

Marginal importance: Scottish accountability and English watchfulness

Abstract

A contrast between the eighteenth century diaries of an English Dissenter and a Scottish Presbyterian indicates a contrast between English watchfulness and Scottish accountability. Attention to the genres of record keeping in Scotland, with a particular focus on the use of the margin, suggests systemic practices of accountability. The self-examination revealed by the diaries of the faithful needs to be set against the context of taken-for-granted practices in the broader church. Governance routines in the Church of Scotland, derived from belief and promulgated in guidance manuals before being shaped by local practice, shaped a particular culture of accountability founded on detailed record keeping. The value of examining religion as social practice, as opposed to as belief system or institution, is that it points to enduring influences on the conduct of the faithful.

Keywords

Presbyterianism; accountability; self-examination; Scotland; England; diaries

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In his account of the diary of the eighteenth century Leeds clothier and Dissenter, Joseph Ryder, Matthew Kadane observes that “just as conspicuous is the absence of marginal notation of any kind in the diary's main pages, a silence that suggests that writing for the sake of devotional practice was more important to him than reading”.¹ He suggests, following a detailed analysis of Ryder’s diary, that introspection was a feature of English Dissent, with watchfulness over conduct being a central concern. Because of the failure of English Calvinists to establish organizational methods for instilling discipline their focus, he argues, turns inwards, as manifest in practices of self-examination. Guidance, he suggests “authorized and encouraged the laity to relatively independently scrutinize their experience (hence "experimental") and participate in the search for their salvation.”² In this article I use Scottish experience as both a contrast to and a correction of this argument.

The contrast is supplied initially by the unpublished diary of the Scottish Presbyterian Samuel Kevan, a London slater whose diary spanned the years 1789 to 1827.³ In 1789 Kevan noted in the margin “first hint of writing notes of myself”.⁴ With its broad margins and consistent use of indexical notes in them, Kevan’s diary bears remarkable similarities to the record keeping practices of the eighteenth century Church of Scotland. As will be seen, the records of proceedings kept at all levels in the church, but especially at local level, featured devices which enabled them to be reviewed in order to hold officers accountable. These features can be related to broader Scottish practices of accountability, practices which were largely absent in England. This then forms the contrast of the article’s title.

¹ Matthew Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Protestant Capitalist*, (New Haven, 2013), 53.

² Kadane, *Watchful Clothier* (see above n. 1), 47.

³ London, British Library (BL) Add MS 42556, autobiographical memoir and diary of Samuel Kevan.

⁴ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3) 19, 1789.

The correction is that practices of self-examination by diary keeping were not a uniquely English phenomenon, if their casting as watchfulness might have been. The evidence from a number of Scottish diaries suggests the centrality of self-examination for the devout, a centrality which continued beyond the eighteenth century. It is part of Kadane's thesis that a process of relative secularisation, of the transformation of self-interest from a sin to a desirable property, occurred during the second half of the eighteenth century. He links this to the success of Unitarians in the ranks of entrepreneurs. However, while this might have been the case in England, practices of self-examination continued well into the nineteenth century. That they were in tension with and increasingly shaped by secular concerns is an important feature, but these tensions continued far longer in Scotland. However, I argue that to understand this divergence between two sets of religious practices that shared a common theological origin we need to take into account the taken-for-granted practices of governing and running churches, practices which fostered a focus on accountability.

The article starts with a brief discussion of the value, following Foucault, of examining religion as a social practice, with a particular focus on the importance of genre. It then considers different types of marginalia. The best known of these, the often quirky or grotesque illustrations of medieval illuminated manuscripts might seem an odd start, but recent work makes some intriguing links to administrative practices. Marginal annotations on printed documents provided another means of drawing attention to specific passages. Finally, Margo Todd has pointed to the early development of indexical entries in Scottish church records, and this is the main focus for the article. I emphasise the important place of documents in the Reformed tradition in general and in Scottish Presbyterianism in particular. This attention paid to systems of church governance as codified in books of guidance is outlined before a detailed consideration of the format of records is made. This draws our attention to the importance of the margin in systems of accountability. Such systems are covered under three main headings: moral discipline; communion attendance; and financial accountability. These were interlinked and amounted to a complex system of accountability. How

this system then conditioned diary keeping is then explored through an examination of practices of self-examination and accountability in five Scottish diaries spanning the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This enables us to return to the contrast with English Dissent. Here I suggest the benefits of the examination of practices of governance in understanding the distinctive nature of Scottish religious culture.

Religion as social practice: genre and the margin

In his lectures on governmentality, the evolution of forms of governing mass populations through techniques of classification and measurement, Michel Foucault argued for the importance of examining religion as a social practice.⁵ He argued that the history of religion had been preoccupied with belief, especially as expressed in formal theological statements, or with the development of churches as institutions. In examining the history of what he termed “pastoral power” in Western Christianity, he focused in particular on one such practice, that of the confession.⁶ The accuracy or otherwise of his treatment is not at issue here; the value of his approach is in directing our attention to practices which might seem mundane and taken-for-granted but, because of that, shaped the lives of believers. An obvious candidate here is the ritual. The importance of ritual is illuminated by this telling observation cited by Digby Baltzell in his study of nineteenth century Boston and Philadelphia. A prominent Boston Unitarian, he records, commented to an Episcopalian friend “Eliza, do you kneel down in church and call yourself a miserable sinner? Neither I nor any member of my family will ever do that!”⁷ Rituals, that is, are a way of performing religious belief in a way which can be as powerful as commitment to the formal belief systems that create

⁵ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, (Basingstoke, 2009), 150.

⁶ Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, (see above n.6), 171-195.

⁷ E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston And Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership*, (New York, 1979), 367.

such rituals.⁸ However, behind rituals lay other practices, the practices that make the performance of rituals possible. We can label these as routines, those practices of governance that, as it were, 'keep the show on the road'. In studying such routines, organizational scholars have drawn our attention to the importance of genre. In their study of organisational communication, Yates and Orlikowski define a genre as "a typified communicative action invoked in response to a recurrent situation".⁹ Genres in this context are "social institutions that both shape and are shaped by individuals' communicative actions".¹⁰ A focus on genre directs our attention to not only the content of documents and other artefacts, but also to their form. In our case, the key aspect of the genre is the margin.

