

JOHNSTON OF
WARISTON'S
DIARY

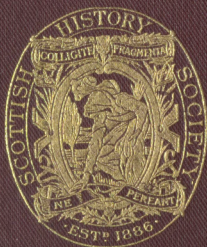
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DIARY OF
SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON
OF WARISTON

VOLUME II

1650-1654

Edited from the Original Manuscript, with
Notes and Introduction by

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INTRODUCTION

THE previous volume of this Diary, so admirably edited by Sir George M. Paul, ended in February 1639, and this one begins in March 1650, so that there is a gap of eleven years, save for the fragment, extending from May 1639 to August 1640, included in Volume XXVI. of the publications of this Society. The present volume comes down to August 1654, but is not continuous, and some of the gaps are rather tantalising. It has been extracted from fourteen of Wariston's note-books, little oblong volumes, mostly bound in sheepskin, small enough to be easily carried in the pocket.¹ The first of these, no part of the Diary proper, is almost exclusively occupied with notes of sermons. It has only yielded three short paragraphs. The next is inscribed: 'First note book after great book put in Castel 22 July 1650.' The date suggests why the 'great book' was put in Edinburgh Castle. It was on that day that Cromwell, with an English army, crossed the Tweed. On the 5th of February 1649—only six days after the execution of his father in front of Whitehall—Charles the Second had been, by order of the Scottish Parliament, proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. The young King landed at the mouth of the Spey on the 23rd of June 1650, after signing the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant; and eight days later the document bearing his signature

¹ Eleven are in sheepskin, one in calf, and two are without boards. The largest, including boards, is $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ by 1, while the smallest is only $3\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{7}{8}$ by $\frac{1}{8}$.

was produced in Parliament by Wariston.¹ Though he was not one of the commissioners sent to treat with the King at Breda, he played a prominent part in the affairs of Scotland at that time, as well as before and immediately after it, and therefore it is to be much regretted that his 'great book' cannot be found.

The very little one which followed it covers the first four of the six anxious weeks preceding the calamitous battle of Dunbar.² Some of its disjointed jottings are fragmentary and obscure, but it furnishes fresh proof of the confusion, lack of harmony, and divided counsels by which the fighting power of the Scottish army was so sadly weakened. While the King was still in Holland, Wariston had written to him 'shewing that his dissembled incoming to the Covenant would sooner ruine him nor his fayther's 12 years opposition ruyned him.'³ Provost Jaffray, one of the commissioners, suspecting the King's sincerity, had tried to dissuade him from signing the Covenants;⁴ and John Livingstone, who administered the oath, was anxious that it should be delayed; but Charles, seeing no other way of reaching his throne, had swallowed his scruples and would not be put off.⁵ After landing he found that suspicion

¹ P. 139, n. 5.

² Pp. 2-27.

³ Pp. 131, 132.

⁴ *Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, 1833, p. 33.—'Finding that, upon these terms only, he could be admitted to rule over us (all other means having then failed him), he sinfully complied with what we most sinfully pressed upon him; where I must confess, to my apprehension, our sin was more than his' (*Ibid.*, p. 32). See *infra*, p. 299.

⁵ *Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 182, 183.—For the terms of the oath, see *infra*, p. 139, n. 5. In the fact that Charles did not sign the Covenants before leaving Holland, Dr. S. R. Gardiner perceived a proof of the long continuance of the struggle in his mind (*Charles the Second and Scotland in 1650*, Scottish History Society, p. xxii). Parliament, however, on the 8th of March, had instructed the commissioners going to the King to demand from His Majesty, not before he left Holland, but 'so soone as he shall come to Scotland and befor his admission to the exercise of his royall powar, he shall swear, subscribe and seall the Nationall Covenant and the Solemne League and Covenant' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 559). Dr. Gardiner is no doubt correct in his interpretation of the significance of the marginal addition to the oath.

still attached to him; and now he was asked to sign a declaration as absolutely necessary for the success of his cause. This declaration was so humiliating that he declined. Unrelaxing pressure was continued.

By appointment of the Committee of Estates, Lothian, Wariston, and Robert Barclay, Provost of Irvine, went to Dunfermline on the 9th of August 'to presse the King's Majestie to emitt his Declaration.' They duly pressed him by 'many arguments'; all 'spak very freyly' as also did Argyll.¹ Both Loudoun and Wariston wrote to Argyll that he might use his influence with his Majesty.² Loudoun also wrote two letters to the King himself urging him to give way,³ and met him personally; but all in vain. The King though still a minor was resolute.⁴

To supply the lack of a royal declaration, a very short one was drawn up and unanimously⁵ approved by the Commission of Assembly on the 13th; and, 'after sundry debayts,' the Committee of Estates did 'heartillie concurre therein.' This document, known as the Act (or Declaration) of the West Kirk, was printed next day; and, taking advantage of Cromwell's challenge,⁶ Wariston caused copies to be distributed in the English army. By this propaganda it was hoped to convince the invaders that the Scots had not espoused the quarrel or interest of any malignant party, but were fighting on their former grounds and principles, disclaiming all the sin and guilt of the King

¹ Pp. 13-15.

² *Ancram Correspondence*, Roxburghe Club, ii. 282, 287, 288.

³ *Charles the Second and Scotland in 1650*, pp. 131-134.

⁴ P. 17.

⁵ William Row says that 'the votes were equal' (Blair's *Life*, Wodrow Society, p. 236). Wariston says 'unanimously.' The official record does not state whether there was any division over it or not, but preserves the report of the Committee of Estates bearing that that Committee did 'heartillie concurre therein' (*Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 27).

⁶ 'Send as many of your papers as you please amongst ours (*i.e.* our people): they have a free passage. I fear them not' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter cxxxvi.).

and his house, and resolved to own neither him nor his interest save in so far as he owned and carried on the work of God, and disclaimed his own and his father's opposition to that work. This statement might tend to unsettle the English soldiers, but the closing promise to 'vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods' in Cromwell's papers could not be expected to mollify him. Leslie sent a copy to Cromwell, desiring him to make it known to all his officers. In his reply, Cromwell said that he had 'caused it to be read in the presence of so many officers as could well be gotten together.'¹ Wariston summarises his reply as 'a rapsodik aunsuer to our paper, shewing that he could not seperat our conjunction with the King from Malignancy, and that he was ready to feyght us.' On the other hand, it was reported that the Scots paper had 'vexed' many of the English.²

Orders were now given to the foot-guard to apprehend Malignants; and it was resolved to purge the King's household by excluding all 'who wer not of constant integrity in the cause and feared God,' and all who had been in arms against the cause or given counsel against it, and all who had not taken the Covenant. Captain Titus³ was one of the four recommended as grooms in the royal bed-chamber. The officers of the army agreed on 'an honest Remonstrance to concurre with the Commissioners of the Church and Committee of Estats for stating the quarrel, purging of the King's family and leif-guard, and debarring the Malignants.' Wariston appointed this Remonstrance to be communicated to the King, and to be printed, believing that it would help 'to dill doune the many idle clashes of people' against the Declaration of

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter cxxxvii.

² Pp. 17-19.

³ Titus claimed the authorship of the tract, *Killing no Murder*, published in 1657 advocating the assassination of Cromwell.

the West Kirk.¹ Loudoun sent the Remonstrance² to Argyll that he might show it to the King; and on the same day (the 15th), the Committee of Estates, in acknowledging it, promised to 'speedilie take ane effectuall course against all malignant and scandalous persones in court, armie, or kingdome, without respect of persons.'³

The whole of the 16th of August was spent 'in going through al the regiments of horse and foote, and purging out and placing in of officers, wherein,' says Wariston, 'I pressed upon their consciences that the guilt and blood and mischeife that may follow on haiving malignant, profan, scandalous persons and Ingagers in our airmy, lye at their doore who gives not information, and not at the kingdom's doore, nor of us who ar intrusted by them and desyres upon information to purge the airmy,⁴ and hes by writ and word pressed them to give it.' Those who were inefficient were also dealt with. Loudoun went through the army and 'harangued to them for their incouragment'; and David Leslie accompanied the Committee all day in this work.⁵

That afternoon the King signed, at Dunfermline, the Declaration which he had so pertinaciously resisted. Some of the expressions regarding his father had been softened,⁶ but it was still humiliating enough: 'Though his Majesty as a dutiful son be obliged to honour the

¹ Pp. 18, 19.

² This Remonstrance is in the *Ancram Correspondence*, ii. 284, 285; and in Walker's *Historical Discourses*, 1705, pp. 167, 168.

³ *Ancram Correspondence*, ii. 284, 286.

⁴ On the 1st of August, the Commission of Assembly instructed the ministers of the regiments 'to bring in a list of all these who are now officers or volunteers and were formerlie in the unlawfull Engagement; as also to bring a list of all scandalous persones, that course may be taken for their removeall from the army' (*Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 9).

⁵ Pp. 19, 20.

⁶ Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 91, 92; Blair's *Life*, p. 236; Walker's *Historical Discourses*, p. 16; *Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 28.

memory of his royall father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth hee desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's hearkning to and following evil counsels and his opposition to the work of reformation and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people hath been shed in these kingdomes,¹ and for the idolatrie of his mother,² the toleration whereof in the King's house, as it was matter of great stumbling to all the Protestant churches, so could it not but be a high provocation against Him who is a jealous God, visiting the sinnes of the fathers upon the children.' He also did 'ingenuously acknowledge all his owne sinnes and all the sinnes of his father's house,' and declare that he had not sworn and subscribed the Covenants 'upon any sinister intention and crooked design for attaining his own ends; but, so far as human weaknesse will permit, in the truth and sinceritie of his heart; and that he is firmly resolved in the Lord's strength to adhere thereto, and to prosecute to the utmost of his power all the ends thereof in his station and calling, really, constantly and sincerely all the dayes of his life: in order to which hee doth in the first place professe and declare that hee wil have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant, and that he wil have no friends but the friends of the Covenant.'³

After signing this Declaration, the King rode from Dunfermline to Perth and lodged in Gowrie House.⁴ He

¹ Before being modified, it appears to have bluntly charged his father with the guilt of the blood shed between him and the kingdoms (pp. 138, 139).

² After signing he desired that 'the nameing of the Queene our mother may be forborne'; but the Commission of Assembly would not agree to this (*Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 32, 33); and took care to record the Declaration as signed (*Ibid.*, pp. 33-40).

³ The Declaration was printed by the 26th of August (*Ancram Correspondence*, ii. 294).

⁴ Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 92; Walker's *Historical Discourses*, p. 169.

had been in the army in the last days of July, where, Wariston says, his presence bred carnal confidence and discouraged the godly. He and Lord Brodie spoke quite frankly to the King against his remaining there. Wariston also brought the matter before the Committee, and it appointed some 'to represent it to the King as their humble advyce, which wee did with great freedome.' He took the opportunity of speaking to the King about 'the prented propositions presented to the Pope in his nayme'¹; and 'the King at last condescended to goe away.' This was on the 31st of July.² It was proposed that, if Cromwell entrenched at Dunbar, the Scots army should march to Carlisle. Wariston opposed this unless the enemy were first driven out of Scotland, and Leith and Edinburgh left secure. His objections were unexpectedly reinforced by the English ships coming into view;³ but a week later the proposal was again brought forward, and again opposed by Wariston.⁴ His wife warned him by letter of the reports that the army was being weakened by purging; and even Cassillis and Brodie, two of his trusty associates, suggested that it was lawful to employ Engagers and to join with English Malignants,⁵ a scheme which he had previously shelved with great difficulty.⁶ Now he silenced if he did not convince his two friends by the examples of Jehoshaphat, Asa, and Amaziah, and by the acknowledgements and engagements into which the land had entered. He quite realised that, if the Scots were beaten, the blame would be laid on the purgers, but that did not move

¹ At least two editions were printed in 1650 of a pamphlet entitled: 'The King of Scotland's Negotiations at Rome for Assistance against the Commonwealth of England.' Evan Tyler's edition of that year was printed after the defeat at Dunbar.

² Pp. 5, 6.

³ P. 21.—Some of his reasons are given on pp. 26, 27.

⁴ Pp. 10, 11.

⁵ Pp. 15, 16.

⁶ Pp. 8, 9.

him, and the purging proceeded.¹ The rigid Covenanters were diametrically different from the conscientious objectors of the present day, inasmuch as they desired to do the fighting themselves, and to exclude from the army those whom they deemed unworthy. Needless to say, their motive was neither to sacrifice themselves nor to save the skins of Engagers and Malignants.²

Wariston was as much opposed to the English Sectaries on the one hand as to the Malignants and Engagers on the other. To him Cromwell was 'that proud piece of clay,' resembling Rabshakeh, Sennacherib, and Haman.³ He was, moreover, a consulter of witches,⁴ and his soldiers irreverently referred to the Scottish preachers as 'Blak-mouthes'⁵—an epithet still applied to Presbyterians in Ulster.

The purging out of Engagers and Malignants was not the only cause of weakness in the Scottish army. From a number of Wariston's remarks it is painfully apparent that there was not only a sad lack of harmony, mutual confidence, and good-feeling, but that jealousy, rivalry, and suspicion were not unknown. He speaks of 'hot and great debate,' and of 'som heats.'⁶ To one of his proposals,

¹ P. 11.—Sir George Radcliffe, writing from the Hague on 28th August, said, 'the ministers have lately purged their army of 5000 profane persons, and Loudoun went about the camp to tell them it was the cause of God, and not to be maintained by wicked men; such they account all Cavaliers, Montrosians, and such as engaged with Hamilton, that is to say, their best soldiers' (*Domestic Calendar*, 1650, p. 309). According to Sir Edward Walker, 'the Committee commanded away all Malignants and Engagers, and so lessened the army of three or 4000 of the best men, and displaced all officers suspected, concluding then they had an army of saints, and that they could not be beaten' (*Historical Discourses*, 1705, p. 165); but, at a later stage, he speaks of the Scottish army as having increased in number, in courage, and in discipline (*Ibid.*, p. 177).

² Those who wish to understand the reasons which prompted them should consult George Gillespie's *Treatise of Miscellany Questions*, 1649, chapter xiv.

³ Pp. 10, 13, 16.

⁴ P. 14.

⁵ P. 9.

⁶ Pp. 4, 18.

David Leslie 'gaive a sharp aunsuer, and I as free a reply.'¹ There were 'continual complaints of our proclamation for removing the Ingagers; yet the Commission of the Church thought there was mor evil in their imployment than in the waunt of it.' 'The Lord every day multiplies our distractions and confusions.'² Leslie 'spak bitterly' against one of the reasons given for a fast.³ He thought that the committee wanted new officers, and he wished that they had them. He had previously 'cryed out that som of us counted them culyeons.'⁴ Because the Committee would not give the command of Leith to John Leslie without the consent of Edinburgh, Leven and David Leslie 'took their huff' and 'went away in passion.' 'Al was convinced of their being wrong and doing wrong,' and Wariston thought in his heart that God had deserted them.⁵

The catastrophe at Dunbar is thus accounted for by Gilbert Burnet, Wariston's nephew: 'Lesley was in the chief command, but he had a Committee of the States to give him his orders, among whom Waristoun was one. These were weary of lying in the fields, and thought that Lesley made not haste enough to destroy those Sectaries.⁶ . . . He told them, by lying there all was sure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and desperate men,

¹ P. 5.

² P. 8.

³ P. 12.—In his opinion it was a reflection on the officers to speak of 'following a way of beleiving.' The words of the article are: 'That notwithstanding of all the promises of God, and His former gracious dispensations, and the present means putt in our hands, wee do not follow our duetie in the Lord's worke in a believing way, but gives too much place to misbeleefe' (*Records of Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 17).

⁴ P. 12. Culyeons=poltroons.

⁵ P. 21.

⁶ Radcliffe thought that the English 'may probably be worsted, if the Scots do their best, that is sit still; but the ministers press their men to fight, contrary to their Commander's opinion; if they fight they hazard a beating' (*Domestic Calendar*, 1650, p. 309). On the other hand, Walker wondered why the Scots did not fight earlier (*Historical Discourses*, p. 177).

all might be lost; yet they still called on him to fall on. Many have thought that all this was treachery, done on design to deliver up our army to Cromwell; some laying it upon Lesley, and others upon my uncle. I am persuaded there was no treachery in it: only Waristoun was too hot, and Lesley was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done. They were all the night employed in coming down the hill: and in the morning, before they were put in order, Cromwell fell upon them.' ¹

Had Wariston's note-book, beginning on the 21st of August been still extant, it might have confirmed or disproved Burnet's statement as to the instigator of the disastrous descent from the hill. But some of the statements which are preserved may have a bearing on the matter. Wariston held that 'resolution hes ay caryed in this busines.' ² He felt aggrieved when he and Sir John Cheisly were 'blaymed as hindering generall officers to doe'; ³ and, when told that the English were marching either to the south of Edinburgh or to Pentland, he 'blessed God for the newes, seing our officers pretended an impossibility to goe against them in Musselbrugh ground.' ⁴ When told in the following June, that he was to be charged with 'bringing in the Inglish army,' and with 'breaking Scots army at Dumbar by purging,' he affirmed that these were untrue in fact. ⁵ He did not believe that the defeat was due to the purging. In August 1651, he said: 'I blisse God for His wairning He gaive me at Craigmiller and Dumbar against sudden and rash medling in warre, which is not my craft.' ⁶ This sentence may imply that he suggested or approved of the descent from the hill at Dunbar. Writing two days after the defeat, David Leslie gave this

¹ Burnet's *Own Time*, 1823, i. 93, 94. Cf. Baillie's *Letters*, iii. 111.

² P. 7.

³ P. 12.

⁴ P. 21.

⁵ P. 78.

⁶ P. 101.

explanation : ‘ Concerning the misfortun of our army I shall say nothing ; but it wes the visible hand of God, with our owen lacines, and not of man, that defeat them, notwithstanding of orders given to stand to theire armes that night. I know I get my owen share of the falt by many for drawing them so neer the enemie, and must suffer in this as many tymes formerly, though I tak God to witness wee might have as easily beaten them as wee did James Graham at Philipshauch, if the officers had stayed by theire troops and regiments.’¹ According to Wariston, at Dunbar the English were weak and discouraged, and were despised by the Scots.²

The rout furnished food for reflection. On the 22nd of October, Sir George Maxwell of Pollock read, in presence of the Committee of Estates at Stirling, a lengthy Remonstrance, addressed to that Committee by ‘ the gentlemen, commanders and ministers attending the forces in the West.’ In this document, commonly known as the Western Remonstrance, its framers disavow any design of following the footsteps of the Sectarian party, or of changing the fundamental government of the kingdom by King and Parliament, or of any levelling way ; but they point out very frankly the evidences of the King’s misdemeanours, of his insincerity in the Treaty at Breda, of his leanings to the Malignants, and of the slackness and selfishness of the Committee of Estates. They, of course, refer to his refusing to sign the Dunfermline Declaration ‘ untill he was necessitated by declarations concerning him, and untill it was in a kynd extorted from him.’ For themselves, they say : ‘ Wee disclaime all the guilte and sin of the King and of his housse, both olde and lait ; and declare that wee cannot owen him and his intrest in the stait of the

¹ *Ancram Correspondence*, ii. 298.

² Pp. 101, 104.

quarrell betuix us and the enimey against quhom (if the Lord will) we are to hazard our lives.' They close with these words: 'Declaring to your lordships, that wee shall desyre you unfainedly to mourne for thesse sinns, and that ther are ingagements on *our*¹ heartes befor God, if He shall lenthen our dayes, and take pleasure in us to make us aney wayes instruments of His worke and for His people's good and saftie, that wee shall to the uttermost of our power endeavor to gett thesse thinges remedied according to our places and callinges.'

Wariston was suspected of having had a hand in preparing the Remonstrance; and Balcarres even moved that, as a contriver of it, he should be excluded from the Committee of Estates. His opinions were certainly very much akin to if not identical with the principles of the Remonstrance; but he was not its author either in whole or in part.² How vehemently it was condemned by those in power is manifest from his remarks. While realising that the Remonstrants had some disadvantages in formality of law and in the defection of Colonel Strachan, Wariston courageously debated against the treatment proposed to be meted out to them. He also stated that, although there had been no such document, he would have freely expressed his mind 'anent the mater, the causes of God's wrayth and remedies of it.' On the plea that his judgment was so different from that of the other members that he would be continually troubling them, he craved that he might be allowed to absent himself from the meetings of the Committee; but he was pressed to remain.³

¹ In Balfour's *Historical Works* (iv. 160), and in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk* (p. 608), *our* appears as *your*, which is an obvious error. It is *our* in the *Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 106.

² When informed at a later period that he was to be accused of 'contriving and pening [the] Remonstrance,' he noted in his Diary that the charge was 'untreu in fact; . . . and, if trew, a good duety' (p. 78).

³ Pp. 28-30.

The little note-book covering this period closes on the 21st of November 1650 ; and, as the next two are amissing, there is a gap of fully four months in the Diary. In November he was still a prominent though a recalcitrant member of the Committee of Estates ; by March he had ceased to attend the meetings though he had not ceased to be a member.¹ In the first entry of the next of the surviving note-books, 28th March 1651, this sentence occurs : ' I had been caryed away as a delinquent and prisoner, were not their feare of the Registers, becaus my nayme was only in the passe.'² A fortnight later, he again records his conviction that the recovery of the Registers had been a means to save him from ' the malice and violence both of the Staite and of privat sojourns.'³ Among his own countrymen he had become exceedingly unpopular. This was due to his withdrawing from public life, and his unbending attitude towards the line of action then followed by the great majority of those with whom he had previously worked in harmony in the affairs of Church and State. Now he was a leader not of the nation, but only of a small section of it. According to his contemporary, the Lyon King :

' In the begining of Februarii, this zeire [1651], Sir Archbald Jhonston, the Register, being a longe tyme at Edinbrughe, one pretext of bringing the Registers from Edinbrughe Castle, after that traiterous villane Dundas had basley and couardly randred the same to the enimey, had diversse meittings ther with Cromuell ; and aboute the midle of the same mounthe he cam to Perth, and had privey conference with his Majestey, ane houer and a halffe, in his bed chamber ; and thereafter, within 2 dayes, returned to Culrosse, quher he abode. Not[e]

¹ He was re-appointed a member on the 30th of December 1650 (*Acts of Parliament*, vol. vi. part ii. p. 631) ; and again on the 31st of March 1651 (*Ibid.*, p. 662). In December, Baillie says, ' with great difficulty' (*Letters*, iii. 129).

² P. 31.

³ Pp. 37, 38.

that he refussed to subscribe the Actes of Parliament past in December and Januarii this zeire, at Perth, and wold not stay and attend his Majestie and the Estaits,¹ but removed from Perth to Stirling, Culrosse and Brunt-Iyland, quher it was thought that by his meines the magistratts of the tounne wer corrupted, and som in Stirling also.'²

Wariston's reflections on the first anniversary of the battle of Dunbar throw some light on his movements and his doings at this time.³ Presumably the items are entered generally in chronological order although specific dates are not given. He speaks of being at Stirling, at Perth, with the Westland forces,⁴ at Dunfermline, long in Stirling, then in Perth, at Culross, at Burntisland, and at Edinburgh. Some of the doings explain his unpopularity. At Stirling he opposed the calling out of all without exception to the levy. He also spoke freely to the Committee, the Sub-Committee, and the Commission of Assembly 'anent the sinful causes of our ruyne.' The reference 'anent my speech to King at first meeting with the Comittee at Perth' is not clear by itself; but a slightly later entry throws light upon it: 'How did the Lord assist me at Perth, in the reasons of my protestation [to] forwairne the King, being present, and the Committee, that the Lord, seing this discovery of our sines written in the blood of comouns contemned, would wryte it in the highest and best blood their that it might be mor legible; and pressed upon the King befor the Committee what Joab sayd to

¹ On the 29th of November, Parliament excused 'his absence till his returne' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 610); on the 13th of December, he was again 'excused in respect of his necessary absence till he returne' (*Ibid.*, p. 618); on the 14th of December, Mr. David Hay was ordained 'to subscriye all Acts of Parliament now in absence of the Clerk of Register' (*Ibid.*, p. 620); and on the 5th of April 1651, 'Mr. David Hay, clerk,' presented the Acts to His Majesty when he touched them with the sceptre (*Ibid.*, p. 666).

² Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 249, 250.

³ Pp. 124-126.

⁴ This was probably in October 1650 (*infra*, p. 28, n. 5).

David, . . . that becaus he loved his enemyes and hayted his freinds, a worse thing would befall him then ever til then.’¹ This may have been in February 1651. At all events, in a still later entry, he recalls what he said to Loudoun and Argyll at Perth in that month of that year—‘that if they went on to heade and countenance the present defection and imployment of Malignants, the Lord would bring them tuo to the miserablest condition of any in Scotland.’² His first reference to Edinburgh in the anniversary reflections is in these words: ‘In His calling me away agayn to Edinburgh by the Parliment’s comands upon the English taiking the Registers the 2d tyme.’ That was in the end of March. The clause: ‘His cleanly bringing me out of Perth to Culros about the Castle,’ obviously refers to the surrender of Edinburgh Castle on the 19th of December 1650. He does not appear to have gone over to Edinburgh at once; but his wife went: ‘His trysting my wyfe’s overgoing to the surrender of it, and looking to the Registers.’³ Then he adds: ‘His providence calling me over and directing me in my waye by His Word and giving me good successe.’⁴ This apparently means that he also crossed the Forth to secure the Registers; and he did.

It is known otherwise that, on the 7th of January, the Committee of Estates ordered ‘the Lord Register to cause transport the haille writts of the crowne, with the charter books, the haille exchequer rolls, and registers, all principall bands, contracts and dispositions, all decreit bookes, registers and warrands of proces, that were or are in the

¹ P. 131.

² P. 185.

³ When Parliament excused his necessary absence on the 13th of December, it granted a pass ‘to his lady to go to Edinburgh’ (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 618). On the 24th, it ordained that he be instructed that the records, and also the goods belonging to the King, should be transported by sea or land towards Stirling Castle (*Ibid.*, pp. 626, 627).

⁴ P. 125.

Castle of Edinburgh, from thence to the Brunt Iland.' The carrying out of this order would not have been an easy matter at any time; but to a man with an anxious mind, it must have been particularly difficult and onerous in mid-winter. Wariston hired carts and wagons to transport them to Leith; and then he had to hire boats to convey them to Burntisland. The work was done very expeditiously as well as successfully, for the pass was dated 13th January, and by the 17th the records were safely in Burntisland.¹ It is quite clear, therefore, that the Lyon King erred when he said that, in the beginning of February, Wariston was a long time at Edinburgh on 'pretext of bringing the Registers from Edinbrughe Castle.' Unfortunately they again fell into the hands of the English in March; and, as will be shown, the preliminaries to disgorgement proved tedious and trying. It is quite likely that the magistrates of Burntisland and some in Stirling were 'corrupted' by Wariston's means, if by 'corrupted' the Lyon King meant that they disapproved of Engagers and Malignants being admitted to place and power in the State or army; but if he meant that, through Wariston's influence, they were persuaded to assist or sympathise with the English invaders, the suspicion may be summarily dismissed as groundless. Throughout the period covered by this volume, Wariston was uncompromisingly and unwaveringly opposed to the Cromwellian invaders.

By the terms of the capitulation of Edinburgh Castle, the public Registers that were therein were to be transported to Fife or Stirling; Parliament had at first instructed Wariston to take them to Stirling Castle; and Cromwell's pass of 13th January permitted them to be taken to any

¹ P. 32 n. and Appendix B.

part of Scotland by sea or land. After they had reached Burntisland, the Committee of Estates resolved, on the 20th of January, that they should 'be transported from thence by sea to Dinotter,' and they were put on board a ship; but before the vessel reached Kinghorn she was seized by an English frigate and taken into Leith.¹ Under date 22nd March, Whitelock mentions 'that the books and goods belonging to the King and Register were taken by the Parliament's ships; and another ship laden with oats, meal and provisions going for Fife, and 22 prisoners taken.'² From this it appears that some of Wariston's personal belongings were also in the vessel. The date of capture is more precisely fixed by Cornet Baynes who, writing on Saturday, the 15th of March, says: 'Our seamen have this week taken two Scotts ships of good prize; one of them is ladend with corn and other provisions, and the other hath plate, money, clothes, and some valuable things in her.'³ On the 20th of March Parliament ordered Wariston to go to Edinburgh 'anent the taking of the Registeris and to deall for bringing of them bak.' He was then at Culross, where he and his family could scarce get a place of any kind to live in. On the 28th of March his pass arrived; and next day, after writing his mind freely to Perth,⁴ he crossed from Burntisland to Leith and took possession again of his own house in Edinburgh.⁵ To add to his anxiety, he learned that the vessel had sprung a leak. This was on the 14th of April, and on that day he 'went and saw the Registers, which had been broken

¹ See p. 31 *n.* 5, and Appendix B.—Lamont says that they were being taken to the Bass when the ship was captured; but it was not until the 22nd of May that the Committee of Estates sanctioned the fortifying of the Bass, and the providing it with powder, meal, and coal (*Register of the Committee of Estates*, April to July 1651, ff. 44, 45).

² Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 490.

³ *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, Bannatyne Club, p. 13.

⁴ Parliament was then sitting at Perth.

⁵ Pp. 32, 33.

up.'¹ The Records or part of them were subsequently taken ashore, for on the 26th of April he says: 'This day an hay-stak of Leyth was brunt neir the Inglish magazin wherin the Registers was; the Inglish, [looking] upon it as doon by som Scotsmen to blowe up all, resolves to putt all out of Leyth.'² A powder magazine would no doubt be thoroughly dry, but it was a strange freak of the English to select such a building as even a temporary resting-place for the national Records of Scotland.³ A contemporary annalist, who gives the 24th of April as the date of the fire, alleges that two stacks were burned, and adds: 'It was said it was done by the English that they might challenge the Scots for it, and put them all out of Leith; and next day a proclamation was published, ordering all out of Leith but such as took ane oath to be true to them.'⁴

The English were most unwilling to relinquish the Registers. For their restitution Wariston strove strenuously both by tongue and pen. He had several stormy interviews with Cromwell and discussions with officials, who raised difficulties and objections of various kinds. Middleton had escaped from England it was said by a breach of parole, and there was a threat to keep the Registers until he was delivered up.⁵ Archibald Hamilton for aiding the invaders had been deservedly hanged for high-treason; and Cromwell, who alleged that this culprit was one of his commissioned officers, insisted on retaining the Registers until he got satisfaction for his execution. In one of the interviews, Cromwell was 'in great passion,

¹ P. 38, n. 4 and p. 39.

² P. 43.

³ Soon after the fire, they appear to have been transferred to a ship again, for, on the 1st of May, he says: 'The clerks thought to gett the Registers out to the roade the nixt daye' (p. 45). See p. 318.

⁴ Maidment's *Historical Fragments*, ii. 34.

⁵ P. 37.

making Hamilton's busines the pretence of it.' Wariston had a hasty temper, but on this occasion he succeeded in controlling it. 'I of purpose eshuned heate, least it should wrong my Register busines.'¹ Five days later Cromwell again 'spak with great passion and reflexion.'² 'He never seimed mor passionate and hauty than thes tuo last tymes that I did seie him.'³ Wariston had to be patient and wary. 'I found by manifold experiences,' he says, 'they had ay bak-calls, after-shots in busines, according to the forrayn proverbe, *Anglus caudam habet*.'⁴ In discussion, whether oral or on paper, he was well qualified to hold his own either with Cromwell or his representatives. On one occasion, while praying in his family, Lambert, Colonel Dewar, Colonel Fenwick, and Cromwell's secretary called upon him about the Registers. He perceived that they were convinced by his reasons, 'but very loath to quyte the Registers.'⁵ He had previously 'debayted the busines' with Lambert, Whalley, Colonel Deans, Colonel Fenwick, and Colonel Hubbart.⁶ In the middle of May, Cromwell became seriously ill. 'His seaknesse troubled me the mor anent the Registers,' says Wariston. 'The injust, unrighteous dealing in that hes doon him ill; and it was observed he fell unweal after getting my last letter anent them.'⁷ Not until the 3rd of June did Wariston get 'the passe for the ship with the Registers,' and she sailed from Leith on the 5th. He sent his wife in charge of them.⁸ Though he thought that they would be safer in the Bass, Parliament preferred Stirling Castle. When that fortress was surrendered to Monk on the 14th of

¹ Pp. 47, 48.² P. 51.³ P. 55.⁴ Pp. 48, 49.⁵ P. 36.⁶ P. 34.⁷ P. 55.⁸ P. 63.—On the 6th of June, Loudoun, for exoneration of the Clerk Register, informed Parliament 'of the coming of the Registers to Alloway' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 686).

August, the Registers again fell into the hands of the English, and were taken to London.¹

That Wariston did his very utmost to recover the Registers is abundantly proved in the Diary and relative notes. For a time he was unjustly suspected of encouraging and abetting the English invaders, who would certainly have welcomed his support. There is such a superabundance of proof that the suspicion was baseless, that it is quite unnecessary to draw attention to any particular passages. It may be pointed out, however, that, while he was negotiating for the restoration of the Registers, the English guard spoiled his house, burned all the timber-work in it, and railed on him as being a spy for the King; and at a later date the English tried by night to break up his yett.² The enmity of his own countrymen against him was very bitter as well as general.³ For the bitter hatred of his contemporaries there may be some excuse in the keenness and excitement engendered by the critical and perilous and humiliating condition of the country, and in their inability to discern his motives or to appreciate his principles. But he is still pursued by prejudice.

Mr. W. S. Douglas denounces what he boldly calls 'Wariston's scoundrelly behaviour.' He charges him

¹ Pp. 113, 114; *Domestic Calendar*, 1651, pp. 397, 480.—In the Preface to the *Acts of Parliament*, (vol. i. p. 25 red), there is a very meagre account of the consequences of the surrender of Edinburgh Castle and Stirling Castle so far as the Registers were concerned. Nothing is said about them being sent to Burntisland, or about the ship being captured and brought into Leith and detained there.

² Pp. 59, 284.—He was also annoyed by having Englishmen quartered upon him (pp. 171, 305, 306).

³ When he crossed to Edinburgh to look after the Registers, he left his family in Fife. His children, because they were his, could not for money 'gett a place to hyde their heads in'; and Lady Caivers was 'ryped,' *i.e.* searched, because she was his cousin (p. 60). His wife, though furnished with a pass, was threatened at Queensferry, Inverkeithing, and Burntisland, and railed upon as a traitor (pp. 69, 70). Feeling ran so high that Patrick Gillespie's wife might not be seen on the streets of Glasgow (p. 81).

with having warned the English in ample time to frustrate the design of the Scots to raise the siege of Blackness Castle; and says, 'we have the clearest possible proof that he did so.' The proof which he has produced with such a flourish of trumpets is utterly unconvincing. The crucial part of his evidence is a quotation from an Edinburgh news-letter of April 1st, in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 44. Here it is as given by him:—

'I am confident his coming is no disadvantage to us,' said the significant 'semi-official *communiqué*' of the period; 'for our horse marched towards Stirling the next morning; the last night about mid-night' (which was Monday, March 31) 'the most part of the foot marched. And not without cause, for this day I am assuredly informed that the enemy, 1100 horse and foot, are come over the water, and are within view of Lithgow.'

From the preceding sentence of the news-letter, it is plain that it was Wariston whom the writer suspected; but Mr. Douglas adds in a note: 'It is very hard that a pet passage should run the risk of being spoiled through one's scrupulous doubts as to whether there mayn't have been a case of mistaken identity two and a half centuries ago. But it has to be said that there is just a possibility of another Johnston's having been the culprit in the matter here laid to Wariston's charge. For Lamont's *Diary* (p. 31) mentions a certain Major Johnston as having taken revenge for his wife's adultery with Chancellor Loudoun by giving the English tidings of some intended (but unspecified) movement of Scots troops.'¹ It may well be

¹ *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns: 1650-51*, by W. S. Douglas, 1898, pp. 238-240.—The passage in Lamont is quoted *infra*, p. 44, n. 3. The sentence of the news-letter following the one quoted by Mr. Douglas is: 'I verily beleev they came rather to raise the siege against Blackness, than to keep the fields; but blessed be God we are in a condition to encounter either of their resolutions.' For a copy of the letter I am indebted to Mr. Kellas Johnstone.

asked, How can there be 'the clearest possible proof' against Wariston in this matter, if there is 'a possibility of another Johnston's having been the culprit'? On the 28th of April, and again on the 5th of May, Wariston heard of Major Johnston's imprisonment 'as if he had been intelligencer between them and the enemy,' but felt certain that the charge was false.¹ Had there been proof of his guilt, he would, no doubt, have had to pay the extreme penalty of the law, which he did not, for he appeared before the Commission of Assembly at Perth, on the 13th of June, when the case against him was continued until the 1st of July;² but no reference is made to him in the minutes of that date. The reason, no doubt, being that on the 27th of June, 'the King's Majestie and Committee agrees that Major Johnstoun be restored against his forfaltor, and ordans the Lord Advocat to draw ane act of restitution and to present it to the Committee of Estates.'³

As previously pointed out, although it was on the 20th of March that Parliament resolved that Wariston should go to Edinburgh, he did not receive the necessary pass until the 28th. The delay was no doubt due to the fact that it had been remitted to the 'Committie for Militarie Effaires to give him his instructiones in writt for that effect.'⁴ It was on Saturday the 29th, that he reached Edinburgh. He tried to see Cromwell on Monday, but

¹ Pp. 44-46.

² *Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 485.

³ *Register of the Committee of Estates*, April to July 1651, fol. 83. Cf. *infra*, p. 44, n. 3.

⁴ *Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 647.—On the 19th of February, the King and Committee of Estates 'ordered that there be no passage from hencefurth to or from the south sid of Forth but at the North Queensferrie, at Dysert and at Ellie; and that no persons be permitted to pass at the said places but such as shall have passes from the Committee of Estates, or the Lord Chancellor, or the generall officers of the army' (*Register of the Committee of Estates*, Jan. to April 1651, fol. 79).

only got a word with him at night and that with difficulty, because of the alarm of the men 'which maid them that night to merch to Blaknesse.'¹ From Cornet Baynes' letter of 29th March, it is clear that some of the English ships had already gone up the river to Blackness, and Monk with some horse and foot by land.² A letter from the English headquarters in Scotland, also written on the 29th, explains that the enterprise was resolved upon at a meeting of officers on the 26th, that 'four ships were put forth with instructions' on the 27th and were by the 29th 'before Blackness, having given the enemy a terrible alarme.'³ That Monk should have set out for Blackness on the same day that Wariston arrived in Edinburgh was a mere coincidence proving nothing.

In April, the Committee acknowledged his 'fidelity, diligence, and caire anent the Registers,' and that nothing could be added to his reasons; and, in May, that he 'had argued it as fully as any of them could haive doune.' He feared to cross the Forth. The Chancellor who desired to speak with him 'beleived their was no such daunger' as he apprehended.⁴ The danger was less at the hands of constituted authority than of irate soldiers and lawless civilians. On the 6th of June, a letter, which Thomas Henderson had written to him on the 25th of the preceding December, was read in Parliament. Henderson acknowledged that the letter was written by him. Parliament was not satisfied with his 'verball explanationes,' and finding that it contained 'severall thingis expressing his dissatisfactione to the Publiet Resolutiones of the King and Parliament aganis the commoune enemie,' deprived him

¹ Pp. 32, 33.

