however, was rendered moot by the English invasion of 1651, which destroyed the covenanted state and transformed the universities “from the engines of the Covenanting revolution into instruments of the Cromwellian conquest” (160).

Several of the essays focus on the theme of resistance. In ‘Glasgow and the National Covenant in 1638,’ Paul Goatman and Andrew Lind chart the response to the Covenant in Glasgow. There the university, the town council and several members of the city’s ministry avoided subscription for as long as possible and inclined to the king through-

out 1638. A similar tale animates Lind's "Royalism, Resistance and the Scottish Clergy, c. 1638–41." Lind argues that resistance to the Covenant within the ministry was more widespread than is usually assumed. He finds that as many as 10% of Scotland's clerics either refused to sign the Covenant or spoke out against it. They did so as much from political as religious scruples. Eighty-three ministers were deposed between 1638 and 1641, representing 6% of the total, "the largest purge of Scottish clergy since the Reformation" (135).

The theme of diversity of covenanting identities comes to the fore in the second section of the volume. In "A Godly Possession" Louise Yoeman traces the career of Margaret Mitchellson, a young woman who during the crisis of the Covenant was subject to "divine possession" or may, Yoeman suggests, have been an "ecstatically gifted woman" who found that the only way to "gain a public hearing" was to make a spectacle of her "female affective piety" (123). Her work was witnessed by Johnston who employed her to encourage the nascent covenanting movement in the period just before the General Assembly at Glasgow. After the meeting, with the Covenant firmly ensconced in power, Mitchellson's usefulness faded, her sponsors, Johnston and Rollock, withdrew their support, and she retreats from the public records.

Also curiously absent from covenanting memory was the towering figure of Scottish Protestantism, John Knox. In "Reading John Knox in the Scottish Revolution, 1638–50" Chris Langley answers the reasonable question: where was the memory of Knox in the period? In fact, Knox fit uncomfortably into the Covenanting movement. His insufficient opposition to Episcopacy—his moderation—made him an inconvenient hero. By 1639 several different covenanting theorists had constructed a number of "wholly different Knoxes" (104) and so the sixteenth-century leader was never effectively enrolled anywhere in the seventeenth-century crisis.

The final section of the book charts the evolution of memory of the Covenants. In "Remembering the Revolution" Neil McIntyre offers what he says is a "first attempt to examine the ways in which memories of specific events in the Covenanting past came to shape both thought and practice in Restoration Scotland" (164). Among Scots elites in the immediate Restoration period (as expressed in Parliament) "the

recent past had to be reframed to delegitimize the Covenants" (166) and direct official wrath against covenanters. Further down the social scale, others were less willing to forswear the "cause of God" (171). The rebels of the Pentland Rising of 1666 reaffirmed the Covenants and complained that the Solemn League and Covenant "was being 'mis-represented' in public." Later, non-conforming Presbyterians insisted that the "cause [of the Covenants] was constitutionally grounded and their actions legitimate" (172).

In Chapter 10 Allan Kennedy explores how the Covenanting state directly informed its successor. While rejecting the philosophical foundations of its Covenanter predecessor, the Restoration regime sought to co-opt useful features of it. The Covenants themselves were re-imagined as "ipso-facto unlawful" (184) but at the same time oath-taking endured, as did the Covenanters robust taxations schemes and the militarization of the state.

In the final chapter "Who were the Later Covenanters?" Alasdair Raffie rejects entirely the overuse of the term "Covenanter" in the period after 1660. Its "has encouraged misleading interpretations of Restoration Presbyterianism, in which the voices of extremists drown out those of more moderate Scots" (197). Indeed, "mainstream presbyterians" could at one time accept the Restoration regime, with its bishops and books, and sincerely believe "that they upheld the Covenants." (212) To apply the term only to nonconformists is to endorse a "mythologised perspective that celebrates zealots and martyrs" at the expense of many who, like Abbe Seyes, "survived."

Peter Auger. *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. ix + 268 pp. \$94.00. Review by PAUL J. SMITH, LEIDEN UNIVERSITY.

"The first time that I looked through Du Bartas' poetry, I was unsure what to make of it" (1), this is how Peter Auger begins his monograph on *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland*. This initial reader reaction is very recognizable: astonished that Du Bartas enjoyed an undeniable but inexplicable popularity well into the seventeenth century, present-day literary students view his poetry as compulsory