The marginalia of illustrated medieval documents may seem an unlikely place to start a discussion of eighteenth century diaries. The margins of such documents often featured grotesque or humorous illustrations, frequently seeming to be in tension with the serious messages of the main text. However, Paul Binski has pointed to the relation of such marginalia to new means of using documents. They could act as a specialised means of information retrieval, a visual guide to content playing on symbolism particularly germane to the specialist groups of administrative professionals involved in their production. Pointing to the first appearance of such marginalia in the administrative records of the Vatican, he suggests that many accounts have "underestimated the clerical or secretarial role in its development".¹¹ Where this is important for our discussion is in pointing to the value of the margin in documents as a repository for signalling and the place of such signalling in the practices of administrative specialists. This is developed to a high degree in an artefact of considerable significance for the current discussion, the Geneva Bible. Featuring extensive marginal notes which articulated a particular theological position and which constituted a self-study course


⁸ Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, (Baltimore, 1993), 62.

⁹ Joanne Yates and Wanda Orlikowski, "Genres of organizational communication: a structurational approach to studying communication and media", *Academy of Management Review*, 17, (1992), 301.

¹⁰ Yates and Orlikowski, "Genres" (see above n.10), 300.

¹¹ Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style, 1290-1350*, (New Haven, 2014), 294.

for the faithful, this achieved widespread adoption in sixteenth century Britain. Of particular note is the fact that in 1579 it was the first bible to be printed in Scotland and by act of the Scottish Parliament was to be purchased by every substantial householder.¹²

Another use for the margin is annotation, where the reader highlights specific passages as an indication of importance and as an aide memoire to interpretation. In his discussion of the roots of English Nonconformity, for example, Patrick Collinson points out that Archbishop “Grindal only rarely annotated his books. But his pen was never still as he read the Ambrosian epistles.”¹³ Such marginalia, that is, can give us an indication of what was regarded as important. These two uses of the margin, as guides to retrieval and indicators of importance can be seen in the use of the margin to contain indexes, that is, a short indication of content. In the seventeenth century diary of the Puritan clergyman Ralph Josselin, Alan Macfarlane notes that he “sometimes drew a hand in the margin  presumably to emphasize some observation in the Diary.”¹⁴ For example, the first such use was on 17 January 1644/5 to indicate “I have often observed my liberality or rather my poor mite employed for the publike, or upon others indigent hath returned in with gaine and advantage.”¹⁵ However, there was no particular consistency of either subject matter or date to such usage. In the entry for 24 June 1650, for example, he uses the same symbol to point to the purchase of a cow, followed on 13 November 1650 to the content of a dream.¹⁶ Josselin also included marginal notes, such as texts that he had read or, more consistently “the value of my outward estate which god hath given mee” which appeared against an entry in March/April of each year from 1650 to 1658 (a form of accounting of which more below).¹⁷

¹² Maurice Betteridge, “The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14, (1983), 44.

¹³ Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*, (London, 1983), 122.

¹⁴ Alan Macfarlane, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683*, (Oxford, 1976), xvi.

¹⁵ Macfarlane, *Josselin*, (see above n.15), 32.

¹⁶ Macfarlane, *Josselin*, (see above n.15), 194, 208.

¹⁷ Macfarlane, *Josselin*, (see above n.15), 194.

However, for a more refined and developed use of marginal indexes we need to turn to Scotland. In her edition of the session records of Perth from 1577 to 1590, Margo Todd suggests that the clerk developed a sophisticated system of marginal references to the discipline registers. By such means he could see whether the decisions of the session had been followed through, by, for example, tracking the number of times a penitent had fulfilled public discipline. One can imagine, she suggests, “the clerk taking the session book with him to church and keeping his accounts of penitence and bans as they happened. If a sinner failed to complete the required penalty, a glance at the margins would alert the clerk to have the officer summon the offender again.”¹⁸ This, of course, would depend on the contemporaneous writing up of minutes, something which later evidence might suggest was often not the case. Despite this, however, it is important to note Todd’s verdict that “Perth’s session clerks deserve a place in the history of early modern bureaucracy, and those who would understand the pervasiveness and efficiency of Reformed discipline would do well to attend to bureaucratic convention, not just theology and preaching.”¹⁹ This emphasis on religion as a matter of social practice, involving genres of record keeping, is significant in the discussion that follows. It draws our attention to the importance of record keeping in Scottish Presbyterian practice and the formulation and promulgation of formal guidance about such records.

Guidance and record keeping in Scottish Presbyterianism.

Matters of ecclesiology were central to those following the Calvinist stream of Reformed Protestantism. Perhaps shaped by Calvin’s own training in the law, currents in France, England, Scotland and the Netherlands, as well as Geneva, sought to formulate systems for church governance. So “between 1586 and 1589”, notes Collinson, “the English Presbyterians were busy hammering out their own Book of Discipline, which was under discussion in their classes and synods up to the time when the Presbyterian movement was broken up by vigorous episcopal and

¹⁸ Margo Todd (ed) *The Perth Kirk Session Books 1577-1590*, (Woodbridge, 2012), 33.

¹⁹ Todd, *Perth Kirk Sessions* (see above n.19), 33.

government intervention.”²⁰ The Scottish experiments in Presbyterian governance were strongly influenced by innovations in France.²¹ However, it was in Scotland that, thanks to particular historical conjunctures, the Reformed tradition was able to impose itself as a national church, supported by the civil power.²² As Kyle notes “Though John Knox did not write a treatise on ecclesiology per se, church considerations occupied an important, if not dominant, position in his writings.”²³ The *First Book of Discipline* laid out a system for governance in which record keeping was implicit in injunctions for financial accountability. As a minimum some system for retaining vouchers to support expenditure is assumed in the injunction that “the tickets for these must be delivered to the Superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great Council of the Church, that the abundance as well as the indigence of every church may be evidently known, and that a reasonable equality may be had throughout the whole realm”.²⁴ However, the form and nature of records is not explicit here. It was under Melville that presbyteries emerged as central bodies for enforcing church discipline in place of the superintendents envisaged by the first wave of reformers. What the *Second Book of Discipline* established, according to Kirk was a “particularly orderly exposition of the church and its ministry.”²⁵ These two books set in train a tradition of central guidance in establishing systems of governance, albeit ones in which, while roles were explicitly laid down, the accompanying records were implicit. However, the local records of the emerging kirk showed how this was being tackled on the ground before the statutory recognition of presbyteries in 1592.