² *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 15.

³ *Cromwelliana*, 1810, p. 101.—So early as the 28th of February it was surmised that the English intended 'to beseige the house of Blacknes and thereafter the house of Calendar' (*Ancram Correspondence*, ii. 345).

⁴ Pp. 42, 43.

of the office of clerk to the Committee of Estates. Sir Archibald Primrose was appointed in his place, 'but [*i.e.* without] prejudice of the Clerk of Registeris rycht.'¹ On the 25th of June Wariston got a copy of a letter from the new Committee of Estates ordering him to be wherever the King and army were on the 3rd of July. He inferred that the intention was to refuse to give him a pass permitting him either to leave the country or to attend the forthcoming General Assembly; but to make him 'com to them and acknowledge them and concurre with them,' or else detain him from the Assembly. An informal meeting of the Commission desired that 'any procedure with him may be forborne untill the Generall Assembly,' that some might then be appointed 'to conferre with him for satisfying him in the Publiet Resolutions, seing there hes not been yet any paines taken with him that way.' On the 29th of June he received a 'confused letter' from his wife, showing that it would not be safe for him to go to the Assembly. She had heard that he was to be accused of bringing in the English army, breaking the Scots army at Dunbar by purging, and contriving and penning the Western Remonstrance.² There is no hint or suggestion in all this that he was suspected of betraying military or other secrets to the English concerning Blackness or any other place. Perhaps it is only fair to the persuasive power of Mr. W. S. Douglas to acknowledge that he appears to have convinced Sheriff Macphail, the accomplished editor of *Highland Papers*.³

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 685, 686.

² Pp. 75-78. Cf. p. 319.

³ 'For older evidence of his [*i.e.* of Wariston's] dishonesty and treachery vide Balfour, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 427; vol. iv. p. 249. See also *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns*, by W. S. Douglas, pp. 238 *et seq.* and notes' (*Highland Papers*, ii. 254). The passage in vol. iv. of Balfour's *Historical Works* (or *Annals*) is the one quoted by me (pp. xxi-xxii). The passage in vol. iii. is a general charge of the 'gouvernours of this kingdome,' in August 1649, having 'wayes and inventions to gett money,' in which 'pilfering devyces the

In August 1651, Wariston 'heard it observed, both be Scots and English, that not only at Dumbar, but also at Inuerkeything, that the civilest and best disposed wer killed, taiken or disgraced, and the prophanest and malignantest escaped, except the 400 Mackleans with their laird wer killed, who had been at the battels with Alaster Makdonald against the cause.' ¹ If Clarendon is to be believed, the loss of the godly at Dunbar did not greatly grieve the King: 'Never victory was attended with less lamentation; for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph in the total defeat and destruction of the only army that was in Scotland; which defeat had put a great part of that kingdom, and the chief city of it, under his obedience; so the King, who was then at St. Johnston's [*i.e.* Perth], was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his Majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day.' ² If these were the real sentiments of Charles at the time, he took good care to hide them.

Six days after the rout, he wrote to the Commission of the General Assembly, humbly owning that 'what hath befallen in this dispensation from the Lord' was for his sins. 'For what have the poore people done? upon our self we lay the guiltines, as knowing best our owne wickednesse and transgressions; for the Lord's judgments are just and right, and in faithfulness He afflicts.' But

Chancellor, Register Jonstoun, and some of the leading ministers, and others of their complices, exelles.'

¹ P. 103.—At Inverkeithing, the Highlanders received 'very ill quarter' (p. 83 *n.*). One diarist says: 'Such cruelty was never used against prisoners as the English used here. After they were taken and quarters granted, 2 hours after, they stripped them of their cloaths and all they had, and hacked them with their swords and maimed them, telling them they gave them Cromwell's mark' (Maidment's *Historical Fragments*, ii. 36).

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, 1826, vi. 456, 457.

he was not cast down. 'I trust that the Lord that had mercie upon us, and brought us into the Covenant and this land, will perfite that which concerneth us, and will glorifie Himselfe in mercie and not in justice.' He intended to prosecute the ends of the Covenant and be ready to lay down his life 'for the maintenance and defence of it.' He was prepared 'to goe upon the head of any handfull [who] shall willinglie offer themselves for the Lord against the mightie.' He now desired to know 'how farre they thought conjunction lawfull with those that for the Ingadgement have been debarred from being in charges and command in the armies, and who have given or are willing to give satisfaction to the Church and Estate, and may be willing yet to give further testimonies of their repentance and affection to the Covenant.' It is difficult to imagine that this letter—'in the language of Canaan'—was drafted by the young King. It served its purpose, however, for, on the 11th of September, the Commission did 'resolve that, according to former grounds, they will recommend particular persones accessorie to the said Engagment, upon their petition and publict satisfaction, to be admitted to imployment in the armie.'¹ Petitions immediately began to pour into the Commission from military men and others, asking to be 'received to publict satisfaction' for their 'accession to the late unlawful Engagment.' On the 4th of December, a list of the persons, who had been so received by the Commission and were recommended by it, was laid before Parliament, which in turn recommended these officers to the General and Lieutenant-General 'to be employed as they deserve.'²

On the 14th of December the Commission had many petitions before it. One set of the petitioners had already

¹ *Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 47, 48.

² *Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 614.

given satisfactory evidence of their repentance for their accession to the Engagement, and were now recommended to Parliament. The other set were referred to various presbyteries to be dealt with individually. Among the latter was the Earl of Lauderdale, who was referred to the Presbytery of St. Andrews ;¹ and, having made an edifying exhibition of his contrition before it on the 23rd of December, he was granted permission 'to testifie his repentance publicklye, and to receive the communion and subscryve the Covenant,' in the parish church of Largo 'upon the day of solemne humiliation.'² The Earl of Rothes was present in the kirk of Largo on the 26th, and saw him received.³

On the 12th of December the Commission had this important query from Parliament laid before it : 'What persons are to be admitted to rise in armes, and joyne with the forces of the kingdome, and in what capacitie, for defence thereof against the army of Sectaries, who (contrary to the Solemne League and Covenant and treaties) have most unjustly invaded and are destroying the kingdome ?' In the answer now given on the 14th there is this somewhat reluctant and halting assent to the desire prompting the query : 'In this case of so great and evident necessitie, we cannot be against the raising of all fensible persones in the land, and permitting them to fight against this enemy for defence of the kingdome, except such as are excommunicat, forfaulted, notoriously profane or flagitious, and such as have beene from the beginning, and continue still, or are at this tyme obstinat and professed enemies and opposers of the Covenant and Cause of God.'⁴ Acting on

¹ *Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 161, 162.

² *Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, Abbotsford Club, pp. 60, 61.

³ *Lamont's Diary*, 1830, p. 25.

⁴ *Records of Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 159.

this answer, Parliament, on the 23rd of December, passed its 'Act of Leavie,' calling out, in nineteen sheriffdoms, all the fencible men between sixty and sixteen, 'except such as are excommunicat,' etc., *ut supra*.¹ It is not hard to understand why Wariston did not wish to subscribe such an Act as this. But Parliament was not yet satisfied. The strongholds of the country continued to fall, in Wariston's phrase, like ripe figs into the enemy's mouth. It was deemed not only expedient but vitally necessary to accept all available aid. There were difficulties in the way, however, notably the Act of Classes of 1646, which ejected the active supporters of Montrose from places of trust and power;² and the Act of Classes of 1649, which also excluded the plotters, chief actors, and prime promoters of the Engagement of 1648, Malignants, drunkards, the openly profane and those who neglected the worship of God in their families.³ It is noteworthy that, even in such a critical time, Parliament did not venture to repeal these Acts without consulting the Commission of Assembly;⁴ and when they were rescinded on the 2nd of June 1651, it was provided that none should be admitted to places of trust or power save those who satisfied the Church for their former offences, took the Covenant, and were of 'good affection to the caus of God and of a blaimles and christian conversation.'⁵ Many of those who satisfied the Church by a form of public repentance may have been moved so to humble themselves by a sincere desire to help their country in its time of dire need; while others, it may be feared, did so in the selfish hope of bettering their position and prospects.

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 624-626.

² *Ibid.*, part i. pp. 503-505.

³ *Ibid.*, part ii. pp. 143-147.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 54, n. 2, and p. 61, n. 5.

⁵ P. 62, n. 1.

A contemporary states that the Commission's answer to the query on the 14th of December 'did mightily offend all those in the Estate that had declared themselves against any conjunction with those formerly debarred. . . . Lord Warriston, clerk register, left the Parliament, Sir John Chiesly, and some others, a little before had left the Committee of Estates. Also those ministers that favoured the Remonstrance and that association, and that had declared themselves against any conjunction [and] that were members of the Commission, did dissent and protest against the answer to the query and left the judicatory as discontented persons.'¹ These objectors were confirmed in their opposition by the repeal of the Acts of Classes. Before the end of May, Wariston had come to think that, in the Declaration of the West Kirk, 'wee was then by words playstring over a busines that God was il pleased with';² and, on the very day that the Acts of Classes were repealed, he received from John Livingstone a narrative of the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Breda, which made it more and more clear to him that that Treaty—'the fountayne of all our evil'—had been 'foule and polluted.'³

Wariston regarded the penitential satisfaction given to the Church as 'mock repentance';⁴ and in the Acts of Parliament he saw reflected 'the great defection of the land and the first rype fruits of the Malignants sitting in Parliament.'⁵ The General Assembly met at St. Andrews on the 16th of July. He was anxious to be present, and James Guthrie urged him to go.⁶ Other friends, including Robert Leighton and John Livingstone, were against his

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 251.—The reasons of the 'discontented persons' were very clearly expressed by the Presbytery of Stirling (*Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, iii. 173-181).

² P. 58.

³ P. 63.

⁴ P. 56.

⁵ P. 64.

⁶ P. 72

going, but thought that he ought to send his testimony.¹ He took their advice. Regarding his testimony, he thus addressed God: 'Thou putt it in my heade to wryte; Thou hes dyted it all; Thou hes maid me but a channel to let Thy liquor runne throu.' This was the language of gratitude, not of presumption. His wife was the bearer of it and of other papers to the Assembly. He says: 'I had charged [her] to delyver them as shoe would ansuear to God and to me, and told [her] that the not exoneration of my sprite would be worse to me than 1000 deaths.'² A man, who alleged that he had heard some of the papers read in the Assembly, 'rayled upon me and myn,' says Wariston, 'as dogs and traitors and deceivers, and deserving with al my servants to be hanged, for my wryting such papers to the Assembly.'³ Mr. John Oliphant, who presented the letter, 'might hardly be seen theirafter in the streets.'⁴ This was on the 17th of July, and Wariston regarded it as a remarkable coincidence that on the same hour of the same day the English landed in Fife.⁵ The battle of Masterton or Inverkeithing was fought on Sabbath, the 20th. The tidings of Lambert's great victory reached St. Andrews in the evening. The Assembly was hurriedly convened at midnight, and adjourned to meet again at Dundee on the 22nd.⁶ Its sessions had not been harmonious; and at the midnight meeting a protest and declinature, subscribed by more than twenty ministers, was handed in by Andrew Cant. It was read at Dundee on Tuesday in the absence of the subscribers,⁷ who henceforth were known as *Protesters*; and by them and those who adhered to them this St. Andrews-Dundee Assembly was curtly called a pretended Assembly. Those who

¹ Pp. 81, 82.² P. 79.³ P. 86.⁴ P. 91.⁵ P. 95.⁶ P. 87, n. 3.⁷ P. 93, n. 2.

supported it were known as *Resolutioners*, a name derived from their approval of the resolutions of Commission and Parliament for the levy of 23rd December.

The Church of Scotland was now unhappily split into two contending sections. Old friends who had fought side by side in earlier days became opponents, and there was much bitterness and occasionally misrepresentations, due in some cases to misunderstandings, exaggerated reports or false rumours. Of the Resolutioners, Robert Douglas was, by head and shoulders, the acknowledged leader. His ministerial supporters included David Dickson, Robert Baillie, and James Wood. Among the Protesters the most outstanding ministers were James Guthrie, Samuel Rutherford, Andrew Cant, Patrick Gillespie, and John Livingstone; and, of the elders, Wariston and Sir John Cheisly; the two most strenuous fighters being Guthrie and Wariston. In the east Robert Blair, and in the west James Durham, though keenly interested, tried to be neutral and to soften the asperities of the contending parties. Their position and attempts were not always appreciated. Blair used to say that he was 'cuffed upon both haffets' by his colleagues, Rutherford and Wood;¹ and Wariston refers somewhat harshly to Durham's 'politik halting betuixt tuo opinions.'² It is a relief to find that, despite the prevailing acridity of feeling, Wariston did not disdain to listen to the sermons of Douglas and Dickson and to commend them.³

The Diary throws much fresh light on the position, the aims, and the inner working of the Protesters. It reveals them in the main as a company of religious enthusiasts, whose zeal was not weakened, hardly tinged indeed, by

¹ Blair's *Life*, p. 343.—Haffets = cheeks.

² P. 132.

³ Pp. 239, 258, 269.

the spirit of compromise. They took their stand on the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, and on such legislation as the Acts of Classes. They were sometimes designated 'the third party'; they called themselves 'the honest party.'¹ To them no national peril could excuse, far less justify, the admission of Malignants to place and power. While opposed to the political recognition of Malignants and Sectaries and scandalous persons, they were warmly evangelical; and were as anxious to purge the ministry² as they had been to purge the army, for Malignants were, they thought, rampant in the Church as well as in the State.³

When Wariston heard that, at the St. Andrews Assembly, a protest had been entered against the approbation of the proceedings of the Commission, the news made his heart 'leape for joy.'⁴ The defeat of the Scottish army at Inverkeithing so soon after the 'Assembly's dounsitting' appeared to him to be 'a strange testimony from God against them.' 'I cannot but wonder at the Lord's part of it, adding His testimony to the testimony of His servants, in such a place at such a tyme, after so many disapoyntments.'⁵ The Assembly did not regard the defeat in that light, for, after adjourning to Dundee, it deposed James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and James

¹ Pp. 119, 143.

² Pp. 223, 229, 233, 266; Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 244.

³ John Livingstone thought that 'the power of the kirk of Scotland' had, through the 'Publik Resolutions,' passed 'into the hands of the malignant, scandalous part of the ministrie,' 'who wer enemyes to godlynesse and godly men, albeit their wer som precious men miserably intangled and insnared amongst them' (p. 180).

⁴ P. 90.

⁵ Pp. 83, 84.—He regretted 'the condition of the poor people' who partook of 'the jugment following the land's defection.' Henrietta Maria was unusually troubled by the defeat at Inverkeithing, 'she taking the affairs of Scotland the more to heart, because she was the principal actor of the king's going thither.

Simson.¹ Wariston afterwards heard that the Commission Book was not ratified at St. Andrews on the Saturday, but that intimation was made that it would be on Monday morning. 'Then it pleased God to com in with His thought, word, and work on the Sunday befor the Mononday'; and on the day that they did ratify it, the Elie was set upon by a party of English horse; and on the day that they deposed the three Protesters they were alarmed by the news of the capture of Perth.² But the most 'remarkable passage of God's providence' was His 'causing the whol minuts, warrands, acts and commissions of this last pretended Assembly, at St. Andrews and Dundie, to be taiken by the enemy [at Alyth] in M. A. Ker's clog-bag, so that God hes putt to His awen hand to delete that Assembly, and to prevent its coming ever in the records of the Church of Scotland.'³ Not only were the records captured at this time, but so were the moderator and the clerk of the Assembly, and a number of members of the Commission,⁴ who it was understood intended to process Rutherford and other Protesters.⁵ A number of the nobles were also taken.⁶ By this time Cromwell was hastening after the Scots army in England. Wariston, who knew that it was at Worcester, thus ruminated on the Alyth capture: 'The Lord, by the remnant of thes Sectaries, is beating down strangly the remayning heads of our Malignant party, Scotland's idol. Who knows whither the Lord be destroying the rest of them now gon into England, or be by them punishing the Sectarian party their, England's present idol?'⁷

and the contrary faction of Royalists impute the ill success to her' (*Domestic Calendar*, 1651, p. 311).

¹ P. 105, n. 1.

² P. 134.

³ Pp. 140, 141.

⁴ Pp. 121-123.

⁵ Pp. 129, 140.

⁶ Balcarres, who had been High Commissioner at the Assembly, succeeded in reaching the Highlands (*Lives of the Lindsays*, 1849, ii. 92).

⁷ P. 122.

He had not long to wait for the solution. In eight days he heard the result of the battle at Worcester. 'Al this was doen on Dumbar day, the 3 of September, which is a very remarkable circumstance, speaking much of God's trysting the 2d defeat on the sam day 12 month, lyk the 2d defeat of Benhadad's airmy worse then the first.'¹ Wild and contradictory rumours were rife.² 'I prayed earnestly for the poor young King, to saive his soule and body, if it might stand with the Lord's will.'³ And again: 'I prayed earnestly for our King, now hunted as a partridge on the mountaynes, and many of the Lord's own chased or captives.'⁴ Scotland was not yet to get rid of the Sectarian invaders.

The General Assembly met again in Edinburgh in July 1652. Wariston drafted a Protestation and also a Remonstrance (or Representation). These were discussed and revised by his fellow-Protesters. Andrew Cant, supported by thirty-two others (ministers and elders), presented the Representation and eight propositions 'to the new pretended Assembly' at its opening meeting. There was 'a long debayte, wherin the Lord was graciously pleased agayne sensiblye to assist me in the debayte, and to move my heart to teares that I was scarce able to reade out our obstestation of them.' A week later, 'wee was

¹ P. 132.—Cromwell is said to have chosen the 3rd of September as the day on which Parliament should meet in 1654, 'because it was lucky to him in 1650 and 1651, at Dunbar and Worcester; but he knew not how lucky the same would be to the whole nation, in 1658, at Whitehall' (Hobbes' *Behemoth*, 1682, p. 302).

² At Avondale and Dumbarton the King's victory was celebrated by cannon and bonfires (p. 136).

³ P. 133.

⁴ P. 135.—On the 4th of August 1653, a proclamation was issued 'dischargeing all praying for the pretendit King of Scottis, or his lait fatheris familie, or preaching or praying for ane monarchicall governament' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 111). Several ministers were imprisoned for 'praying for Charles Stuart as their King'; and the people seem to have been much more anxious than some of the ministers that he should be prayed for (*infra*, pp. 221, 232, 247, 257).

driven by exchaynge of papers to a conference with som from the pret[ended] Assemblie.' Next day, 'wee went agayne to our conference with the Assembly men, . . . and when wee urged to haive their propositions and ouvertures in writte, they refused it, som of them professing as the reason of their refusal that if they gaive us on[e] sheet I would returne to them 25.' Four days before this Assembly met, Wariston had a long interview with Blair, and he and Livingstone intended to call on Blair three days after the Protestation had been given in, but Livingstone was moved to stop their 'going down to him that night'; and for that delay Wariston was thankful when he heard that Blair blamed the Protesters 'as first ruynating the State by our seperat acting, and then putting the girth of the [Western] Remonstrance about it; and now the Church, by our protesting at St. Andrews and heir.'¹ It was only too obvious that the breach in the Church was not to be easily healed. Wariston 'was called and counted the cause of al the distance and division.'² Lady Riccarton candidly told him that even the good people among the Resolutioners regarded him as, by hand and pen, 'the ruyner of the Kirk of Scotland';³ and she 'looked soure' upon him and could not bid him pray because she thought that he was the cause of all the divisions, but she would not leave him out of her prayers. 'O Lord, Thou sees how even sundry of Thy servants and handmaids blaymes me for al the ruyne. In Thy awen good tyme cleer Thy awen interest and nayme and followers, I requeast The, my dear Lord, and maik hayste, and maik no tarying, becaus sundry of Thy elect ar deceived, and even Barnabasses drawen awaye.'⁴ When he heard the shouting at the proclamation of Cromwell as

¹ P. 179-183.² P. 180.³ P. 198.⁴ P. 203.

Protector, he prayed: 'O Lord! be Thou the High Protector of Thy people and interest, Thy two great jewels on the earth, and find Thou the waye to unite al Thyne in The.'¹ It was apparently with a view to drawing the Resolutioners and Protesters together that he proposed that a joint-committee should be chosen from the two parties, and that James Wood and himself should submit 'becaus of our passionat natures.'²

Another Assembly met in Edinburgh in July 1653. Wariston's Diary for that period is amissing; but Baillie piteously relates how 'Lieutenant-Colonell Cotterall besett the church with some rattes of musqueteirs and a troupe of horse,' entered the building and 'commanded all of us to follow him, else he would drag us out of the rowme'; and how they were led through the streets, encompassed with foot-companies of musketeers and horsemen, until they were a mile out of the town, and then forbidden to meet again in greater number than three at a time. Baillie says that the Protesters were gratified by the suppression of the Assembly, 'the English violence haveing trysted with their protestation.'³ On the other hand, William Row states that, although the Protesters regarded this Assembly as a pretended one, they protested against the English dissolving it.⁴ Next year, when the Protesters were holding a meeting in Wariston's house, English officers broke up the meeting. One of them threatened that if the ministers did not leave he would lay them by the heels. This evoked from James Guthrie

¹ P. 248.

² P. 311.

³ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 225, 244.

⁴ Blair's *Life*, p. 308.—Nicoll, who also describes the expulsion of the members of Assembly from the New Kirk (*i.e.* the eastmost kirk of St. Giles), states that on the following day there was a proclamation at the market cross 'dischargeing all privat meetings of the ministrie; as als dischargeing all noblemen, gentrie, burgessis, and ministeris af the town af Edinburgh with all diligence, except these quho haid to do in law' (*Diary*, p. 110).

the characteristic reply that 'that was no great argument to a man eyther of conscience or courage.' They had been debating all day about 'the taiking comissions from the Inglishes, and voted negatively that in ecclesiastical matters wee could taik non.'¹

During the four years covered by this volume the country had been devastated not only by war, but by burning and plundering. Casual reference is made to the well-known burning of Holyrood in 1650;² to the little-known burning of Dunfermline Abbey in 1651, 'which the English denyes to haive been of designe';³ and to the burning of houses in various parts of the country for which the English were not responsible. There are references to the many profane among the English;⁴ to the blasphemies, heresies, and errors in their army;⁵ to the pride of some members of the Council of State, which pride surpassed that of kings;⁶ to the hypocrisy and self-seeking of those in authority.⁷ God kept the English in Scotland 'as His scourge.'⁸ Wariston was amazed to hear of Swinton 'comending the Sectaries to the skyes';⁹ but he feared that the land might be brought 'under a worse captivity to strangers of a feirce countenance and uncou language.'¹⁰ He warned his relation Hilton that to accept a sheriffship from the English 'would indaunger his soule, body, estate, and nayme, and wrong his freinds.' Heedless of these dangers, Hilton accepted;¹¹ and Sir William Bruce, contrary to his promise, accepted the sheriff-clerkship of Stirling, though James Guthrie had

¹ Pp. 304, 305, 316.—Nearly six months before, Jaffray had warned Wariston that the English were very angry at the Protesters' meetings and testimonies 'as being of privat men laying sines to the publik magistrats' charge' (p. 212).

² Pp. 28, 29.

³ P. 97.

⁴ P. 37.

⁵ P. 208.

⁶ P. 53.

⁷ Pp. 267, 268.

⁸ P. 298.

⁹ P. 119.

¹⁰ P. 191.

¹¹ Pp. 197, 227.

said that he 'would rayther see him streiked than to embrace such a temptation.'¹

Provost Jaffray of Aberdeen was captured at Dunbar and carried to England. Staunch Covenanter though he was, his intercourse with Sectaries in that country infected him with leanings to Independency, and later he became a Quaker, a notable illustration of the danger of mingling with those who were in wrong paths. Wariston evidently loved the man and tried hard to save him from such scandals.² Colonel Lockhart was likewise infected with Brownist views, and proposed to start a congregation in Aberdeen. John Menzies and John Row were also corrupted. Some books or pamphlets which had belonged to Calderwood fell into Wariston's hands, and were useful in this connection.³ A letter of five full sheets of paper, which he wrote on this matter, gave satisfaction to David Dickson and the other ministers of Edinburgh before it was sent on to Aberdeen, where Andrew Cant was preaching against Row and Menzies, and Row and Menzies against Cant, 'to the great offence of the people.'⁴ Even Patrick Gillespie, in spite of his 'natural proud humour,'⁵ became less resolute in the cause; spoke disdainfully of testifying as 'a paper busnes and paper feyght';⁶ and accepted the principalship of Glasgow University at the hands of the Sectaries, as Leighton did that of Edinburgh, and Row that of Aberdeen.⁷

In earlier days Argyll had called Gillespie and Wariston 'two mad-headed youths that would ruine the Kirk and Kingdome of Scotland'⁸; now he was wavering and

¹ P. 210.—'Streiked,' *i.e.* laid out for burial.

² Pp. 147, 148, 244.

³ Pp. 169, 171, 173, 246.

⁴ Pp. 174, 175, 179.—Some ministers called others villains, and there were 'speeches among them not beseeming Christians' (p. 244).

⁵ P. 103.

⁶ P. 224.

⁷ Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 244.

⁸ P. 140.

showing signs of complying with the usurpers.¹ It had been suspected that he had consented to the home-bringing of the King in the hope of becoming his father-in-law. Wariston was inclined to believe that this suspicion was well founded; but, in March 1654, Argyll disclaimed knowledge of the suggested match, 'til Cassiles proposed it 8 dayes afor the King's coronation, except be waye of sport and drink.'² And the King, it was reported on credible evidence, was 'simple and creuel,' and 'ay glaiking at sermons and prayers in kirk and familie.'³ On hearing at a later date the rumour of his marriage with the Queen of Sweden, Wariston could only exclaim, 'If it was treu, their was lykly to be *manus diaboli* in it.'⁴

As to Wariston's own character, the second entry in the text of this volume displays his hasty temper. He struck a poor man for asking alms. In riding home from church his conscience smote him, and he prayed that he might meet him again in order to 'maik him amends.' He did meet him, and 'recompensed him largely.'⁵ The Malignants of old had said of him that if he had had no more than ordinary grace, he had such an 'evil and froward and untoward a nature' that nobody could have endured him.⁶ An eminent and worthy minister said to another that he was 'a turbulent, seditious man, daungerous to be in a State.'⁷ In one of his prayers he describes himself as 'a poor, silly, imprudent, ignorant, improvident, passionat, humorous, foolish, ungrate, diffident body';⁸ and

¹ Pp. 155, 218, 220, 264.

² Pp. 46, 97, 98, 126, 218.—The King consulted his mother regarding this match, and for that purpose sent Captain Titus to Paris. His instructions are dated 23rd January 1651 (misprinted 1657), that is twenty-two days after the coronation. Henrietta Maria advised delay (Hillier's *Narrative of the Attempted Escapes of Charles the First from Carisbrook Castle*, 1852, pp. 328-334).

³ P. 137.

⁴ P. 286.

⁵ P. I.

⁶ P. 34.

⁷ P. 69.

⁸ P. 254.

in another, as 'Thy poor, naughty, wretched, unuseful, passionat, humorous, vayne, proud, silly, imprudent, phantastik barroman.'¹ On being told of his son's 'high, proud, unreuly sprit,' he thought that he heard the description of his own 'youthly humor, passion and furye, my awen picture and nature in his temper.'² On one occasion, he says, 'I fashed at every circumstance of civil busines, and then reflected how unfitte I was for any publik employment and how unuseful I was to my familie.'³

He was inclined to fret over minor troubles. He was 'cankard' at his wife and daughters lying too long in the morning, and at his son's being angry at 'getting another paidagoge.'⁴ He was distempered by his wife and daughter taking part in 'promiscuous dancing' at a marriage, and spoke to them sharply about it. He was glad to see that his rebuke affected his daughter. He was also distempered by his wife's spending two days 'on vanities and worldly busines, instead of any preparations to the comunion.'⁵ 'Passionat words,' at an earlier time, passed between them, and he told her that she had been more 'uncou' to him in six months after Dunbar than for sixteen years before. He apprehended that 'a flappe' on his body would be necessary 'to bring her heart from a discontented gruging temper' to submit to and rely wholly upon God.⁶ She had much to try her temper. The cares of the household fell entirely upon her. The English invasion and its consequences had thrown Wariston out of his well-paid employment. By October 1651 he was out of all State judicatories.⁷ In March 1654 he speaks of the procuratorship of the Church as 'the only place' now left to him in the earth.⁸ As the new

¹ P. 295.⁴ P. 261.⁷ P. 150.² P. 271.⁵ P. 297.⁸ P. 216.³ P. 281.⁶ P. 45.

law lords had 'putt out the old clerks they behooved to see them gett their money agayne'; and Wariston repaid so much of what he 'had gotten for the places' that his 'stok and rent' were less than when he entered the public service in 1637.¹ His credit was so low that no one would trust a thousand merks on his bond.² 'I mett,' he says, 'with my wyfe's discontent upon folk's speeches at my lownesse, becaus of a tailyeor boy following me.'³ She had previously sold her 'sylver-work to interteane hir familie.'⁴ Later, weeping bitterly, she told him that she could not get money 'to doe our absolute necessaryes.'⁵ A servant, 'whom wee had bred both for soule and body,' wished to leave, because his wife did wear her clothes so long now, and then made them up for her children, and there were so many children that the burden was great to any servant.⁶ Eight days after this he says: 'I found my wyfe very cankerd about our affaires, and wishing rayther to be a servant to apy than the burthensom lyfe shoe had and the litle ease or helpe shoe had from me. This mynded me of my unserviceablenesse to God, and unusefulnesse to my awen, and unpleasantnesse to myself, and hatefulnessse at hom and abroad.'⁷

She was a capable, clever woman, as well as a devoted wife and mother. Not only did she look after household matters, but she appears to have taken some charge of the farming work at Wariston;⁸ and she was helpful in other ways, by interviewing Cromwell, Colonel Fenwick, the English judges,⁹ and also by correspondence.¹⁰ She was naturally anxious about the future of her children. Her husband advised her to cast them upon the Lord, 'and if He

¹ Pp. 164, 169, 170, 185, 186, 188.

² P. 201.

³ P. 229.

⁴ P. 120.

⁵ P. 272.

⁶ P. 282.

⁷ P. 287.

⁸ Pp. 272, 274.

⁹ Pp. 35, 191, 192, 281, 282.

¹⁰ Pp. 230, 254.

think not fitt to provyde any uther meanes of their maintenance, let every on of them goe to service, which by His grace I desyre and resolve rayther to doe for myself than to complye with the corruptions of the tyme.'¹ When a few days after this she was ill, he prayed that God would preserve her, and pity his condition, 'who can neyther care for myself nor my bairnes or affaires, and hes nobody in the world that would caire for me and them.'²

On one occasion he speaks of having prayed for three hours,³ and on another of praying in his sleep.⁴ Some of the Edinburgh ministers said that he 'prayed a preaching.'⁵ He was greatly given to ejaculatory prayer. One who had been very anxious to see him, when he did see him described him as 'a very glouummy man.'⁶ At a wedding supper he was wearied with the 'idle discourse'; and at another marriage he 'was wearyed to the heart with the idle discourses and longsom tables without any conference to edification.'⁷ Once he confesses to have been 'too naturally mirrye at supper';⁸ and once to finding himself 'dull and heavy with too much eating.'⁹ He had a tendency to inaccuracy and exaggeration in conversation, which he laments as 'circumstantial misrelations';¹⁰ and when he did indulge in gossip he was inclined to embellish, as on one afternoon when he 'fell in clashes of idle storyes' and 'intermixed many feignd or lying circumstances,' for which 'abhorrible corruption' he was speedily smitten in his mind.¹¹ As will be observed, he occasionally quotes a Latin phrase. In his summaries of sermons he sometimes indulges in Greek; and after Dunbar, he set himself to learn Hebrew.¹² Sir John Cheisly, one of his most intimate friends, warned him that people were offended by his writing 'in the kirk at

¹ P. 221.² Pp. 228.³ P. 80.⁴ P. 268.⁵ P. 216.⁶ P. 195.⁷ Pp. 225, 242.⁸ P. 175.⁹ P. 208.¹⁰ Pp. 288, 292.¹¹ P. 210.¹² P. 107.

the Psalms,' and wagging his head and weavling (?) his mouth at the singing.¹ Even at the communion-table he wrote.² Once he complains that he found his spirit 'vaiging' while his hand was writing.³ He was greatly interested in the conversion of the Jews and Indians.⁴ Though far from approving of Cromwell's vast toleration,⁵ he was not the author of *The Key of True Policy*,⁶ which had been attributed to him, and which maintained that Malignants, especially Scottish Malignants, 'the most vile vermine in the world,' should be rooted out as the seed of Amalek! He had a hand, however, in the preparation of the Solemn League and Covenant,⁷ a fact hitherto unknown; and he wrote the first draft of the *Causes of the Lord's Wrath*,⁸ which has been long assigned to James Guthrie. The diligent reader of the Diary will find useful hints in practical divinity, as, for example, how 'to resist the devil and maik him flye away lyk a dog with his tayle between his legges.'⁹

He hoped that his Diaries would be preserved from enemies' hands, and sanctified for the good of God's people, especially of his own children for 'whom they ar written.'¹⁰ A somewhat similar wish is again expressed;¹¹ and again he prays: 'O Lord, I recomend al my Diaries to Thy preserving and blissing hand that they may som waye be to Thy prayse. I blisse The from my heart for the good matter I haive gotten already to wryte in them thes 21 years bygon since my exercise in this place; and I praye the Lord to give me als much good matter and much mor, both of Thy influences and providences anent Thy work, remnant and barrowman, to wryte in this and any uther subsequent year of Thy contineuing my lyfe.'¹²

¹ P. 277.⁴ Pp. 178, 193.⁷ P. 72.¹⁰ P. 196.² P. 239.⁵ Pp. 217, 251, 279.⁸ Pp. 148, 149.¹¹ P. 266.³ P. 169.⁶ P. 184.⁹ P. 280.¹² P. 277.

In making the transcript, Mr. Henry M. Paton was instructed to omit all the summaries of sermons, and all the pious reflections saving any that might be of special interest, and to include everything that threw light on Wariston himself, his contemporaries, or the history of the period. Dr. Maitland Thomson kindly checked the galley-proofs with the original. In subsequently looking up some doubtful passages, I copied and have inserted a few sentences, most of which relate to the controversial pamphlets of the period. The handwriting, except in an odd place here and there, shows many signs of haste, is small, crabbed, and often badly faded. Where there is any reasonable doubt as to a reading a point of interrogation has been inserted. Of personal names very often the initials only are given, with 'M' prefixed in the case of a master of arts. There has been considerable trouble with some of these. Wariston's L and C are so much alike that it is often impossible to distinguish them; but usually the context has enabled me to decide, as also where the initials would stand for more than one man. Of his Arabic numerals, 4 and 9 are very much alike. In the footnotes the initials have been frequently expanded, so that the reader may not require to turn back more than a few pages to identify them. Wariston's spelling, like that of many of his contemporaries, though loose is regular in a way. He invariably writes 'on' for 'one,' 'the' for 'thee,' 'their' for 'there,' and 'vyld' for 'vile.' The remaining note-books bring the Diary down to 1660. Mr. Mill has furnished the Index.

D. H. F.

EXTRACTS FROM WARISTON'S DIARIES AND NOTE-BOOKS

1650. March [22 ?]. . . . Remember this week prayer for Lady Bruntsfeild's chyld and aunsweare of it. . . .

March 31. . . . On Sunday afternoon I got good in the prayer, and resolved against my passion which I observed did lye most in my blood, and vents itselth on any occasion after my new ingagments in so solemne a way to God ; and yet, after sermon, I strook a poor body, becaus he sought from me after that I had given amongst them in his sight. In ryding hom it did smyte me, and my hart wished and prayed to meet him agayn, that I might maik him amends, which, by Providence maiking him the first man in my waye, held good ; and so I recompensed him largely for my wrong to him, for he was seaklye. . . .

1650, April 7, Public Fast. . . . Mr. Robert Douglas taught on 1 Timoth. 2 ch. 1, 2, 3 v. . . . Now the work of this day to be humbled for our young King, deprecations, petitions, intercessions, and last for our commissioners. Al the sins of his predecessors should deeply humble us and the nations. Many ar lying on the familye gatherd now in this house, and this day of recking [*sic*]. Let my saule deprecat wrayth from him. 2. Let us begg grace to him and an understanding hart. 3. Let us blisse God for his preservation. Oh pray, 21 Prov. 2 v., for his conversion, his hart is in God's hand. Let non taik exception at such expressions, for his education sheweth necessity of it. And pray for God's divin pull of him out of the hands of evil counsellors, and disapoynt thair desseings, and that the Lord may give [him ?] mor heed to our comissioners nor to others, that he may maik him

[in] tyme al right, at least that God may restrayne al contrary evil courses in him and in any about him.¹ . . .

FIRST NOTE BOOK AFTER GREAT BOOK PUTT
IN CASTEL 22 JULY 1650²

FOR PARLIAMENT³

Choyse president: warne non-classed to combeir: think of foote prisoners disposal: execution of Ja[mes] Graham: proces of officers: send for K[ing's] Ad[voca]t. To report newes: comunicat counsels with Chu[rch] by a sub-committee, and prepaire a dispatch. Discharge of Malig[nan]ts: look to proclam[atio]n of 10 dayes: Stat's band and Kirk's declar[atio]n; old propos[iti]ons of peace: articles of larg treatye tuyse: Act of Classis at St. Andrews.

My speaking privatly to Col. Sibbald. . . .

Anent money to Stark and to trye Mercer. My Lord Hom standart, to hold out to last. Lyon. Dikson. Remember Mr. Marton.

To gett from Jhon Nicol and William Dumbair al the old paipers which they had of me.

About the King's house and familie.

To look Balfour's oath of coronation conforme to that of old kings from storye.⁴

Advisandum anent my cariage when commanded to wryt or exstract what is unlawfull.

Remember anent M. J. G. pension doubled, for M. R. D; Master Maxton; M. J. L. sister.

Mr Jh. Kennedy, enseigne, with 20 men ordored to

¹ The volume from which these three paragraphs are taken is mainly filled with notes of sermons. It extends from at least 10th March to 9th May 1650.

² So inscribed on inner side of front board. The date is suggestive. '22 Julii 1650, being ane Monday, the Inglishche airmy, under the commandement of Generall Oliver Cromwell, croced the watter of Tweid and marched in to our Scottis bordouris to and about Aytoun; quhairof present advertisement wes gevin to our Committee of Stait, and thairupone followit ane strict proclamatioun that all, betuix 60 and 16, sould be in reddines the morne to marche both horse and fute' (Nicol's *Diary*, Bannatyne Club, p. 19).

³ The fifth session of this Parliament met at Edinburgh on 15th May 1650.

⁴ Refers to *Balfour's Practicks* then imprinted. See 1754 ed. pp. 7, 8.

quarter in Leyth. Serjant Morison cutted by Ja. Rae constable of Leyth.

To speak with my Lord Ch[ancellor] and Argyle and S. J. Ch.¹ anent L. Col. Wallace. . . . Item, to consider of a fast upon this merch of enemyes. How to discharge Malignants ryssing in armyes. How to have army managed, by Committee or not. . . . Som of Church and Staité to meit, about coronation oath and forme, with Lyon. . . . Anent old acts for beacons. The common people under colonels of shyre apoynted by Parl[iamen]t. What decl[aratio]n to emitt with the Church, what to send to the K[ing], and whan be Chan[cellor] paiper. . . .

ANENT KING'S ASSURANCE IN CASE OF TREATYE

To ask him anent Craufurd's meiting with him, and anent treatye, and anent his sending Melvin to the King and shewing his letter to Liberton. To ask who conversed with him and what evidence he can give for what he sayd. He confirmed befor Lt. Col. Wallace and M. Weir and me the paper anent Duk, Calendar, Forth [?]. He told Forth wryte it to him by on Ja. Graham ; and so did Ayton and Eliot. He sayd Laud[erdai]l delt with Pr[ince] of Orange, and he with the K[ing], for Duk getting the emission ; and, efter he got it, the Duk sent Magdougall to him at Enzel [*sic*] [to] shayre the imployment, bot that he refused ; and that the King himselff told him thair arg[umen]ts, his near cousing, his popularitye, as by his raying the kingdom and so great an army notwithstanding al the ministers' opposition. He told Seaforth and Heipsfeild² delt betuixt him and Calendar. He told that on in Italy sayd he would be hayted by the comoun people ; and another, in Denmark, that the Scots general would be beaten at first battel and flye with 3 or foor. . . .

ANENT DISPOSAL OF FORCES

To retein to Stirling, when God calles to defence of kingdom and wee haive forces, seims not God's way nor faith's way. It losseth best pairt and pairty of Scotland,

¹ Sir John Cheisly.

² Charteris of Amisfield in Dumfriesshire.

losseth our reputation and strentheneth adversar's credit and courage and intertainment ; it losseth hearts of people and place of our solemne Ass[embly]. The sowth forces wil evanish, and northerne doe us litle good. A Scots army never for a retreate, but evanished. It endaungers the cause mainly, and wil losse good forces and provisions yee may have about Ed[inburg]h. It has been an old desyne and spoken against by the ministry. I shal hazard myself. . . .

ANENT GEN[ERAL] MAJORS

Anent publik busines relaying to the army. Gather counsel of feild-officers and doe al be their advyce, which men with lyfe is to prosecutt as upon reason. Som of committee meet with them, no arbitrary way in armyes mor then in judicatories. No necessity of gen[eral] majors ; it is no addition of officers, windy titles.

Oft debayted and resolved in negative, yet brought in ; it wil be a snaire. The Parliament eshouned¹ it. Wee never had tuo or maik threie.

Better seie who wil doe best service in this strait.

It eyther losseth the men's service or drawes on the pay to follow the nayme.

A good colonel may be an evil ge[neral] maj[or].

It may occasion several distractions, and som wil not willingly com under his hands, and ventur out in pairtyes.

That every officer upon oath putt out al officers that was Ingagers ; and this a way to put in reformeers.

They would haive place befor Holburne,² as if D. Lesly wer killed.

After hot and great debayte, the Comittee apoynted som to declaire to them that they would not determine that question.

25 [July]. At night hearing of their³ leagouring stil at Mordington. . . . Wee got on 25 July certainty of enemyes' merch from Mordingtone.

¹ Eschewed. ² Major-General James Holborn. ³ Cromwell's army.

Memorandum.—Counsel of officers anent forces for ministers; ordoring forces and heretors; anent northerne; anent runawayes; intertainment and artillery merch; purging; articles of warre; spreading of papers and intelligence; Humby [?] to stoppe intelligence to enemy; precept to general [of the] artillery; S. J. Ramsey; S. J. Hacket or his brother for S. J. Douglas; Leith al to airmes and seamen help canon; proclamation to al to goe out of toune; an exemple of censure.

NOTES WRITT IN ARMY

28 July. Our randevous; enemy at Dumbar. I proposed in Kirkleyth that a sub-comitte with generall officers and counsel of warre might consult how to dispose of their forces. The Li[eutenant] Generall¹ gaive a sharp aunsuer and I as free a reply, and they shifted it. Lauthian's motion for the King's present coming to the army debayted, and with difficulty delayed; and he told the King would com of himself, if he wer not restrayned. The General sayd if the King cam wee should not keep tranches. After this at night, above doucat, som of us prayed and consulted.

29. Sunday,² fast, Ro. Douglas on [blank]. Interrupted by enemyes' merch to Musselbrugh, our army retheyred to leagour. . . . Sent away my bairnes . . . left my family. . . . 29, at night enemy cam to Restalrig, and the King to Leyth. The airmye's exclamation and carnal courage at his presence, mor then the Lord's, was ominous in my thought that, at the best, wee gett a mixed dispensation. . . . Lord, reckon with us at any uther tyme, in any uther way, but delyver us this time from this enemy. . . .

30 [July]. In morning I wakned by alarme, . . . forenoon, I saw, upon their airmye's retheyring, our horse advanced; and then, upon their persuitt, both our right and left wing fledd and run shamefully to the tranches, which I befor feared from yesternight's crye, the King's

¹ David Leslie.

² The 29th of July was a Monday.

presence breiding carnal confidence. . . . At night Col. Montgomery and Strauchan sent out with 800 horse. . . .

On 31 July, in the morning, wee heard first of their disapoyntment, then of them boaring 3 or 4 bodies of their horse even beyond their canon, but lost som good men in their returne and was put to runne, and so wee got a mixed dispensation ; bot, blissed be God, I heard never men gaive a better charge even to the routing of them, and so helped to maik up our yesternight's dishonour. . . . If advyce given by the officers had been followed, 1500 had been sent, and, in apearance, they had been defeate. Wee heard sermon in the tranches. . . . My Lord Brody and I spak our mynd freyly to the King against his byding heir; and so, for my exoneration, I told it also to the Committee. The Committee apoynted some to represent it to the King as their humble advyce, which wee did with great freedom. It troubled me much to heare of sundry good Christian officers killed in that pairty of ours, Nairne, Ferguson, Ballantin, Ker, etc. It shew a mixture of God's dispensation upon the mixture of our counsels and forces. I wondred to heare on the uther hand the terror of God that was upon the Inglish according to that night. . . . Their foote and horse run ; four bodies of horse broken ; som of them run to Bervik, som to Hadington, som to Tranent, som 800 foote to Dunbar : General Lambert thryse shot ; Cromwel skarted in his legg ; Col. Hacker killed ; al their army faynted and dashed. . . . Wee told the King's Majestie that God was jealous of His glory, and was lykly, for that night's work and exclamation, chaynging the quarrel to undoe us. Carnal confidence in the on pairt, and discouragment of godly in it, was lykly to undoe us ; and then the society of Malignants, Ingagers, in our camp comit skirmishes, under pretence of coming and vewing the King, would undoe us. . . . I told the King of . . . Col. Boynton's going out with Col. Montgomery, and of the prented propositions presented to the Pope in his nayme. The King at last condescended to goe away. Wee maid a proclamation for Malignants removing out of camp.

1 August.¹ Strange that God disorderd and ruyned almost, by 20 horse, the party that had been assisted by Him to undoe their army; visible that God had almost ruyned us by rash conduct of L. Gen. who would also have had out the foote, which Cromwel declared he had expected to ruine, and that he neglected and impeded the mean would have totally ruyned enemy, neglected to haive reserves and guards out, to give the word and signe, to bury the dead, and yet wee would leave al to his conduct, which God blessed not but counsel of officers. He keepes us up and in to trayne them, and yet neyther horse nor foote trayned since the leagor. . . .

On Tuesday, prejudice to enemy [?].

On Wedinsday morning, terror on their army and much of their scattering.

2 August. Mett in sub-committee to advyse anent disposal of army; . . . necessity of defence dryves; waunt of intertenement for horse and men in leagor; recruits to them; their people diminish; not trayne better; resolutions hes ay caryed this busines; taik the way God blissed us in already; country ruyned by delay; a mixt way by party and battel; diversion; Scotland and Ingland different; in ten dayes provisions to be expected; if wee resolved to merch God wil furnish providences; al spake of getting provisions and trayning the army; drawing up in battel. Som spake against partyes, som for them. I told what is above and how, at Langnewton and tuyse since, God layd asyd many and maid use of few; and so Wednesday morning; and would have disappearance of men and apearance of God. I remembered counsel to French not to battel, bot assault English. It is their desyre to give us battel; bot they feare assaults; resolution hes ay caryed in this busines; God wil by few muddle them away—let us putt away Malignant alsweil as insufficient. I told God would not be with us, if wee thus mixed quarrels, counsels or forces; at the best, they would produce mixed dispensations. I spak of Col. Boynton's going out with our party. They resolved to

¹ The numeral has been altered. The 1st of August was a Thursday.

stay som dayes to dreil, and had no wil of partyes, seing enemy was intrinched. I thought by that God had put the enemy, out of his way and custom, to a defensive trinching, what he never did of befor. I saw also on Tuesday God making good use of our trinch and canon[?] for the standing of our foote, who, if they had gon as D. Lesly comanded, had been in apearance maid to storne their owen trinches as Cromwell threatned. . . . This lying of both in leagours a long tyme would undoe the poor land and people. Not a horseman or oficer in our airmy but he hes once been put to runne. . . .

3 August. Al in confusion; no counsel amongst us; enemyes taiks al be partyes, and we gett nothing be requeasts. A strange motion on fast morning to send into Ingland Ingagers and joyne with Musgrave and Withrington.¹ Continual complaints of our proclamation for removing the Ingagers; yet the Commission of Chu[rch] thought there was mor evil in their imployment then in the waunt of it. . . . Our troupers being dismounted in the party, for their remounting a route [?] master was maid, who drave in about 100 horse as they thought of country people; bot, by an unhappy mistak, they lighted most pairt on the Westland men's horses, wherupon their voluntiers could doe nothing but disband, for no man could gett his awen horse agayne. The Lord every day multiplies our distractions and confusions. . . . A Kirk remonstrance given in, for ordering of the King's family and guard, that they be of knowen integrity and holy conversation, which was shifted by many in the counsell. It was sudainly pressed to apoynt a sub-comittee, with ful power to send into Ingland; and with great difficulty I got it delayed, altho neyther the King's Majestie hes maid his declaration nor wee ours; but that wee may joyne with Scots Ingagers and English Malignants, especyaly in North

¹ On the 27th of June 1650, Parliament had resolved that Lord Withrington and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had come with the King, should leave the kingdom (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. p. 594); but on the 28th of December Withrington was licensed to stay within the country; and, on the 30th, Musgrave's banishment was repealed (*ibid.*, pp. 630, 637).

of Ingland, yet Ingagers thought a previous declaration necessary, and advyce of Chu[rch] is necessary to the staite of such a question. Soe, whither wee may act without thes, this intended offence presages evil successe to our defence. I got intelligence of recreuts from Irland and Ingland to Cromwell, and of his people's lying securly; and of the ministers coming no farther with him then Bervik, except Douning their intelligencer, and of their aunsuering our declaration, and of our declarations mightely satesfying the people; that of the ministers byding away, that of Lambert's wounding at skirmish, that boasting of Cromwel that wee could not haive a good cause who keepled in tranches and durst not trust God with the decision of it, that of their sending up bragging newes for a diurnal in London, maks al things so look lyk to our Ingagers, that, oh ! if it wer the Lord's will to maik the isseu the sam befor their second diurnal. I was refreshd at supper to heare of som new provisions coming to airmy who was lyk to starve. I was sorry to heare the lords say they would be gon as Lauth[ian] and Lau[derdai]; and that Argyle had sayd al would be lossed, and had sent his family from Stirling to Ineraray. I was weyghted to see God desert our cause, and confusion in our great-comittee, jealousy at our sub-comittee, no meiting amongst the officers, no stopping enemyes in al partes spoyling the countray. I saw not our judicatories composed and disposed as to be capable to maik a right use of a delyverance; every day they would returne to their vomit, so oft speud out, by joyning with and imploying, yea cheifly relying on, Malignants and Ingagers; and fretting at our proclamation; so that the Lord in His wrayth might justly sweepe us away, and sueare that wee should not enter to His rest. . . .

4 August. On morning of Lord's Day, I blessed God that had given us a new Saboth beyond and contrary to Cromwel's allowance, whos airmy sayd the last Saboth they should that day stoppe the blakmouthes (meaning God's servants, whom they call preists and carters by disgrace) from rayling; and their officers sayd they would in their busk coats preach in the pulpits of Edinburgh, which

I hoope God wil prevent that our eyes shal never seie it. . . . My heart got liberty to pray for this land and people, whom God had gatherd, had fedd, had yet protected, that He would pardon, that He would not desert us nor now reckon with us, but, laying asyd His awen just quarrels, would clearly decyde this proud enemye's unjust quarrel. . . . After sermon wee consulted in my tent, and their saw Cromwel's proud letter to Commissioners of Assembly¹ and tuo aunsuers to tuo of their papers so Rabsheketh lyk as gaive us good hoipes of God's speidy reckoning with thame.

5 August. . . . I heard from Cochran and Ballantin that the Inglish sayd no grace befor and after meat, had no sermons on Sunday, had a strange confidence of victory, desyred no mor bot us to feyght with them; that Cromwell sayd he was asseurd of victory as of his awen salvation, as God was in heaven, yea utherwyse that Chryst (blessed be His holy naym) was a lyar; that wee had Lambert prisoner and let him goe agayn; that wee destroyed mor corne then they. When I heard that they, instead of sermon, wer killing Bacleugh's dear and spoyling the countrey, I thought it God's just jugement upon us for the disorders of our army in Ingland upon their people. They sayd they that fell on was mad with strong drink. . . . Our sub-committee is dissolved becaus of som's gruging at it. Generall officers and col[onells] apoynted to meet and consult on what is best. Cromwel intended on Mononday to have stormed our trinch, wer not Col. Monk. They look not on us as men. His bragging letter beares to meet us and what wee can bring with us. I hope wee can bring God with us, who soon can taik order with that proud peice of clay. I got tuo letters from my wyfe full of surmises, and misreports of us as hindering battel and weakning army by purging.²

¹ For Cromwell's letter to the Commissioners and their reply, see *Records of Commission*, iii. 13-15, 19-23.

² 'Thair wes much bussines maid anent the purging of the Scottis army of Malignantis be the space of many dayis; evin than quhen the Englishe army mycht haif bene easelie routtit, and quhen thair souldieris fled in to the Scottis for feir . . .; yea, evin the nycht befor the feght, our Scottis leaderis wer in purging the Scottis army as gif thair haid bene no danger' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 28).

O Lord, direct us. At meiting in my tent, wee had no will of going into England. Lord, Thy childrein desyres wee may be out of our trinchies and goe to action, and the enemy desyres nothing mor, the countrey is destroyed by delayes. . . . They hate and abhorre Thy servants, and sayd som of them at London, as Mr. Love, Jenkins,¹ was to be execut for an insurrection. . . . They cal thy servant Mr. Douglas a jesuit, a pope, and threatens to destroy them. . . . A conference in privat of kirkmen, wher complaynt of desyres and designes to imploy Ingagers and joyne with English Malignants. I desyred that the King might be urged to passe his Declaration, wee might be exhorted to keep our voves, and be incuraged and stirred up to act for God, and leave event to Him. Mr. D. Dikson doubted much that poynt. Wee desyred a humiliation and ingagement to deuty, they resolved to seek a conference of the Comittee and officers.

On 6 August, in morning, wee spak of our seeking light and direction from God and cited many passages, then Cassills and Brody fell out on expressions of laufulnesse to imploy Ingagers and joyne with English Malignants, the K[ing's] old party, til I pressed on them Jehosophat, Asah, Amasiah's examples; and then our acknowledgments and ingagments; and that the repenting of our voves would turne God on our top. I looked for our flight ther-upon befor the enemy in on night. I sayd I thought the enemy 10,000 stronger, and wee as many weaker, but by seing thes principles amongst the best of us. I told the Lord what would wee doe if wee prevayled, or what would wee not doe when beaten. Would not purgers beare al the blayme of the losse, would not the calling in and imploying tag and ragg of Ingagers be looked on as the remedy. . . . Is not the imploying, yea the not punishing, them against 5 article of Covenant, many of our declarations and acts; and joyning with English Malignants mor nor the very Ingagers thought shayme to declare? . . . At a conference of Comissioners of Kirk with Comittee of Estats

¹ Christopher Love was executed (*infra*, p. 120); William Jenkin died in Newgate prison in 1685. (Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1775, i. 100.)

and officers they represented God's deserting our counsels and conduct. . . . In the interim wee got news of the enemys' marching bak. . . . Wee got newes of enemyes' merch to Dumbar. The Committee apoynted a sub-committee to confer with the ministers, acknowledged God's desertion and our provocations causing it, and desyring humiliation and renewed ingagment and thinking on the King's Declaration, treaty anent warre in England and Malignant persons, commission to [Lord] Neucastle.¹ . . .

7 August. Lo. Cass[illis] and Brody spak against the articles brought in by Kirk Commission and sub-committee as causes of the fast. The Lieut.-General spak bitterly against 3 article of following a way of beleiving, as reflecting on the officers; and censuring som that sayd wee should defend, and it wer bot with 500 and stiks in their hand. He sayd wee had bot beasts upon heads [?] and som would taik quarters when he should never. He sayd wee would be but at new officers, and wished that wee had them, as befor he cryed out that som of us counted them culyeons. The Commissioners of the Kirk, finding our satisfaction with the causes, declared they had exonerd themselves, and layd it at our doore as befor God. Afternoon, our horse was drawn out at Didiston;² at night, sub-committee mett and spak of the King's servants and family. I heard the enemy would returne on Frayday nixt. 6 ships of provision cam to them at Dumbar. This night I was very heavy, I saw not that wee would doe anything for God, and yet S. J. Ch.³ and I was blaymed as hindering generall officers to doe, wherof the Lord knowes how innocent wee ar. I intreated God to doe for Himself. In my sleepe I was heavy.

On 8 August, I heard the enemy was to returne to us, and after that that they wer merching to England. I urged, in regard of the misreports, that the Committee lay upon the generall officers, and counsel of so many sober [?] officers in the army, how to dispose of the forces and manage the warre to the best advantage within the kingdom.

¹ See *Records of Commission*, iii. 16. ² Duddingstoh. ³ Sir John Cheisly.

The K[ing's] letter of M[arquis of] Argyle shew he was pressing the Declaration, and the King was urging our having regard to England. I thought it a strainge work of God if Cromwel was driven or drawen to retreate to England, and leave this kingdom without greater prejudice. . . . Let the virgin daughter of Zion laugh at Zenecherib, who had not the power to cast up a mount or shoot an arrow against Jerusalem. If he returne now to England, I shal think that God hes permitted it only to give us a cleir calling to goe in to England to assist honest men their, and to resolve al our scruples, and to shew to us a demonstration of our inability to doe anything but lippen al to God, and to maik the enemyes who hes triumphed in England and Ireland to see it as another thing to medle with Zion nor with Samaria, and that they returne from God's covenanted people with disapoyntment and shayme. Bot afternoon I got it once, and then at night agayne, the certainty of the English resolution to stay about Dumbar, and to gett 6 weeks provision to weary our airmy out of it til we dissolved, and that, in the interim, their horse and foot was to com in with Harrison and Haslrig,¹ and from Irland be Cairleil way, and that E[arl of] Antrim was to invade the Highlands; al which I sent to Lieutenant Generall and his counsel, and to Committee of Estats, that afternoone. The Comittee apoynted Lauthian and me and Barclay to goe and presse the King's Majestie to emitt his declaration. If the King stik at it, as the Comittee hes doone, at the causes of humiliation, moved whyl in strats and left of upon their removal, ar tuo sad prognostiks of heavy trouble to be upon us. . . . Wee gaive warrand to apprehend and examine Daniel O'Neale. I did wryt a sad letter to M[arquis of] Argyle. . . .

9 August. Wee went over to Dumfermling. . . . Wee pressed the King by many arguments for restoring God to His honour and him to His favor, for speiding us to action which this stopped, for discouraging the enemy whos confidence is in this, and for encouraging our airmy who ar

¹ Major-General Thomas Harrison and Sir Arthur Hazelrigg.

mightely discouraged, and for preventing new states of the question between them and us befor battel, by cleiring ourselves in that wherin the King refuses his Declaration. Wee al spak very freyly and the Marquis with us. The King pressed delay and tyme to advyse ; sayd he would never referre to the Parliament to juge of thos accessory to his fayther's death ; he could not speak of the blood by his fayther's opposition, and of his mother's idolatrie ; he sayd he thought not his fayther guilty of the blood, and that he should not speak of his parents except in privat to them. Wee told him his standing and falling depended on this, and it would be counted the great prognostik of the successe of the battell, which wee knew not how soon it might be ; if wee wer beaten his refusal would beare much of the blayme, and discourage al ever to doe for him, but look for old continewed fatality and theomachy [?] agaynst his restitution. If wee did beate wee would blesse God that saved us in the poynt of our defence ; but non would think it lawful or necessar to ingage the blood of God's people for invading any in England, to restore him to his power and honor who refuses to restore God to His. I heard of an witch confessing the devil caryed 2000 of them to Cromwel's army that Mononday they cam to our tranches. I heard that Cromwel was a consuler, and had advysed with Lilly,¹ who told him he would gayne the first but not the last. I thought it observable that, in the infall, so many of the troupes which had Ingagers was killed and taken, and so few in the honest [?] troupes. Who knows but God can mak that infall the resemblance of the great ingagment.

10 August in morning. . . . After this wee heard of Argyle's and Lauthian's privat freidom with the King, then wee heard of the King's resolution to delay his aunsuer to us, wherupon wee used great freidom of expression to him against delayes and denyals, becaus it continewed God's absence, impeded his influence, forslowed our action, incouraged enemyes, discouraged his people ; they might be put to feyghting befor too-morrow, and what

¹ William Lilly, a famous English astrologer.

danger to let men feyght that apprehended God's absence for his sines ; and if beaten the blayme would lye on him ; if they did beate would follow no further then to Borders. Wee thryse attested God and him to be witnesses of our faithful and trew advyce to him, and forwarning of terrible consequences to follow on his refusal nor wee had well words [?] to forspeak off. Wee desyred him to taike head to our words as to thos who should be looked on as dying men, who, it might be, would never see him agayn, bot might leave their lyves in the feild. Wee foresaw his daunger, yea ruyne, by the Lord's continuing and prosecuting His quarrel against his house. Wee urged his refusal or delay confirmed the adversaries objections, that he had com in but upon politik interests and for his awen ends to the Covenant, which God would plaigue. Wee told that, by Covenant, he was bound to al that was desyred, and the narrative of it had on acknowledgment in general against his fayther's wayes ; and not only the Kirk and kingdom of Scotland in al their declarations, bot the King's fayther himself, in graunting narrative of propositions at Ile of Weight, had don mor then the same. He shifted his aunsuer til Mononday, doe or say what wee pleased, which maid us tell him that, seing he would not doe it, he putt us to shew what wee had doon, and his refusal and eschewing the state of the question ; and if, in it, once God's interest and his wer seperated, wee knew not if ever they would be so soon and so weal joynd agayn ; he putt the army to think of taiking or making peace offered, in sua farre as concerned his interest. I mett S. Ja. Lumsdan, who told me our officers was on thoughts to merch away with airmy to Cairleil if Cromwel intrinched himself at Dumbar. . . . I could never be for leaving Scotland's defence, which was a cleir quarrel and necessary cause and call to feyght, bot could not be so cleir in our English voyage, which would justefy their and falsefy our declarations. Wee mett then the Lord Chancellor, who told us agayn the same ; and wee, our succeste at Court to him. Then I told Mr. Douglas I would not heare of it, unles wee first fought this enemy out of Scotland, and left Leyth and Edinburgh secure

behind us. But God prevented thes debayts, for wee saw their ships coming up, and then heard their army was merching to us to force us to feyght, as Cromwell did wryte to Bervik; wherupon I heard our officers was resolved to feyght, and had desyred army and Edinburgh to keepe too-morrow for a fast to seek God's direction, presence and blissing, wherof I did wryte to the Court that the King might keepe it also. I prayed that the Lord, who maks them tuyse seek out His people to destroy them, and gaive them an fair warning by the infall (which is acknowledged by themselves, if it had been seconded it had routed them), let them and us see He hes resented them the mor to humble us and empty us of al things. . . . I heard Mr. Owen,¹ ther minister, in Bervik sayd God would bring down Cromwell and his army, who was so proud as to say at the sight of his face wee would al flye, and wrytt that he would mett us, and al that wee could bring with us without exception, altho wee brought with us God's cause, covenant, nayme, people, presence and assistance. O Lord, let us find that this Haman, who is begun once to fall befor the seed of the Jewes, shal not be able to stand against them. . . .

On Sunday morning, the fast day, 11 August, my heart prayed to God for this day and day of our ingagment, . . . and then I begged for courage and resolution to myself to doe deuty, to byde in my station, to be a good exemple and not an evil on in the day of battel, to honor and not dishonor His nayme by my cariage therein. . . . I heard Mr. G. Hutcheson pray notably, and in it taik instruments that our confidence was only in God, wherto my heart assented, and added a protestation that non of His quarrel against the King and his family light upon His people, in the day of their ingagment, seing wee haive done our utmost to haive drawn him to repair God's honor by publik acknowledgment. . . . I got several tymes teares in the church prayers, and between sermons with my wyfe, and then in privat with great freedom. . . . After sermons I heard of enemyes' merching al this day and coming to

¹ John Owen did not wish to accompany Cromwell to Scotland (Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1775, l. 153).

Musselburgh, notwithstanding of the Lord's Day, to destroy the Lord's people, and with resolutions of crewelty ; and I blissed God had given us this day uninterrupted for our fast and humiliation. . . . After supper Mr. D. Dikson and I reasoned about the King's Declaration, and I wondred to see him eyther so uncapable or so wrong in thes publik transactions.

On Mononday, 12 [August] morning. . . . O Lord, the very day of Thy reveng of the Ingagers breach of covenant and treatyes and invasion of Ingland, 17 August, aproches in this week ; shal not wee see The, the sam God on power, wysdom and justice, against thir invaders of us in 1650 as they saw The in 1648 ?

Afternoon the Lord Chancellor cam bak with King's refusal of the Declaration, which maid me the mor think of the necessity of our cleering al mistaitings of the question in our appeal to God. I heard the enemy lipned much to his fyreworks : Lord, disapoynt thes also.

13 August, Tuesday morning. . . . I cannot bot blisse God for His preventing, forseing providences, casting som useful servants, airmes, horse, and uther things needfull, seasonably in thy hand for such a tyme of need, and giving my wyfe sooner and mor strenth nor ever shie had in hir recovery, so that I see Thou tymed weal hir delyverye. . . . This day the enemy marched to Pentland, which maid us resolve to draw out be the west hand. Wee heard of scruples in sundry upon the King's refusal of the declaration. Wee sent S. J. Ch.¹ to Abbay to bring them up to Westkirk. He returned and told me of M. R. D.² and M. D. D.³ startling passionatly at Col. Ker and Strauchan's stiking til they got Commission's aunsuear. I resolved to declaire for myself, altho non uthers would doe it. Wee mett in comission. I saw Mr. Ja. Durham coming seasonably to further the busines. I told my mynd freyly. . . . At last wee agreed on a Declaration stating our quarrel unanimously, and theirafter in Comittee of Estats after sundry debayts, and resolved to haive it prented and sent

¹ Sir John Cheisly.

² Mr. Robert Douglas.

³ Mr. David Dickson.

to Cromwell, to cleare us from their mistaiting of the question between us and them. Therein wee declare, wee ar to feyght on our old principles, disclaymes sines, ounes not the King bot in so farr as he ounes God. . . . The King's letter to Comission and Comittee cam after this was doon, and desyred a conference on the Declaration.¹ . . .

On Wednesday, 14, wee printed short declaration, and hearing al yet lay stil, I begged the Lord might be in our counceils and actions this day. . . . I went and caused spread sundry of our short declarations amongst the enemye. Afternoon Cromwell sent a rapsodik aunsuer to our paper, shewing that he could not seperat our conjunction with the King from Malignancy, and that he was ready to feyght us. Theirafter the ministers told of their sending som to the King's Majestie, and pressed on our consciences the guilt of not purging and setling the King's family, as the cause of our obstructions from man and desertion from God; and theirfor pressing us, in this day of our strait (wherin wee stood so much in need of God), to doe deuty and comitt succes to God; wherupon wee apoynted Malig-nants to be aprehended by the footguard, especyaly Oaam [? Owen] O'Neale, S. Jh. Henderson, S. Ja. Montgomry, that non should be in his family,² who wer not of constant integrity in the cause and feared God, or who had been in airmes or given counsel against it, and non who had not befor now taiken the Covenant; and wee recomended Col. Graves and Captain Titus for English, Col. Gilbert Ker and Archibald Cambel for Scots, to be grooms in his bed-chamber. Wee fell in som heats, adjurned the Parliament for a fortnight, har[d] it observed that the morrow was the day of the month of Kylseyth and the day of the week in the month of Preston, and the day of our Parliament, and in our intention the day of our drawing out and feyghting. I was troubled to heare that som officers wer not fully satisfied with what the Kirk had doone, bot had som motions amongst them that would breake us in peices. I

¹ See *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 25-29.

² That is in the King's family or household.

stryve to prevent them, and saw no good but evil from any of their receyting letters from Douning.

On Foorsday, 15, morning . . . I marked Cromwel's letter lower in his resolutions and apeales nor befor. I heard our paper vexed many of them and hindred their yesterday's intended merch. I thought who knows if God wil muddle them away as . . . M. Geo. Monroe's forces at Stirling [in] 1648, and never putt it to a feyght, nor ventur blood of His willing people. . . . I heard many of the enemy was runing away, a swelling seaknesse amongst them lyk the plague, as is visible in Irland, their being above 20,000 of them dead their by it. I saw theirafter their ships for most part reteyring eastwaird, a token of their retreat to Musselbrugh, and not advancing to Corstorphin Craigs as som of them had sayd. . . . I heard it observed that Saturday nixt, the 17 of August, was the day of our settling the Solemne League and Covenant, and was the day of defeating the Ingagers who had invaded contrar to Covenant and Treaty. This afternoon I heard of the officers of the airmy agreing on an honest remonstrance, to concurre with the Commissioners of the Church and Committee of Estats, for stating the quarrel, purging of the King's family and leifguard, and debarring the Malignants, and executing the Act of Parliament, and then withal they inclyned to intimat to Cromwell that wee would give battel in a faire feild, and desyre him to agree to tyme and place, and to leave the decision of the cause to God, to whom both had apealed; and desyred in this the concurring advyce of the Commissioners of the Kirk and Comittee of Estats. . . . I apoynted this [remonstrance] to be communicate to the King and prented, and thanked God and the airmy for it, and it wil help to dill doune the many idle clashes of people against us for the declaration.

16 August, wee spent al day in going through al the regiments of horse and foote, and purging out and placing in of officers, wherin I pressed upon their consciences that the guilt and blood and mischeife that may follow on haiving Malignant, profan, scandalous persons and Ingagers in our airmy, lye at their doore who gives not

information, and not at the kingdom's doore, nor of us who ar intrusted by them, and desyres upon information to purge the army, and hes by writ and word pressed them to give it. . . . Then wee urged that thos who took on their charges, and was unqualified for it, should lay to heart that the blood of thes under their conduct which wald be shed through their unskilfulnesse would lye heavy upon their consciences in the day of their accoumpts, besyds the weyght of the prejudice to the cause. The Lieut.-General, or General Major, went alongst with us al the day. The Lord Chancellor went also through them, and harangued to them for their encouragment, pressing resolution and ordor, and keeping in bodies and not breaking loose, eyther when enemy runes or som other compaynes or compagnons of their awen runes. . . . At night I heard of enemyes' intrinching themselves, of their being 3000 weaker then they wer, and then I heard of the King apoynting S. J. Lumsden to byde at Stirling with the Northerne forces, which wee would have hither. Then I heard a difficulty of resolving how to mak our army face and fecht in what ground, difficulty of ships flanking our army on the on hand and our leaving Leyth and Edinburgh open to them on the other by going to Edmiston, seing the Kirk was not clear to apoynt day and place for battel. . . . It was a wonder how he has now for a month interteaned them and had suffered so litle prejudice by our enemyes being now four weeks in Scotland. . . . At night I heard the King had in Declaration given satisfaction to the ministers. . . .

On 17 August, the day of Covenant and Preston feyght. . . . This day I heard our great strayte, for wee would not doe and could not subsist. . . . I heard their resolution to break their trinches on Sunday night, and merch on Mononday morning to Couslingward. Wee heard the King had subservyed the Declaration after many debaytes. The Lord sees us in a great strayte; a meiting of officers, Comittee, and Commission of Church, was pressed and apoynted; and wheras wee heard that they had befor resolved to draw out on Mononday morning, their result

was close off that, but that in reguard of impossibility of attacking the enemy on their ground at eyther syde, and the necessity first of fortifying Leyth, they would lye still ; and when wee told impossibility of subsisting betwixt thes two extreames, I sayd God had mater to work on, *ubi homo desinit Deus incipit*. . . . At last wee resolved to draw a trinch and a ditch about Leyth, and goe ourselves out to Dalkeyth, and then eyther fall on the enemy, or, as som proposed (which I opposed), to merch into Ingland that they might follow. But the Generall and Lieut.-General took their huff, becaus wee would not without Edinburgh's consent presently put in Jh. Lesly to command Leyth, and went away in passion. Al was convinced of their being wrong and doing wrong, and in my awen secret thought as wee may see God hes deserted them. . . .

On Sunday, 18 August, morning . . . I had scarce weal ended prayer, for our direction from our enemyes overruled by Him, seing wee could gett non from our conducters deserted by Him, when the woman tels me of the enemyes' merching westward eyther to south of Edinburgh, or to Pentland. I blissed God for the newes, seing our officers pretended an impossibility to goe against them in Musselburgh ground. I thought it strange to see them ay thus break the Lord's Day and interrupt His ordinances amongst us. . . . This maid us draw out our right wing of horse and foote to Coltbrig. . . . The enemy lay stil that night. . . .

On Mononday, 19 August, . . . wee past al day in leagour, at night resolved to merch the nixt day to Corstorphin hill and Cramond moor, and offer them battel, and send out a party. Lord direct us. I must leave this book. God grant me much mater of God's apearing and acting for His interests and people, altho man disapeare as I may fill it with observations of His influences and providences. And now this 20 day, in the morning, having at night read 27 Ps., and this morning 46, and going to our army who is merching to the moor to draw up in battell, I committ al Thy interests, nayme, cause, work, covenant, people, and al myn, soule, body, wyfe, bairnes, family, calling, estate,

nayme, to The, my Lord my God, that Thou may apeare, in Thy direction and protection, the covenanted God of the land and work and people, the covenanted God to me and myn in Jesus Christ. *Credo et videbo, credat semen meum et videbit.* 20 August 1650.

A. JHONSTON.¹

Ch[ancellor] and Argyle to quyt regiments to frends and be in purging as Cass[illis], Brody, Jaffray; in case of seaknesse, necessary absence, to fill up as in Committee of Estats and moneys.

Memorandum.—Letter¹ to shyres for posture; Innes regiment; toune of Edinburgh to dispatch new members; their artillery and provision; to call for ministers; to disposal of forces; a new arreist of victual; chirurgiens and ministers; to speak anent the Atholmen; to call Massey² and S. Ja. Lumsden to counsel of warre and comittee; the toune of Edinburgh, assistance of youths and closing of shops; fying of beacons; sending for gunners; anent Malignants rying to a heade.

To the King at Falkland, grounds of my conference. . . . Remember the grounds of my letter—that he mayk Christ's cause upmost and not his crone, and use lauful means and instruments; joyne covenant and reconcilment with God, a covenanted and converted king; haive quarrel of his fayther's house removed and mercy manifested; hypocrisie would sooner ruyne him nor his fayther's opposition did him. . . . That he seek fellowship with God . . . follow the advyce of God's servants . . . suspect al counsels and persons whatsoever that would seperate him, and cast in bones of division betwixt him, and the Church of God . . . his satisfying Church and following their counsel wil mightely ingage the English

¹ Here the narrative closes; but at the end of the volume there are some notes, of which the more interesting are added.

² Major-General Massey.

ministry and Presbyterian party in England. Ireland; God's plague on Sectaries in Ireland and suord against Irishes . . . let not Duk B. and Seym[ou]r[?] and Fraysar¹ be the conducts from Irishes, English Malignants and Scots to him, for that wil ruyne him. . . . Tell him . . . that I cannot serve God and him with a good conscience without privat freedom to him, which his fayther took not il but weal, as he told when he maid me King's Advocat at Newcastle, but that he differd in jugment. . . . Let their be Christian ordor kepted in his family, and alsweal that himself keep public ordinance, familie service, and privat devotion. . . . Vow to serve your covenanted God, think Christ's charter and yours under him to Scotland al on, *federatus deputatus federati Dei federato populo*. Prerogative is a secret that ryves in the streitching, as K[ing] J[ames] 6 sayd. Your fayther wronged it in debaying it . . . Let al about him or under him follow his exmple in satisfying the Church, discountenance al profanety and profan persons at his court, and let religion have credit in it, and God's servants be encouraged in it. It was by the advyce of som few ministers and som in the State, their privat meiting and resolvings befor publik debaits, that the Lord hes caryed on al this busines and kepted unity; let him think on the lyk way as he would prevent rupture and jealousies which wee ay found when wee left them off. To desyre him to reade the Province of London's *Vindication* as shortest and cleerest for grounds of Presbyterian gouverment.² . . . If he heare any misinformation of me, that he would acquaynt and heare my reasons, becaus som, for favor and humoring of him, may goe a greater lenth then God's servants and his best subjects darre goe, and then therby breed mistakes,

¹ Duke of Buckingham and Henry Seymour? and Dr. Fraser, physician.

² The work thus referred to is a quarto pamphlet of 175 pages, and is entitled 'A Vindication of the Presbyteriall Government and Ministry: together with an Exhortation to all the Ministers, Elders, and People, within the bounds of the Province of London, whether joyning with us or separating from us. Published by the Ministers and Elders, met together in a Provinciaall Assembly, Novemb. 2^d 1649. . . . London, Printed for C. Meredith at the Crane in Pauls Churchyard, 1650.'

distances, differences, pairtyes, and so dispyrit and therby disable Scotland to doe him good. . . . Pardon for faivor, seek present and future liberty, and that out of conscience and affection, with al respect to monarchy and to his family and person; fayther allowed it and cryed for my memorandums.

The King took weal what I sayd, and desyred me to use freedom with himself. I pressed much his privat reading the Word and privat prayer and seeking counsel of God. I promised to him to send to him the Inglish ministers of London their *Vindication*. . . .

Upon the speaking of thes things, he gaive me com-mission to tell to the Assembly that he would within tuo dayes wryte to them that which he was confident would give them al satisfaction.

A strainge thought—on the 13 July [1650], upon newes of Cromwel's coming to Berwik to invade us, and reading of their Declaration so voyde of pretence, let be reason, for justice and necessity of that invasion—was borne in upon me that, as God brought D. Hamilton in London to publik justice, and Ja. Graham in Edinburgh,¹ so would He bring Cromwel, comander-in-cheif of the invading airmy, to publik justice in Edinburgh ere long; let us but doe deuty and trust in God.