²⁰ Collinson, *Godly People*, (see above n.14), 266.

²¹ Janet Macgregor, *The Scottish Presbyterian Polity: A Study of its Origins in the Sixteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1926), 136.

²² Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, (Manchester, 2006), 204.

²³ R. Kyle, “The Nature of the Church in the Thought of John Knox”, *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 37, (1984), 485.

²⁴ John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland; With which are Included Knox's Confession and the Book of Discipline. A Twentieth Century Edition* revised and edited by Cuthbert Lennox. (London, 1905), 395.

²⁵ James Kirk, *The Second Book of Discipline*, (Edinburgh, 1980), 57.

In 1586 the presbytery of Stirling specified the records that were to be kept by constituent sessions.²⁶ There was to be a book of discipline to record decisions taken by the session, together with details of births, deaths and marriages, as well as a roll of the poor and distributions for their relief. There could be one register or several, but all had to be produced when required for presbyterial 'revision'. Thus in March 1583 the session books of St Ninians, Airth, Logie and Aberfoyle were 'visited', agreed and returned to their ministers. At an early stage, that is, the church established a system of record keeping, one in which practice, perhaps emergent from merchant waste books, perhaps from earlier traditions of clerical record keeping, developed means of recording and indexing decisions. Such traditions then formed the basis for later guidance. In 1650, for example, the synod of Aberdeen ordered that a "platform for ordering session books" be engrossed in each presbytery and session register. The first injunction was that "That there be ane weell bound book of good paper, paged throughout, keeping a fair equable margent for the compend of acts."²⁷ There followed a further 26 injunctions, covering both the format of records and their content. What is important here is the accountability envisaged by the form of record keeping, which would use marginal indexes to provide easy reference both for internal use and for those charged with inspecting the documents. For a system of the regular 'visitation' of records at all levels of the church was envisaged. That such a system was only partial in its implementation should not detract from the ambition, nor from the belief in accurate and comprehensive recording and accountability inherent in that ambition.

This commitment survived the changes in the broader structure of the church that saw the reintroduction of bishops in the Restoration period. Even under episcopacy the basics of visitations remained the same. In the presbytery of Fordoun between 1677 and 1688 a record of visitations describes, amongst other questions, the scrutiny of parochial registers: "they had visited the said book and yt they found both the minister and session were careful to censure the Scandelous in the

²⁶ James Kirk (ed) *Stirling Presbytery Records 1581-1587*, (Edinburgh, 1981), 253.

²⁷ John Davidson, *Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch. A Topographical and Historical Account of the Garioch from the Earliest Times to the Revolution Settlement*, (Edinburgh, 1878), 313-5.

place and zeal in his administering of discipline & found them both zealous and impartial the book was approved and the clerk appointed to subscribe it in testimony yrof".²⁸ This continuing tradition was returned to after the reestablishment of presbyterian government in 1692. An anonymous author proposed a set of *Overtures Concerning the Discipline and Method of Proceeding in the Ecclesiastick Judicatories in the Church of Scotland for the Consideration of the General Assembly* in 1696. It was explicitly seen as completing the project of providing a "Compleat Directory for the discipline of the Church" and particular attention was paid to the format of record keeping. Drawing on the traditions we have already seen operating at local level, it laid down that

This Register is to be paged, and a large margaine; Whereon the title or subject of the Acts and Orders, are to be indexed, for the more speedy finding anything; As also there ought to be a fair Index, and the end of each Book, of all the contents, and that Alphabetical²⁹

These proposals were debated over the next few years and, while the guidance was never formally adopted in full, it did form a central part of eighteenth century activities.³⁰ After a period of revision, a renewed attempt was made in 1704 to promulgate a complete set of *Overtures* on church discipline. They included the injunction that

In the fair register, the Clerk is to extend in ample form, and record all the acts, votes, and resolutions of the judicatory, after they are revised by order of the judicatory, and that without any interlinings, blanks, or blottings of words or pages; and that this register be paged, and have a large indexed margin.³¹

²⁸ Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland (NRS), CH2/157/13 Presbytery of Fordoun, minutes of presbytery visitations 1677-1688, 20 June 1677, 5.

²⁹ Anon, *Overtures Concerning the Discipline and Method of Proceeding in the Ecclesiastick Judicatories in the Church of Scotland: Humbly tendered to the consideration of the several presbyteries, and to be by them prepared for the next, or some ensuing General Assembly* (Edinburgh, 1696), 5.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of the process, see Alistair Mutch, "To bring the work to greater perfection!": systematising governance in the Church of Scotland 1696-1800', *Scottish Historical Review*, 93, (2014), 240-261.

³¹ Church Law Society, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842*, (Edinburgh 1843), 339-40.

As will be seen, this continued the emphasis, albeit re-worded, on margins and indexes. In 1707, with the spur of forthcoming union with England, the General Assembly extracted from these documents a *Form of Process*, which was to govern proceedings in church bodies, laying down evidential and procedural rules. The remaining sections were never formally adopted, in part because of the press of other business but also in part because their place was taken by a book of *Collections and Observations Methodiz'd; Concerning the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland* produced by the activist elder Walter Steuart of Pardovan.³² Pardovan's *Collections* became widely adopted as the standard work on Presbyterian church governance. They continued much of the focus of the earlier *Overtures* (indeed, Pardovan may have been central to their formulation), including that on the importance of record keeping. He assumed the importance of the margin, as before, laying down that

All sentences and acts are to be filled up in the records, as all other things should be, according to the priority of their being voted or agreed unto, and that although no extract hath been, or perhaps ever may be called for. And when any thing is omitted in the body of a record, it may be written on the margin, which the moderator and clerk must subscribe again. When anything is delete, let it be marked delete on the margin, and subscribed as the other, counting the lines or words blotted out. But interlinings are most improper, and derogatory to that credit which a record should bear. Further, when any blank is left in the record, and yet there is nothing wanted, it may be scored, or which is more proper, filled up with nihil hic deest; which words may be lengthened or shortened according to the bounds of the blank³³

That these injunctions had some impact in practice can be seen from visitation records. Especially in the early years of the eighteenth century, the Church made a determined effort to

³² Walter Steuart, *Collections and Observations Methodiz'd; Concerning the worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1709).