Motion for fast to Assemblie, as at Westminster, that they might, according to God's style send orders to heaven (comand yee Me anent My sons and work of My hands),² as wee had sent to shyres.

THE K[ING'S] DECLARATION

He saw Cromwel's letter and Comittee's aunsuer; their

¹ James, first duke of Hamilton, was beheaded in the Palace-yard at Westminster on the 9th of March 1648-9 (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 387). Montrose was hanged at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on the 21st of May 1650 (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 12).

² Isaiah xlv. 11.

quarrel for Ingagment, dissent, refusal of treaty, treaty with him, inclosing of him, many slanders against him, rekning old quarrels.

His desyre to satisfy his people now put to warre and blood for him and convince his foes and [reconcile ?] God. He craves God mercy for al the oppositions of his fayther's house and his awen to the Covenant and cause, work, and people of God, desyres al his people to pray to God, alswel as to feight with men, for him.

He shewes his firme resolutions to live and dye in and for the Covenant he hes suorne and subscryved. He declares his desyre and resolution to give to Ingland satisfaction alswel as to Scotland ; and, if it be found necessary by his two kingdoms, he shal returne and give ful content to them in the propositions of peace which was presented by both as sufficient [?] and necessary for the good of both, the refusal whcrof occasioned the breach betuixt his fayther and them ; and, farther, what in regard of the many emergents shal be found necessary for quyeting his kingdoms, he shal be willing of an act of oblivion of al past, except som few who wer main authors of his fayther's murther and chaynge of gouvernement, as few as in propositions they desyred of him, and som others goe out of the cuntry til be warrand of Parliament they returne.

That he shal follow advyce of Assembly of Divynes, and prosecut Confession, Directory, Presbyterian gouvernement.

That he shal shun the counsels and compagne of thes who hes been ay enemyes to the cause ; and shal be willing to give the sam satisfaction to Ingland as to Scotland.¹

¹ The four preceding paragraphs briefly give the substance of the Declaration issued by Charles the Second on the 16th of August 1650, and commonly known as the Dunfermline Declaration. In all civil matters he promised to follow the advice of his Parliament, and such as should be entrusted by it ; and, in all matters ecclesiastical, the advice of the General Assembly and its commissioners. Several editions of the Declaration were printed by Evan Tyler in 1650. It was reprinted in 1713 ; and is in Walker's *Historical Discourses*, 1705, pp. 170-176, and also in *A Collection of Sermons, Speeches, etc.*, 1741, pp. 534-544 ; 1799 ed., pp. 546-556. There is a summary of it in Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 92-94, and in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, p. 599.

To cause prent his concessions and invitation, explanation, paper of persons, letter to Ass[embly]. Gett and copy them from Brody.

Memorandum.—To lay up keyes of Castel registers,¹ my last register book and sermon book; to wryte, if I can, my testament; committ wyfe and children and al to God, my God; taik concession, invitation, explanation, with me. M. Jh. W. is to wryte letters to Thomas Jaffray or William Douny or Mr. Mungo Murray, and to be writt to be read at the fyre be William Vayne.

Liberton's airmor; my paper from Douglas and Cheisly, and Mr. Guthrie; my sermon book and litle manuel; a body of the laite Acts.

ANENT DIVERSIONS

King hes not declaired, nor Comittee nor Church, anent state of question; nor association with Malignants, nor feyghting against them if in airmes. Consider if wee wil undertaik to act without them. If wee shal rayse Malig-nants or oppresse honest English, becaus Sectaries invade us or shal invade the kingdome, that retorts on us our thought of their wronging us, falsifye ours and verefy their declarations anent our invasion, maik us losse al the Presbyterian pairty, no Presbyterians wil ryse til the army be defeat. The raying the North, which is Malig-nants, is a sin indangering the cause. Power of Committee of Estats limited to defence. What if Lambert had come in, when D. Hamilton went in? Wee shal leave a cleir

¹ On the 12th of March 1649, Parliament ordained John Dickson of Hairtrie to deliver to Wariston, as clerk of register, 'the keyes of these houses within the castell of Edinburgh where the Registeris and recordis intrusted to the Clerkis of Register lyes and remanes,' 'togidder with the saidis haill registeris, rollis, recordis, and inventaris thairof' (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. p. 277). Two days before, Wariston had been appointed clerk of register (*ibid.*, p. 274) in room of Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, who had been deprived on the 13th of February for complicity in the Engagement (*ibid.*, pp. 179-181).

necessary deuty of defending our prym cityes loose to a sinful compliance, and wee shal goe a plundering. Let us rayther decyde—they that wil to Ingland, goe; they that wil byde and defend Scotland, let them byde and goe wheir God may use them. To oppresse the people, becaus of a prevayling party invading us, is just as unlawful on our part as wee say it is now on theirs, for Hamilton's invasion; especyaly North being unwilling and Lancashyre alsoe. They would taik our cityes and then follow, knowing wee cannot master their guarrisons, and they care not for North countrey. Our oppressions wil disaffect them. Wee wil scatter for wantt of provisions, as of befor, if not furnished by girnells. A preferring the King's interest to God's and the kingdom's defence. Would wee com out of Ingland if they retheyred to it, or if they wer beate?

ANENT THE APEALE

Som to advertise the West and Quensferry. It looks not so defensive lyk. It seimes a tying to on mean, a countenancing of apeals, a breiding many doubts incase of enemye's successe, som thing of presumption and flesh and blood in it; better to draw out and see if invader will offend, and then to taik advantages the best may be, and follow Providence. . . . Let the Malignant party ryse in armes behind us, as they ar preparing for it. . . .

3D BOOK BEGINNING 8 OCTOBER 50¹

On Sunday, 17 November . . . I heard M. J. Guthry explayne 30 Jer. 14, 15, 16; M. D. Benet explayne 6 Hos. from 4 v.; Mr. Alexander Dunlop upon 7 Josh. from 8 v.; and M. J. Carstares, after his forlooth, teach upon 29 Jer. 10, 11, 12, 13 v., and he prayed most notably, and I got liberty therat. . . .

On Mononday, 18 [Nov.] ryde to Perth,² and heard

¹ So inscribed on the inside of the front board, and '3' on outside. The first part is amissing; the remaining part begins on the 17th of November.

² 'The time of Parliament at Perth drawing near, the King, by his letter, invited the meeting of Church and State to Perth' (Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, iii. 121).

of burning of the Abbay of Holyroodhouse,¹ with Prince of Orange his death,² and of Comittee's going high on Remonstrance³ and som condemning it in discourse as against Confession of Fayth, Covenant, Acts of Parliament, deuty, conscience, mutinous, treasonable, and the King's Advocat⁴ would draw a criminal dittay against it. . . .

On Tuesday, 19 [Nov.] I prayed for light and got it in debayts at Comittee, whair Balcarras would haive had me removed as a contryver of the Remonstrance.⁵ I acknowledged God's justice from him, becaus of my not giving in the paiper which I had under his hand to debarre him; and then I told my mynd, as befor expressed, fully; but desyred the favour to be absent, for my mynd was far different from the taible, and I behooved to expresse it, and so would but continually trouble them; but they pressed me to sitt still; and I debayted against the raying of Remonstrants even out of judgment let be conferences. I told, albeit their never had been such a Remonstrance, I would haive frely told my jugment anent the mater, the causes of God's wrayth and remedies of it. Seing the State so corrupt I wished to be away, and let them alon, as in 15 Math. 14 v. and 4 Hos. . . . I

¹ 'Ane number of the Englisches fute men being ludgit within the Abay of Halyrudhous, it fell out that upone ane Weddinsday, being the threttene day of November 1650, the haill royall pairt of that palice wes put in a flame, and brint to the ground on all the pairtes thair of except a lytill' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 35).

² The Prince of Orange died of smallpox on October 27, eight days before the birth of his son, who was destined to become king of Britain.

³ 'The Humble Remonstrance of the Gentlemen, Commanders, and Ministers, attending the Forces in the West,' addressed to the Committee of Estates, is dated 17th October 1650. It is printed in Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 141-160, and in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, pp. 604-608.

⁴ On the 10th of March 1649, Parliament had appointed Thomas Nicolson to be his majesty's advocate in place of Wariston, who that day had been appointed clerk of register (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 274. 275).

⁵ At the meeting of Committee of Estates on 23rd November, 'Varreston did grant that he did see it, was at the voting of it, bot refused to give hes votte therin. He denyed that he wes accessorey to the contriving of it at first' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 169).

thought it remarkable to hear of K[ing's] sister and good-brother's death, and Duk of York playing the rodomontado at Bruxels against his mother's and brother's will,¹ and lykly to mak pairtyes for himself against his brother amongst the Inglish. Thes, joyned with burning the Abbay, imported God's anger going on against the family. I thought of the publik deuty of publik advyse to the King, and of privat advyce also to him. I prayed on this fast day for the Lord's light and lyfe to me, and for His counsel and conduct to me, and for keeping my foot from slyding or falling in this slippery tyme and way, and I shuld blisse Him al my dayes for it as a great mercy never to be forgotten. . . . Arg[yll] urged tuo questions upon Remonstrants' petition to Comittee and not to the King, if they would declyne the King's authority, and if they would maintene it with their sword; hard to feight in a busnes whair God's quarrel is just, but man's unjust. . . . Afternoon, Comission mett and M. R. D. did wrong[?] in nayming conferers. At conference wee spak freely. I urged the searching out and humbling for the sines which caused His wrayth.² . . .

On Wednesday, 20 [Nov.] I read 1 and 2 Habakkuk; . . .

¹ The Princess Elizabeth died in Carisbrook Castle on the 8th of September, and on the 24th was 'decently interred' in Newport Church (*Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1650, pp. 355, 356). The Duke of York, who left Paris against the wishes of his mother, remained at Brussels from the 13th of October until the middle of December 1650; and while there heard of the defeat at Dunbar and of the death of the Princess Elizabeth and of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange (Clarke's *Life of James the Second*, 1816, i. 49).

² At the meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly held at Perth on the 19th of November 1650—Mr. Robert Douglas, moderator—a committee was appointed to confer with Lord Burleigh, the Laird of Niddrie, and James Sword (who had been sent by the Committee of Estates) regarding the Western Remonstrance and the best means of uniting the forces (*Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 115). Wariston and several others, who had been appointed by the Commission at Stirling on the 16th of November to consider the Remonstrance (*ibid.*, p. 112), were not included in the committee appointed on the 19th. There had been high words at Stirling between Wariston and Robert Douglas and others concerning the Remonstrance; and at the Perth conference, which was held in Argyll's chamber and lasted four days, Patrick Gillespie and Wariston spoke most for the one side (*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, iii. 121).

gott, by a good providence, from M. Murray my lettres, which he took from me, to King and comissioners, and which cleareth that in them I expressed the sam principles I doe now. . . . I saw L. of Brodie produce C[ol.] Strachan's letter to Comittee. I heard of M. Jh. Forbes at his sentence, 1606, at Lithgow, sayd that, if the King went on thus to persecut God's servants the Lord would reject him and his as Saul; ¹ so did L. Arb[uthnot] tell me in Perth. E. Lauthian sayd Remonstrance was a dittay, sentence, band to execut it; A[rgyll] challenged it of sedition and treason, and chalenged ministers as taiking too much on them, and he pressed ay their declyning of the King's authoritye. I thought the Lord in his providence suffered them to haive som advantages in formalities of law, and be Col. Strachan's miscariage, to haysten them on in their violent course.² They pressed them, becaus they omitted the King's nayme in oaths [?]; but not the Malignants for leaving out the Committee's warrand. They censured the Westland Remonstrance mor nor Northland Band.³ At night hearing the Comittee would goe on hiehandedly, I advysed the Remonstrants to give a testimony by a protest to be extended, and I resolved to enter my dissent also.

On Thursday, 21 November, I read 3 Habakkuk and marked in it for publik busines 1, 9, 13, 14, 17 v. . . . Wee

¹ 'The quhilk, maist pithilie reassouning from les to moir, he applyit to the king; and thairon directing the admonitioun and threitneing most terribill, maide all the heireris astonischit, and their hairis to stand' (Melville's *Autobiography and Diary*, Wodrow Society, p. 625). For Forbes's own report, see *Certaine Records*, Wodrow Society, pp. 490-492.

² 'Strachan indeed, the chief author of all this mischieffe, had before foullie betrayed his trust, and since is gone unto the enemie' (Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, iii. 107). On the 12th of January 1651 he 'was excommunicat and delivered to the deivell, in the churche of Perth, by Mr. Alexander Rollocke' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 240). He was summoned to appear before Parliament on the 24th of March on a charge of treason, but did not compear (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 658-661); and, in the following month, was condemned as a traitor by the Committee of Estates (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 52). He was a native of Musselburgh (Lamont's *Diary*, Maitland Club, p. 27).

³ 'The Northerne Band,' signed by Huntly, Atholl, Middleton, and others, is in Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 129, 130, and in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, p. 603.

adjourned Parliament.¹ Heard L. B. was Thorneton's bastard, thought it an il token that he reuled the roost at Court. The[n] fell on quartering in West, comitting the ceremonies of coronation, and giving lettres of mark against al in Ingland who obeyes not the King presently,² which is all and this contrary to King's Declaration and ours, and that which will import a national hance [?] between the kingdoms.³ . . .

6 BOOK FROM 28 MERCH 1651⁴

28 Merch 1651. In Culros, I prayed on 36 Ps. with liberty. Got newes of the burrows carying the independant committee of the airmy according to Kirk's ouvertour. . . . I had been caryed away as a delinquent and prisoner, wer not their feare of the Registers, becaus my nayme was only in the passe.⁵ Then I got the certaynty of God's special

¹ The meeting of Parliament had been adjourned by the Committee of Estates from the 20th to the 22nd of November, and on the 21st was adjourned to the 26th (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 166).

² On the 21st of November the Committee of Estates ordained a committee to meet that afternoon 'for entering the quarters of these be northe Starling to goe be southe and west the Tweed'; a committee 'for the King's coronatione' to meet next day; and that letters of marque should be given to all demanders of the same 'against suche as acknouledges the comonwealt of England' (*ibid.*, iv. 167).

³ The rest of this volume (54 pp.) is occupied with 'Notes for use anent Remonstrants.'

⁴ So inscribed on inner side of front board. Several of the pages have suffered from damp, hence the writing is less legible.

⁵ When Edinburgh Castle surrendered to Monk, on the 19th of December 1650, it was stipulated that 'the publicke Registers, publick moveables, privat evidences and writts, be transported to Fyffe or Stirlinge, and wagons or shippes be provydit [to] transport the same' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 230). Five days later Parliament gave orders for a letter to be written to the Clerk Register, that the public registers, records, and warrants might be transported towards Stirling Castle (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 626, 627). Wariston thought that Dunbarton Castle or the Bass, if well garrisoned and victualled, would be safer (*Booke of the Universall Kirk*, iii. xxix.). According to Balfour, Wariston, being a long time at Edinburgh, on the 'pretext of bringing the Registers from Edinburgh Castle,' had divers meetings with Cromwell in the beginning of February; and about the middle of that month 'cam to Perth, and had privy conference with his Majestey, ane houer and a halffe, in his bed chamber; and thereafter, within two dayes, returned to Culrosse, quher he abode' (*Historical Works*, iv. 249, 250). The Registers were soon taken to Burntisland, and a

providence preserving S. Jh. Cheisly his lyfe, by making him flye in the evening upon the report of the English seazing on som men, and within 3 hours an officer of ours [?] called Cambel cam doun with 14 Highland sojours from Dumbarton to Glascou, entred his house and with drawen whingers and durks sought him, and professed to stobb him rayther then taik him awaye; for the which I desyre to blesse the Preserver of men, as he wrote to me to doe. . . . I heard of the certainty of Cromwel's life and recoverye, wherin a sojour sayd he wist that it wer not according to Th: Rymor's propheeye, the dead would rys agayne and work great wonders.¹ I heard my passe was come. I earnestly recomended both my voyage and my family to the Lord . . . especyaly seing uthers was observing som providence in this taiking of the Registers, as maid use of by God, to preserve my lyfe, which they apprehended to be in extrem daunger when the sojours of our army should come to Culros. I blissed God for His protection and fellowship in that wilderness, wheir I and myn could scarce gett a hole to hyde our head in; and yet He maid me weal content with it; oh that my wyfe wer so to, whos discontented humor maks me the mor apprehensive of som sharper tryal to hir, and it may be in my person.

29 Merch, in Bruntlyland, . . . did wryte to Perth my mynd freely, and landed at Leyth, and blissed God in my

contemporary states that 'the Register of this kingdome, that came from the castle of Edenbroughe (at the rendring of the castle to the English) was shipped att Bruntellande, with a purpose to cary them to the Basse, bot the shipe was scarslie come the lenth of Kingorne, when ane English frigotte seased upon her, and caried her to Leith' (Lamont's *Diary*, Maitland Club, p. 29). Lamont does not give the precise date of the seizure, but it appears to have been in the second week of March (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 490; *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, Bannatyne Club, p. 13). On the 20th of March Parliament ordered Wariston to go to Edinburgh 'anent the taking of the Registeris and to deall for bringing of them bak' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 647). They had been taken 'contrair Cromwell's passe, granted for transporting the same to aney place within the kingdome of Scotland by sea or land, of the dait 13 Januarii 1651' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 266, 267).

¹ Cromwell 'never spared himself, and in February 1651, he fell ill of an intermittent fever brought on by exposure. Three successive relapses brought him to the verge of the grave, and more than once his life was despaired of' (Firth's *Oliver Cromwell*, 1900, p. 288).

awen chalmerforal His countenances, assistances, influences and good providences, since I went out of it. . . . The spring is going on, tyme of warre, and therby of great chaynges aprocheth. . . .

30 Merch [Sabbath]. . . . After prayer in family . . . recommending to God . . . to protect and preservé my children and papers. . . .

31 Merch. . . . At night with difficulty I got on word of the Gen[eral],¹ for the poor men who delayed me becaus of their alarum, which maid them that night to merch to Blaknesse.

Apryle 1651

On Tuesday, the 1 of Apryle, . . . afternoon I prayed in privat with Col[onel] Ker and Lady Inglest[on] . . . I heard of Provest's, S. J. C., and Inglest[on's]² melancholiousnesse, and did wryte to them against it. . . . I heard from M. J. G.³ of som lords protesting in Parliament and leaving it, which wil be a straunge passage; and of his going from Stirling on the Mononday to Glascou. The ministers and I, at desner, fell in an discourse of Carberry, Carlowry, on Patrik Young, and another, William Nisbet, brother to the minister of Irwyng, who was eminent professors for many yeirs, and then the first tuo fell into play, and dyceing and carding, and uther scandals, and the uther tuo into drunkennesse, and that the Lord befor their death brought them to great terrors, and at last to mercy as thro the fyre, but never recalled them to a profession, let be that eminency of it agayne. Wherupon I observed hou dangerous it was, far mor to eminent instruments, to fall in God's work; for tho He wil saive their soules, yet readily He never maiks that great use of them as befor, which troubled me in relation to M. R. D., M. D. D., M. R. B., M. J. D.,⁴ and maid me crye to the Lord never to leave me to myself. . . .

¹ Cromwell.

² Sir James Stewart, Sir John Cheisly and Major Inglis of Ingliston.

³ Mr. James Guthrie.

⁴ Apparently Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Durham.

On Wednesday, 2 Apryle, . . . I heard that Blaknesse was taiken.¹ I earnestly desyred the Lord's good hand to be upon me in this busines of the Registers, which ar under my charge and trust. . . . Afternoon, I drew up the mater of fact anent the Registers.

On Thursday, 3d [April], I drew up the mater of right upon the poynt of fact . . . debayted the busines of the Registers with Lambert, Whaley, Col. Deans, Col. Fennik, Col. Hubbard, and then gaive them in my paper. I prayed apairt with my wyfe, and intreated to let me find His good hand on me anent the Registers; and, if I recovered them and al [that] was in the ship, I could not bot observe the mor of His hand in His sending them hither to be a cleir call of me from the place of my daunger. . . .

On Frayday morning, 4 April, . . . It pleased God, forenoon, to give me liberty in prayer with Col. Ker; and afternoon I heard the seamen was dismissed; and then I saw my Lord Eglinton and his son Col. James was brought in prisoners taken at Dumbarton,² which maid me think it portended the captivity of our nobilitye; and who knowes but the Lord hes pityed the poor old man becaus he was simple and honestly [?] mynded to the cause, and misled but by following uthers whos guiltyness was the greater. I feared the bringing in greater men so, if not worse befell them in the feild. Col. Ker told me what Malignants sayd of old anent me, that, if I had no mor nor ordinary grace, I had so evil and froward and untoward a nature as nobody could haive indured me, which I acknowledged for my nature to be a treuth, as Socrates did to the philosoph who had descryved him to be so evil an man; and I prayed the Lord to graunt me the rayther the mor and mor of His grace.

¹ Blackness surrendered on the 1st of April (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 15).

² The Earl of Eglinton and his son, Colonel James Montgomery, were captured at Dumbarton apparently while asleep. According to Cornet Baynes they were brought to Edinburgh on the 7th of April (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 17). Nicoll gives the 7th as the day on which they were captured (*Diary*, p. 51); but, in a letter of the 4th, Baillie refers to the 'lamentable surprise' and suspected treachery (*Letters and Journals*, iii. 147, 148). Balfour alleges that they were 'ttayterously takin' (*Historical Works*, iv. 298).

On Saturday, 5 Apryle, . . . I saw and found my Lord Eglington very heavye. I ended my tractat anent imployment of Malignants . . . the 2d pairt agaynst our concurring with such an antiparty in such an anticourse . . . holding up an antipower to God. . . . At night I got letters from Glasgou, with my papers back and M. D. D.¹ reply, and heard of the testimony given by the Synod of Glascou against the proceedings of the Commission.² I heard that the lords had protested in Parliament against the new Committee, but, upon giving to M[arquis] of Argyle the commission to draw in particulars, they had taiken it up. I heard that new Comittee composed of Duk, Craufurd, Huntley, Douglas, Glencarne, Ogilby, Athol, Carnagy, etc., had gotten power to aprehend men of different jugments, etc.; and the Parliament was but adjurned til 15 or 17 day of Apryle, and the Comission desyred to sitte and give furth advyce and aunsuer to the queree agayne that tyme. On the uther part, that the Inglishes was seiking Pollok Maxwel and sundry uther gentlemen, to bring them in, and that this army was going to merch this nixt week. . . .

On Sunday, the 6 Apryle, . . . read M. Rutherford against separation, and Mr. D. D. replye, wherin I saw his strainge mistaks, and wilful on-running in this course, to my great regrayte; and I read to the ministers of Edinburgh my letter of hoopes, which was written to S. J. Ch., and gave my advyce against honest neighbours meddling with the gouverment of this toune, to act in subordination to the English usurpation over it.

On Mononday, 7 Apryle, . . . afternoon, my wyfe saw the General,³ and found from him but a very general aunsuear anent the Registers, he looked hir passe anent hir goods; sayd the going to the West would be shortly very daungerous to any; expressed that very shortly this busines would be decided on way or uther. He seemed to

¹ Mr. David Dickson.

² The letter, of 3rd April 1651, from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, is printed in the *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 392, 393.

³ Cromwell.

her dryer then befor. I was that day agaynst Col. Ker's motion to goe to London, becaus who knew what the Lord might doe in a short tyme. . . . Why! after this I was praying in my family, Ge. M. Lambert, Col. Dewer, and Col. Fenwik cam to my chalmer about the Registers and brought the General's secretary with them, when of new wee debayted over agayne the whol busines; and, be God's providence, I found in M. M. bag [?] which they produced my letter to my servant to goe first aboard of the great ship, and to delyver my letter to the Admiral, which they sayd they could not find in it, and which cleired my confidence in their passe and respect also. I perceaved they wer convinced be my reasons, but very loath to quyte the Registers. They insisted upon the paper given to Dundas¹ befor I com hither, that the transportation of them was to be within a moneth, which maid me blisse God that I had not used that paper, as also for His good hand on me in wryting that letter to M. M. M. and the uther to the Admiral, which exonered me, com of the busines what pleased God; and it helped to exoner my servant, that he had written to the Committee at Perth for their resolution and he had gotten no aunsuear. I perceived cleirly by their expressions of my coming, drawing up that passe, and of the passe my wyfe had, that, if I had not com over and remembred and pressed weal al the circumstances that had passed, they had never been redelyvered.

On Tuesday, 8 Apryle, I begged in the morning to find God's good hand on me still, in everything I goe about, which told M. M. M.² I missed in him thes moneths bygon, and I found it treu, what in commoun proverb, *Better be happy then wyse*, better to be guyd by God's good hand nor to lippen to al the forcasts and devyces in the world . . . I prayed often with my wyfe and Lady Ingliston. I heard from several hands that the General sayd the West would be the most daungerous place of Scotland, and that

¹ Walter Dundas. See *infra*, p. 60, note.

² Mr. Mungo Murray?

every body observed and Str.¹ told that they had much chaynged their mynd, thought and way, in relation to the godly; that their was much lesse of God among them, and many very profane; and that they begoud to rely much on human helpes; and so he aprehended, and sayd som tenderest amongst themselves aprehended som flappe amongst them; wherunto I added that, if Crom[well] now, after his seaknesse, grew mor averse and rude and proud to the godly, it portended the greater jugment to him. . . . He told also that he heard the Counsel of State in Ingland had written to Cromwell, to use al this syde of Forth as theirs by conquest; and he thought they would doe soe; som aprehended they would rayther let our people com over to the West, nor hayzard themselves in the crossing, becaus they would by the first haive them befor them, and be thus between them and the hilles. When the Lady Ingliston returned from Cromwel shie sayd shie found him very much chaynged to God's people. . . .

On Thursday morning, 10 [April] . . . I spak with Cromwel about Eglington, and for the Registers; and he promised to me a satisfying aunsuear. . . . Enemyes on both sydes . . . intends to presse oaths upon people which wil but putt men to suffering upon refusal, and wil not bind unhonest men. . . . I was this day troubled with a report of them deteaning the Registers for Midleton,² til he was delyvered to them: becaus he had brok his privat parole they would break their publik fayth. . . .

Saturday [12th April]. . . . Intreated for the Lord's assistance in my conference with Cromwel anent the Registers. . . . This afternoon the General told me his aunsuear, to delyver the Registers and goods for which their was a passe. My heart blissed God for this restitution of the Registers, and the mor that I saw, as it wer, the Lord's end in their talking of them to be His maiking it a mean to preserve me from the malice and violence

¹ Colonel Strachan.

² Middleton had escaped from England, 'it is said by a breach of parole' (Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, new ed., i. 63).

both of the Staite and of privat sojourns, who readily had destroyed me befor now, wer not their feares¹ of lossing the Registers, because my nayme was in the passe. And, in al human apearance, unles I had com over and been specially assisted by God, they had never been rendred agayne.

[Volume without boards.]²

[Saturday, 12th April. . . .] I heard at supper my son George could not stand upright, and the cause suspected to be the catching of him whyl so young, wherupon I prayed the Lord to restore and to strenthen him. After I am asleape, I got a passe to M. M., and letter from General, desyring back my former passes, and promising on only for a moneth, which I thought strange and resolved that I neyther could nor would doe.³ I saw, ever mor and mor, their desseign and desyre to haive the Registers keepled. O Lord, putt them faire off my hand.

Monday [14th April]. I did wryte to General heir against his limitation of tyme for the Registers; ⁴ and to

¹ Were it not for their fears.

² This volume lacks both beginning and end; but its opening entry has obviously been a continuation of the closing one of the preceding volume.

³ Cromwell's letter, which is dated 12th April, is printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, i. 177, in the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vi. part ii. p. 888, and in Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxii. In the two former of these, Wariston's reply is also printed. It is dated 14th April; and its explanation, that Cromwell's was received very late on Saturday night, fixes the date of this entry. 'M. M.' are the initials of Mungo Murray, for whom Cromwell sent a pass 'to go into Fyfe, and to retturne with the other clarks.' In this letter Cromwell expresses no desire to get back the 'former passes,' unless it is couched, as Carlyle thought, under the word 'perusall.'

⁴ There appears to have been no restriction of time in the previous passes, which Cromwell now wished to withdraw or supersede. In his reply, Wariston promised that, on 'the coming of the clerks to know and receave every man his owne Registers,' he would despatch them with all possible diligence 'to the places whereunto they sall be appointed.' If contrary winds and 'other necessary accidents' should impede, he was persuaded that Cromwell, 'in justice and equitie, wold not suffer any advantag to be taken therefra in a mater concerning publick records, which useth to be inviolable in all warres.' And, he added, 'the sooner that the ship be redelyvered she wold be the sooner ready, for I hear thear is a laik struk up in hir, and is not weell knownen whear it is.'

the Lord Chancellor, to be communicate to the King and Committee and recorded in Parliament books, my letter wherein I presented playnly my testimony against their proceedings and offred willingly to suffer for the same. I went and saw the Registers, which had been broken up. I told all passages to young Whytbank for Greenhead and Mr. J. Leviston's information. . . .

On Tuesday 15th April . . . I heard of infall at Lithgow,¹ and of this airmyes desyre to merch west or over. Colonel Ker was driven back agayne, and told me that Cromwell had spoken baisly of the ministry of Scotland, and particularly of M. S. Rutherford as a lyer, and that readily som judicial stroak would light upon them, which portended, both in my opinion and his, the Lord's hardning him the mor by his seaknesse and preparing for a stroak. . . .

[Wednesday, 16th April.] . . . Near night the drums tooked, and, on a sudainty, I found that the foote of the army got away doune to Leyth, with their baggage and airmes, to crosse to Fyfe; and when they went away they raysed such shout, and sung such triumphs afor the victorie, as maid me aprehend that it portended rayther a strok then advantage to them, as I told to Robert Sympson, and read to him out of 1 Kings, 20 ch., 10 and 11 v. Benhada's proud message and Achab's aunswer, that he who puts on his harnasse should not boast as he that casts it off. Howsoever, they ar merching. Lord, overrule thou so al things between thes partyes, as the result may be best for Thy glorye. . . .

On Thursday, 17 [April] the English army merched west I thought it was a straunge passage of the Lord's providence to haive seperated His awen whyl thes tuo

¹ 'Ane pairtie of hors went out upone the 14 of the same moneth and assaltit Lynlithgow, and did much executioun upone the Englishe men thair' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 52). 'A party of horse of the enemy entred Lithgow, but were beaten back, the Governor was dangerously wounded, and two of his soldiers killed' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 491). 'Yesterday a party of the enemy's horse fell into Lithgow: some small engagement was made with them, and Major Sidenham, he is wounded, and that somewhat dangerously. The enemy took only one prisoner and killed us five men. We took five or six prisoners and slew five of theirs' (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 18).

partyes wer going to feyght. Who knowes but He may therby be bidding His awen to stand stil, and see His salvation for them wrought out by Him, out of yoking and clashing of enemyes ; and als strainge, it seems to me, His disposal of me to be quyety in my awen howse wryting a testimony for His cause, in such a tyme of their feyghting together in Scotland. . . . By a good providence for my exoneration I gott a word of the General in his coach, who assured me that he had given orders to my contentment unto Colonel Fenwick [?] for dispatch of my busines, and desyred me to consider the glorious works of God, which was his worst wish to any godly in Scotland. I prayed at night . . . and saw the boats goe out.

On Frayday, 18 [April]. . . . The boats went over with the ships to Kircaldie. I heard their airmy merched be Kalder to Hamilton . . . heard that M. Douglas and M. Blair wer growing discontent at som present course theirower, which I pray God to be treu ; that Argyle and the Duk had been at hott words ; that Midleton would not joyne with David Lesly at the airmy, as the old lords would not joyne with the received [?] Malignants in counsel ; and so, from several hands, I heard their was division on the uther syde amongst them.

On Saturday, 19 Apryle, . . . I earnestly intreated the Lord to reclayme any of His awen that had gon on in the present cause [?] throw oppression maiking wyse men madde, and to spaire them tho mingled in the day of battel. Let al bullets haive a special commission not to destroy Thy awen, tho they be humbled, but to execut Thy anger agaynest Thy incorrigible enemyes on both sydes. . . .

On Tuesday, 22 Apryle, I took physik and found good by it, and blissed the Lord theirfor. And, in conference with M. Jh. Durye,¹ thought and debayted that their was litle previous disposition of the body of the land fitting them for a delyverance ; that the Lord's stroak had not yet reached thos at whom it most poynts and aymes ; that this airmye's commission seems not yet exspyred, nor the

¹ Minister of Dalmeny.

work wrought in Zion for His people nor agaynst His enemyes, for the which He sent them in; that the Lord's laying asyde His awen people, in their attempts agaynst them, portends their not being broken in the feilds by such a Malignant crew as our airmye is, agaynst whom God raysted them up as His scourge; that the Lord's seperating His awen from thes army and pairty, that is to yok with them, portends strykes and great blowes to be a dealing amongst them, from which I pray the Lord to preserve His awen, tho sinfully mingled amongst them, and let their wakning rayther be in their consciences, by repentance to the glorye of His mercy, then by their bodily ruyne, if it may stand with His good will. He told me of a serious observation of God's people on this syde of Forth, as I hard and had the lyke on the uther syde, that it had pleased the Lord visibly to absent Himself from thes ministers which had rune in the spayte [?] and to maik them lyk dry stiks and empty veshels; and on the uther pairt to assist and inlarge the gifts and graces of thes sensibly who boore testimony against it.

On Wednesday [23 April] . . . I heard that the Parliament did not sitte; that the Committee had not power to adjourne it; and so in effect it had deserted and broken up in legal formality. Of what consequence this may be heirafter it is not yet weal knowen, but it may be very important, if treue.¹

On Thursday, 24 [April] I took my second physik, which it pleased God sensibly to blisse for purging out dangerous humors, which wer so putrified as, Pat. Hebron sayd, could not but haive casten me in a fever shortly. . . . I got letters from the South, dissuading me to crosse the watter agayne; and from the West; but wayted [?] befor enemye's merch to goe thither. . . . I heard of a discoverie of the goods that wer amissing be the ship; . . . heard from the Lady Cavers how my nayme was rayled upon in

¹ 'The Parliament, that wes adjourned untill the 17 of Apryle this zeire, wes adjourned againe untill Wedinsday, the 21 of May' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 296).

the South, and from P. Hebron how it was the lyk in Fyfesyde.¹ . . .

On Saturday, 26 [April] . . . spak with Eglington, whom they wer going to cayrye to Hull; heard of my man's detention at Bruntyland several dayes by E[arl of] Kelly, til he should gett the King's awen passe. I got the copy of Committee's letter to cayrye the Registers to Stirling; heard that my awen letter was read, al of it, befor the King and the Committee, and that som sayd I was too sudden anent the Register's place,² and that they wer not mynded to putte honest men out yet. The Comittee's letter acknowledges my fidelitye, diligence and caire anent the Registers. My heart revered providence that had maid al this adoe anent the Registers, to keepe and bring me faire and saife of, as He does as yet, and that my testimonye was read publiklye, and so I hoipe wil be kept in *retentis*. . . Within an howre, M. Mungo³ cam and gave me the principal warrand; told me that they had despayred of the Registers; that they wondred at my getting them back; they acknowledged nothing could be added to my reasons; som sayd I should keepe them stil, becaus I had wune them when they had lost them tuyse. The Chancellor desyred me to goe over, that he might speake with me; beleived their was no such daunger as I aprehended. I heard of the King's sharpe expressions not only against Alexander Jaffray but Lo. Brody, altho he hes most helped the provisions of their army.⁴ I read the Chu[rch's] last

¹ Balfour states that Wariston 'refussed to subscribe the Actes of Parliament past in December and Januarii this zeire, at Perth, and wold not stay and attend his Majestie and the Estaits, bot removed from Perth to Stirling, Culrosse and Brunt-Iyland, quher it was thought that by his meines the magistratts of the tounne wer corrupted, and some in Stirling also' (*Historical Works*, iv. 250).

² He seems to have thought that he might be superseded as Clerk Register.

³ Mungo Murray. The Earl of Kelly, by whom he had been detained, was colonel of a Fifeshire regiment of foot.

⁴ Alexander Jaffray of Kingswalls, provost of Aberdeen, and Alexander Brodie of Brodie had both been commissioners to the king at Breda, and had otherwise been prominent in the public service. The diaries of both have been published. Brodie was a Lord of Session.

Wairning,¹ which is sharpe against all wryters or speakers against their Resolutions; and drawing al the acts, that was agaynst Malignants not concurring in and for the cause, agaynst the conscientious pairty that durst not now runne on with them in this defection; which—being joyned with my finding strong objections and difficultyes in the 2d question anent concurrence, from the grounds agaynst separation, becaus the Commission, being juges, absolved them *uti penitentes*—maid me think the sinne lay the heavyer at their doores, which imported the sorer strok in both thes respects agaynst them, seing they not only thus joyned with Malignants, but declared al to be punished civilly and eccles[ias]tically, as Malignants and enemyes, who did not joyne with them, and so threatned God's tendermynded ones with the greatest persecution that could be, if execute; and our former warrands, acts and procedures against Malignants, not concurring with His people in and for the cause, is no mor warrand for this their persecution against the godly for not concurring with Malignants in sinful courses, nor is the just juge his executing justice agaynst the guilty malefactor a warrand for an unjust juge to punish the innocent absteaning from sinne. I saw the commission to Committee of Warre to aprehend and try whom they thought to correspond with the ennemye. I saw an ouverture of the dissenters in Parliment, willing to receive al debarred to be at their Committees, and to debayte, advyse and record their opinions, which was rejected by the Parliment. This day an haystak of Leyth was brunt neir the Inglish magazin wherin the Registers was; the Inglish, [looking] upon it as doon by som Scotsmen to blowe up all, resolves to putt all out of Leyth.

27 Apryle, the Lord's Day. I was on a sudain wakned by a dream, that I was in the church hearing the prayer after sermon, and in the midst of it first I saw men maiking singes with their fingers, then hands, then raysing a shoute

¹ This 'Short Exhortation and Warning' is printed in the *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 346-352.

—The voyce of God, the hand of God—which wakned me in this livly present aprehension and imagination, full off som strange great newes, wherin God much apeared to the extraordinary delyvering and rejoycing of His awen and overthrow of His enemyes. I thought he looked lyk honest Robert Sympson that had maid the singes. It maid me remember how I was wakned on a Sunday morning (as this is) with the newes of Neisby-feild, and how, after prayer in Inneraray, I received the newes of Preston defayte.¹ . . .

28 Apryle . . . was al day in Leyth about the Registers. On Tuesday I heard a notable sermon of M. R. Trayll . . . Immediatly I got the sad news of my sister, the Lady Congilton's death,² by an brash of an iliak passion, wherof I begged from the Lord the sanctified use to me and myn and to that familye. I heard also of R. Lockhart and litle Major Jhonston's³ imprisonment upon a son of Jhon

¹ Charles I. was routed at Naseby on Saturday, the 14th of June 1645; and the Duke of Hamilton was defeated at Preston on Thursday, the 17th of August 1648.

² Beatrix Johnston, Wariston's youngest sister, had married Patrick Congalton of that ilk.