³³ Steuart, *Collections* (see above n. 33), 94-5.

implement a systematic programme of parochial visitations. In these, members of the presbytery were to visit the parish and ask questions of the minister, the session and the congregation. Supplementary to this was the examination of records. Now, it is fair to note that this programme of visitation was neither complete nor sustained.³⁴ In practice it proved impractical and possibly even counter-productive. However, evidence of attention to the standard of record keeping, and to the margins of such records, can be found in visitation records. So, following a visitation of South Leith by the presbytery of Edinburgh in 1710, the session were urged to “keep the order of their Minutes and see that their Register have Margins and that absent Members be inquired anent”.³⁵ At Dunbog in the presbytery of Cupar the session was “to leave a large Margent and that every particular be marked there”.³⁶ The presbytery of Dundee were far more critical in their verdict on the records of Kinfauns in the same year:

Did in the general judge the whole proceedings & actings of the said Session to be very unfavourably and insufficiently Clerked, there being many words ill spelled, instances whereof were read before the presbyterie, the book not sufficiently margined, the minutes for the most part being too curtly marked and not so extended as the matters contained therein can be understood: the several affairs transacted in the Session thrown together in a confused manner and not distinguished by paragraphs; Causes of fasts and Thanksgivings not specified; the accompts of money Charge and Discharge not at length recorded; the Admonitions and Censures of the Session toward such as confesst their sins not recorded at all, tho the Minister and Elders declared they never failed therein; A difference said to be removed betwixt the Clerk and an Elder, yet what the difference was, not told: Several things Misplaced, as particularly Wood and Runcimans fornication: a great many things marked between the meetings of the Session, whereas nothing ought to be recorded but

³⁴ For the rise and fall of visitations, and the system in which they were inserted, see Alistair Mutch, *Religion and National Identity: Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 2015), 56-67.

³⁵ NRS CH2/121/7 presbytery of Edinburgh 1708-1711, 28 June 1710, 329.

³⁶ NRS CH2/82/4 presbytery of Cupar, 16 May 1710, 65.

when the Session is mett and constitute; many improper phrases used through the whole book³⁷

They went as far as to formally censure Andrew Petrie the clerk, and warned him that on the first report of any future error he should be removed from office. Now, it cannot be argued that these efforts met with complete success. Examples of scrappy session minutes could be found across the century. Nevertheless a genre emerged and was consolidated by such guidance and monitoring in which registers featured a broad left-hand margin which contained indexes of each decision, decisions which were contained in discrete paragraphs. This genre was remarkably close to that found in the diary of Samuel Kevan, but before turning to it, and other diaries of the period, it will help to further understand the practices of accountability which detailed record keeping facilitated.

Moral, spiritual and financial accountability in Scottish presbyterianism

The most visible and notorious example of accountability was the public discipline of offenders against church discipline.³⁸ Often connected with offences of a sexual nature, offenders were to suffer public humiliation by standing in a place of repentance in full view of the congregation for the duration of the service, during which the nature of the offence would be explicated by the minister. Depending on the offence, penitents could be forced to endure repeated instances. In the earlier years this could be compounded by being obliged to wear sackcloth. Over the eighteenth century penalties tended to be eased, with public penitence being replaced by monetary fines and appearance in front of the session. Before such public performance, however, there were carefully managed proceedings, guided by the *Form of Process*. Witnesses were called and examined, with their evidence being recorded in considerable detail. The language used was redolent of that of a court of law, replete with Latin phrases. One minister, in a later commentary on church discipline, observed that, “there is no doubt, however, that after the adoption of the *Form of*

³⁷ NRS CH2/299/7 presbytery of Perth minutes 1705-1710, 8 January 1710, 294.

³⁸ Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660-1780*, (Oxford, 1989).

Process, its legalistic nature made discipline more and more difficult".³⁹ For our purpose, what is significant is the seriousness with which records were kept, something reinforced by the often pedantic scruples of those who inspected them at visitations. It is right to note that practice was not consistent across parishes. There was also a reduction in the amount of content over the century, although the rules of the genre were broadly adhered to. However, the general impression was of records being kept in the pursuit of a system of accountability.

There were other, partially hidden, forms of this accountability, but ones which were of considerable importance to the devout. Communion was the central ritual of the year.⁴⁰ Held in the vast majority of parishes only once a year and open only to those considered worthy, it involved a range of examination practices. The initial hurdle for admission was basic religious knowledge as expressed in the catechism that was examined by the minister before communion. In many parishes either he, or the session, kept a list of those examined which was scrutinised for any changes. Those considered worthy of admission were issued with communion tokens, small lead pieces often marked with the year and the parish, which were to be presented to the elders who guarded the approaches to the communion table. In some parishes, these tokens were then counted to get an accurate picture of the number of communicants. The communion season was also an opportunity to examine the general spiritual and moral health of the parish. In Dalrymple, Ayrshire, in 1730, "those of the Session who met at over Sheldon, according to a late appointment to speak with some people of the Kersland, who were said to have some Differences amongst them," reported that these appear to have been patched up. However, one of these parishioners who appeared the following day to collect his token, "was charged by the Session with having sworn by the Name of

³⁹ Ivo Macnaughton Clark, *A History of Church Discipline in Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1929), 179.

⁴⁰ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism*, second edition, (Grand Rapids, MI, 2001).

God that his Sister Daughter [sic] should not sit in a certain seat in the Kirk".⁴¹ He confessed his remorse for his offence and was granted a token after being admonished to mend his ways.

While the communion season, as memorably satirised by Burns in "The Holy Fair", was for many an opportunity for socialising, for the devout it was a solemn occasion in which they frequently agonised about their suitability to partake. It was necessary to scrutinise their conduct and to this end printed guides were available to direct their reflections. In 1737 William Trail, minister of Benholm published the second edition of his *Some brief rules and directions concerning the great duty of self-examination both before and after the Sacrament of the Lord's supper. Published for a help to those of weaker capacities in the management of that duty*. He exhorted his readers to not just examine their actions before communion, although that was a key focus, but also to

Learn to keep your Eye upon your Heart ordinarily and habitually, and be looking to the Frame of your Heart daily in ordinary Reading, Prayer, or other Duties, whether publick, private or secret, and take a short View after every Duty, how it has been with you in it; this will help to make stated Self-examination more easy.⁴²

His 45 pages of advice were issued in pocket book format, deliberately aimed at a literate but less well-off audience, as he explained when justifying the lack of detailed quotations from the Bible to support his formulations:

had I done this, the many Citations would have swell'd the Book so much, and raised the Price, that the poorer sort, for whom it was chiefly design'd, could not so easily procure a

⁴¹NRS CH2/87/2 Dalrymple, 11 August, 35; 12 August 1730, 35.

⁴² William Trail, *Some Brief Rules and Directions Concerning the Great Duty of Self-Examination both Before and After The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Published for a Help to those of Weaker Capacities in the Management of that Duty*. Second edition, enlarged. (Aberdeen, 1737), 5.

copy: Whereas, if they have their Bibles by them, they may look to the Citations, if they do not remember the Words.⁴³

One of his readers, as we will see, was Samuel Kevan. However, before turning to his diary, and those of other Scots, we need to consider a further dimension of accountability which also utilised, but eventually overflowed, the margin: financial accountability.

Kirk sessions were responsible for the collection and distribution of money for poor relief.⁴⁴ Although assessments for a stent to relieve the poor were found in some parishes, especially in the south east and towards the end of the century, the main source of income for this purpose was collections at services, supplemented by fees, penalties and bequests. This money was collected by nominated elders and recorded by the treasurer in conjunction with the session clerk. Rolls of the poor, generally those too old or infirm to work, were kept and distributions to them recorded. Practices varied across parishes in the way in which such transactions were recorded. In some separate 'money registers' were kept from the beginning of the seventeenth century, but in many more financial transactions were embedded in the text.⁴⁵ Gradually one sees a process, especially in Aberdeenshire parishes, of a migration of such transactions to the margins.⁴⁶ In Chapel of Garioch in 1750 a right hand page margin was ruled which contained figures, although with income and expenditure mixed up. In other parishes in the same presbytery such as Inverurie, for example, as early as 1716 the minutes had separate columns on each page for charge and discharge, again on the right of the page, with a running total being struck at the foot of each page. Gradually such columns migrated, first to the back of discipline registers and then into separate registers.

⁴³ Trail, *Brief Rules*, (see above n. 43), 3.

⁴⁴ Rosalind Mitchison, *The Old Poor Law in Scotland: The Experience of Poverty, 1574-1845*, (Edinburgh, 2000); J. McPherson, *The Kirk's Care of the Poor, With Special Reference to the North-East of Scotland*, (Aberdeen, 1945).

⁴⁵ Alistair Mutch, 'Data mining the archives: the emergence of separate books of account in the Church of Scotland 1608-1800', *Scottish Archives*, 18, (2012). 78-94.

⁴⁶ Alistair Mutch, 'Systemic accountability and the governance of the Kirk: the Presbytery of Garioch in the eighteenth century', *Northern Scotland*, 3, (2012), 45-65.

The purpose of such records was to facilitate reconciliations between the cash held in the poor box, the decisions of the session and the balance struck from the accounting records. These reconciliations are usually noted in considerable detail, often in rather ponderous language, as in the following from Rayne, Aberdeenshire, in July 1750:

And then proceeding to revise the treasurers account & having diligently collated and compared them with the accounts kept by their clerk and finding them to agree in omnibus found that the hail money intromitted with by him from the Day of last clearance (vide page 61 & 62) amounts to the sum of Ninety six pounds ten shillings & Eight pennies Scots money That he had at sundry times from the date foresaid with the knowledge of the session & by their orders & with their special approbation including the articles in his Discharge of this Date debursed all & whole the sum of sixty three pounds three shillings & four pennies Scots money, from whence it appeared that the sum remaining in his hands & now to be accounted for by him is thirty three pounds seven shillings & four pennies Scots.⁴⁷

Such reconciliations took place annually or half-yearly and were the means by which not only was the treasurer held accountable for his stewardship, but decisions could be taken on the use of the balances that had often accumulated. Once again, detailed record keeping supported a system of accountability.

What this brief outline should indicate is the way in which accountability, moral, spiritual and financial, was imbricated at all levels of the church. It was part of the taken-for-granted common sense way of organizing of those who were committed to the church and its beliefs. This forms an essential context to the practices of accountability that are found in the diaries of the devout, to which we turn next.

⁴⁷NRS CH2/310/5 Rayne, 25 July 1750, 71.

Diaries and accountability

Samuel Kevan was certainly fully part of the milieu of Scottish Presbyterianism. Biographical details at the beginning of his manuscript reflect on the intense commitment of his father to Presbyterianism, which drew on the Covenanting traditions of south west Scotland. His son drew on these traditions in his search for a suitable congregation in London, embarking on an intense programme of reading in order to seek answers to his spiritual doubts. Among the texts he consulted was William Trail's short guide to self-examination.⁴⁸ His diary was used to provide materials to account to himself for his activities over the year. On 4 January 1799 he noted "having glanced over this Last years Acct I Bless his name it seemd the best I ever spent".⁴⁹ This was in the context of his spiritual health. Although over the course of the diary his worldly affairs prospered, such that he set up in business for himself as a master slater in 1808, his diary shows a preoccupation with moral and spiritual accounting. In June 1799, having returned to London from a contract in Suffolk he "when the Evening came Pos'd myself with some Questions about spending the day, the State of my Soul &. This was a day of Quickening to my soul – and worth a thousand."⁵⁰ As well as these regular bouts of self-doubt and self-examination, much as Trail would prescribe, he also used his diary for reviews. On the 16 January 1803, for example, he noted "good part of forenoon looking over last years acct".⁵¹ The turn of the year was a regular opportunity to engage in such reviews.

In this, Kevan was not alone. We can turn to some more diaries kept by devout lay Presbyterians. George Brown was a Glasgow merchant, son of a church elder and bookseller. His diary ran from 1745 to 1753 and was printed for private circulation in the nineteenth century.⁵² Adam Mackie was a farmer, merchant and innkeeper in the small Aberdeenshire village of Fyvie. His

⁴⁸ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3), 1791, 24.

⁴⁹ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3), 4 January 1799, 58

⁵⁰ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3), 28 June 1799, 69.