³ In a summons of 30th January 1651, 'Major William Jonstoun, laitlie in Collonell Arnot's regiment,' was indicted with having deserted his charge, and resorted with the common enemy who had invaded the kingdom. On the 31st of March Parliament remitted the summons to the Committee of Estates with power (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 658-661). On the 24th of March Major Johnston and the other defenders had been thrice called by a macer, at the outer door of the Parliament House, but none of them compeared (*ibid.*, p. 650). Balfour, in referring to this, erroneously designates Johnston as 'L. Colonell,' and omits 'Lieutenant William Govane' (*Historical Works*, iv. 271). Lamont says that Major Johnston went 'to Cromwell, and reveiled to him the purpose of a partie of our armie that went forth with a purpose to beate up his quarters' (*Diary*, p. 31). On the 5th of April the Commission of the General Assembly resolved to summon 'Major William Johnstoun' to appear before them, 'as they had been informed that he had 'deserted his charge, which was putt upon him for the defence of the cause of God and the kingdome, and gone in to that blasphemous armie of Sectaries . . . and corresponds with them by intelligence and acts, services and offices in their behalfe, remains amongst them in Edinburgh, where they have their headquarter and a garisone, and familiarlie converseth with the officers of that armie, and otherwise complies with them, contrarie to his professions and promises and solemne oathes in the Covenants and many uther tyes and engadgements to his native country' (*Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 378, 379). Nicoll

Mean's deposition, as if he had been intelligencer between them and the enemy, which I am sure is false. At night M. J. Lev.¹ and Greenhead² cam unto me, for whom that day I was wryting.

On Wednesday, 30 [April] . . . Heard reports as if R. Lokhart³ wer in daunger of his lyfe. Found M. J. L. and M. R. L. and Greenhead averse from my going over.

1 May. On Thursday morning I fand my mynd very dark and confused anent the great question of concurrence, and as much anent my going or byding, wherunto I was lyk to be speidily putt, becaus the clerks thought to gett the Registers out to the roade the nixt daye. I saw appearance of personal daunger in my going over. I saw be my abyding that the lyk act would be soon maid, or the late queries [?] interpret, to extend to officers of State, members of the Comittee, alsweil as of the army, their abyding wheir the enemy had power.⁴ I saw several daungers by my going out and byding out of the countrey; and so, the Lord knows, I know not what hand to turne me to. . . . Ther fell som passionat words out betuixt me and my wyfe, which maid me tell hir that shoe had been mor uncou for talk to me, thes 6 moneth since Dunbar then thes 16 yeares; and that I aprehended a flappe on my body would be a necessary mean for the saifty of hir soule, to bring her heart, from a discontented gruging temper, to submitt to and rely wholly on Himself. . . . I heard that the tune of Iruyne⁵ [?] was miserably abused;

states that the eight men named in the summons of 30th January were 'declared rebellis and traitoures to this kingdome' by the Committee of Estates in April (*Diary*, p. 52).

¹ Mr. John Livingstone.

² Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead.

³ Probably Robert Lockhart, merchant in Edinburgh.

⁴ On the 31st of March 1651, 'It being putt to the questione what punishment shal be inflicted upoun thois that have bein or shall be intrusted with charge in the army and forces of this kingdome, and have deserted or shall desert thair charge and go in or shall go in to the common enemy, and hes or shall have thair frequent residence and resort in Edinburgh, Cannongait, or any uther gariesones under the enemyes pooer, It was voyced the punishment to be treason' (*Acts of Parliament*, vol. vi. part ii. p. 657). 'The Earle of Louthean spoke muche in the contrarey' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 657).

⁵ Irvine.

and that al inhabitants of Leyth, who took not the Ingagement, would not gett liberty to gett any of their goods out of it—a great presage to Edinburgh if it amend not.

On Frayday, 2 May. . . . This day I fand the Inglish army returning to Edinburgh, as I thought, dejected lyk, and nowayes in the triumphing temper wherin they went out; but in a raging passionat way at som losse or disapoyntment. . . .

On Sunday [4 May] . . . I heard the Inglishes was mynded to goe and lye in Ingl[ish] Border, which I could hardly beleive. I thought the sam Lord who, in His justice, as for many causes, so, for our Scots airmye plunderings and insolences in England, hes thus maid the Inglish spoyle Scotland, so may be in the sam justice repay in His awen the Inglishes' oppressions and plunderings of His people.

On Mononday, 5 May, . . . I read my tractat anent the King's subscriyving the Covenant, and my speech agaynest imployment of Malignants in 1649, apoynted to be registrat in the Books of Assembly and Parliament, wherunto Argyle also maid a speech which is enough to condemne him now. I heard from Robert Foulls of Jhon Mean's son being the occasion of Ro. Lokhart and Maj. Jhonston's imprisonment.¹ I heard also that my Lady Argyle and her daughters wer to com to Stirling this week, which shew me mor and mor his snaire and temptation.² I heard the ministers had been indeavouring but could not agree the tuo committees and pairtyes. I was going to Gener[al],³ and prayed the Lord to direct me, and earnestly intreated for the Lord's special counsel and light anent His disposal of me wher I shal goe and byde. I went after wryting this to the General's, wher I was maid to attend tuo houres,

¹ John Mein's son, having been apprehended as a spy and as a giver of intelligence to Cromwell, and having confessed the same, was remitted by the Committee of Estates to the Council of War, on the 6th of May, to be judged and sentenced. He was condemned to be hanged, but was pardoned by the King, 'in respecte his father, olde Johne Meine, in Edinbrughe, putt him oute to the L. Generall Da: Leslie as a knave, and one corrupted by the Englishe, and intreated him to causse apprehend him' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 297, 299).

² See *infra*, pp. 97, 98, 218.

³ Cromwell.

and thereafter was called on by him, haiving sundry officers about him ; and, when I sought the passe, he told me of a great chaynge of busines by thes at Stirling taiking the lyfe of on Hamilton, notwithstanding his letter shewing that he was a commissioned officer of his and desyring him to be used as any uther officer of his ;¹ and therfor he behooved to taik the lyfe of any uther officer of ours that was as his prisoner, who being innocent and ignorant of it he thought it hard, or els keepe the Registers until they at Stirling gaive him satisfaction ; which did surpryze and amaze me, and maid me aunsuer both al I heard of the mater of fact, and also that it was altogether heterogenous to our present busines, cleired and fastened be eight publik fayths. Then he fell with som passion upon a debayte of the whol busines, as if their invasion wer justefyed by our declaration [in] 1640 when wee went in [to England] ;² which when I retorted becaus then England had refused our offer of treatyes, imprisoned our Commissioners, declared us rebels and traitors, rayseed an army against us and was merching to our Border, and Deputy of Irland coming in upon the West-land ; then out of meir necessity, besett by sea and land, wee was forced to goe for our defence, just as if wee had prevented them at our Borders when they wer now merching upon us ; but the direct contrary now in their invasion, for wee had

¹ Under date 25th April 1651, Sir James Balfour notes that 'Archbald Hamiltone, brother to Robert Hamiltone of Milburne, for giving dayly intelligence to Oliver Cromwell and the Sectarian enimey, was arranid of heighe tresson, and condemned to be hanged on a gallous in chaines, so long as one bone could hange at ane other of him ; wiche sentence was put to execution this day at Stirling' (*Historical Works*, iv. 296). Nicoll says that he was hanged 'for betraying the Erle of Eglintoun, and for correspondence with the enymie, and careying of lettres and commissiounes to Yreland for imbring of schips to Scotland' (*Diary*, p. 52).

² When the Scots army entered England, in August 1640, they circulated two papers—'Six Considerations of the lawfulness of their expedition into England manifested,' and 'The Intentions of the Army of the Kingdom of Scotland, declared to their Brethren of England, by the Commissioners of the late Parliament, and by the General, Noblemen, Barons, and other officers of the Army.' Both are in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, second part, vol. ii. 1680, pp. 1223-1227, and appendix, pp. 283-291.

not doone al thes previous things against them, but declaired the contrary. Theron he called us an hypocritical nation, that he would not turne his foote to gayne the Lord Wayreston or any uther in Scotland, but in sua farre as they wer a Christian. I sayd he was not worth the gayning, and that wer a real lossing of him to his best Master, and that reflexions on nations was not civil. And I of purpose eshuned heate, least it should wrong my Register busines; and I fand him in great passion making Hamilton's busines the pretence of it, but I heard that it was really becaus of his great disapoyntments that he could not wine over to Fyfe, and that he could gayne non in the West; and, most of al, that the ministers of the West, by their conference and sermons, had [led] many of his officers to beginne to scruple at [the] busines;¹ and that, for waunt of provisions and prevention of sturres in Ingland, he behoved to reteire to the English Borders.

Upon Tuesday morning, 6 [May], I did, by the Lord's assistance, write a full letter to the Generall, with many arguments agaynst their deteaning the Registers upon pretence of Hamilton's busines.² . . . Though I did weal, according to my deuty, to wryte and speak all I could for the present dispatch of the Registers, becaus I fand by

¹ Cromwell's conference with the ministers in Glasgow was held on the 23rd of April. According to Whitelock, Cromwell sent for the ministers who had 'railed in their sermons against the English army of Sectaries,' and 'moderately debated those matters with them, and shewed them wherein they were mistaken' (*Memorials*, 1732, p. 492). Cornet Baynes, who says that 'the discourse was concerning our invading Scotland,' adds that 'it was by our party exceeding well cleared, and sufficiently proved just and necessary; but the Scotch ministers who argued the contra are not yet satisfied' (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 19). On the other hand, Principal Baillie says that the Presbyterians 'had no disadvantage in the thing' (*Letters and Journals*, iii. 168). And Sir James Balfour alleges that the ministers proved to Cromwell's face 'his perjury and breache of Covenant and Leauge, and his sinfull rebellion and murther, contrair to [the] expresse word of God, and Leauge and Covenant suorne by himselve and most of his complices'; and that 'maney of his cheiffest officers did openly acknowledge they wer convinced in reson, and never till now did see the weeknes of ther auen grounds' (*Historical Works*, iv. 298). James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie, the chief speakers on the Presbyterian side, drew up a summary of the discussion.

² For this able letter, see *Calendar of Laing Manuscripts*, i. 260-264.

manifold experiences they had ay bakcalls, after shots in busines, according to forrayn proverbe *Anglus caudam habet*; yet that, notwithstanding al my reasons and indeavours, they should deteane the Registers and me for som longer tyme. . . .

On Wednesday, 7 May, . . . I wrote a free letter to the Committee anent the Registers, and a particular to the Chancellor anent myself. I heard news of som sturres in Wales and London. I heard of M. J. G.¹ sermon shewing the Englishes laying six stumbling bloks befor us—1. by their slighting and burying the Covenant; 2, by breaking treatyes and chaynging the gouverment; 3, by slighting the ordinaunces, Saboth, ministry; 4, by their hayting Presbyterial gouverment worse then Episcopacy; 5, by their injust invasion upon a gratuity and suspicion; 6, by their sinful toleration; and he had layed thrie befor them—1, by calling them al Sectaries without discretion; 2, by our admitting promiscuous communions; 3, by our associating with Malignants. This forenoon I fand the General² shifted from day to day to admitt my wyfe to speake with him, and did not aunsuer my letter, bot Mr. Rye, his servant, sayd to my man that the General had determined that busines by a letter directed to Stirling to maik them sensible of the wrongs doon to him, but that wee would not be the farther from them after som tyme . . . Mr. Good and Mr. Smalwood, tuo English ministers, cam in to me and fell upon the debayte of the whol busines, compleaned maynly of the ministers teaching people to murdrise³ their people whersoever they could gett them, which I professed to them I belcived they had never taught such a thing. They might weal preach it as the deuty of Scotsmen to resist an injust invasion. Then they urged the ministers refusing al conference. I denyed that, and non would say so of me, but that I was desyrous and willing to give a reason of my fayth to whosoever asked it. Then they fell to justefye the invasion from our Declaration [in] 1640; wherin, as befor to Cromwel, I shew the cleir

¹ Mr James Guthrie.² Cromwell.³ Murder.

differences. Then they spake anent and for the godly party looking on them as mor frends to them then the Malignants was. I aunswered—Even the oppression of a land was mor displeasing nor the defence of the wicked unto a good man. Then they spak of their coming in only for security, and after their seing our Commissioners' ingagement to the King. I showed the untreuth of both thes *in facto*; and so went throw their declarations and ours, and insisted on their wrong and for our just liberty, and that I could never yet learne the security which they demanded; and fand, be their aunsuer, they would never if they prevayled suffer us to be a kingdome, but to be, lyk Wayles, pairt of Ingland, rayther then an comonwealth apairt, but nawayes a kingdome. I urged that if, upon motives of Oded's sermon,¹ the Lord moved them not voluntarily to leave of oppressing His people, He would and could sone force them to it, and howsoever support His awen during their tryal. They urged the acknowledging of Ingland as a comonwealth to be lawful, as sojourns taiking of quarter after lossing the battel and routing or taiking the general. I urged the obligation of oaths and covenants upon the people against such acknowledgements.

On Thursday, 8 May, I sent the letters away with Ro. Murray. . . . I heard that this airmy was eyther going to the Borders or to maik som attempt in the eist coast. I pray the Lord to cayry my letters safe to Stirling for my exoneration.

On Frayday, 9 [May] . . . I heard of this people's resolving to goe to the Border because of scruples ariysen amongst them from the free conference and sermons at Stirling. . . .

On Saturday, 10 [May] . . . Got lettres from the West, of al their advysing agaynst my going over the watter, but going first to the West to consult theranent; which agreed with M. J. L. advyce, and of thes in the South and North [?], the comon thought and expression of everybody that loves the cause and me for it. . . . The people at Glascow observed God's providence that He

¹ See 2 Chron. xxviii. 9-11.

would haive M. J. G. and M. P. Gil.,¹ most suspected men becaus of forwardnesse against Malignants, to be the men that should argue best and most convince the Sectaries. . . . Afternoon I went and spak with the General and Lambert anent the Registers. I heard his letter to Stirling, which relaited not only to Hamilton's busines, but also to Middleton's, Cranston's, Augustin's,² two hundred and fifty officers, a letter anent Cook, slight or no aunswears, acknowledges the Registers ours by right, and that he had given saif-conducts to them, but now stayed them til he got our satisfactory aunsuear to his demands; wherof I craved an cotype (but got it not), that I might aunsuear it in writte. I repeated my former reasons, and added anent the uther particulars that they wer befor the graunting of the saif-conducts, and so could not evacuate them, and som men's breaking privat parole should not maik them break their publik fayth. He aunsuered me with litle reason, except in denying his absolut detention of them, but only until he got their satisfactory aunsuear, but he spak with great passion and reflexion that I satisfyed myself with notions both in dispute anent the invasion and in this debayte. I insisted on impossibilitye of trusting to any further saif-conducts, even to publik commissioners intrusted for removing differences. He refused me any aunsuear till he got his from Stirling. He spak of Comonwealth as of God's maiking who would maik uthers to stoupe to it, as He had maid our general from necessity for prisoners to acknowledge him general. He was very high for he had got news of taiking in Silly,³ of Holland's lyk to agree

¹ Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie or 'Mr. Peregrine Galaspy,' as Cornet Baynes calls him.

² 'Augustine, a heighe Germane, being purged out of the armye befor Dumbardrove, bot a stout and resolute young man, and lover of the Scotts natione,' is credited with having so sorely assailed the English invaders that he received the special thanks of King and Parliament (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 165, 166, 209, 210, 214). Cromwell, who regarded his feats as 'barbarous murders and inhuman acts,' desired Lieut.-General David Lesley to do justice upon him (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxiv).

³ It was known in London by the 3rd of May that the soldiers and the fleet of the English Parliament had succeeded in taking all the Scilly Isles except St. Mary's (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, pp. 492, 493).

in treaty offensive and defensive,¹ of diverting sturres in Fraunce, of Captain Titus' man carying the Queen's packet, which was for the King, to St. Jhon and so to Parliament; wherupon they had taiken many prisoners, and prevented new plots, and aprehended som worthy ministers, as Messrs. Calami, Jenkins, Caise.² It is a strainge providence discovering al plots layd for the King and agaynst them, but it may be Jehu's fourth generation is not yet com.³ I heard that G. M. Lambert defended witches, and M. Seaton would tell wheir any body did hyde anything, and slighted the Saboth and baptisme and the ministry. . . . I urged on General that he did the King a great benefyte, and ruyne to the leiges who behoooved to give great soumes to gett new rights from the King. He sayd, very hautely, the people er long would be out of his reverence, and necessitat to haive another dependance. . . .

On Mononday, 12 [May], . . . I heard of my son George great seaknesse which maid me earnestly recomend him to the Lord . . . thereafter, both in privat and family after supper, prayed over and for the chyld with earnestnesse, and submission absolutly for soule and conditionaly for his lyfe. . . . I learned [from Mr. Good] that the officers and Parliament men had maid great estats up to themselves, that their was litle justice in their Parliament men, but much brybing; that they did al for self preservation at the best; that God's people had but, as it wer, taiken quarter under and from them; that they hung by the threed of successe; the defeate of this army would break them al in peeces; that wer not the General and Fleetwood, they had resolved on burning; that if their army prevayled they would maik this a conqueist, and never suffer it to be a kingdome; that they would keepe

¹ The mission of Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland to the Hague, to negotiate an alliance with the States General, was doomed to fail, although the request of the Dutch that the negotiations should be prolonged gave temporary hope of a successful issue (S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 1903, i. 327).

² Edmund Calamy, William Jenkin, Thomas Case.

³ See 2 King- x. 30.

the power by the sword; that when the General was [believed to be] dying, a commission was drawn to Haselrig, Lambert, Fleetwood and Whaley to gouverne the airmy; that many of them was bitter agaynst even the godly party in Scotland; that many of them in Counsel of State was higher and prouder then kings; that the people was so weary of al warres as to be loath agayn to ingage in any; that the House had maid a wicked act repealing al acts compelling to outward worship. . . .

On Wednesday, 14 [May] . . . recommended my chyld, whom it pleased God to maike better. . . . At night I got both the good newes of my seek bairne, George, his being better, and the evil news from Glascow that, on the reading of my letter, the Duk of Hamilton sayd it was but *rogatus rogo* [?] and that I had not used diligence. The Lord knows that I could doe no mor, and how free I am of jugling and double dealing in this busines, and how injustly they wrong me. Lord, sanctifye this to me, as also the feare of Sandie's seaknesse. . . .

On Thursday, 15 May, . . . I heard the General had told his officers that he was never in a greater strate and perplexity whither to goe to Fyfe, Borders, or West; and desyred them to fast, that the Lord, who hid His face from them, might give them light what to doe; and that perplexity maid him grow unweal. God forgive him for the wrongs he hes done to God's work and people, and particularly to me in this busnes of the Registers. . . .

On Frayday, 16 [May] . . . Ro. Mean cam in and gaive me the Committee's letter, requyring me to goe on upon the sam grounds, and sent to me Crom[well's] letter and their aunsuear, and Hamilton's papers. Another letter told me that Lord Balcaras and sum uthers had spoken in the Committee agaynst recording my letter, becaus in my prayers I insinuated a condemning of their proceedings; and so they apoynted only the clerk to keepe it in his hands. All of them acknowledged that I had argued it as fully as any of them could haive doune. I heard that Hamilton had once deponed against Chan[cellor], Argyl, David Lesly, Holburne, Lauthian, General, Quartermaster,

and myself, but past from al befor his death. It pleased God to assist me to wryte a new letter to Cromwel, aunsvering the rest of his pretences.¹ I heard the Commission was sitting about the Act of Classes, and, as it went right or wrong amongst them, so would the Parliament sitt or be adjourned.² I heard that Mr. Blair would not reade the wairning. They called our airmy 30,000 men, and that they intended for Ingland; that men's humors heightned dayly to defection and passion against the godly and the cause. Arg[yle] bad tell me that they had no will of my prayers, and desyred me to keepe them to God and to myself. When I had written my letter to Cromwel, I could not but blisse the Lord, in remembrance how, long since, in the beginning of Apryle, upon a sudden report that the Registers would be stopped for Midleton and Augustin, the Lord brought so many materials to my head, and maid me putt them down in notes, as maid me think then their was to be som use of them, altho I got after that a good aunsuear, and had no use of them til now that they hold out a convincing light of the wrong doone to me in this busines. . . .

On Sunday, 18 May, my heart blissed God for George his recovery. I heard of Archbald's seaknesse, but growing better. . . . Mr. Lighton sayd their was a plot about the Registers, but then he sayd it was above for my good. I read M. Case notable sermon upon Pekah in 28 ch. 2 Chr., wherein the busines of the pretences of the warre, and the discussing of the apeale by Dumbar successe, ar exceedingly weal refuted. . . .

On Mononday, 19 May, I heard for certain that the

¹ For this letter to Cromwell, see *Calendar of Laing MSS.*, i. 264-266.

² On the 31st of March, the King and Parliament asked the Commission of the General Assembly to meet on the 17th of April, in order to give their clear and deliberate judgment as to whether it would be sinful and unlawful to repeal and rescind the Acts of Classes. It was replied that it was impossible to have a full meeting convened by that time. The King and Committee of Estates wrote to the Commission on the 19th of April, stating that they had prorogued the meeting of Parliament until the 21st of May, and earnestly renewed their desire for a clear and positive answer to the query (*Records of the Commissions*, iii. 361, 367, 388). For the Commission's answer, see *ibid.*, pp. 440-442.

General¹ was very seak and had fallen on Frayday night in his aixes,² and som thought him as daungerously seak as ever this last winter, and that sundry did aprehend his lyfe, becaus of the relapse and the season of the yeare. This maid me wonder at the Lord's turnes and chaynges of providence. He never seimed mor passionate and hauty then thes tuo last tymes that I did seie him. This will putt them upon new thoughts of a general. It was lykly for the present to fall in Lambert's hands, who was mor untender, yea wicked, to al this nation, and had not the principles of respect to the profession and professors of godlynesse as the uther had, tho he had growen worse as I sayd to sundry of them since his recovery, which portended evil to him. His seaknesse troubled me the mor anent the Registers. The injust, unrighteous dealing in that hes doon him ill; and it was observed he fell unweal after getting my last letter anent them. I heard from M. G.³ that wer not he, Fleetw[ood] and Whal[ey], the Counsel of State and uther officers heir was for burning Edinburgh; and that the conference of Glascow had doon him harme; yet that, he sayd, in the West would be the first principle of union, for their was aible, pious, conscientious men. It is a strainge nik of Providence that when this army should goe to the feilds, their head should fall seake, which may putt them in som confusion and trouble.

On Tuesday, 20 [May] . . . I fand our skipper had miscaryed and indaungered himself. I heard the General was whyles sayd to be better, whyles worse, and that many of them feared his seaknesse. I found by very many reports that their was a great feare and terror amongst them, som of them saying that they thought the Scots would never feyght nor face them, but now they aprehended that they would. My busines was casten over on Lambert and his officers.

On Wednesday, 21 [May] . . . I thought it very observable that their was a great feare upon thir people's sprits,

¹ Cromwell.

² Ague.

³ Mr. Good?

mor then ever used to be upon them. They ar forced to seie and confesse that the Lord hes deserted them, and withdrawen their usual successe from them ; and cannot agree on the causes theirol, nor yet on what course to taik with this kingdome. The Counsel of State was for burning Edinburgh and ar for the subdeuing of the nation, which I leave befor the Lord with His awen word 2 Chron. 28 ch. til 56 [?26] v., whereon an English sermon is very notable, comparing the designe of [Pekah the son of] Remaliah in 7 Isay with successe, and then wrayth agaynst them til they returned the captivetye . . . The Lord, what be Culros and what be the Registers keeping me in my awen house, hes provyded a shelter for me in this storme from many snares and daungers ; oh, that it may be in mercy for futur service. He brought in that threatening 24 Hezek. from 15 v.,¹ I will tak away with a stroak the desyre of thyn eyes, etc., which troubled me becaus that very morning my wyfe fell seak, whom I pray God to preserve and to sanctifye ; and, O Lord, keep us from the thing signified by the type their, wherof, alas, wee find too much treu and mournes not, but pynes away in our iniquity and amends not. O Lord, speak graciously to the remnant, and cause our ears to heare The. Oh, I feared our abusing the Lord's patience, who hes restrayned the rod now from overflowing beyond Forth, contrair to their designes, hoipes, and fyve several attmpts, now thes 9 moneths, and hes delayed His anger to see if wee would repent and returne ; but, alas, wee haive and dayly doeth grow worse and worse . . .

On Thursday, 22 May, . . . after sermon, I heard that our airmy was al to taik the comunion together on Sunday nixt, which, if treu, portends a shedding of much of their blood in the dust, for their profaning the blood of Christ by so promiscuous an comunion, after such a mock repentance. Then I heard of the English Court of Justice sitting upon the lyves of Messrs. Jenkins, Case, Love, Drake,² four worthy ministers imprisoned in the

¹ Ezekiel xxiv. 15-18.

² William Jenkin, Thomas Case, Christopher Love, Roger Drake.

Tower for correspondence with the King, which would hasten the sooner their judgment. Also there was some word of Danish ships landed in the North, but no certainty.

On Frayday [23 May] . . . at night got letters from Glasgow showing M. Blair dissatisfaction and refusal of warning and fast and of M. S. R.¹ keeping a fast apart on contrary causes, and M. D. Dikson's writing a letter against rescinding Act of Classes, which Malignants called Dik's recantation; and of the Commission being against the rescinding the Act of Classes, which Hamilton party would talk only away for the Ingagers, and Argyle not at all or else for the whole; that the Commission and Parliament were likely to decide, if Parliament held and went on; and that D[uke] H[amilton] was likely to be general; that some had urged the employing of Calendar,² and Argyle had *modum tertii* restored S. R. Dalziel to be Earle of Carnwath;³ that the army was but about 14,000; that Middleton and Huntley was sent north for recruits; that M. Douglas was much weighted, and professed that the new penitents many of them continued still Malignants.

On Saturday, 24 May, . . . I heard that Holland treaty was not perfect; that Lorrain was to Ireland, and some Sueds . . .⁴ king, but that our forces would live still this month, and yet was scarce of provisions; that the Duke said they would not fight in fetters and bonds, and so not till the Act of Classes was rescinded; that Cassiles was giving testimony that Argyle prayed God to keep his life for he expected to lack his estate when he should protest against the Duke being general.

On Sunday, 25 May, . . . a thought came in my head, that, between their two armies and the causes and courses of their fighting, two things hinder every one of them

¹ Samuel Rutherford.

² See *Blair's Life*, Wodrow Society, p. 271.

³ On the 25th of February 1645, Parliament had found Robert, second Earl of Carnwath, guilty of treason, and ordained him 'to be publickly executed as a traitour' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part i. p. 348); but, on the 31st of March 1651, the King moved 'in plaine Parliament' that he 'might be preferred to his former honour and dignitie allanerly'; and the matter was remitted to the Committee of Estates (*ibid.*, vi. part ii. pp. 663, 664).

⁴ Illegible.

to see the evil of their way. 1. The goodnesse of a defensive cause, and the errors and injust invasion of the Inglish, hinder the Scots airmy from seing the evil of their way by conjunction with the Malignant partye: 2. The goodnesse of perseuing a Malignant pairty according to God's designes, and the evil of Scots conjunction with Malignant party, hinders the Inglish to see the sinne of their injust invasion and oppression; and the apreghended necessitye for their self saifty, power and injoyment, maiks them both leape over al rules in using any means or instruments whatsoever . . .

On Mononday, 26 [May] . . . the Lord brought to my mynd anent the Registers to reverence the Lord's providence, who not only by this way prevents many daungers and snares to me, which He will mor and mor afterward let me see, but also may be preserving the Registers according to my great desyre, for if they should haive been cayrried to Stirling, and it be taiken by the enemy, the Registers would have been in their power by the law of warre, whereas now, tho upon discontentment they deteane them, yet they acknowledge they ar not theirs, nor within their power, and that justly they cannot be embezeled or abused, as uther things in warre may and useth to be. . . . The Declaration [of] 13 August¹ fell in my hands, the remembrance wherof maid me think how wee was then by words playstring over a busines that God was il pleased with; and how great a guiltynesse lyeth on our State and Comission, that would not so much as declaire to feyght on that state of the question, which imports they feyght for the King's interest, mor then as it is subordinat to God, and further then he prosecuts the cause of God and disclaymes his guilt and the enemyes of the cause, and without and befor his satisfaction to the Lord's people in both kingdoms, which I am persuaded is lawful.

On Tuesday, 27 [May] . . . I heard from Lady Caivers that hir husband and my freinds on the uther syde thought it daungerous to me to goe over, that many had suorne to

¹ The Declaration of the 13th August 1650. See *infra*, p. 110 and n. 5.

haive a bout at me or with me. I heard how in the mean tyme the Inglish guard had spoyled my house, and brunt al the timberworke in it, and rayled on myself that I was but heir for intelligence to the King; which I used as an argument to the General to haysten me awaye. He promised a good aunswear to me; and Mr. Good told me he heard from Whaley that his resolution was to delyver them to me. Both his seaknesse,¹ and his anger at the abuse of my house, and the interest of his nayme, hes apearantly wrought upon him. If it be the Lord's will thus to taikethem faire off my hand, when I had almost despayred of it, my nixt desyre is unto the Lord to direct me what to doe and how He thinks fitt to dispose of me . . . I heard this day that their had been a great debayte at a Committee of theirs, whither to burne the toune at their waygoing or not; that Lambert and Munk urged it; that Whaley, Fairfax, Ouvertoun, Fenwik, opposed it; that the General himself was absolutly agaynst it. I learned from Mr. Good as much as, if the General dyed, som prym² men in this army would maik it a Turkish warre. The Lord knows best how to prevent or sanctifye that to His awen.

On Wednesday, 28 [May] . . . whyl I attended General Major three houres in vayne, I debayted with Whaley, who told me their successe as an argument of God's approbation; and I replying that God gaive successe to whomsoever He used as instruments of His justice against enemyes, or mercy for correction of His children, and yet without approbation of their course, as Benjamin, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Assyrian, Izrael against Judah, 2 Chron. 28 ch. especyaly; he duplyed that the Lord never used His awen childrein who prayed to Him as instruments only of His justice. I told him God could maik use of their passions and mistaks, as of uthers, to their ends

¹ Cornet Baynes, writing from Edinburgh on the 24th of May, says: 'I wish the General be able to accompany and head the army this summer; it's feared he cannot' (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 24); but three days later assures his correspondent—'The General is reasonable well recovered' (*ibid.*, p. 25).

² Prime.

. . . their prayers and fasts in England was not to the Lord anent knowledge of the warre, whither lawful or unlawful, but for the good successe of the warre . . . At night I heard that the Lady Caivers had told that I was so odious on the uther syde, as my childrein for no moneys could gett a place to hyde their heads in; yea that my Lo[rd] Bromhal told that the people their was so in-raiged against me, as they professed they could not see my children without rysing of my [*sic*] heart; and that melancholy at this was lyk to wrong my eldest daughter; hirsself was ryped becaus she was my cousing. This brought to my mynd my S. p. [?], which went imediatly befor my hoopes renewed anent my dispatch. The Lord sees my condition everywher; and how, if I went to Holland, as Walt[er] Cheisly wryte, I would be sticked. The Lord knows I know not wheir to hyde my heade in. Cromwell wished I might doe lyk the dow, knowing and finding no place to rest in, returne to the ark. Lord, leade me to His awen right ark, and to lippen to non under him for shelter. . . .

On Thursday, 29 [May] . . . Lambert told me the General's resolution was to delyver the Registers, but would not apoynt a tyme. My wyfe heard that they, on the uther syde, wer to summond me on treason, if I got not the Registers, and alledged I was as guilty anent them as Dundas anent the Castel.¹ I heard the English had differd

¹ Walter Dundas, younger, of that ilk, was in command of Edinburgh Castle when it surrendered in December 1650. 'It has now pleased God to deliver to my Lord General Edinburgh Castle, a place of such strength that had not God possessed the enemy with a spirit of fear, it might for a long time have been an obstacle to the further proceedings of our army here; but his castle, the pride and glory of his nation, and the strength and refuge of the enemy, is now surrendered, without the loss of any of our army. It was surrendered on the 19th inst., and they are to march out next Tuesday eight miles, and there lay down their arms' (*Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1650, p. 478). This was how Captain Lionel Lane regarded the matter. For Cromwell's opinion, which was very similar, see Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxi. The Long Parliament set apart the second anniversary of the execution of Charles I. as a day of public thanksgiving through the whole nation, for various mercies, and in particular for 'the rendition of the Castle of Edinburgh' (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. pp. 769, 770).

about the merch, and that the General's recovery prevented sundry mischeifs to be done. I was trubled to find them intend to quarter. Two doctors cam down to see the General.¹ I heard the Parliament was sitting, but knew not what they wer doing . . . I went to the Sheinsyairds, and their remembred the Lord of His mercy and grace to me their, about 18 yeirs agoe after removing of my first wyfe,² my first great crosse, becaus of affliction, temptation, confusion, the thre great ingredients in it . . . This being the King's birthday, their was great shooting and bonfyring in Fyfe. Alas, I fear this summer occasion uther fyres. I heard that the Inglish had taiken in Rosseyth³ on the uther syde, and I heard the sojourns would fayne be at Fyfe for plunder.

On Frayday, 30 [May] . . . I got a letter from Glasgow shewing the Parliament was sitting,⁴ and that apearantly the Commission would give way to the rescinding the Act of Classes;⁵ that their was divisions at Stirling; and desyring my going their, or sending advyce whither to protest against Commission calling the Assembly, and the Assembly called, or to give way and only protest against their proceedings. My mynd rune on a medium of protesting against their transporting without adjourning it, and to advyse what to doe anent the Assembly til we saw som further light, by God's intervening providence and

¹ The English Council of State despatched Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates from London to attend to Cromwell (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxiv).

² Vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

³ See Douglas's *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns*, p. 256.

⁴ This session of Parliament, held at Stirling, began on the 23rd of May and ended on the 6th of June.

⁵ The Commission of Assembly, sitting at Perth, adjourned on the 25th of May to meet there again on the 11th of June; but on the 24th of May appointed a committee, with power to add to its number, to go to Stirling 'and there to make application to the King and Parliament, or any committees appointed by them in the particulars wherewith they are instructed to conferr with them thereupon, and to doe everything according to their instructions' (*Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 443, 444). On the 12th of June the Commission unanimously approved of the proceedings of the committee but 'were unsatisfied with diverse things in the proceedings of Parliament' (*ibid.*, p. 450).

mutual debayte, wer got . . . O Lord, preserve our mother the General Assembly of Church of Scotland from [defection].

On Saturday, 31 [May] . . . I got word from the General Major that he would give me an order, to the Gouvernor of Leyth, for delyvery of the Registers. For the which my heart blissed the Lord my God, for the cleiring of my nayme and faythfulness in this busines, by this good successe, which I praye God to perfyte, and then to direct me what to doe for His service anent the disposing of myself. . . .

On Mononday, 2 June, . . . I heard our Parliament had rescinded the Act of Classes wholly,¹ and the pairtyes agreed by the Church to absteane from mutual chalenges on of another for what soever was past; and that the cotype of this was to be sent to al the clannes to invite them al in as capable of al imployments, which remembred me of the Marquis of Hamilton's, this man's fayther, making befor the Blak Parliament the proclamation discharging al the ministers off toune,² and giving liberty to Allan Macaldore, which was called a banishing of God and calling in the

¹ On the 2nd of June, the Scottish Parliament rescinded and annulled the Act of Classes of 8th January 1646, and the other Act of Classes of 23rd January 1649, in their 'quholl heads, articles, and clausses,' and also all other acts, commissions, treaties, or orders of Parliament, or Committee of Estates, made since August 1648, in so far as by them any incapacity, banishment, or restraint is laid upon any of his Majesty's Scottish subjects; and henceforth such persons, as were secluded by these Acts from places of public trust or power, were to be freed from these disabilities; but it was provided that none should be admitted to places of trust or power except those who satisfied the Church for their former offences, and renewed or took the Covenant, and possessed the qualifications required in the Word of God, and expressed in the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties, viz. 'that thai be men of knowin good affection to the caus of God and of a blaimles and Cristian conversation' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 676, 677).

² On 23rd July 1621 (Calderwood's *History*, vii. 472-474; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, xii. 546, 547). It was this Parliament which ratified the Five Articles of Perth. The day on which it was closed, Calderwood says, 'was called by the people "Black Saterdag"' (Calderwood's *History*, vii. 505). The Parliament itself was called 'the Black Parliament' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, ii. 91).

devil;¹ for I heard with this the Provost and S. J. Ch.² wer sumoned. Al wer now taiken in, but only the Remonstrators; al Jeues, Turks, al Rome, but not Protestants. I got a comfortable letter from M. Jh. Leviston, to incourage me against calumnies; and withal he sent me his narration of al passages of the treatye which doeth mor and mor clear that Holland treaty, the fountayne of all our evil, to haive been foule and polluted.³

On Tuesday, [3 June] . . . I got the passe for the ship with the Registers. I recomended with tears my wyfe and family to the Lord. I did wryte to the Comittie and to the King, with and anent the Registers for my exoneration.⁴

On Wednesday, 4 June, . . . I dispatched away my wyfe with the Registers, the Lord send us a comfortable meiting, for many chaynges, publik and privat, may fall out befor wee see uthers. The ship went away on Thursday, and I went out to Ingleston. . . . Upon Frayday and Saturday . . . I got a letter from S. J. C. for going to Glascow, another from M. J. L. against going over the watter. . . .

On Sunday, the 8 [June] . . . I was dull at night, but got good in the morning. On Mononday I got good; and on

¹ Calderwood, who calls this culprit 'a Hieland man, Alan Makeldow, cheefe of the Clan Cameron, a sorcerer, a murtherer, declared rebell and outlaw,' says that 'it was ryfe in the mouths of the people that the Parliament could not end weill, the beginning was so evill favoured: they were banishing God and bringing in the devil' (Calderwood's *History*, vii. 474). This devil, *alias* Alan Mac Eanduy, *alias* Cameron of Lochiel, was by no means anxious to be brought in. A reward of 5000 merks was offered for his capture, dead or alive; and to any of his followers who killed him and presented his head that reward was to be supplemented by a free pardon for all bygone offences (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, xii. 542).

² Sir James Stewart? and Sir John Cheisly.

³ John Livingstone's account of the negotiations with Charles the Second at Breda is in *Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 170-184.

⁴ Next day 'his Majestie and the Parliament ordanes a letter to be wreattin to the Clerk of Register for haisting the transport of the Registers according to former ordours, and gives warrand to the Generall Commissioner to defray the expenses of the transport' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 683). On the 6th of June, a 'letter from Mr. Thomas Henderson to the Clerk of Register, of the 25 December,' was read in Parliament (*ibid.*, p. 685).

Tuesday . . . I receaved letters from my wyfe, with al the publik acts, which shew the great defection of the land, and the first rype fruits of the Malignants sitting in Parliament, by an act against the Remonstrators, another against al nonconcurrers to be processed as enemyes to religion, king and kingdoms. I wondred at the terrible mocking of God by Comission and Parliament, in acknowledging the Solemn Acknowledgment and Act for judicatoryes pure, as moraly obliging to thes qualifications to al in power and trust, and yet rescinding the Act of Classes and admitting al that was excluded as such. My wyfe's desyring me from som their to goe over, I layed it befor God with tears, and begged His direction anent my aunswear, and whither I should inclyne to goe or byde; and, after tearful prayers, I cast the lot, and it fell for my abyding, which maid me wryte so to hir, it concurring so sensibly with advyce from West and South and my awen inclinations. But I promised eyther upon their call or processe of me, or uther aparent ten grounds from hir, to seek the Lord's direction once agayn in the same way. Afternoon, I got a letter from S. J. Ch[eisly] shewing thes tuo acts,¹ and the resolution to meet together [*i.e.*] the ministers and gentlemen that was in the Remonstrance; and desyring my going to them agayn. Frayday, I sought God's direction, with M. G. H. and Ingleston for counsel, and found

¹ The two Acts of Parliament to which Sir John Cheisly drew Wariston's attention were both passed on the 4th of June. The one 'against compliers with this Sectarian enymie' was not only directed against actual compliers or aiders, but also against those who, without valid excuse, did not help to carry out the Public Resolutions against the common enemy; and those who, without leave, deserted their charge either in State or army were to be regarded as enemyes to religion, king and kingdom and proceeded against accordingly. The other Act ordained that those who vented or dispersed copies of the Western Remonstrance would be 'punished as venters and fomenters of seditious lybells and pamphlets.' To those who had any accession to that Remonstrance, this Act offered assurance of freedom from all trouble, question, hazard, or danger for the same, provided they appeared before the King and Committee of Estates, and, under their hands, disclaimed the Remonstrance; acknowledged their offence therein, and obliged themselves never to meddle with the like in future; but those who did not appear and disclaim the Remonstrance were to be proceeded against as seditious persons and breakers of the peace (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 682, 683).

it sensibly. For which my soule blisseth the Lord, and beggeth His going alongst with the letter, to bring it saife to their hands, and to doe good to their spirits at that meiting. . . .

Upon Frayday, 13 of June, . . . I received Mr. R. Trayl's letter, fearing enemyes taiking advantage against me for my staye on this syde. At night I got tuo tickets from S. J. C. and M. J. G. shewing their contentment with my letter in al things except in my not going their. S. J. C. professed he durst not be peremptory, but M. J. G. was very peremptory in his reasons ; yet desyred me to doe nothing, for anything he sayd, wher I saw inconvenience ; he insinuated my stay would be scandalous, and give just occasion of double citations against me, and stoppe of men's resolving on an united way to cleave to their testimony, and to haive on ready for the Assembly, and desyred wee might suffer in a cleanly way. S. J. C. did wryte as al their opinions against my going over the watter ; but J. G. insinuated rayther for it, if the dainger wer not aparent and unavoydable. Thes letters much perplexed my sprite, and the mor that I got no word from Fyfe-syde, according to my exspectation, which might haive given me light what to doe in relation to both thes of going to Glascow and then to St[irling]. I was at night earnest with the Lord, for His special direction to me, and as in His sight I spread the papers befor the Lord according to J. G. his desyre. I awaiked in the morning with continual ejaculations anent it ; and, when I thought to haive delayed any aunswear anent it til I should gett letters from Fyfe or til evening, it was borne in on me, on Saturday morning, to praye earnestly for the Lord's aunswear, and to seek it as I got the last on my wyfe's letter. Wherupon I spread the letters befor the Lord, got great liberty of prayer with many teares for the Lord's special direction, in this immediate way of His worship, wherin my heart got great acces to Him ; and therupon I cast the lot, and it was for abyding, which maid me with teares to adore the Lord, who bore in on my spirit that it was His wil and my weal and, by som emergent

providences, He should thereafter convince both them and me that it was so, . . . and so maid me resolve to aunswer the letters . . . After this I did wryte a full letter to S. J. C. and M. J. G. in aunswer to them; and blissed God for the ease of my mynd; and begged of the Lord a saife convoying of my aunswer, and a backing of it by His good providence to their satisfaction. . . .

On Sunday, 15 June, in the morning I dreamed carnal dreames which troubled my mynd. The Inglish trouper reeled at the gait, and told of a woman taiken by the guard, who was coming to me with letters; which maid me send in James Runcheman to the toun anent the letters; and my heart begged of the Lord to see no evil but good in this His providence of intercepting my letters. I went out to the yaird and remembred the Lord of His covenant maid, renewed and sealed to me six tymes, about this tyme twelmonth, and brought to my mynd som prayers maid by me, and promises applyed to me in that very walk . . . which, both in Bruntsfeild Links and Ingleston's yaird and at several comunions, was borne in upon my spirit; albeit at the tyme I knew not befor what tryal of doing or suffering, but I did wryte then down in my book the impression on my sprite, that it was to fitt for mor acting or suffering for Him then ever . . . After sermon I gott my wyfe's letter for going to Stirling, and J. G. and S. J. C. for going to Glascow, agaynst Mononday at 12 houres; and telling me of the Gentlemen's resolution to goe to Stirling and maik a vindication and declaration, which perplexed me much, and occasioned both J. G. and my praying with tears for counsel from the Lord, who in privat quyeted my mynd as seing no reason to putt Him to a 3d aunsuear upon so smal grounds, seing both J. G. and S. J. C. letters was against my going to St[irling], and my wyfe told of hir resolution to come to me to taik me with hir thither. And then He let me [see] the useles[ness] of my going to Glascow, as wheir I might rayther be staggered by uthers then draw them right, seing ane self saifty hes possessed them with compliyan;e;

and He let me see His providence, according to my morning's prayer and hoope, by the interception of the letters impossibilitating my voyage to Glascow agaynst the dyet, and the inconvenience of my going their and not going forward but reteyring back agayne. All which satisfied my mynd, not to goe contrary to the Lord's clear, redoubled direction, wherof my letter would be then com to them. This agreed also with G. H. his thoughts; wherupon I did wryte, with God's assistance, a ful letter to them and another to my wyfe on Mononday morning, which I pray God to convoye saifly to their hands . . . and I earnestly begged to see or heare som thing also of my Lord's providence anent my first letter, whither it be intercepted, or if it hes com to hir hand and stayed hir voyage til shoe tryed mor anent the busines. This day som ministers cam to see me, and I induced them to spend the most pairt of the daye upon prayer and exhortation, . . .

On Tuesday, 17 June, I did wryte a full letter to M. J. Leviston in South, but to be read by the ministers of Edinburgh be the way, informing them of al things in the West and anent my awen caise, and intreating them to praye for the Lord's direction of me . . . I was troubled to hear that James Thom [?] who caryed my letter to my wyfe was gon to Glascow, but I submitted.

On Wedinsday [18 June], . . . I got a letter from S. J. C. shewing their seasonable receate of my letter, acknowledging the Lord's strainge [providence] in the intercepting of theirs, therby impossibilitating my going according to my hoipe, written to them, that by a subsequent providence He would satisfye their myndes and myn . . . But, to returne to S. J. C. letter, he tells they had not yet resolved; som that had most of the world inclyned to goe; that M. P. G. was returned, and told Chan[cellor], Arg[yle], Cass[illis] went not to the Committee; that the Kirk was offended with the nomination of Committee of Estats, and Act against Remonstrators; (that J. D. was to reteyre but not to Glascow); that the Kirk

gaive in a Remonstrance anent thes tuo,¹ which, I beleive helps most to keepe the Westland men awaye; and therin I saw the Lord's wonderful condiscension to pitye and prevent His faynting people's bakslyding and declyning . . . As my heart blissed God for that, so I got a new mater for I heard that James Thome [?] had not gon to Glascow but to Stirling, whither I pray God bring my letter saifly to my wyfe's hands, and to blisse it to hir, and to the thrie their that now absents themselves . . .

This Wedinsday, being 18 June, for I hoope never to forgett it, I went privat in the bak of Ingleston gairden. . . . Upon this the Lord pressed on my mynd, to ingage God the mor unto me, for to renew my Covenant for me and my seed with Him agayne; . . . whereupon . . . I did dedicate, consecrate, resigne and give over saule and body, al the facultyes of the on and members of the uther, eyther of myself, wyfe or bairnes, and their seed in their generations, to the Fayther, the Son, the Sprite.² . . . As I would haive gladly had the covenants maid between my predecessors and the Lord for us their seed, especyaly thes maid by my tuo gudams³ and my mother with the Lord, to the for[e], that ay in my straits and tryals I might haive presented the sam to the Lord, . . . so I conjure my seed to spread this sevinth covenant of myn, as also al the former six with the Lord, befor Him, for mercy and grace and blissing from Him . . . At supper I gott a letter from S[ir] J. Ch[eisly] shewing that 9 or 10 gentlemen was going to St[ir]ling; that they would not say they would not disclayme but explicate, and would not tell how til they wer their; that Provest took weal my letter, but goes with rest; that my wyfe got not my letter til Saturday at night, and forbade me to goe over til shoe cam to

¹ For 'the Humble Remonstrance of the Commission of the Generall Assemblie' to the King and Committee of Estates, see *Records of the Commissions*, iii. 476-479.

² Many pages of passages from Scripture follow here, and references to six former covenants, with the promises and petitions attached to them, and a reference to his particular covenant 'subscryved also by wyfe and eldest thrie of my childrein.'

³ Grandmothers.

me ; that he would never consent to my going, they would pick many quarrels at my papers ; that an eminent and worthy minister sayd to another that I was a turbulent, seditious man, dangerous to be in a State ; . . . advysed me to goe South ; told of the gentlemen desyring M. P. G. and M. W. G.¹ to goe with them which som had no clearnesse in. This maid us sorrowful, to see thes gentlemen declyning, maid me see God's goodnesse preparing me for so heavy a sentence, which I beleive be eyther from M. R. D. or M. R. B.² and which is lyk that I heard befor of on of them, that I was so obstinat in opinion, and resolut in designing and attempting to renverse what was agaynst my conscience, that I would not [?] turne ; if the Kirk persuaded me not, the State behooved to cutt me off. I wryte to S[ir] J. Ch[eisly] in aunswer of al. . . . I had kepted this day for my fast, communicated what I had written in it to M. G. H., Ingleston³ and his lady, and told them I was to gett som news of consequence concerning me, eyther fitting me for mor doing or suffering for Him.

On Thursday, 19 [June] . . . Jamy Thom cam with a long letter from my wyfe, wherin, befor I got it, I ejaculated to the Lord to find [?] himself. I was troubled to reade the first syde of it, conteyning the many greate means shoe had used for their sending from the Committee to and for me, and their slighting of desseigne for my prejudice ; then hir getting a passe to com hirself to and for me, hir not getting my letter with Davy [?] til Saturday night ; after that shoe had used al possible means to have had a trumpeter sent for me to goe over ; wherin I saw God's special providence stopping my letter which discharged her using of means, to procure my going their, until shoe in vayne had used them ; and fand theirby on providence crossing hir designe and desyre for my going over. Then, notwithstanding of hir passe, shoe is stopped and refused and threatned at the Queinsferry, at Innerkeything, and then at Bruntyland, where the sojours ryseth

¹ Patrick Gillespie and William Guthrie.

² Robert Douglas or Robert Blair.

³ Gilbert Hall and Major Inglis.

in a mutinye against their officers, for wanting [?] to suffer hir to goe over on the King's passe, and it was lyk to draw to great bloode. They threatned boatmen and officers, and rayled on himself as a traitor, when shoe had hyred a boate to taik me over with my horses. The weomen also rayled and threatned hir. Shoe intended to goe to Kinghorne with the Gouvernor; but was impeded by seing such violence and mischief lyk to be. She their got my 2^d letter with Jam: Thom, and so resolved to goe bak to St[irling], and show how shoe was used, and to seek a passe to me to goe out of the countrey, seing she saw by experience I could not live in the countrey; and that, if I had been their with hir, I had certaynly been sticked; and therfor shoe conjures me to abyde on this syde, til shoe cam over and tell me many reasons, til God send a better oportunity; wherin I saw the Lord taiking paynes to cleir my procedure, by hir using al possible means for their sending to me and for me, and their refusing of it; His saiving of my lyfe, which I had lost if I had gon, for they call me the inbringer of the Sectaryes; and the people ar divelishly inraigned against me, wherin I saw also God's hand convincing hir mynd of the reality of the daunger wherunto utherwayes shee had importuned me. Lord, let me find it a means of doing good to hir mynd. Withal shoe shews how litle I am obleidged to the West gentlemen, and desyres me not to goe their, and tells me of som exceptions taiken at som words in my letter. Wherupon I acknowledge the Lord's wonderful condescention, by thes tuo letters, to confirme by subsequent providences, according to my prayers and hoopes, His tuo negative directions against my going to Stirling or Glascow, which G. H., and Ingleston and his lady observed, alsweal as I, and let me seie a providence in the interception of my letters from the West, and in the saife conveye of myn to my wyfe, but so tyled by Him as if the Lord had a most special reguard to the circumstance of everything which concerned me. Looks not al this lyk a confirming signe of His bargayne maid with me yesterday? . . . lets me see that I would not gett liberty, by

going over, to keepe any paper or give any testimony, which would be the only motive, reason and end of my going, but to be murthered and butchered baisely and privatlye.¹ . . . Mr. Good cam out; and he and I had a great debayte anent the Covenant, as an oath not only befor God as a witnesse, but with Him as a party.

On Saturday, 21 June . . . This forenoon . . . I wryte a letter in to ministers of Edinburgh and M. J. L.; and sent in S. J. C. and my wyfe's letter to informe them. The exercise was on 13 Psalm, and after it I got M. Trayl's letter, steating that they thrie, after seeking God's direction anent my condition, could not but be against my going to Stirling, and for my staying til this storme calmed. . . . I heard of the Inglishes being troubled at the losse of a major in Lithgow, and of captain dying in Edinburgh after constant trouble of his mynd since Glascow.² . . . I got a letter from Greenhead³ of the receate of myne, of their praying earnestly to God for me, to fitte me for mor doing and suffering, which is lyk to befall me, and desyring me South for som dayes. Mr. Trayl wryte with it a report, as if the new penitents at Stirling wer desyring the Ingagement against Ingland to be declared lawful; and that the Kirk had upon it left them, and declared against them; but I beleive it not as yet no tyme; then he remembred me of what I sayd at the entree of this busnes, when the Lords would haive given me moneys for my paynes, that I refused it and told them that I had a better clyen[t] then the best of them, and that He was still calling me to pleade for Him. . . . After the exercise I got M. Trayl's letter with my wyf's bak agayne. . . .

¹ Here there are several pages of pious reflections and devotional passages.

² 'About the latter end of Maii, . . . the La. of Preston, Hamilton, Ducke Hamilton's leiuetenant, tooke from the Englishe, neir Carnwathe, 100 horsse, withe sadells and pistolls; and Corasse Ballantyne, neire Linlithgow, killed and tooke 2 troupes of dragoneires' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 307). On the 31st of May, Cornet Jo. Baynes wrote: 'The enemy hath done us some harm by falling into one of our troops of dragoons quarters, and have taken most of that troope's horses and men' (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 25). 'Captain Spenser is dead of a fever: yesterday [16th June] he was buried' (*ibid.*, p. 28).

³ Sir Andrew Ker.

Upon Sunday, 22 June, . . . [the Lord] remembred me of my warning given to Chan[cellor] and Argyle and myself at Ineraray, that I knew God was to restore us to power, trust and interest agayne; but that, if wee abused that agayne and maid defection from Him, He would say of us, as of the fig tree, that never mor fruit would grow on us. . . . Whereof I haive remembred since, in the begining of the defection, them both and their ladies, and wonders at the Lord's free grace of preserving me from this defection. . . . My soule blesseth Him for maiking use of me in the draught of the National Covenant, Solemne League, and Solemne Acknowledgment, wherof the first scroll was from Him to me.¹ Why I am wryting thir, I gets M. J. G.² letter, pressing me, by many reasons of God's calling and designing and ingaging me, to goe to the Gen[eral] Ass[embly], wheranent my soule begges, O Lord, Thy special direction to me; . . . my inclination, for the reasons in his letter and for my testimony to Christ,

¹ The National Covenant was drawn up in 1638; the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643; and the Solemn Acknowledgment of Public Sins and breaches of the Covenant, and a Solemn Engagement to all the duties contained therein, in 1648. For Wariston's part in the preparation of the National Covenant, see i. 319-322. Of the Solemn League and Covenant, Baillie says: 'The English were for a civill league, we for a religious covenant. When they were brought to us in this, and *Mr. Henderson* had given them a draught of a covenant, we were not like to agree on the frame; they were, more nor we could assent to, for keeping of a doore open in England to Independencie. At last some two or three in private accorded to that draught, which all our three committees, from our States, our Assemblie, and the Parliament of England, did unanimouslie assent to' (Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, ii. 90). It has been usually inferred from this that Henderson prepared the draft of the Solemn League and Covenant; but the statement in the text may imply that the first scroll was penned by Wariston. On the 22nd of September 1648, the Commission of Assembly instructed a committee, previously appointed, 'to meet and consider what is fitting to be done for acknowledging the publik sinnes of instruments and of an engagement against the lyke sinne in tyme cuming, . . . and to make use of the drawght read and given in by the Lord Wariestoun' (*Records of the Commissions of Assemblies*, ii. 69, 70). On the 4th of October, another committee was appointed 'to consider what is to be done for a publik acknowledgment of the sines of the land, and an engagement to abstaine from the lyke in tyme cuming,' etc. Next day, the Commission approved the matter of 'the paper touching the generall acknowledgment of publik sines and engagement for better cariage hereafter' (*ibid.*, pp. 76, 77).

² James Guthrie.

. . . runnes this way, and my aprehension that Thou will shew me Thy clear will (which I intend to seak), and that as evidently as Thou has cleired to me anent my abyding and not going to Stirling or Glascow. . . . After sermon He putt it in my heart to spread before Him, with many teares, the fyve arguments befor observed against my going over to Stirling, and now, on the other hand, M. J. G. his letter and reasons with the deuty of confessing Him in an evil and adulterous generation; . . . my yesternight prayer, for a clear way of the use of this testimonye, which He hes furnished to me, and the thought this morning of His leaving but tuo witnesses, S. Rutherford [and myself] of the first beginners and consulters. I spread al befor Him, and earnestly intreated for His direction, with submission as the centurion's servant, to goe or abyde as He should direct; and to tell me whither I should inclyne to goe or byde; that I might know what to wryte to J. G.; and—after tearful invocation of the Lord's naym, with som sort of trimbling and remembring Him of His late covenant to me and the additionals therin—I cast the lott, and it was for going. Wherupon I adored the Lord, and did wryte a full letter to J. G. anent my inclination, resolution, and the Lord's direction to goe, unles by emergent providences or convincing directions He maik my staye as cleare then as now from Stirling. And, upon the thought of agreing this present affirmative aunsuear relating to the Assembly with the former tuo negatives relating to Stirling and Glascow, the Lord did beare in upon my mynd that He could maik great chaynges befor the meiting, which maid me pray for the Lord's prevention of the defection of our General Assembly, which in al human apearance must eyther be by waking of their conscience within, or speaking to them by providence without, or utherwayes arguments wil not work much on aible men so deeply ingaged in a declyning course; and I did wryte somthing of my prayers and hoopes to J. G., and read al to G. H. and Ingleston. . . .

On Mononday, 23 [June], the Lord brought to my mynd

that every on might desyre to propone his doubts in the Assembly, especyaly I who had been imployed in the wryting the reasons of their principles and procedures, and was called by the Church to be their procutor¹ for Christ and His rights, and had an Act of Parliament lying on me to warne of al dangers, and that al who doubted of Publik Resolutions should be referred to the General Assembly, who even in 1648 was willing to hear any objections or reasons against the proceedings of their delegats, who hes joyned in the courts [? course] with the Staite, and desyres tyme to reade their acts which wer not published. . . .

On Tuesday [24 June] . . . wee heard that the English army was going to merch, upon information that the Scots army was merched. At supper I receaved my wyfe's letter, with the vyle band which seven Westland gentlemen had subservyed, disclayming the Remonstrance,² and not conforme to the Act of Parliament, but with a litle declaration of their not renuncing their testimony against the sines therin mentioned.

On Wednesday, 25 June, . . . my wyfe had written to me that a trumpetier was coming to and for me with a letter, and that som had prest rayther the sending of a summons to me as a contryver of the Remonstrance; but withal shoe discharged me to stirre til shoe cam to me and informed me of things. S. J. C. did wryte that he heard they wer full of headstrong resolutions at Stirling against al that would not comply with them, which had occasioned the gentlemen's fall. O Lord, leade me never in, but throw, temptations; and give me grace to watch and pray to be keeped from them, at least the evil of them. I was glayde

¹ Sir John Skene, an earlier clerk-register, also wrote *procutor* for *procurator*.

² '22 Junii, 1651, at Stirling. The lairds of Cesnocke, Cuninghamehead, Pollock Maxwell, Corsbie, Sir James Steuart, Provost of Edinbrughe, and Glanderstone, all of them Remonstrators in cheiffe, disclaimid the Remonstrance given in and presented to them, and gave band and souertie to his Majestie and Estaits for ther good behavior in tyme coming, and for ther concurrence againste the publicke enimey Cromwell, and the Sectarians and traitorous rebels of England, murtherers of the late King and disclaimers of his nou Majestie's authority' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 309).

to heare that the Generall Assembly did not sitte til the 16 of July, that wee might have som tyme to praye and prepaire for it. . . . My heart begged to heare of the Lord's going alongst with my letter to doe good in Edinburgh and the South, to stirre up His servants and saints to a testimony to Christ and prayer for me. . . . I desyred Him to reconceile His tuo former directions against my going to Stirling with his laitest for my going to the Assembly at St. Andrews. He . . . wele [?] could, eyther by preventing the Assembly sitting, or my going befor the day, . . . or, by som intervening, emergent providence, demonstrating His awen testimony to the concurence [?] of myn, as in 1641 [?] and 1648, or yet by clearing mor and mor fully my deuty and calling both ordinary and extraordinary from God and men, to goe ther and give testimony to Jesus Christ in a declyning tyme when few [are] at His back, seing I am most obliged, ingaged and consecrated privatly to Him, and therby stryve to keep Christ in the land, the greatest and best duety I can doe to God, to His people or my awen soule, mor then if I would live Methusalem's dayes. And as far as the objections from daunger, the Lord could protect if He think fitt; howsoever let it [be] knowen to all that I wil not bowe to thes idols and Agagits.¹ And He can be gayne, both to the cause, to myn and to me, even be such a death inflicted for His testimony, the honourablest, pleasantest, profitablest, that I could desyre in my wishes; and be my death the Lord could maik me, with Sampson, destroy mor Philistine and give the Malignants' party and their malignant course and this defection a dead[li]er stroak then ever be my lyfe, especyaly by a good example, *saunguis martyrum semen ecclesie*, counterbalance the daunger of the evil example of the Westland men. . . . I got a letter from my wyfe, with a cotype of a letter from the new committee, wherin many subscryved—al Malignants except tuo naymed—an order, in substance a

¹ Esther iii. 1, 2.

summonds, to be their agaynst the 3 [?] of July, whersoever the King and the army was, and the King's passe.¹ They observed their extremity [?], and craved [?] peremptory obedience to their ordour; yet in it is forced to acknowledge I had and hes publik warrand to stay till then. This letter com to me whyl I was wryting upon Saul's speeches to Michel his daughter, and then to Jonathan, and then to David, that Saul and the Malignants would not lett the Davids, their enemyes, escape out of their hands, which intimated to me what to expect from them. The letter maid me apprehend my dyet is coyncident with their summonds to uther; and their requyring me to cum their is on notice of my intended declinator from som Westland men, or for to deteane me and cary me alongst with the army, as the Parliament intimats to goe thither; and as they intended to cayrye me to Cairleil in 1648, which maid me then flye be advyce of the Generall Assembly,² and why not now from the sam party? This maid me apprehend their refusing my passe, to goe out of the countrey or to goe to the Generall Assembly; but to com to them and acknowledge them and concurre with them, or els deteane me prisoner from Assembly; so that, be that means, both the sending of my testimony to Assembly and the being at it shal be stopped; which is another thing then personal hazard. My offer clears my willingnesse to goe to Assembly, and the Lord's fyve former aunswers against my going to Stirling, with this new sixt (the naymes of the subscryvers) and the 7 (the defection of thes gon befor me *et nulla retrorsum*), dissuades me from going to

¹ As only twelve members of the Commission of Assembly were present, on the 2nd of July, there was not a quorum; but they considered various items of business, and, *inter alia*, 'being informed that the Lord Register is written for by the Committee of Estates verie peremptorie, thinke it fitting that particular letters be written in his behalfe desyring that, in respect he is a publict servant to the Generall Assembly, and because of his bygone good service to this Kirk, any procedure with him may be forborne untill the Generall Assembly, that some from them may be appointed to conferre with him for satisfying him in the Publict Resolutions, seing there hes not been yet any paines taken with him that way' (*Records of the Commissions*, iii. 494). See *infra*, p. 319.

² At the time of 'the unlawfull Engagement in war against the Kingdom of England,' which was condemned by the General Assembly.

Stirling; but to seek my passe to goe to Assembly, and after it out of the country. . . . At supper I gott P. G. and J. G.,¹ their letter shewing the gentlemen's subscribing after threatnings and with tears, oh that God may gett glory from their repentance; and it rejoyced at my resolution to goe to Assembly, but had no will of my seeking an passe, as that which would stoppe me; and layed upon me the drawing up of the Protestation, and hoped God would confirme me in that judgment of going to Assembly and maik way for it. . . .

On Thursday, 26 June, . . . afternoon S. J. C.² cam heir, and told me the mistaks he and J. G. had of my long letter anent their meiting at Glasgow, as I had of his about my scandalous abode heir; told me of sundry prejudices P. G. got by his being on the uther syde; of the doubts of M. S. R.³ and many uthers in the question of concurrence, who durst not allow⁴ the Publik Resolutions; that it was thought their would not be at the Assembly above 30 to differ, and not 15 of thes agaynst concurrence; . . . he thought they would never suffer me to goe to the Assembly; that he and J. G. thought my casting the lot was to be spayingly used, and had som doubt of it. . . .

On Frayday, 27 June, . . . I was somewhat troubled at my not hearing from my wyfe, and apreghended shoe was doing something about this order. O Lord, forgive her her distemper and passion; and leave hir not to himself on that business. . . . I got letters from M. Trayle, fearing evil becaus of the ministers' speech against me. . . .

On Saturday, 28 June, . . . I was troubled and so was uthers anent my wyfe's not coming. Lord, keepe hir from sine and scorne and scandal, and me from offences and inconveniences.

On Sunday, 29 June, . . . just at the kirk I gets a confused letter of my wyfe's, pressing me to goe over to Elye or Inerkeythin; and I comanded hir to com to me. I heard for certain the Scots airmy was com to Torwood and near to Falkirk yesterday. The Lord knows how to

¹ Patrick Gillespie and James Guthrie.

³ Samuel Rutherford.

² Sir John Cheisly.

⁴ Approve of.

haysten releife of His awen, for my wyfe's letter shew no saife going to Assembly, and that they wer to accuse me of bringing in the Inglish army; breaking Scots army at Dumbar, by purging; contryving and pening Remonstrance. Al thre are untreu in fact; and the last, if trew, a good duety. . . . My wyfe's confused letter jumbled me all day. . . . O Lord, Thou that hes . . . preserved me and directed my abode, til now this army hes com furth, for near 20 months, . . . let me see the continuance of the same. . . .

On Mononday [30 June] . . . afternoone wee was diverted from the intended exercise by the merching of the Inglish armye. Wee got a good prayer from Jhon Durye; saw the armye merch by; heard that the trumpeter for me was com to Cromwel with the letter for me, and som sayd he had sent him back to Stirling; but he had no com to me as I expected hourly; and the Lord knows I may saye [neither] directly nor indirectly be my advyse or knowledge is he stopped, if he be stopped at all; and I feare I suffer in my nayme if he be stopped; but I neyther know certaintye of his coming nor staying nor returning, but in so farre as on of the Inglish trumpeters sayd this to on in Ingleston. I heard the Scots armye was com to Falkirk and their intended to taik up their ground, and this armye intended speidily to feyght them. Who knows how the Lord will dispose of busines, so as to aunsuear my desyre anent the Assembly and the Lord's awen testimony to His busines befor it. . . .

On Tuesday, 1 July . . . Blessed God for al that was past and gon, and prayed to and trusted in Him for what was to come. . . .

7 BOOK FROM 14 JULY 1651¹

[Tuesday] 15 July, 1651. In the morning I prayed on the end of 5 Ephes., my ordinary,² which mett so justly

¹ So inscribed on the inner side of the front board; and, on the outside, 7.

² That is, the passage or chapter which, in his methodical course of reading the Scriptures, fell to be read that day.

with the present tyme for my being the Lord's remembrancer of Zion's cause this day befor His meeting. . . . Then I cast myself and my testimony over upon His good hand, to carrye it throu and to back it with His awen presence and assistance. . . . I will be bold to craive an account from my Lord of His returne of my prayers in this busines—Thou putt it in my heade to wryte; Thou hes dyted¹ it all; Thou hes maid me but a channel to let Thy liquor runne throu; Thou knowes that I did not dreame nor had such a thought or designe as to wryte to an Assembly; tho Thou at first bad me inclyne and resolve to goe, Thou from Thy Word hes cleered me not to goe, and putt me on this testimony, as that which would be mor useful to the busines and lesse daungerous to me. . . . Wheras in the night I was troubled least any should dissuade my wyfe from delyvering them, notwithstanding I had charged [her] to delyver them as shoe would ansuear to God and to me, and told that the not exoneration of my sprite would be worse to me then a 1000 deaths;² and when I heard Leith's ports was kepted close, and so readily the passage of the ferry might be stopped; but I got a heart to cast that over also upon the Lord, whom the busines concerned mor then me, and afor desner I heard of hir getting freie passage that morning. . . . Lord, let me fynd that Thy keeping my feet from this defection, and Thy inaibling me to give a testimony so full and free for Thy nayme (which by my

¹ Dictated.

² Wariston's 'Instructions to my wyfe going with my letter and papers to the Assemblye to be at St. Androues' are dated 14th July 1651, and are printed for the Historical MSS. Commission in the *Laing Manuscripts*, i. 266-268. The papers intrusted to her are thus enumerated: 'You haive with you, 1. the tractat anent the testimonies, 2. tractat agaynst concurrence, 3. the aunsuer anent the letter of Stirling, 4. the last pairt of the large tractat which, with the first pairt to be added to, ar al to be presented to the Assembly. Yee haive tuo principals of my letter to the Assembly. The principal letter to be delyvered hes a paper within to be delyvered in it.' The 'large tractat' is probably the one of which the second part was completed on the 5th of April (*supra*, p. 35), and the concluding part may perhaps be the 'third pairt or tractat of testimonies' (*Laing Manuscripts*, i. 256). The paper which was inclosed in the principal letter is printed in *The Nullity of the Pretended Assembly at Saint Andrews and Dundee*, 1652, pp. 8-13.

going over had been maigled and manked), wer tuo of the fruits and effects of Thy special covenant with me renewed now the sevent tyme in Ingleston. . . . I went out at night to Ingleston, and their beyond expection found M. G. H. stopped in his voyage, but who had sent a testimoneye away. I moved to keepe the morrow for a privat fast becaus of the Assembly. . . .

On Wednesday morning, 16 of July, being the day of Assembly's meeting, I rose early, prayed in my family on my ordinary. . . . I went privat and prayed from 6 til 9 hours,¹ wherein I got presence, admittance and audience, especyaly in relation to my testimoneye. . . . I think it is a good token of futur good to the Church and to posterity, that their is a lyklyer sprite and stamp upon the young folk then upon the old, and that the present defection is rayther upon the old folk then the young and later converts. I heard often M. D. D.² acknowledge the first ; and I thought M. R. D.³ ingyring himself to be moderator of the Commission, whyl moderator of Assembly was present,⁴ that he might haive interest ; M. D. D. his saying, as the Lord lived, wee was al wrong ; and M. R. D. his speech when he should haive dyed ; and anent taking order with thes that could not concurre, and bidding the people lay sine of concurrence at ministers' doore. Then in the 24 Math. the promise, 14 v., maid impression on me that, when Christ had gotten al His testimonyes, the end should com, and a great rappe on the bak of Assembly's aprobaton of this course and benediction of this airmye. The 15 and 16 v. maid me think that the abhomination of desolation . . . the setting up of the Malignant party . . . if it wer aproven once in our holy place of a General Assembly, he that readeth had need to understand, to feare, and to flee. . . . My heart blissed God for bringing my bairnes out of

¹ From six o'clock till nine.

² David Dickson.

³ Robert Douglas.

⁴ Douglas was moderator of the General Assembly in 1642, 1645, 1647, 1649, and 1651. It does not seem to have followed as a matter of course that the moderator of a General Assembly should be moderator of that Assembly's commission. See *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, i. 6, 7.

Culros, the coast syde, wheir their wil be continual affrightments. . . . Afternoon I prayd alon . . . and read Leigh's passages of the martyres' speeches;¹ and after this heard that Balcarras was the King's Comissioner at Assembly, that ther was a report of my wyfe's being taiken and imprisoned in Bruntyland (which I trust in The, my Lord, that it is false); then that G[eneral] M[ajor] Harrison was come in with 4000 mor men; that S. J. C.² was proclaymed rebel at Glascow; that M. P. G. was on Mononday gon to the Assembly and taiken the papers with him and resolved to protest; that he had gotten his summonds, and was exspected to be deposed; that his wyfe might not be seen in the streets of Glascou; that a man cam to this syde of the ferry with a sumonds to M. Jh. Dury and M. G. Hall, but was sent back agayne; that no party was yet troubling the Inglish on the uther syde;³ that their was great shooting both of canon and musket from the west hand. . . . Balcarras being Comissioner⁴ is ominous lyk—to King, to Assembly, to himself. . . .

On Saturday morning, 19 July, I prayed upon the beginning of 1 Philipp. . . . I remembred that M. R. Lighton, by message, and M. J. L. and thes in the South, by letter,

¹ The book here referred to was compiled by Edward Leigh, M.A., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. The title of the second edition is thus given in the British Museum catalogue: 'The Saint's Encouragement in Evil Times: or, Observations concerning the Martyrs in general, with some memorable collections about them out of Mr. Foxe's three volumes; Martin Luther; The Covenant and Promises; Afflictions; Living and Dying by Faith. Second edition . . . enlarged. London, 1651. 12°.'

² Sir John Cheisly was one of the 'pryme Remonstrators' who had been charged to appear before the Committee of Estates (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 310).

³ Some sixteen hundred foot-soldiers and four troops of Colonel Lidcot's regiment, all under the command of Colonel Overton, had effected a landing at trifling loss at North Queensferry on the morning of the 17th of July, and immediately began to entrench themselves. All next Saturday and the following night Lambert was busily engaged boating over more foot and his own regiment of horse (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 313; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 499).

⁴ Alexander, second Lord and first Earl of Balcarres. His commission, under the great seal, to the Assembly is dated 18th July (Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, 1849, ii. 91).

declaired their being against my personal going over, but sending my testimony; becaus they would, at the least, on the uther syde stoppe me from further being useful to the cause. . . . I heard afternoon that tuo regiments of horse and 2 of foote with 2 canon was gon over, as som sayd intending for Perth, which maid me aprehend that the Assembly had not taken weal with the Lord's wairning by the first allarum joyned with the testimony of His witnesses, but was going on in their course, 2 Jerem., and therfor the Lord was lyk to goe on to give them a greater and sadder allarum. . . .

On Sunday morning, 20 July, . . . I heard lecture on 14 Zach., from 6 to 12 v.; and sermon on 6 Hos. 10 v. . . . Just after sermon I got a letter from Barbara Neismith, telling that it was constantly reported in Edinburgh that my wyfe was imprisoned on the uther syde, and that the sojourns had torne in peices many papers which they had taiken from hir, which struck me in the dumps, and maid me send down to ask at on woman which was com to the ferry. O Lord, reject me and my testimonye, and my wyfe, and what els Thou will, I darre not complayne of The, yea I cannot, for in treuth Thou never did nor can doe me wrong; blissed be Thy nayme when Thou rejects as when Thou accepts. Thou certaynly sees the first (if this be treu) to be the better for Thy busines; and Thou can cause wryte it over agayne, as Jereme's scroll cutted and brunt by the King;¹ Thou canst accept of the will and the offer for the deed, and mak me find that surely my jugment is with The and my work with my God. . . . O Lord, if this be treu, comfort my wyfe and sanctifye this chaynge of hir condition to hir for hir good. . . . The Lord did beare tuo things on my mynd, the on was not to be too soon, upon comoun reports, jealous of God's providence. . . . This may be a passage of providence for tryal of my fayth, to fitt me the mor for the good newes of His good providence and assistance convoying the testimony both to their hands, eares, eyes and consciences also. On

¹ Jeremiah xxxvi. 23, 28.

the uther pairt, He maid me see, if it was treu, what condition I would haive been in if I had gon over, even riven in peices as the papers ar sayd to be, or imprisoned at the best as my wyfe is. . . . I heard the Scots army was reteyred over Stirling and the Inglish merching to the ferry, so that Fyfe, *locus peccati ac defectionis*, shal be maid the seate of the warre and misery thairfrom, which I apprehended often. The Lord haive a caire of my wyfe, childrein and papers, for Christ's saike. Strainge this army cam in to Scotland this tyme tuelmonth to an Assembly, and now crosses Forth to another. Why I was wryting this, on rapped at the garden gaite, and gaive me an paper from M. J. D., shewing that Lambert had given battel at Master-ton to 6000 Scots forces, the horse comanded be S. J. Broune and foote be Pitscotti, and had miserably defayte them; that few of the foote had escaped; the Highlanders had layd down airmes on quarters; S. J. Broun taiken and Pitscotti killed;¹ and that this was the cause of the canon shooting between sermons, when I was praying upon the news of their talking my wyfe and rying my paper. Then I heard that the ministers of the West was gon back agayne, and so M. P. G. with my papers. This defeate in Fyfe seimed strange newes so to tryste imediatly after

¹ Balfour estimated this Scots army as 2500 horse and foot; and the English, under Lambert, as 10,000. On Saturday afternoon Lambert perceived the Scots approaching. They were at a distance of five miles, and were, he thought, about 4000 strong, and next morning were joined by other 500 men. In his opinion the English outnumbered the Scots by at least five or six hundred men; but the Scots, he said, had the advantage of the ground. According to Balfour, 'ther was killed almost alyke on each syde; and of the Scottes about 800, most of them footte, quho fought valiantly, and sold ther lives at a deire rait.' On the other hand Lambert put the Scots losses at 2000 killed and 1400 prisoners. He explained that 'the reason why the slain exceeded the number of prisoners was because divers of them were Highlanders and had very ill quarter.' He thought that he had 'lost not above eight men but divers wounded' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 313; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 499). Cromwell reported the Scots killed as 'near two thousand, some say more,' 'about forty or fifty colours' taken, and 'about five or six hundred prisoners' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxv.); but next day, upon fuller information, he said that the prisoners numbered 'between fifteen and sixteen hundred' (*English Historical Review*, ii. 151). Mastertown is barely a mile and a half to the north-west of Inverkeithing. It was Colonel Colin Pitscottie who was killed.