⁵¹ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3)., 3 January 1803, 107.

⁵² George Brown, *Diary of George Brown, Merchant in Glasgow 1745-1753*, (Edinburgh, 1856).

diary, later transcribed by a relative, covered the years 1818 to 1828.⁵³ Charles Cowan, whose diary has formed the basis for a consideration of Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis, was a leading paper manufacturer in Penicuik, outside Edinburgh.⁵⁴ He was a church elder who left the Church of Scotland in the 'Disruption' of 1843, when large numbers of ministers and laypeople formed the Free Church in opposition to the lay patronage of ministerial positions. His diary covers the periods 1833–36 and 1842–46. Finally, the diary of John Sturrock, a millwright in Dundee, is a rare example of a working class diary. Covering the years 1864-5, it was transcribed by a relative and later published.⁵⁵

These diaries suggest that a distinctive genre had emerged, where the common thread was a focus on recording activities for subsequent review and reflection. For Mackie,

This book is purposed for writing down occurrences, passing events and designed to serve as a refreshment of mind afterwards, and to be a sort of diary wherein I may write what manner I have spent my time whether in labour, study, business, pleasure or idleness. Also to be a taskmaster which I may suppose asks the question every night: *What have you done this day?* (emphasis in original)⁵⁶

The diary was not to support occasional reflection, but ideally was to prompt on-going self-examination. For Kevan the purpose of diary keeping was to be "useful to myself for Humiliation, for Gratitude & thankfulness."⁵⁷ Sturrock's diary was prompted by a particular event, his securing of employment at the Lilybank Foundry. His hours there were long, with his diary recording working days stretching to midnight as mills were fitted out. But the diary was not primarily to account for working time, but to be a record

⁵³ David Stevenson (ed) (compiled by William Mackie) *The Diary of a Canny Man 1818-1828: Adam Mackie Farmer, Merchant and Innkeeper in Fyvie*, (Aberdeen, 1991).

⁵⁴ Sam McKinstry and Ying Yong Ding, "Alex Cowan & Sons Ltd, Papermakers, Penicuik: a Scottish case of Weber's Protestant Work Ethic", *Business History*, 55, (2013) 721-739; Alan McKinlay and Alistair Mutch, "'Accountable Creatures': Scottish Presbyterianism, accountability and managerial capitalism", *Business History*, 57, (2014), 1-16.

⁵⁵ Christopher Whatley, *The Diary of John Sturrock, Millwright, Dundee, 1864-65*, (East Linton, 1996).

⁵⁶ Stevenson, *Diary*, (see above, n. 54), 3.

⁵⁷ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3), 15 August 1829, i.

of how I spend my leisure time, as much perhaps from curiosity as any other thing, but as I intend to keep a true and faithful record of how I spend and where I spend every evening, together with some of the more particular occurrences of my daily life, also my correspondence, thoughts and feelings, and any particular mood or frame of mind I may be in, I may be able to form an estimate of how I have spent my leisure time, whether I have been trifling it away or turning it to any particular advantage.⁵⁸

Accounting for time was taken to its logical conclusion in Cowan's diary, where a pro-forma, printed by his own firm, was used to record the amount of time spent on business and spiritual matters, with the latter being split into personal and church affairs.

In a memorable turn of phrase, Mackie observed in January 1826 "May we ever keep in mind that we are accountable creatures".⁵⁹ This focus on accountability was particularly stressed in the self-examination triggered by the turn of a new year. On the last day of 1746 George Brown lamented that he had slipped far below the standards he aspired to:

My predominant have been an inordinate love of worldly riches, and excess of affection to one I wanted to be settled in m—d state in the world (with). These evils have led me to others, viz., wandering in duty, publick, private and secret, fretting and murmuring at disappointments, joined with excessive wrath at the causes of these disappointments; but my leading sin has been pride and unbelief.⁶⁰

The importance of the diary was that it could show how time had been used. As John Sturrock wistfully noted on the last day of 1864, "Another year is now past. Another measure of time is gone. Gone forever beyond our reach and whether we have improved it or trifled it away there is now no remedy".⁶¹ However, the end of year and its associated reflection could also provide a spur to do

⁵⁸ Whatley, *Diary*, (see above, n. 56), 29.

⁵⁹ Stevenson, *Diary*, (see above, n. 54), 33 January 1826, 41.

⁶⁰ Brown, *Diary*, (see above, n. 53), 31 December 1746, 277.

⁶¹ Whatley, *Diary*, (see above, n. 56), 31 December 1864, 46.

better in future. Kevan noted in January 1827 that “I have been trying to recount my many Sins & failings – all in me aggravated in the highest degree. Many a time I have said both in public & private that I was the Lords, yet as often in works deny him.”⁶² As Adam Mackie observed at the beginning of 1824, “Now I pray God, who hath abundantly provided for me throughout life, may make this day to me the birthday of my soul, born again by the regenerating influence of Grace through Jesus Christ, that while diligent in business I may be fervent in spirit”.⁶³ What we note here is the balance between secular and spiritual affairs tilting, so that the annual review is not only of spiritual health, as in Brown’s case, but of secular success. Mackie noted his business success at the beginning of 1825 but qualified it with

However it is all justly earned. I make a point in dealing fair with my customers and I find it is my interest to do so. I use every person civilly with little ceremony. I keep the best articles the price will afford, and my method of doing business is in selling is seldom to ask more than I take and in buying country produce I endeavour to ascertain the proper prices for the time and seldom offer less than is accepted. This method saves much time and argument and I succeed I may say to my wishes.⁶⁴

A focus on spiritual accounting, that is, could easily slip into accounting for secular affairs.

What is noticeable in the Scottish diaries is the focus on accounting for conduct that Kadane argues is missing from Joseph Ryder’s diary. It is not that there are not hints of such a focus on accountability in other English diaries. The much earlier diary of Ralph Josselin, somebody who could be said to stand in the same broad tradition as Ryder, contains some hints of accounting in the sense we have been discussing. The occasions here were either his birthday or Lady Day (25 March), which at the time was regarded as the start of a new year. On 26 March 1658, for example, he recorded “I am resolved through grace to attend my studdies and preaching more than ever ... my mind here of

⁶² Add MS 42556, (see above n.3), , 1 January 1827, 411.

⁶³ Stevenson, *Diary*, (see above, n. 54), 3 January 1824, 39.

⁶⁴ Stevenson, *Diary*, (see above, n. 54), 3 January 1825, 66.

late more distraught with worldly fond musings than some years formerly.”⁶⁵ However, there is no evidence of his using the diary, or his very scattered marginal references, to review past conduct in any detail. What is noticeable is that on each Lady Day, or thereby, in the years 1650 to 1668 is a note of his accumulated wealth, as he acquired more land in the parish. The intermixing of spiritual and secular concerns is seen nicely in this entry for 27 March 1664

When I come to review the wayes of god toward mee in the yeare past, I find mercy and truth, he still smiles on us, he hath added a little Rebekah to our number and the rest grow up. My publique libertie strangely continued unto mee, and people, I have purchased this yeare a close ...⁶⁶

In other respects the spiritual agonising about conduct is present across all these diaries. The focus on recording the fruits of providence is common. What seems distinctive is the Scottish focus on accountability. A contemporary of Josselin, the Essex clergyman John Beadle, produced in 1656 a guide to keeping a spiritual diary, *A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*. The editor of a critical edition of his work suggests that

the accounting terminology and business vocabulary Beadle and John Fuller consciously use throughout *A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian* also betray a deliberate effort to adapt this language and theory of "reckoning" to personal diary writing. Beadle borrows Pacioli's and his English successors' ideas concerning the purpose of accounting and applies them to the keeping of a spiritual journal. For Beadle, and for many diarists of the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, the diary becomes a conflated spiritual version of the memorandum, the Journal, the Ledger, and the Remembrance book of bookkeeping practice.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Macfarlane, *Josselin*, (see above n.15), 26 March 1658, 421.

⁶⁶ Macfarlane, *Josselin*, (see above n.15), 27 March 1664, 507.

⁶⁷ Germaine Fry Murray, *A Critical Edition of John Beadle's A Journall or Diary of a Thankfull Christian*, (London, 1996), li.

She relates this in turn to Beadle's careful keeping of parish records and possible bookkeeping training. However, a close inspection of the text indicates that it was his friend and colleague, John Fuller, who paid most attention to accounting in his introduction to the work. "Every true believer, "argued Fuller, "is a Merchant adventurer, whose returns must be greater than his ventures, or he cannot live."⁶⁸ Beadle does certainly exhort his readers to use their diary to review their conduct, but the language of accountability is missing. Certainly, if we contrast it to a slightly later Scottish text, James Clark's *The Spiritual Merchant: or, the Art of Merchandizing Spiritualized* of 1703, the difference is a stark one. The language of accounting runs throughout Clark's work, from its opening context of Clark's training in merchant accounts in the Netherlands to its injunctions to "Frequentlie look into your Count-books, & take a survey of the state of your affairs, examine your own selves, prove your own selves."⁶⁹ If we are to look for "the increased knowledge of accounting theory and practise, the language of which was ingrained in the Puritans who made up a substantial portion of the new merchant middle class" then a more convincing source for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is to be found in Scotland.⁷⁰

Conclusion: watchfulness and accountability

The evidence from the Scottish diaries seems to suggest the need to modify Kadane's focus on the Englishness of self-examination through practices of diary keeping. The existence "of external forms of power and discipline that transformed places like Geneva, Scotland or the Netherlands, where Calvinism was made institutional", did not obviate the need or the desire of the devout to examine their activities.⁷¹ The same focus on providentialism, the same concerns with the snares of worldly success, the same feelings of self-doubt, permeate the Scottish diaries. What was different, and where the impact of that wider institutional context was felt, was in the Scottish focus on accountability. While Ryder, as Kadane argues, was writing his faith into being through his diary, the

⁶⁸ Murray, *John Beadle*, (see above n. 68), 3.

⁶⁹ James Clark, *The Spiritual Merchant: or, the Art of Merchandizing Spiritualized*, (Glasgow,1703), vii, 149.

⁷⁰ Murray, *John Beadle*, (see above n. 68), xxxvi.

⁷¹ Kadane, *Watchful Clothier* (see above n. 1), 47.

Scottish diarists were just as assiduous in their writing practices, but these were turned towards accountability. Annual reviews of spiritual health at the turn of the year were common place, aided by the prompts to memory supplied by the diary. In the case of Samuel Kevan, the link to broader church practices seems to be written into the format of his diary, which mirrored the genre of Scottish kirk registers.

In turn, that genre was developed in part through practice but also in part through the issuing of detailed guidance. These detailed books, laying out a whole system of roles and responsibilities, were a distinctive feature of Scottish practice. However, they could not spell out every aspect of local practice, with formats for the recording of financial transactions, for example, being developed in the localities. Despite the local variation which this engendered, there was a common core of accountability. We can term this 'systemic accountability', by which is meant the specification of a carefully balanced network of roles in which the accountability adhered in the role not in the character of the person holding it. Performance in the role could be assessed by means of detailed records, records which could be scrutinised to hold officers to account. This accountability needs to be linked to a detailed examination of taken-for-granted practices of accountability at the local level. Kadane mentions that Ryder may have been a deacon at the Call Lane chapel, responsible for the distribution of congregational charity, although in another account he suggests he was an elder.⁷² The records do not exist for Kadane to be able to explore this further and Ryder's diary only allows inferences to be made, but this seems an aspect that is undeveloped. One assumes that Independent chapels in England had some form of accountability practices, but these are not explored. What they clearly lacked by definition was a national system of presbyteries, synods and General Assembly which in Scotland provided a broad system of accountability.⁷³ The extent to which Dissenters in England drew on Scottish models, such as that supplied by Pardovan, would be a

⁷² Kadane, *Watchful Clothier* (see above n. 1), 190; Matthew Kadane, "Success and Self-Loathing in the Life of an Eighteenth-Century Entrepreneur", in Margaret Jacob and Catherine Secretan, *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists*, (Basingstoke, 2009), 256.