Assembly's dounsitteing ; but whither they haive adjourned or aproven the Commission's proceedings I knew not ; but it is a strange testimony from God agaynst them ; and it wil stryk a terrible terror in the Scots airmy that they ar not lyk to stand and feyght. I cannot but wonder at the Lord's pairt of it, adding His testimony to the testimony of His servants, in such a place at such a tyme, after so many former disapoyntments ; and on the uther part I cannot but regrayte the condition of the poor people . . . who par-taks of the jugment following the land's defection. . . .

On Mononday morning, the 21 of July, I prayed on the end of 1 Philipp. . . . I earnestly recomended my wyfe, bairnes and papers to the Lord's preserving, guyding good providence. I sent away James Runcheman and Jhon Steinson, with a letter to Mr. Good or Lambert, for the safe transportation of thes. I heard theirafter of great shooting of canon and musket about Lithgow, which was aprehended to be the yoking of the airmyes, which wil produce strange newes readily befor night. O Lord God, fill Thou the feild, and be Thou gloriously seen to live, reigne and act for the glory of Thy great nayme, delyverance of Thy interests and people, and subdeuing of al Thy enemyes. . . . After desner and conference I gott from Jam. Choyswood a letter, of my wyfe's coming saife to Sanctandrows on Wednisday morning be 7 houres ; of M. A. Cant preaching on 12 Hebr. 12 v. ; and M. R. Douglas on 122 Ps. 6 v. ; Mr. Douglas choysen moderator ; and that my letter was given in on Thursday morning, but not read when my wyfe cam away upon the first allarum to Dumfermling ; that their was great difference of jugment amongst men in the Assembly. This newes maid my soule from the bottom of my heart to adore and blisse the Lord my God, who had thus taiken my testimony fairly off my hand, and delyvered it into theirs. This maid me reteyre with S. J. Ch[eisly], and with many teares confesse my jealousyes and suspicions of my good God upon Barbara's¹ letter bearing the comoun report of

¹ Barbara Naismith.

sojourns tearing the papers and imprisoning my wyfe ; and then to adore and blisse the Lord my God for this great favor added to many former. . . . Wee ar interrupted by on raping at the doore and forced to ryse ; and it was my man James returned, telling me that G[eneral] M[ajor] Lambert had yesternight, after the feyght, mett with my wyfe at Dumfermling, and left som sojour to guard hir house, and now had written to hir to cause furnish hir whatsoever shoe would to transport hir childrein ; and that Mr. Good was going to see hir, and would further hir in al that he could. Wherupon I returned to prayse God for this new kynd providence superadded to the former, and to my prayses and vows I subjoyned tuo petitions, on for the publik reading and instamping my testimony on men's consciences as backed be His work, the uther for safe bringing over my wyfe, childrein, papers and goods, that the Lord's kyndnesse in both may be fully compleat and perfyte. . . . I thought it looked jugment-lyk, and reject-ing-lyk, the choysing of M. R. D[ouglas] to be moderator, in the approving Assembly of that course of defection wherin he had the main hand in the Commission. . . . I heard 2000 was killed at last feyght, farre mor then both at Dumbar and Hamilton, and 1367 prisoners with 50 colours and 3000 airmes ; and that the Scots forces had once the apearance of the day, and fought it weal enough, but God on a sudainty turned the caise and caived against them.¹

¹ Cornet Jo. Baynes, writing on the 22nd of July, says, 'Upon Sunday last Sir John Brown was commanded, with about 4000 men, to repulse our forces who had possessed themselves of a little island in Fife. They came within a mile or less of our works, whereupon the Major General [Lambert], though not fully provided for them, drew out and engaged them, and *on a sudden*, put them to flight, slew about 2000 of them, took 1500 prisoners and about 50 colours. Sir John Brown is taken and divers other considerable persons not yet known, Collo. Scott slain, and its thought Lieut.-General Holborne' (*Letters from Roundhead Officers*, p. 35). The so-called 'little island in Fife' was obviously the peninsula at the northern end of the Forth Bridge. Three days before, Baynes had stated that, on the preceding Wednesday night, 'a considerable party of our horse and foot surprised a fort of the enemy's in Fife, over against Queen's Ferry. It's much in manner of an island, and four miles compass' (*Ibid.*, p. 34). Both Cromwell and Lambert also write as if Brown was commander-in-chief of the Scots army defeated on the 20th ; but the Lyon King,

. . . I heard the Scots was merched over Stirling brige, and the Inglishes to it.¹

[Tuesday], 22 July. . . . I wondred at the Lord's bringing my children and papers from Culros, wher it seimed they would have had an easier passage by boate, unto Dumfermling wher they fall within the Inglish quarters; and that, in the tyme of their persute of our people with blood, He would constrayne the head of the persewers to caive kyndnesse and respect to myne. . . . Why I am in prayer, James Choyswood cam out to me, and told me of my wyfe's going saifly to Sanctandrews, speaking with som, giving in al the papers be M. S. Rutherford to the Assembly, so that they al knew of them; and that they wer to be read be them upon Frayday or Saturday; and that on Saturday night Jhon Walker, M. J. Baird's man, cam to Kirkcaldie from St. Andrewes, and rayled upon me and myn as dogs and traitors and deceivers, and deserving with al my servants to be hanged, for my wryting such papers to the Assembly; wherof he heard som read in the Assemblie, he knew not if they would reade them all out, but that I would gett an aunsuear with a flappe in the end of it. He told me of their casting off M. P. G.² commission, til after choysing the new moderator, and that he was to be processed; that the Earl of Cassiles was there; that M. A. Cant preached very freely³; that many observed the great difference betuixt his sermon and M. R. Douglas; that the Lord Balcarras as the King's Commissioner kepted great

who says that Brown 'fought gallantly,' states distinctly that Holburne was commander-in-chief, and 'by all honest men was thought to have played the traitor' that day; and that, although he was afterwards 'formally cleired,' he resigned, 'for the haill army exclaimed against him' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 313).

¹ On the 24th of July, Cromwell writes:—'I marched with the army very near to Stirling, hoping thereby to get the pass; and went myself with General Dean, and some others, up to Bannockburn, hearing that the enemy were marched on the other side towards our forces in Fife. Indeed they went four or five miles on towards them; but hearing of my advance, in all haste they retreated back, and possessed the park, and their other works' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxvi.).

² Patrick Gillespie.

³ Andrew Cant was the retiring moderator.

staite ; that their was lyk to be great difference of judgment amongst them ; that the Assembly was no mor moved with the first allarum of the enemyes' landing in Fyfe then as their wer¹ no enemy in Scotland. Then he gave me a letter from my wyfe, shewing hir great perplexity what to doe ; it is written after the feyght. Upon the hearing of thes things, and my hoopes that the letter hes been read in the Assembly on Frayday or Saturdaye befor the Sunday's blow backing it, S. J. C. and I went to our knees both. . . . I prayed the Lord to guyde Cassilles, who wil be for hearing all, I beleive, and be *non liquet* unles they reade all, as I think readily many shal be. . . . I blissed God M. P. G. did winne thither with the uther cotype. . . . The lecture was on 27 Ps., at begining . . . and after it I heard that both my wyfe and Lady Liberton had sent advertisment to the Lady Ingleston, that Augustin with a party of 200 horse was desinged to haive plundered Ingleston and Dundasse, and withal to haive taken us tuo away, quick or dead no doubt, but this blow and retreate hes prevented them ; and the report goeth that Augustin is killed at the last feyght.² . . . At night I heard of Midleton going with 10,000 towards the Inglish at the Ferry, which maid me the mor affrayed of my wyfe and childrein and papers. . . .

On Wednesday, 23 July, . . . I was troubled to heare of their [*i.e.* the Assembly's] adjourning to Dundee,³ for it held out a resolut bensel to goe on and through their desinged approbation of the Commission, notwithstanding al the wairnings and rubbes in their waye. I went privat and spread befor the Lord M. J. G.⁴ letter, which wrote that, in al Scotland, I was the man most ingaged and

¹ Than if there were.

² 'In the late battle of Fife, Captain Augustin, the great moss trooper, lost his troop of 200 commanded men, and himself hardly escaped' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 500).

³ The news of the defeat at Inverkeithing, on the 20th of July, reached St. Andrews that evening. The Assembly convened by mid-night, and adjourned to meet again at Dundee on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 22nd (Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, i. 628).

⁴ James Guthrie.

designed of God to apeare for Christ in His courts at this tyme, . . . which maid me with teares to intreate the Lord to accept of my testimony, and to maik use therof for Jesus Chryst, seing, ingenuously and faythfully, I had sent to that Assembly al that He had given to me in that controversye, that He would force them to reade it, and in the reading instampe it on men's conscience as they durst not or could not goe on, but *reluctante conscientia*. . . . Wee kepted that afternoon in exercise. M. G. H. lectured. . . . I prayed. . . . S. J. C. prayed weal . . . and M. G. H. closed the exercise weal. . . .

On Thursday, 24 July, . . . I prayed for the Lady Ingleston's recovery that was this morning fallen seake. I remembred Mr. G. H. of M. Robert Bruce, then M. Gilespy, and then Mr. Jh. Maclellan,¹ their assurances befor their death written to me of the Lord's blissing to me and myne, albeit their thre letters be jasten up and doun now amongst my papers. . . . I blissed the Lord also for that providence, preserving my family in Dumfermling befor Lambert cam their, that tho the sojourns tooke al the drink, yet they sturred no uther thing. I haive used the means anent them, and recomended them to the Lord for a blissing, and so wil live by fayth on my God. . . . Foranoon, I saw the English lay doun their leagour neir Dalmeny. I heard the General² mynded to com doun heir to see the lady, who was seak, wherof I had no will, and haysted the lard to see him and tell him that shoe had pairted with chyld, and was not now for discoursing. . . .

On Frayday, 25 July, . . . I heard from M. R. Trayle of the Assembly's sitting still in stoutnesse of heart, notwithstanding both the laite wairnings and their awen

¹ When the famous Robert Bruce died in 1631, Wariston was only in his twenty-first year. George Gillespie, the learned author of *Aaron's Rod Blossoming* and other works, died in 1648. John M'Clellan, minister of Kirkcudbright, died early in 1650, 'not without suspicion of being wronged by a witch' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 331).

² Whether at Dalmeny, or at Dundas from which place he wrote on that day, Cromwell was only about three miles from Ingleston.

divisions also ; then M. J. L.¹ wrote of darknesse of mynd and barrennesse of heart, as the plaigue of this tyme. . . . This morning I did, by the Lord's special assistance, wryte a lyvly warme affectionate letter to M. J. L. and his compaignye, and left it open to M. R. Trayle to be communicate to his colleagues and old prisoners. . . .

On Saturday, 26 July, . . . I heard as if James² had outgotten a boat at Leith but gon to Culros [?], which I thought readily might prevent or delaye his wining to my wyfe. . . . Theirafter I heard from another hand that he had gon over at Craumond. . . . Then I got word from the toun that my Lord Balcarras' regiment of horse, whyle he as the King's Comissioner is at the Assembly, was totaly routed ; and that his captain-lieutenant, prisoner now, sayd they fought for the sam quarrel that Ja. Graham³ fought for ; and that the aiblest ministers of Scotland would saye as much ; and that he heard the Assembly was gon to Dundye ; that he got good of my yesterday's letter. But I got no word anent my wyfe, which troubled me the mor that I heard the Scots army cam yesternight near to Culrosse ; and some sayd that they had intercepted a party of the English horse in the countrey ; and that they had gotten imprisoned and would sentence Heburne,⁴ for the last losse over in Fyfe on Sunday last. . . . Just as I am going to privat prayer agayne, coms in S. J. C.⁵ with his burthen, and tels me that the Assembly was adjourned to Dundee ; but, befor that, had aproven the proceedings of the Commissioners ; and that sundry had protested agaynst it ; but that M. Jh. Neive, M. Jh. Carstairs, M. Ja. Neismith, with uther thrie, wer putt in prison ; that M. W. G.⁶ was sent to the West, to gather the Remonstrators to see what protestation they would send ; that M. J. G. and M. P. G.⁷ behooved to goe to Dundee to

¹ John Livingstone.

² James Choyswood.

³ The Marquis of Montrose.

⁴ Major-General James Holburne, Hoburne, or Howburne.

⁵ Sir John Cheisly.

⁶ Probably William Guthrie of Fenwick.

⁷ James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie.

attend their proces; that thes things was told by M. W. Somervall and his conjunct comissioner, who sayd they had protested and com awaye. Thes newes of Chryst's getting a testimony against so suddain an approbation of so abhominable a defection (for in apearance it hes been on Tuesday), and that without reading our reasons or considering God's wairnings agaynst it, maid my heart leape for joye. . . . The imprisonment of the ministers . . . shews the sprit of persecution begun in both, and portends a speidier flappe on the bak of this discovery of their hearts agaynst Chryst and His witnesses. . . . I heard nothing of my papers. . . . I caused send on away with querees to understand al the particulars.

On Soneday, 27 July, . . . I apreghended som had given in my paper anent the constitution of the General Assembly. I might easily reade what they would haive doone anent me. After this I mett with Gilbert Thom com from Glasgow, who heard from M. P. G.'s wyfe that hir husband, M. J. N., M. W. G., and another, was caryed 4 myles back to Stirling as prisoners, on whom I thought the cotypes of my papers would be taiken. . . . As I am going to the kirk, midway on meits and tells me that my wyfe and bairnes wes come to Kirkliston, for the which my heart blissed the Lord as for His good account of the trust I putt in Him anent them, and as a returne of many prayers to Him for them; and so I mett them, and blissed them, and heard that my papers was all doune to Leyth. I then gott a letter of M. A. K.¹ from my wyfe, which shew that on Sunday night, after the sad newes, the Assembly had mett laite and adjurned to Dundee; but, befor the prayer, gott in a declinator and protestation from the unsatisfyed brethrein, which troubled them, and did rejoyce me, and glorifyed God as a co-witnessing with and for God. . . . I heard that Frayday foranoon was spent in debayte, anent reading or not reading my letter, that it was shifted, but resolved to be reade at som uther

¹ Mr. Andrew Ker, Clerk of the General Assembly.

convenient tyme as they sayde;¹ and, as the woman com from St. Andrewes told me, it was not reade befor their adjournement at al. She told me that the Protesters wer weal pleased with the letter, and with their getting the paiper anent the constitution of the Assembly; and that they wer agaynst the giving in the papers themselves unlesse they [*i.e.* the Assembly] first reade the letter, becaus they would not publikly reade them and would but taik advantage of expressions heir and their, and becaus they [*i.e.* the Protesters] wer to give in their declina-tour. I was a litle at first troubled about the not giving in the papers; but submitted to the Lord's dispensation, hooping to see mor in it theirafter. Humby² had spread that a protestation was in letter. The Assembly wer angry at M. A. K.³ his giving out the paper that was in it. Som sayd, if they had knowen of it, they would haive taiken it from my wyfe. Som sayd I was raiving; uthers called it a presumption. . . . My letter was presented in the face of the Assembly imediatly after delyverye and reading of the K[ing's] M[ajesty's] letter to them, and unfolded in the Assembly's sight, and M. Jh. Olyphant, presenter of it, might hardly be seen theirafter in the streets. I heard my papers was left privatly with a friend at St. Andrews, be the Protesters' knowledge, and M. J. Olyphant gon to Stirling with M. J. G. and M. D. B.⁴ As the security was great in Assembly, notwithstanding of the enemyes' landing, so, on that Sunday night, the terror was as great. Al went away that night on horse to the waltersyde for Dundee. They aprehended the enemyes' going to Perth on the back of it. I heard how the Lord preserved my childrein and family from the heate of the English, per-sewing and killing men round about the doores, til Lambert himself by God's providence cam their and left som.

¹ 'There fell a hote debate whether it should be read, and it was delayed to a more convenient time' (Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, i. 627).

² Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie.

³ Mr. Andrew Ker.

⁴ James Guthrie and David Bennett. The latter was minister of the second charge of Stirling and Guthrie of the first charge.

M. W. Oliphant[']s] house, whair my papers was, by God's providence was never sturred, whyl many uthers was plundered round about it. Shoe got on affrightment hirself, of the Scots army aproch near to Dunfermling, that maid hir to goe away in a hayste and com through al the Inglish guards merching fast becaus of their approach ; and shoe had great feare to be in the feilds amongst them in new hott bloode. The boate—shoe, my bairnes and papers, was in—had almost perished by the storme in the outcoming, betuixt a ship and a barke, but the Lord preserved them and maid hir and hir childrein merch on foote through al the Inglish leagour, and crosse at the Ferry on Sunday morning, and com on footte to Kirkliston. For the which I had the mor reason to blisse the Lord, that the Scots airmy is com to Dumfermling, and would have abused hir, as Riccarton sent hir word. I heard M. G. H. expone midle of 14 Zach., and teach notablye on last verse of 6 Hosea. . . . Just as I am com from the kirk, I am advertised be 3 hands that 25 [?] mosse-troupers, James Rosse, George Wyndrham and uthers had taiken an Inglish man out of Halzairds, had asked for me and for S. J. C. ; told they had a comission to aprehend me ; cam to Kirkliston and sayd, wer not that they had no will to interrupt the sermon, Wayreston should haive gon with [them] ; that they wer byding within half a myle of Ingleston til Ingleston was aprehended on the same designe ; that their was 30 mor of them in and about Halton. Everybody persuaded us to goe away, and so wee did, and cam saifly to Edinburgh ; so that the Lord in on day saived and preserved me and my whol familie, for the which my soule blisseth Him. . . .

On Mononday, 28 July, . . . I heard that their had been great shooting at Bruntyland ; and that Holburne was sentenced by a counsel of warre and remitted to the King ; and that S. J. Orem was glayd of his imprisonment ; and that the King intended to reteyre to the North. . . . I heard the busines anent the Chan[cellor] was remitted by the presbytery of the airmy to the General Assembly ; and that Mr. D. D. was to tell it to my Lady Loudoun, who yet

knew not of it.¹ The Lord pity that poor woman, and give mercy to that miserable unclean man, if it be al treu that is sayd, wherof I feare too much be treu, and that I suffer in my nayme for my freindship to him. He had written a large letter to me thinking I would be at the Assembly, but I haive not seen it. I feare his oathes in thes busines aggravat and heighten his sine, and haysten his jugment. I told often my wyfe my poor Lady Loudoun was to gett som great flappe. . . . At night M. W. C. cam and brought to me a cople of a protestation and declina-tour, subscryved be 28 ministers ² agaynst the Assemblye,

¹ '1651, Jun.—The Commission of the Kirke satt att Stirling, att which tyme Chancelour Campbell was brought before them, and challenged for adulterie with one Major Jhonston's wyfe, surnamed Lyndsay' (Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, p. 31). For this Major Johnston, see *supra*, p. 44, n. 3. 'The Erle of Lowdoun, Heigh Chancellar of Scotland, wes procest this yeir [1651] for adulterie, quhairf he was giltie in many menis judgementis; bot be resson of the enymeis incursioun upone the kingdome, and north pairtes thairf, that proces wes interrupt; as mony maa within this natioun' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 74). 'He was blotted of incontinence, whether justly or not his own conscience best knows; and was thereafter accused before the presbytery for lying with the wife of one Johnston, a major of the army; but that matter could not be gotten cleared at that time, both because the English army was then near the border, and the presbytery was greatly his friends, for the help they had got from him in the augmentation of their stipends' (Scot's *Staggering State*, 1754, p. 24; 1872 ed. p. 51). He maintained that he was innocent, and alleged that his enemies and some who favoured Independency had forged these calumnies against him (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 3).

² This protest and declinature was given in, not by Samuel Rutherford, as in Gordon's account of the Assembly, but by Andrew Cant, at the midnight meeting of the Assembly at St. Andrews. It was not read then; but it was read in the absence of the subscribers at Dundee on the 22nd of July. It is printed in the *Nullity of the Pretended Assembly*, 1652, pp. 3-5, and also in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, i. 631, 632. In the former an important 'not' has been omitted. According to Blair's son-in-law, 'twenty-one of the dissatisfied brethren subscribed this protestation' (Blair's *Life*, p. 277). Lamont says that it was signed by '21 or 22 severall hands of ministers' (*Diary*, 1830, p. 33); and Alexander Gordon, who was a member of the Assembly, says, 'with 22 hands, and licence to add moe subscribers, and moe reasons, as they saw fitt' (Peterkin's *Records*, i. 628). There is a MS. copy in a contemporary hand in the Laing MSS. It gives the names of the subscribers as—Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Neivoy, Mr. John Menzies, Mr. Thomas Wylie, Mr. William Adair, Mr. Ephraim Melville, Mr. John Carstares, Mr. Alexander Moncreiff, Mr. William Guthrie, Mr. John Hamilton of 'Enderkip,' Mr. Ja[mes] Simson, Mr. Robert More, Mr. John Hart, Mr. Andrew Donaldson, Mr. Robert Keith, 'and ten othere ministers, in all 28.'

on som few reasons taiken out of the paper anent the constitution,¹ and som taiken from present procedour of the Assembly, and keeping a general clause for the rest ; which rejoyced my heart exceedinglye, becaus it was so evident a returne of our prayers . . . to give in so full, so freie, so bold, so resolut a testimonye agaynst their constitution and procedour both, and agaynst the proceedings of the late Commission, and agaynst al that this pretended Assembly should doe heirafter. . . . I saw another protestation, subscryved by sevin, against the Commissioners' proceedings, good in the materials of it, tho not com up the lenth of the uther.² I heard the 28 ministers went all in with it and so cam away, but fyve kepted prisoners in St. Andrews, and foor at Stirling ; that the King's letter and the Commissioner's speech was both for punishing the dissenters and Remonstrators ;³ that objection was tymously maid against the caryers on of the defection their sitting in the Assembly, and agaynst the Moderator of that Commission being Moderator of the Assembly, yea or a member, becaus of the wrong election too, but that he moderated even anent his awen sitting also without minting to remove ; that this declinator was drawn up befor and ready, and so straingly backed by God's testimony in the defayte, and the news of the on and delyvery of the uther so trysted by providence to

¹ On the 16th of July, in the first session of this Assembly, Samuel Rutherford offered a paper 'against the constitution of the Assembly, but, with much difficulty and long debate, it was laid aside' (Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, i. 627).

² This paper, which is much shorter, as well as much milder than the more formal protestation, was 'subscribed and sent from Pearth to Dundie,' on the 21st of July, by 'Mr. Alexr. Delap [*sic*], Mr. William Somervell, Mr. John Maull, Mr. John Wetch, Mr. James Donalson, Mr. John Hameltoun of Car[michael], Mr. Alexr. Bertram, William Broun of Dolphington.' There is also a copy of this paper, in a contemporary hand, in the Laing MSS. It is on the same folio as the other protestation (Division I of *Historical Documents, Letters, etc.*, no. 315). Delap is a form of Dunlop, and Wetch of Veitch.

³ The royal commissioner promised that the King's authority would not be wanting if it were necessary to be interposed against the subscribers of the protest. The moderator desired him 'to cease ; for they should deal with them ecclesiastically, according to the freedome of the Assembly' (Peterkin's *Records*, i. 628).

be together, even as the dounsitting of this new Assembly and the giving in of my letter to them was by the English landing in Fyfe *in eadem hora ejusdem diei*—even as the thunder in 1621 with the Parliament's vote anent the Fyve Articles,¹ Philiphaugh with the English Parliament's vote and Ja. Graham's letter agaynst the Scots army, Preston battle in 1648 with the Resolutions of the West—that it wer a strainge non-observance not to mark, remark, remember and record this tuofold conjuncture of divine providence, as the returne of the prayer of His servants, who was calling for His testimony to back and concurre with the testimoney of His servants. O, if they goe on, who knows how terrible and sensible the thrird will be, and worse then the former tuo. I heard that, on the Sunday befor their dounsitting, M. Ja. Guthry, Mr. Rutherfoord, M. Eph. Melvin, M. D. Bennet, assisted M. Al. Moncreif at Scony comunion, wher many good Christians was, and was wonderfully assisted of God to forwairne of what hes since fallen out, and to speak hom to the hearts of people.² . . .

On Tuesday, 29 July, . . . I wrote an full letter to thes in the South; found my wyfe seake, and prayed the Lord to restore hir; heard of the Scots army coming to Dumfermling after hir waycoming. I heard of M. J. G.³ escape unto Glascow. Then I heard the sad newes that G[eneral] M[ajor] Holburne was execute,⁴ he being remitted first to the King, and the King refusing to medle in it; which maid me ragrayte it, because their was good in the man, but maid me see how daungerous a thing it is to goe

¹ Just as the royal commissioner rose from the throne to touch the Acts with the sceptre, on 'Black Saturday,' the 4th of August 1621, a very violent thunder-storm broke over the Parliament House (Calderwood's *History*, vii. 505).

² In referring to this communion at Scoonie, Lamont says—'Hither did resort many strangers, so that the thronge was great.' Rutherford preached on Sabbath forenoon and on Monday morning, his text on both occasions being Luke vii. 36-39 (Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, pp. 31, 32).

³ James Guthrie.

⁴ Holburne was not executed; and in 1662 was fined £9600 (*Acts of Parliament*, vii. 426).

on in a busines agaynst the light of a man's awen conscience, as he did in this for to keepe his estate, which now is al plundered. Then I thought as foolish a thing to rune rashly on hazards, to cleire, forsooth, his nayme from calumnyes. It is not a good ground [on which] eyther to shedd or haive our blood shed. I heard that Argyle was near the feyght, and fled be speed of his horse to Castel Cambel; and so did the Chancellor, who was on his way to the Assembly. I heard our airmy and the King was mightely terrifyed by the last blow, and that Bruntyland was surrendered;¹ that befor it the King would have been to Ingland, but our lords was al agaynst it, seing Cromwel landed in Fyfe. . . . I heard that I was proclaymed a rebell over the crosse of Air and Glascow, befor ever I heard of a citation of me, and so hes the comission to aprehand me been. O Lord, let me be Thy subject and under Thy protection and direction stil, I intreate The. Som longs als much and mor for my bloode then for G. M. Holburne's, but my tymes ar in Thy hand. . . . I heard Major S. Ge. Munroe had gotten Holburne's place. This day I heard of Mr. R. D. great temptation, becaus he was oye to Queen Mary of Sir Geo. Douglas of Clatty that kepted Lochlevin, as the King was hir eiroye, and so he was 2^d and 3^{ds} with the King, and was urged therupon as most interested in the K[ing's] M[ajesty's] standing,² which maid me aprehand another thing, that altho the Lord hes much used and honoured him, and wil certaynly saive his soule, yet hir blood running in him may occasion

¹ Burntisland was surrendered on the 29th of July. Its garrison, about four hundred in number, were allowed 'to march away with every man his arms, drums beating, etc.' (*Letters of Roundhead Officers*, p. 37). Three or four small men-of-war were captured in the harbour, and some thirty or forty guns. The greatest part of the English army was now in Fife (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxix.).

² This passage seems to imply a pretty common belief in the story that Queen Mary bore a son to Sir George Douglas (one of the uterine half-brothers of the Regent Murray) who helped her to escape from Loch-Leven Castle. 'Oye' is grandson; 'eiroye' is great-grandson. A number of references bearing on the legend are in Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, 1897, p. 470. In his dedication to Gavin Hamilton, Burns uses the word *ier-oe*.

this as an external jugment upon him, which was seien on his fayther's refusing absolutly to marye his mother on whom M. R. D. was begotten.¹ I heard the lyk of M. M. L. as begotten in adulterye double. The Lord humble us all, and let us see our infirmetyes, and bewarre of humors and interest in God's maters. I heard that old S. Jh. Murray, who was Queen Anne hir paige, when he was in Dumfermling the last winter, he desyred ay to be out of it, becaus, he sayd, when he lookd on the palace and remembered what he had seen don their, he could not but forsee and forspeake of a terrible jugment to fall upon that place; and every body observed the Inglishes taiking away the King and the Lady Hadington's beds after the comoun scandal of their lounrye, and on sayd of the abbay's burning (which the English denyes to haive been of designe) what the old wyfe at Perth sayd to Mr. Knox being angry at the burning of Scoone.² I remembred about the jumping of providences, the Lord bringing the King and Cromwel both together to our campe, and so warre in our gaites with the new god; and bringing in [to] the Westland forces, whyle they wer on the rights of their Remonstrance, the newes of the King's going to Clova to the Malignants³ (and that night at his returne I heare the match with Argyle's daughter was proposed according to W. M.⁴ his sorites [?])—no getting England without Scotland, nor Scotland without Argyle, nor him without his

¹ Gilbert Burnet, a nephew of Wariston's, also mentions that Robert Douglas was a bastard as well as the son of a bastard (Burnet's *Own Times*, 1823, i. 58).

² Knox tried to save the abbey and palace of Scone from destruction, in June 1559, but could not stay 'the furie of the multitude.' An aged matron, who lived near the abbey, pacified many of those who were opposed to the destruction by telling them what manner of men the monks had been, and especially the Commendator, Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray (Laing's *Knox*, i. 361, 362).

³ This was the escapade, in October 1650, known as 'the Start' (Hill Burton's *Scotland*, 1876, vii. 31, 32; Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, 1903, i. 337, 338).

⁴ Will Murray. See Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, new edition, i. 201.

daughter,¹ as I beleive that was his bayte and temptation to the bringing home the King, as the uther I apprehend was proposed by him to the King's Majesty); and then His defeating and dissipating the Westland forces at Hamilton² in so merciful and honorable a way, just after Church and Stait's declairing agaynst them, and their awen inextricable difficultyes and confusions betuixt the tuo pairtyes. . . .

On Wednesday, 30 July, . . . I did wryte both to Dundye and Glascou, to know all passages. I heard thes at Dundye was going on to an act or declaration for excommunication agaynst al declyners of the Assembly. . . . I heard that fyve of the Westland gentlemen, who subscriyved the renunciation of the Remonstrance, had subscriyved som paper of the lyk kynd to the Assembly; but that both the Provost's wyfe and goodfayther had written freyly their mynd to him agaynst that, and against his speaking to my prejudice, as Allanton³ and Jh. Denhom had doone, and R. Lockhart, mor then I would haive expected. I heard of Mr. Blair's faynting in his preach-[ing], about that sam houre in the same day of the feyght at Innerkeything. I heard that at Dundye they had read the act for summar excommunication agaynst the declyners of the General Assembly, which had rayseed a great heate amongst them, and at last resolved on a summons of M. Ja. Guthry, M. Pat. Gilespye, and M. Jh. Meinzeis as

¹ 'The Marquesse of Argile, being all that time almost dictator of Scotland, to make all sure for himself, being in great danger from the envy of his enemies, thought good to strike up a match betwixt the king and his daughter Lady Anne, to which the king consented with all assurance, though all that poor family hade by the bargane was a disappointment so grievous to the poor young lady, that, of a gallant young gentlewoman, she lossed her spirit and turned absolutely distracted' (Kirkton's *History*, p. 50). See *infra*, pp. 126, 218.

² Colonel Ker was defeated in his attempt to surprise Lambert in Hamilton on the 1st of December 1650 (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 36; Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, iii. 124, 125; Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 195; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter cliii.).

³ Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield and Coltness, Provost of Edinburgh, married, in 1648, as his second wife, Marion, the only daughter of David M'Culloch, W.S. (*Coltness Collections*, p. 27). Sir Walter Stewart of Allantoun was the elder brother of Sir James.

ringleaders of uthers ; and, receaving a letter from M. Ja. Neysmith of his adherence to the Protestation, they apoynted to sumond him as a fourth, which with his imprisonment was the [mor] remarkable that they befell him after his politik absteaning and delaying som dayes. Mr. Blair was not gon thither. . . . I heard that sundry privat Christians had given in their protestation to the Assembly, which troubled them.

On Thursday, 31 [July], . . . This day I heard that Argyle had gottin liberty to goe awaye hom, and that Lauthian with Dumfermling was going to Fyvye ; that the meiting at Dundee had aproven the Commission Book in al except the Act of 13 of August, which staited our feyghting not to be for the King's interest. Their excepting of this from their approbation is a declaration of the chaynge of the state of the quarrel and feyght, and is both a most powerful argument agaynst our concurrence with them, and a prognostik of the saddest blow to the airmy feyghting after this ; and that this approbation hes past without any previous publik reading of my letter, which so much conjureth them in the nayme of Jesus Chryst. Then I heard som wer for a delay of that approbation, who wer apoynted to be conferred with. Then I heard that som urged the declyners to be summarly excommunicated, but could not gett the act in the book to produce for it ; yea that M. R. Douglas sayd they deserved excommunication ; that he could prove they had broken every article of the Covenant, and he was glayd they had broken now out with that which had long lurked. M. D. D. was mor moderat. Ten of them apoynted to be somoned to this day, and in the meantyme I heard the English sent 3 regiments of horse and 3 of foote to Perth, which would readily maik the meiting at Dundee adjourne to Aberdeen or haystely to dissolve. Som sayd the Englishes that went to St. Andrewes had releived the ministers, prisoners there. The King had written to thes at Dundee, to dispose on the ministers whom he had apreghended as they thought fitt. They wer in great confusion and scairsteye in Stirling, and yet wer busy to denuncing and

plundering the Remonstrators in the West, but not opposing Cromwell at all. . . .

On Frayday, 1 August, . . . I read the diurnal of Assembly at St. Andrewes proceedings til 25 July, wherin I saw Mr. Douglas, Blair, Dikson's sharpe deviations; that M. Rutherfoord offered a paper agaynst the Constitution of the Assembly in tym, but [that it was] refused; that the Protesters had debayted freely; that the King's Commissioner and uthers would haive had present summar excommunication agaynst them, but they could not fynd the act; that som arguments against the Commission's proceedings was proposed, but not satisfactorily aunswered; that M. R. D. gaive a nip to King's Commissioner.¹ . . . I was somewhat troubled of M. J. Carstairs not adhering to the Declinatour, but craving liberty to doe it when he got greater light; that it was hotly debayted anent reading or not reading of my letter, but it was delayed, and no word of it even when it comes to approbation of Commission in the six pryme publik heads thereof. I heard the Lady Liberton and Mr. Ephraim Melvin was come to Ingleston. I went out to them, heard M. G. H. on 16 v. 62 Isay; got the relation of the Assembly; conferred with the ministers of Lithgow, that they might adhere to the Protestation² and Declinator, and testifye it to the clerk. I heard of a privat conference in Mr. Blair's chalmer, wherin M. R. D., M. R. B., M. D. D.,³ would not absteane from aproving all the proceedings of the Commission. . . . M. D. D. upbraided Mr. Rutherfoord, and alleged he was insnared by uthers, who had strainge designes in their heads against gouvernment both civil and ecclesiastik, and that the Kirk would

¹ Douglas as Moderator of the Assembly gave the Commissioner two nips (Peterkin's *Records*, i. 628).

² This Protestation (*supra*, p. 93 and *n.* 2), may have been already in type. It was issued as a quarto pamphlet with the milder one (p. 94 and *n.* 2), bearing this title: 'The Protestation of diverse Ministers against the proceedings of the late Commission of the Church of Scotland; as also against the lawfulnessse of the present pretended Assembly. Printed at Leith by Evan Tyler, Anno Dom. 1651.'

³ Robert Douglas, Robert Blair, and David Dickson.

cast them and him out. I heard of their not reading my letter, albeit they spent the Saturday foranoone on ministers' stipends or manses, upon privat billes, which Cassilles told them did not belong to them. The honest men among themselves had difficulty to agree on a protestation and declinator; but had subscryved it on Frayday night or Saturday morning; and so, on Sunday, the Lord by His testimony¹ encouraged them to give in theirs, whereas their petition presented by Mr. Rutherford was refused to be received. . . .²

On Saturday, 2 August, . . . I had heard as if al our Scots army was gon North, and then I heard they wer merched yesterday to Hamilton for England, which will occasion a sudden chaynge of the merchings of airmyes. In apearence then the Inglish airmye wil putt in guarisons in Perth and Dundye, and so rayse the Assembly, and merch after the Scots airmye. The Lord knows how to ridde His oppressed people in this land from both the Malignant and Sectarian pairtye. . . . I blisse God for His wairning He gaive me at Craigmiller and Dumbar, against sudden and rash medling in warre, which is not my craft. . . . After this I mett with the man that went alongst with the Scots army on Thursday til Cumbernauld, who sayd the King was their; and then I heard of another that saw them on Frayday at 12 houres, within 4 myles of Lanrik. I heard they wer 10 or 12,000 men, and had left a pairtye to joyne with the Gordons in the North. When I cam in to the toun, I heard som horse had gon from Leith to Bervik, and, [from] what I had heard befor and then, I took an apprehension that the Lord might by this means prolongue [?] the warre and rayse sturres in England. For, 1. Our people was weak and discouraged now, as the Inglish wer at Dunbar, and putt to a desperat condition, and the Inglish wer growing insolent and proude becaus of their number and successe as wee wer their, and so their may be a present turne. 2. Their Counsel of State was growen

¹ The defeat of the Scots army at Inverkeithing.

² *Supra*, p. 94 n. 1.



very high, particular, and injust, so that Cromwell gaive a hint, in his letter anent Innerkeything defaite, that it was so, and that God might readily tyme about give them a flappe, if they amended it not; then they had condemned Mr. Love, a worthy minister, and hardly would reprieve him, and that only for a moneth. 3. That the Lord had impeded, by terrible raynes, the Scots army according to their intention and designe feighting with the Inglish at Dumfermling, but forced them to reteyre. 4. That, by a favorable providence to the Scots designe, Cromwell had called away G[eneral] M[ajor] Harrison and his forces, and caryed the most part evcn of al his horse to the uther syde of Forth, and wer now intaigled about Perth and Dundee, wheir the Lord, by perfyting His testimony against the proceedings of that Church meiting and forcing them to adjourne and ryse, hes doon His present work. 5. By a providence of a most contrary wind stopping the passage of the Inglish horse from crossing, so as in apearance the Scots may wine¹ the fells or hils of Lancashyre and threw Westmorland befor they be overtaiken, and may their be in outward apearance of a lasting warre. 6. Who knows but the Lord may think it fitt to draw Malignants in Ingland to a head and to power, as He hes doone in Scotland, tho the end of it wil be to the ruine of that faction and pairty in both; and that the Lord may, be that means, cast an equal balance betuixt the Sectarian and Malignant party, and maik them crush on another, and punish even the Inglish, *lege talionis*, for the great oppression and plundering of Scotland this tuelmonth, as He punished us for ours in Ingland. 7. I thought it ominous to King and army their great desyre and designe aye to be in Ingland, and that for spoylz and plunder, and I apprehend it shal be the place of their captivity or graives at the hinder end, whatsoever succes interveyne, howsoever the Lord theirby may releive His poore oppressed people from both. 8. As the Lord prevented our army ingaging with and for the King

¹ Wine, *i.e.* reach.

in England, by ware behind our hand in Scotland in 1644 and 1645, and theirby layed our pryde, so who knows but the Lord will thus prevent England's designe of conquering and subdewing the kingdome of Scotland, and inslaving His work and servants their. . . .