⁷³ Michael Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution*, (Oxford, 1978), 290.

topic meriting further investigation. We know that Pardovan's book was influential in the United States; it would be interesting to know if, for example, it had any influence in the Dissenting Academies.⁷⁴ It is here that cross border influences might be found. Ashton's account of the origins of the industrial revolution points to Scottish educational traditions as an inspiration to the Dissenting Academies which, he argues, "did for England in the eighteenth century something of what the universities did for Scotland".⁷⁵

What does seem distinctive is the divergence that Kadane points to in the years that follows Ryder's diary. Ryder was in the traditions of 'Old Dissent', but already hints of the theological developments which were to lead to Unitarianism were present. The shift from spiritual to moral concerns in sermons can also be tracked in the tensions between the Moderate and Popular parties in Scotland, but both were united in a commitment to Trinitarianism.⁷⁶ Any secession in Scotland was on the grounds of the perceived betrayal of Covenant principles.⁷⁷ The seceders, among whom were counted many of the successful Glasgow merchants, maintained Scottish Presbyterian practices of church governance and this legacy continued into the formation of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843. It was this tradition that Charles Cowan entered, having served as an elder in the Church of Scotland. The intense focus of his diary on quantification of activities as a means of facilitating accountability can be contrasted to the watchfulness of Ryder's diary.⁷⁸ There is no doubt that over time, as can be seen in Mackie's diary, secular concerns came to play a greater role in the

⁷⁴ See Mutch, *Religion and National Identity*, (see above, n. 35), 174.

⁷⁵ T S Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830*, (Oxford, 1968 [1948]), 14.

⁷⁶ John McIntosh, *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party 1740-1800*, (East Linton, 1998).

⁷⁷ Andrew Muirhead, *Reformation, Dissent and Diversity: The Story of Scotland's Churches, 1560-1960*, (London, 2015)

⁷⁸ It is perhaps interesting to note that Ghosh has traced Max Weber's sources for his consideration of the English Puritans, which had such an impact on his famous (and much misunderstood) 'Protestant Ethic' thesis, not to the Puritans themselves, but to English Congregationalists (educated at Scottish universities) and Scottish Moderates (see Peter Ghosh, *A Historian reads Max Weber: Essays on the Protestant Ethic*, (Wiesbaden, 2008), 24-5). In both cases, their stress was on the intensely individualistic focus of watchfulness, rather than the combination of public and private accountability that characterised the continuing Scottish focus. In so far as the Protestant Ethic tended to downplay organizational questions this might point to some longer term impacts of watchfulness. Perhaps Joseph Ryder fits Weber's template so well (as Kadane argues) because it was those in his tradition who supplied that template.

Scottish diaries. The Scottish diarists experienced the same tensions between the avoidance of sloth and the worldly success that such avoidance brought but, contrary to Kadane's account, this tension persisted into the nineteenth century.

It is important not to overstate the divergences between practices which had a common theological root too much. There is no doubt that, just as with Kadane, that particular stress was placed by the Scottish diarists on the active process of writing as a means of practicing their religion. In February 1799 Samuel Kevan recorded ""Growing dark I intended to write this but missed my Pen and could not see to make another – which rather ruffled me. I then try'd to think on what I had been employd in the foregoing time ... here felt my thoughts very Empty, barren and Vagrant." ⁷⁹ Writing as a form of religious praxis was important, as witnessed by the frequent practice in this and other diaries of writing out a renewed covenant and signing it.⁸⁰ Clearly, as well, other English diarists, such as Josselin, used indexical entries to assist in their review and recall of their activities. However, the practice of review seems more systematic in the Scottish diaries, something which can be related to the insertion of the Scottish faithful in larger practices of accountability. While local systems of accountability might have existed in English Dissent, they lacked the elaborate national system of governance found in Scotland. We can also note in Scotland a similar shift in the balance of spiritual and secular concerns that Kadane detects in Ryder's milieu. However, this happened much later in Scotland and secular concerns are always subordinated to and refracted by the spiritual.

If this contrast between a more introvert watchfulness in English Dissent and the combination of internal and external accountability in Scotland sheds some light on the divergence of religious cultures in the two countries, then perhaps we can extend that divergence still further by contrasting the diaries we have examined to a still more famous diary, that of James Woodforde,

⁷⁹ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3) 60, 17 February 1799.

⁸⁰ Add MS 42556, (see above n.3) 92, 4 March 1801; see also George Morrison (ed) *Memoirs of the Life, Time and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston*, (Edinburgh, 1899), 83.

Anglican vicar of Weston Longeville in Norfolk.⁸¹ While Kadane notes how difficult it is to reconstruct Ryder's life and work from his diary, focused almost exclusively as it is on spiritual wrestling, Woodforde's diary, kept from 1776 to 1803 is the polar opposite. There is exhaustive detail on meals, the weather and local events. For our purposes what is interesting is the light that Woodforde sheds on local accountability practices.⁸² The answer is: not much. A few passing notes about the election of churchwardens are about all that we get. In sharp contrast to the Scottish situation, where the kirk session could not meet without the minister as moderator, Weston Longeville's parish life seemed to progress largely in parallel to that of its incumbent. Here is an instructive contrast between the systemic accountability that characterised Scotland and what we can term 'personal accountability' in England.⁸³ That is, from the evidence we have, accountability in rural England at least seemed to rest on the character of the office holders, usually the middling inhabitants informed by the norms of the 'gentleman'. The dominance of this perspective might then have provided a powerful counterpole of attraction for Dissent.

Although these last comments do suggest the need for further research, they do point to the value of looking at religion as a social practice. It is particularly illuminating to take seriously the rather mundane routines by which churches were organized and the faithful mobilised on a day to day basis. If we can then compare and contrast such routines then we can get an insight into the enduring facets of religious culture, those which endure when more theological disputes may have been resolved. The suggestion here is that a focus on accountability supported by detailed record keeping was a distinctive and enduring feature of Scottish religious culture.

⁸¹ Roy Winstanley, *Parson Woodforde - The Life and Times of a Country Diarist*, (Bungay, 1996).

⁸² For an extended discussion, see Alistair Mutch, 'Administrative Practices and the 'Middling Sort': Place, Practice and Identity in 18th Century Rural England' in Alan Kidd and Melanie Tebbutt (eds) *Identity, Place and People - Essays in Public and Social History*, (Manchester, forthcoming, 2016).

⁸³ Alistair Mutch, "'Shared Protestantism' and British Identity: Contrasting Church Governance Practices in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and England", *Social History*, 38, (2013), 456-476.