On Sunday, 3 August, . . . I heard Cassilles and Humby,¹ Advocat,² was against reading of my letter in any judicatory, becaus of my declinator of the Committee. I heard tuo declyners drawen on—M. Ge. Douglas and M. Th. Hoge—had resyled from it; that M. P. G. out of his natural proud humor would goe be Stirling, and so is justly by God punished for it. I heare that, this daye 8 dayes, Ge. Wynrham and [James] Rosse [?] saw me going to Kirkliston kirk, and the rest would haive taiken me wer not he; and that if they had not been of Riccarton's regiment their comerads had taiken me, and so wairned me not to bide their. . . . I heard it observed, both be Scots and English, that not only at Dumbar, but also at Innerkeything, that the civilest and best disposed wer killed, taiken or disgraced, and the prophanest and malignantest escaped, except the 400 Mackleans with their laird wer killed, who had been at the battels with Alaster Makdonald against the cause. I heard the Lady Argyle had com to Stirling to gett hir husband awaye, and had fallen seak; and that he was mightely perplexed and dejected and effronted that he was comanded to produce his writts of Kyntyre; and had apealed from the Committee to the King himself, and kepted in with the Englishes and was for the merch to England, against which the Duk H[amilton] and many noblemen was. Som apprehended the Duk's staying behind the King [was] to rayse the second levee as he did in 1648, and to treatc with Cromwell in case

¹ Sir Adam Hepburn of Humble was a Lord of Session (Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, 1832, p. 311). In Lamont's *Diary* (p. 110) 'the Lord Humble in Lowthian' is erroneously described as 'sone in law to the Lord Warestone.' It was Lord Humble's eldest son, Thomas, who married Wariston's daughter, Elizabeth (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. 20).

² Sir Thomas Nicolson succeeded Wariston as King's Advocate (*supra*, p. 28, n. 4).

of the King's defeate in Ingland. Wil it not be strange if Argyle shal goe in now to Ingland and leave D[uke] H[amilton] behind? as in 1648 the present Duk went in and left Argyle behind. The Lord knows how to overrule all, and to taik that wyly foxe, the Duk, in his awen craftynesse. I heard the Malignants was searching out our letters to the Parliament of Ingland [in] 1648, against the sending home the noblemen prisoners, to found chalenges theiron. I heard M. R. Trayle preach weal on 16 Jh. 28 v., 14 Jerem. 9 v. . . .

On Mononday, 4 August, . . . I wondred to seie so few of the Inglish coming over the walter, to follow the Scots going into Ingland.¹ I thought on the Lord's providence that stayed the Scots til they got their Assembly's approbation and blissing, which wil be backed with a flappe in [the] end, sorer then al the former; and, on the uther pairt, til they wer als much despysed by the Inglish (that Cromwel, after Inerkeything defeate, sayd the Scots would no longer stand) as the Inglish was be us at Dumbar, and the Irishes at their first incoming [in] 1644; lykas that the Lord had stopped this merch til He should first discountenance this Assembly's proceidings by trysting His testimonyes with His servants' agaynst them, as tuyse He hes doon visibly. What He hes doen the third tyme, as yet I know not; but I exspect to heare of it. I thought it a strange providence of the Lord, to keepe thes tuo armyes in and over Scotland til He had gotten out al the testi-

¹ The King and the Scots army marched out of Stirling for England on 31st of July (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 55; Blair's *Life*, p. 279). On the 29th of July, Cromwell said, 'the greatest part of the army is in Fife; waiting what way God will further lead us' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxix.). They were in difficulties. The Scots army were masters of the pass at Stirling, and could only be dislodged by cutting off the supply of provisions at Perth. If some issue were not put to the business, there would be another winter's war, and the English soldiers, Cromwell realised, were less hardy than the Scots, and the expense to the English treasury would be endless. He, accordingly, marched to Perth, reaching it on the 1st of August, and it capitulated next day. Leaving a garrison there, and sending Monk with five or six thousand men to Stirling, he re-crossed the Firth of Forth with his foot and many of his horse on the 4th of August, the same day, though doubtless a later part of it, that Wariston entered this paragraph in his *Diary* (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxx).

mony which He would haive had from His servants, and al the venom of His enemyes' hearts vented; and imediately after thes tuo to remove both the airmyes. I heard afternoone of the Duk and al the Malignant lords going with the King; and that Chancellor, Argyle, Cassillis, Lauthian, did remayne at home. The meiting at Dundee had . . . deposed M. J. G., M. P. G., and M. J. S., and suspended M. J. N. and M. J. M.,¹ which the Commissioner told to the King with such exulting as if he had overthrown Cromwel's armye; that M. J. Durham had left the King; that M. J. Smith, M. J. Hamilton, M. W. Jameson, and M. R. Knox, was apoynted by thes at Dundie to attend the King; that Cromwel had been in Perth, and apoynted Ouverton² gouvernor their, and left 2000 horse in Scotland; that our people had left no garrison in Stirling toune,³ but in the castel; that this merch of the Scots army troubled the English officers right much, and maid our Malignant people very insolent and reprochfull.⁴ . . .

¹ On the 23rd of July the Assembly, by a large majority, resolved to cite Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. James Simson, Mr. James Naismith, and Mr. John Menzies to compear before it on the 31st of July (Peterkin's *Records*, p. 629). Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simson were deposed, and Naismith was suspended (Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, p. 33; Blair's *Life*, p. 278). In Blair's *Life* it is said that Menzies was referred to the Commission; but in the minutes of the Commission of that Assembly he is not mentioned. These minutes, however, are incomplete, as 'the papers and minuts' of some of the meetings were seized by the English at 'Eliot' on the 28th of August (*Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 513).

² Colonel Robert Overton.

³ 'The King caused slight the works thereof, resolving only to keep the castle' (Blair's *Life*, p. 280).

⁴ Writing from Newcastle, to the committee for the county of York, on the 6th of August, Major-General Harrison says:—'Their large promises to their soldiers of plunder in England bears up the spirits of divers to make another adventure for it, forgetting the large testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains, that you and every good man give all diligence to improve your interests, and all possible means God may put into your hands, to give a check to this vile generation, until our army may come up, who will follow hard after them, that the good of the land may not be devoured by such caterpillars' (Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England*, 1842, ii. 297). Two days later the Duke of Hamilton, writing from Penrith, says:—'We have quit Scotland, being scarce able to maintain it; and yet we grasp at

On Tuesday, 5 August, . . . I had a great payne in my head and my heart. Oh, that it wer the Lord's will to remove me befor I dishonour Him. . . . I heard the Englishes wer busye on their consultations tyme about, what to doe for defence of their awen land. It is a strange revolution. They invaded Scotland this tyme tuelmonth, and now Scots Malignants to invade England. They plundered us, and so wil thes doe their, if they gett the lyk succes, for a tyme. They thought Scotland al their awen ; and, whyl they ar swallowing it doune, they ar putt to a sudden remove from it. Poore people is lyk to gett their corne shorne. They¹ brought doune their booths and their wyves and childrein, as [if] to duell continually heir as in their awen ; and now they must follow them back agayne. This day useth to be a bonfyre day in Scotland.² I thought it strange to heare that their was not on minister to goe on with King or airmye, except deposed ministers, albeit the meiting at St. Jhonston was most willing to send them, as their was non in 1648, when I heard that, even at Torwood, their was no evening nor morning prayers in the campe, and farre less now. Then I heard a strange thing, that at the first rendevous the King caused the Highland-men, that had been with Alaster,³ show to him befor the airmy how they with him beate and killed our people, by once giving fyre, casting down their muskets, and coming in on them with swords and durks ; which should haive been rayther a mater of mourning for sine, and feare of God's jugment on the airmy for their cause, then a mater of shew and spectacle at a wapenshowing to our King and to our lords that called on it, and it portends ominous things. . . . I heard not of any visible

all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest ; but we have one stout argument, despair ; for we must now either stoutly fight it, or die' (*Ibid.*, p. 305).

¹ They, *i.e.* the English.

² In memory of the alleged deliverance of James the Sixth from the Gowries on the 5th of August 1600.

³ Alaster Macdonald, 'whose proper name was Allaster, or Alexander Mac Coll, Keitache, Macdonald' (Napier's *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, 1856, ii. 416).

authority, or force eyther, left in Scotland, which looked ominous lyke. I thought the ministers that deposed uthers wer realy deposed by God from teaching in their congregations, whyl thes deposed by men wer lyk to injoye their awen. I thought our conveyning in the Commission of the Kirk would much incourage honest men and terrifye backslyders. At the privat fast in Ingleston, first M. Jh. Durye lectured . . . then M. H. Kenedye . . . then M. Ephraim Melvin . . . then I was urged, both befor him and then agayn after him, to pray, and at last forced to it. . . . M. W. Wishart lectured weal. . . . Mr. R. Row prayed weal . . . and so wee closed the exercise. . . .

On Wednesday, 6 August. . . . That day the presbytery of Lithgow for pluralitie subscryved the Protestation and Declinator; but on man's refusal troubled som . . .

On Thursday, 7 August, . . . I begoud to wryte to the Protesters in the West, and was interrupted by a most incouraging letter from M. J. L. . . . He heartily blissed the Lord for assisting me to wryte such letters as was very comfortable to them. . . . It pleased the Lord heir-after to assist me to wryte a very incouraging letter, from many passages of the Word, to the Protesters in the West; and another upstirring letter to M. J. Lev., which took up the foranoone. . . . At night—after my Hebrew lesson, for which being maid easye to me I blissed the Lord, in hoopes with prayers to attayne to the knowledge of the origenal—whyle I was privat, I was interrupted by a letter from my wyfe, telling of Maister Good¹ his death in Leith, which remembred me of Octonelli² his death in Ireland, and of the Lord's taiking frequently away thes of His children who, contrary to their former jugment, joyneth eyther with the Sectarian or Malignant pairty. It was a losse to our poore people and to good folk, to whom he was doing good offices, and as much to me as to any; and

¹ William Good, a minister who came to Scotland with Cromwell.

² The reference is probably to Owen O'Connolly, the discoverer of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. (*Adair's Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, pp. 83, 176.)

it was a sad prognostik to Cromwell (who I heard was seen as mirry as ever) now in his necessitat returne to Ingland, which may cost him dearer nor he thinks. He leaves Lieut.-Gen. Monk with 4 regiments of horse and 4 of foote, to taik in Stirling and overmaister this countrey. I heard also that Riccarton, Arnot,¹ and som uthers, had quyte the airmy, and com to Glascow, wheirof I was glayde. It pleased God to direct the presbytery to maik their act and letter right for the Protestation. Buchanan² wryte to me for his releife, but I had no will to medle, seing ther is no Inglish living I spak to since I sent the Registers away to Stirling.

On Frayday, 8 August, . . . I thought, befor my Hebrew wer learned, I would gett another thing and task to think upon. . . . I heard that M. Blair had called M. J. Guthrie, for calling their course a defection, *os impudens*,³ which maid me think nature broken loose in him (as I thought when he spak to Ja. Grahame), especyaly considering that God's Spryte was speaking in the uther a testimonye agreeable to His Word. . . . I saw the first *Mercurius Scoticus*,⁴ printed at Leith, of the Inglish airmy procedour, which, falling out imediatly befor the Inglish army going away, maid me remember M. R. Meldrum's *Aulicus* [?] for the Ingagers only the week befor Preston. I heard M. G. Hall preach weal. . . . This day I got a letter from M. P. G., desyring me and S. J. C. and M. G. H.⁵ to a meiting of som

¹ Colonel Thomas Craig of Riccarton and Captain Andrew Arnot.

² Probably George Buchanan of that ilk.

³ In the latter part of July, while the General Assembly was sitting at Dundee, Robert Blair wrote thus to Robert Douglas:—"The folie of the Protesters, I think it very presumptuous; yet I think it not wisdome to goe to the height of deserved censures, considering the extremitie of the tyme, and former deserving of the persones" (Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, iii. 559).

⁴ George Chalmers says that '*Mercurius Scoticus* appeared in 1651' and was 'assuredly published in London' (*Life of Thomas Ruddiman*, 1794, p. 116). It was printed at Leith. There are in all twenty-one weekly numbers, extending from July to December 1651 (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 315).

⁵ Patrick Gillespie, Sir John Cheisly, and Gilbert Hall, minister of Kirkliston, or, less likely, George Hutcheson, minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh.

ministers and uthers at M. J. Nevoy¹ his house, on Wedinsday, 13 August; and telling us of his people's willingnesse to receave his ministry notwithstanding his sentence; and sending us the Act of meiting at Dundie,² apoynting presbyteries and synods or Commission to execute, against the present declyners, protesters and opposers of the acts of this Assembly, the censures apoynted by Glascou Assembly 1638 against the declyners and disobeyers then. My heart blissed God and rejoyced in Him, when I heard of M. J. Carstars sending to the Moderator his adherence to the Declinator; and that the Lord had led this meeting at Dundie rashly on to apoynt al dissatisfyed with their resolutions to be censured, which will increasse and strenthen much the declyners; as also for His comforting His deposed witnesses. I heard that Craufurd and Glencairne was left at home, and tuo regiments of horse lifting in the West, which furtherd our wryting our doubts of the inconveniences and daungers of our going to that meiting in the West, seing it wil rayse great jealousies and rumors both amongst Sectaryes and Malignants of our raying a new Westland Rayde, which both may occasion the restraint of our liberty and the sending of an English pairtye on the West. They desyred me to wryte my thoughts on the minuts of the Assembly, wherin I begge light and assistance from my Lord, according to the exigence of the busnes and necessity for their encouragement and cleiring the mynd of uthers. I thanked God for the free letter that the restrayned ministers sent from Stirling to M. R. D., M. D. D., M. R. B., M. J. W.,³ at Dundie in aunswer to their summons, tho it hes been evil taiken, and M. J. G.⁴ letter called treasonable. He wrot to me that that meiting thought they did me a singular favor in not reading my letter and protestation,⁵ wherin

¹ John Nevoy or Nevay was minister of Loudoun or Newmills in the presbytery of Irvine.

² This Act is in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, p. 636.

³ Robert Douglas, David Dickson, Robert Blair, and James Wood.

⁴ James Guthrie.

⁵ The 'not reading' of Wariston's letter and protestation in the General Assembly is discussed in *The Nullity of the Pretended Assembly*, pp. 237-247.

they did both to the Lord, to me, and to themselves a great wrong.

On Frayday [*sic*], 9 August, . . . I sought God's assistance to wryte observations on the minuts of Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundye, which I found. . . . I mett with Crawfordland¹ and Major Stewart, who confirmed our opinion of the inconvenience of our going West to the meiting, and told us of the English jealousies of such meittings. Afternoon, my wyfe did wryte out to me the same; as also hir desyre for our present ingoing, becaus of mossetropers about Newbattle, who hes killed som, and hes told their desseigne to be about thir feilds within 4 nights. I had no will to remove, seing our fast and meiting with the ministers was on Tuesdaye, and I knew not if I would be necessitated to ryde on Wednesday west, and so I desyred hir to give us fuller adverteisment.

On Sunday, 10 August. . . .²

On Thursday, 14 August, . . . I cannot but blisse the Lord for His special assistance in dyting³ to me, and directing me to wryte an encouraging letter to M. J. L.⁴ and these in the South, to be read by M. R. Trayle in the bygoing also. I thought about this tyme my lad would be at Newmylnes with my letter, which maid me renew my petitions, as I did befor breakfast, to the Lord, for His good providence and special assistance in the conveying of thes papers to the hands and hearts of His servants their mett. . . . And I remarked yesterday, being the day of their meiting anent the declinator of the Assembly, was that day 12 month that, in the West Kirk, wee maid the great controverted Act anent the King's interest.⁵ I read my letter to M. E. M. and G. H. and

¹ John Crawford of Crawfordland.

² Here several leaves of this volume are wanting.

³ Dyting, *i.e.* dictating.

⁴ John Livingstone.

⁵ This was the Act (or Declaration) which the Commission of Assembly agreed upon, 'at the West Kirk called St. Cuthberts,' on the 13th of August 1650 (*supra*, pp. 17, 18, 58, 99); and which was evoked by the King's delay in signing the Dunfermline Declaration (*supra*, pp. 24, 25).

S. J. C.¹ Afternoon I got a letter from M. P. G.,² shewing that their was no tyme for our going, and that 1000 English was com to thes feilds, to goe West and hinder the levees, which cleered the mor the Lord's good providence hinder-ing our journey, which would have increased their jealousyes. Then I heard he was but to goe to the meiting on Thursday morning, and M. J. L. was to be their, and so our letter and paper would com in tyme to their meeting. Then he sent us the Publik Wairning emitted by the meeting at Dundie,³ which begins very fairly against Malignancy and Malignants, and for piety and pious men ; and then comes on most deeply for malice and bitterness to alledge and proove that al this busines was a designe for strenthening the enemye and ruyning the land, and impeding al defence ; and interlairs cuningly treuths with falshoods, so as it may apeare to a sober conscientious sprit not to be *a spiritu Dei, sed hominis*, at best, to say no worse. They alledge their act and letter to presby-teryes, about citation of dissatisfyed, was to prevent severity agaynst them, which wee wondred at how they could wryte it. They absteane from aunswering the reasons of the Declinator, least it should draw on a repleye. They pretend as if they would haive disputed it fully in the Assembly, when they would not reade what was sent to them in writ. I saw much policie and prudence of M. D., and much zeale of M. D. D.,⁴ agaynst separation, and sharpnesse of M. J. W. or M. J. D.⁵ At night wee saw a good antidote, a free letter of M. S. Rutherford, and heard of his free sermons and speeches, and how he

¹ Ephraim Melville, Gilbert Hall, and Sir John Cheisly.

² Patrick Gillespie.

³ In the Laing Manuscripts, in Edinburgh University Library (ii. 638. 15), the draft, or at least a copy, is preserved of 'A Warning and Declaration from the Generall Assembly at Dundie.' In type it formed a quarto pamphlet of twelve pages, entitled: 'A Warning and Declaration from the Generall Assembly at Dundie the 30 of July 1651. Post meridiem. Sess. 17. Aberdene. Printed by James Brown, 1651.'

⁴ Robert Douglas and David Dickson.

⁵ James Wood or (?) James Durham.

was abused by Mr. Hinniman¹ in the pulpit and session, and desyred to heare from us. Wee heard at night great newes, if they be treu, as if the Scots army had beate the Lord Gray and G. M. Harrison,² and merched on; and that the King had given a commission to foor—Crawfurd, Mershal, Glencarne and Balcarras—to direct al military affairs and command the forces, which had maid M[arquise] of Huntly disband al his men, near 4000, which he had brought with him, and maid Argyle to gather forces in the Highlands for his defence, and maid Carnaigy, Dury, Balcomy³ and uthers to protest agaynst it, til at last som sayd they wer al eyther breaking in peices or behooved to agree on old General⁴ to command in cheife. I heard my Lady Argyle was extream seak in Stirling when Inglish cam in, and that Stirling had maid the most base capitulation,⁵ and Aunstruther, after agrement, had stood out and killed of the Inglishes, and theirupon was stormed by them in heate.⁶

On Frayday, 15 August, . . . I got letters from Green-

¹ Andrew Honeyman, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney.

² This great news of a Scottish victory was not true. Nicoll, unlike Wariston, quite believed the reports about the Scots victories in England; but subsequently added, 'all thir reports wer fund fals' (Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 55, 56). On the 25th of August there were bonfires and thanksgivings for the alleged victories (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 7).

³ Apparently Lord Carnegie, Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, and Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie.

⁴ Alexander Leslie, first Earl of Leven.

⁵ Monk arrived at Stirling on the 6th of August. On threatening to storm the town, it surrendered; and his men marched into it about one o'clock next morning. The great mortars began to play on the castle on the 13th, and next day it capitulated. The articles were agreed upon by Colonel Edward Grosvenor and Colonel Richard Ashfield, on behalf of Monk, and by Captain James Cunningham on behalf of Colonel William Cunningham, Governor of the Castle, after two hours' debate in 'the Marquesse of Argile's house' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, Scottish History Society, pp. 1-4). In the preceding March the soldiers at Stirling were 'in hazard of perishing through famine and nakednesse' (*Records of the Commissions of Assembly*, iii. 338).

⁶ 'The 7 of Aug. Enster was very ill spoyled by them [*i.e.* the English], and severalls of the towns people taken prisoners, because they brak the articles of ther agriement' (Lamont's *Diary*, p. 32).

head,¹ shewing that our freinds in the South wer much refreshed by my letters and papers, and blissed God heartily in my behalfe, and intreated me to wryte often to them; and S. W. Bruce thanked me for my christian advyce, and desyred my counsel anent his abyding or coming away. . . . Mr. Eph. Melvin preached notably on 23 Acts, 11 v. . . . By his particular speech of befor to me, I know he chused text for me. Lord, let it doe me good. . . .

On Saturday, 16 August, . . . Doctor Purves,² ryding to Glascou, told us for certain the surrender of the Castel of Stirling; and that the gouvernor of it, haiving in his choyse to saive the goods or the records, choysed the goods.³ Both thes, on such a sudainty, was base and vyld, and that be a man who was putt in as so gallant a man, Lieut.-Col. Cyningham; but he was an Ingager, and nothing hes prospered with such, and this would match [?] the sclander of poor Dundasse,⁴ who yet had a caire of the Registers; and putt me in mynd of that passage maiking the strongholds fall in their mouth lyk rype figs,⁵ and that this

¹ Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead.

² Probably Dr. George Purves, who was afterwards a Commissioner of Supply for Edinburghshire.

³ The Governor of the Castle had sent a 'Mr. Wright,' along with Captain Cunningham, to arrange the articles of surrender. 'They insisted much to have the Records,' which the Governor desired to be allowed to remove to some other Scottish garrison. When the Englishmen refused to agree to this, 'Mr. Wright said his commission was blown up, and could not treat.' The country people and town's people were allowed to carry away their goods. Besides the munitions of war and provisions, the captors secured 'all the records of Scotland, the chair and cloth of state, the sword, and other rich furniture of the King's, the Earl of Marr's coronet and stirrups of gold, with his parliament robes' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 3, 4; Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ii. 329, 330).

⁴ See *supra*, p. 60 n.

⁵ 'All thy strong holds shall be like fig-trees with the first-ripe figs; if they be shaken, they shall even fall into the mouth of the eater' (Nahum iii. 12). Writing from Stirling to the Speaker, on the 19th of August, William Clarke, Monk's secretary, says:—'Thus hath God in less than a week's space, nay, less than a day's space (for we did not play so long with our guns and mortar-pieces), given into your hands one of the strongest and most magnificent castles in Scotland, and the most (if not only) considerable pass into the country beyond it' (Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ii. 330). Clarke suggested that

was a sad omen of the subdeuing of the kingdome. I knew not whither he had gottin in it the honors of the kingdom or not. This would be sad tydings to Durye,¹ who had gotten, under the King's hand, the assurance of my place; yet it maid me blisse the Lord that He had saived them² whyl they wer under my hand, and that He had maid me wryte to them to send them to the Basse; and that I never thought their being in the Castel of Stirling saife; but they had putt them their agaynst my mynd, first and last. Then I heard of a letter intercepted of D[uke of] Hamilton's to Will. Crofts,³ that he and Lauder-dail was drinking their health, had com to England with the King in a desperat condition; but that al the rogues was now away, and non was left to dispute the King's commands; shewing their great desseinge to be for arbitrary gouverment; and calling al—Argyle, Cassillis, Kirk and Assembly, etc., that had gon on with them and yet not to that lenth—rogues. Then [I heard] that Lambert had gon by them and joyned with G. M. Harrison, and was 8000 horse and dragoons befor them; and the General with the airmy following them;⁴ and that for provisions the Scots was in a hard condition, and their was neyther minister with them for their soules nor commissary for their bodyes, and al things amongst them in a great confusion, so that in apearance they wil shortly be forced to feyght (which they eshunne) or to starve. . . . At night I got a letter from M. Trayle. . . . I got a good letter

he might be appointed keeper of the Scots records, if it was thought fit to leave them in Scotland (*Ibid.*, ii. 332); but on the 27th of August, the English Parliament resolved—'That all the records together with the regalia and insignia, taken in the Castle of Sterling in Scotland, bee brought into England and placed in the Tower of London' (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, i. 125 red).

¹ Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, who had been Clerk-Register immediately before Wariston (*supra*, p. 26 n.).

² The Registers.

³ This letter is in Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, i. 305.

⁴ It was known in London, on the 18th of August, that Major-General Harrison and Lambert had joined their forces, 'and were about 6000 horse in the van of the enemy'; and 'that Cromwell was come into England with eight regiments of foot, and the train' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 502).

from Hilton¹ also, desyring my best advyce to him for his direction how to be serviceable to publik busines. . . . I thank God my wyfe cam out to me, and gaive som better hoopcs of M. G. H. and M. J. St.;² and confirmed the newes of Stirling Castle and the Duk's letter.

On Sunday, 17 of August, the daye that the great Act for Church was maid in 1639.³ . . . Therafter, walking in Ingleston yaird, I heard for a long space, halfe an quarter of an houre, the strangest sound lyk a continual sound of trumpets at the yoking of airmyes, which maid me look up to the trees to seie if it was any bees that had flouen from their skeps theirunto, but their was non in the yaird at al. . . . Heard M. Gilb.⁴ explaine weal, 4, 5, 6 v. of 1 Malachi, and preach weal on 1 v. of 42 Isay. . . . Betueen tuo sermons I heard, by my lad Maxwell, that the 13 ministers, being in a house 5 myles from Newmylnes, first their horses and then themselves wer seased on by 18 troupers, going from Boighall to Air in an providential waye, without a designe or forknowledge sua farre as wee

¹ Johnston, of Hilton in Berwickshire, was a relation of Wariston's. In Evan Tyler's print of the Protestation of 21st July 1652, one of the subscribers appears as 'M. Arch. Johnstoun of Hiltoun,' while one of those who gave in the Protestation appears as 'J. Johnston of Hilton.' In May 1663, Joseph Johnston was served heir to his father, Archibald Johnston, in the lands and barony of Hilton, etc. (*Inquisitiones Speciales, Berwick*, No. 326).

² Apparently two of the Edinburgh ministers, George Hutcheson of the Tolbooth and John Stirling of the Tron.

³ 'Act containing the causes and remedie of the bygone evils of this Kirk.' After 'the voycing' of this Act, 'his Majestie's commissioner consented verbally to the said Act, and promised to give into the clerk in writ the declaration of his consent, and that he should ratifie this Act in the ensuing Parliament' (*Acts of the General Assembly*, 1638-1842, pp. 36, 37). On the 6th of September 1639, this Act was 'red, voited, and past in articles' (*Acts of Parliament*, v. 593). And, on the 6th of June 1640, Parliament ratified, approved, and confirmed it, in all points; gave thereunto 'the strenth of a Lawe and Act of Parliament'; ordained execution to pass thereupon; and rescinded, cassed, and annulled all Acts and decrees of Parliament and council formerly made, contrary to and in prejudice of the said Act or any part thereof (*Ibid.*, pp. 276, 277). The 17th of August, as Wariston had previously noted (pp. 19, 20), was also the anniversary of the approval of the Solemn League and Covenant by the Commission of Assembly and the Convention of Estates, and of the defeat of the Engagers at Preston.

⁴ Gilbert Hall.

could conjecture from the relation, which maiks me hoope to sie the mor of God in the business.¹ *Periissem nisi periissem* may yet be seien to hold treu in this, that, if they had not been taiken be the English, they had been taiken by the Scots, who had som notice of and designe against them at that meiting, as my wyfe sayd shoe heard. O Lord, Thou knowes the intents of Thy servants in that meiting for The. Let them and us see Thy providence towards them and us for good in this interruption. I heard they wer caryed by thes 18 troupers to Air, whier their superior officers was. O Lord, direct, guyde and assist Thy servants, who ar thus tossed between enemyes, in the right waye of confessing Thy nayme agaynst al that wrongs The. . . . In the mean tyme, upon thir very newes, how can I but adore the Lord my God, and record His kyndnesse in the directing me and my neighbour not to goe their; but [to] represent to them our aprehensions of jealousyes agaynst such a meiting in such a place and tyme. . . . Blissed be the Lord's nayme, that hes been very condisceding to prevent inconveniences to me, as M. Eph. Melvin told me that the Protesters wer observing, the morning they went out of St. Andrewes, that the Lord had stil, notwithstanding of my freedom² for His interests and men's malice agaynst me, yet preserved me even from being once prisoner to anybody. . . . Let it encourage uthers to be the mor bold for Jesus Chryst and His cause. . . .

¹ Writing from Stirling on the 19th of August, Colonel Okey says:—'A party of ours also, which I sent to Boghall, brought me 14 ministers prisoners, who were all met together in a barne by a wood side 6 miles from Glasco, but were released again, being about a work that I hope will prove advantagious to us. It is thus: The General Assembly having silenced many of them, and forced [?forbidden] them to preach both in publike and in private, they were there met together to seek the Lord, whether they should obey or disobey the Generall Assembly's order. And they assured us, as in the presence of the Lord, that they were about no other work: and that God had set it upon their hearts, that it was better to obey God than men, and so accounted their Generall Assembly a malignant usurped authority, and ought not to be obeyed. And therefore they being set at liberty by us, they did on the last Lord's day, in Glasco and other parts, preach publickly against that wicked authority' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 317).

² Freedom, i.e. outspokenness.

On Mononday, 18 August, . . . I did wryte a full letter of al sydes to Mr. Sa. Rutherfoord and M. Alexander Moncreife, for their encouragment, and sent them som paipers and promised the rest, and desyred them to reade and cople som of the papers at St. Androwes, and send them to M. J. Meinzeis and M. A. C. [?]¹ for their encouragment. S. J. C.² wrote another comfortable letter to them. . . . After desner comes M. J. Leviston, and tels us how it pleased the Lord to further, and not hinder, their busines, by their interruption be the Inglish, who the nixt day after som reasoning dismissed them; and so the Lord maid their meeting, intended to be privat, to becom very publik. He assisted them to condiscend on a number of very spritual causes of the Lord's anger, especyaly in the ministery. Then they drew up notes of reasons for the Protestation, and exspected mor from me. Then they resolved on a fast apairt upon Frayday nixt. . . . Then they settled a way of correspondence with the North and South; layd on S. J. C. to draw up a short compend of the question and cheife arguments; but when that of the sitting of the Comission was moved, som of them startled at it, and so was layd asyde til they saw how men ingaged in the Protestation. I lyked not this last, as I did that night wryte to M. P. G.³ I observed they wer al weal pleased with God's providence keeping me from their meeting, which would haive increassed their jealousye and stopped their releasment til at least wee had been brought to Lieut.-General Monk. . . .

On Tuesday, 19 August, . . . M. G. H. exercised on 13 Jer. from 12 v. . . . M. Jh. Leviston exercised . . . then he layed it on me to praye. . . .⁴

On Saturday, 23 August, . . . I fell to the papers and was interrupted by the newes of a troupe of mossetroupers at Gogarston, which maid me recomend myself to the Lord's protection, whyl I was thus in His way and service.

¹ Probably Andrew Cant.

² Sir John Cheisly.

³ Patrick Gillespie.

⁴ There is another break here. The stitching of the volume has given way at some time, and several leaves are amissing.

I heard thereafter that Jh. Hoome, who comanded them, knew I was their, and sayd he had no commission anent me. The Lord assisted me to dyte out the reasons which He furnished to me. . . .

On Sunday, 24 August, . . . I héard M. G. H. on midle of 1 Mal., and 1 v. of 42 Isay. . . . I saw papers pressing very hardly Mr. Love's execution, which maid me feare it. The Lord assist His servant. If they doe establish their Comonwealth by his blood, it wil portend their speidier ruyne. . . . I blissed God for preserving me from thir mossetroupers, and that I heard the Registers was punch-on'd up, which had been casten loose by our Scots sojourns.¹

On Mononday, 25 [August], I prayed on beginning of 1 ch. Coloss. . . .

On Tuesday [26 August], . . . Gaive my paper of reasons anent the Comission to M. G. . . . M. G. H.² exercised on 13 Jerem. . . . M. G. Hutch[eson] on 8 Isay. 17, 18 v. . . . I was then urged to praye . . . M. W. Wishart³ exhorted on 3 Lament. 22, 23, 24, 25 v. and prayed weal; then Dudiston,⁴ M. Gilbert Kenedy,⁵ and Mr. R. Row⁶ closed the exercise . . . M. P. G. and M. J. N.⁷ cam just in the close. My wyfe and daughter got good be the exercise. Their was too manye their.

On Wednesday, 27 [August], I spak with M. G. H., and then al foranoon with M. P. G. about the publik busines; but was interrupted from morning's exercise by M. G. H. and my wyfe's haysty waygoing; and heard of sundry mossetroupers about us, but cast myself and uthers on the Lord's protection; saw be the *Diurnal* that the English

According to William Clark, most of the soldiers in Stirling Castle were Highlanders, and, when they marched out of the castle on the 15th of August, they were 'laden with as much gear as they could carry,' having, on the previous night, 'broken open many of the trunks in the castle' (Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ii. 329, 330).

² Gilbert Hall.

³ William Wishart, M.A., minister of Kinneil in the Presbytery of Linlithgow.

⁴ George Dundas of Duddingston.

⁵ Gilbert Kennedy, M.A., minister of Girvan.

⁶ Robert Row, M.A., minister of Abercorn.

⁷ Patrick Gillespie and John Nevay.

Comonwealth was resolved, by a new vote, to execute Maister Love, which vote was the sam daye that the King's army merched over Warrington's bridge; and the news of it, with M. P. G. relation that our army merched away to Ingland upon a sudden resolution from meir necessity, instamped in my mynd that the Lord might readily use the Scots army, tho few and despicable, to the dashing the pryde of the Inglish sect—who designes the conquest of this kingdom which they unjustly invaded; and taiks thus the blood of God's worthy servant to found their Comonwealth upon—albeit God would never honor that Scots armye to relieve on toune or house for defence wherof they wer raysed.

On Thursday [28 August], . . . Mett with Col. Hacket and S. W. Bruce,¹ and saw God's providence for good to them in the Inglish taiking them, just as in the 13 ministers taiking. I heard of Suynton's² strainge expressions, comending the Sectaries to the skyes and slighting the 3^d party (which wee called the honest pairty) as thes that had no principles, and wist not what they would be at, and keeped not to them; and that he was growen light in his cariage and not ingenuous in his speeches, and left of exercises; which maid me pray the Lord never to leave us to ourself, for I saw when any, befor spritual, joyned with eyther Malignant or Sectarian pairty, they lost fellowship with God and tendernesse. I prayed at night with S. W. B.

On Frayday, 29 August, . . . In privat I layd over on Chryst thrie burthens, (1) of the sines of my privat lyfe til 1638, (2) of my publik lyfe til 1651, (3) of my lyfe this year under affliction since Dumbar . . . Went and heard M. Jh. Dury³ preach. . . .

On Saturday, 30 August, . . . Sent 400 merks to M. J. G.⁴ with liberty to him, at a straitte, to borrow an

¹ Colonel Robert Halket and Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse.

² John Swinton, younger of that ilk, was one of those who, on the 30th January 1651, were summoned to appear before Parliament for having gone over to the enemy (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. pp. 658-661).

³ John Durie, M.A., minister of Dalmeny.

⁴ James Guthrie.

1000 merks, and send me the band, and I shal subscryve it. I fand my wyfe could not haive the credit to gett the 500 merks (wherof an 100 given to gett intelligence), but by borrowing Margret Archbald my servant's nayme, and that she behooved to sell hir sylver-work to interteane hir familye, which maid me requeast the Lord, by His good providence, to give us the use of that which befor He had given to us in the Croune[?] . . . I was interrupted by Jhon Dik, Ingleston's tenent, coming in and telling me that on James Home, Dudiston's good-brother, told him in Fyfe that the mossetroupers was resolved to taik me and S. J. C.¹ away, eyther to kill us or cause us be ransomed, and desyred me to taik the warning, for certainly that man had correspondence with the mossetroupers, and sayd that altho they had no commission yet they would be overseen in it. This maiks me, O Lord, to present the wairning to Thee . . . My heart inclynes to stay til Mononday's exercise was by, and then to advyse whither to byde stil or goe in, for I heard it sayd this busines was out of jealousyes of our Tuesday meeting, as if it wer for raysing of forces. This maid al in Ingleston to desyre me to goe in to the toune; but it pleased the Lord to direct my imediat reading after the news to be on Leigh,² upon the spritual promises of good in 3^d book, . . . that my mynd inclyned to abyde til the Mononday exercise was by. I heard that Maister Love was execut on Frayday, 22^d, which portended sad things agaynst that Comonwealth, which they think to found in the blood of a worthy servant and chyld of God.³ I heard also that the King

¹ Sir John Cheisly.

² Edward Leigh. See *supra*, p. 81, n. 1.

³ 22nd August 1651, 'Mr. Love the minister and Mr. Gibbons were beheaded at Towerhill according to the sentence of the High Court of Justice' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 503). Within a week a quarto pamphlet was published bearing this title: 'The true and perfect speech of Mr. Christopher Love. On th [*sic*] scaffold on Tower-Hill: on Friday Last, being the two and twentieth day of this instant August, 1651. Comprising his Funeral Sermon; his Exhortation to the Citizens, his Propositions touching Religion; and his Prayer immediately before his head was severed from his body. Together with Mr. Gibbons speech, and the manner of his deportment, carriage and resolution. Published for the good of the Commen-wealth [*sic*] of Englan [*sic*]. Imprinted at London. 1651.'

with his army was woune to Worster; and that Cromwell with his was at Leicester. After desner M. J. D. wrote the uncou newes to us of Monk's talking on Wednesday last the lords, officers, and ministers (who wer at Eliot 10 myle from Dundie gathering their forces), sleeping in their beds; and, amongst the rest, the old General, and the Earle of Crawford, Mr. Mungo Law and Mr. Jh. Smith, with many uthers; which shews their demented security, and the Lord's straunge providence bringing under our Malignants in Scotland, and breaking al the gatherings in the North. . . .¹

On Sunday, 31 August, . . . I heard M. G. H. lecture on last part of 1 Malachi, and teach al day on 42 Isay. 1 v. . . . I heard that my Lord Balcarras and M. R. Douglas was taken with the uthers at Eliote, which was the mor remarkable, the on haiving been the King's comissioner at the late Assembly, and the uther the moderator of it and now of the Comission. I thought this would give a deadstroak to the North Commission alsweal

¹ On Tuesday, the 26th of August 1651, Monk laid siege to Dundee. Writing to Cromwell next Thursday, he said:—'Yesterday we got intelligence that General Lesley, with the Committee of Estates, together with some lords and gentlemen of quality, were to meet with some forces within twelve miles of us: and within one day's time longer they would have gotten together a very considerable party. They did intend to have raised the siege. Whereupon I ordered Colonel Alured, with six hundred horse and four troops of dragoons, to march last night to Ellitt in Perth, where I got intelligence they were. And it pleased God so to bless and prosper our designs, that they got to the place where these lords were without any discovery: they killed some upon the place, and took prisoners those whose names I have enclosed sent your excellency. Truly, it is a very great mercy which the Lord of Hosts hath been pleased to bestow upon us, observing the time and season' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 345, 346). Alexander Leslie, the first Earl of Leven, is the General Leslie referred to. David Leslie was in England with the King. Lamont says (*Diary*, pp. 32, 34) that the capture was effected at 'Eliot in Angus'; and Sir James Balfour says (*Historical Works*, iv. 314) 'at Ellett in Angus,' but among those captured he includes 'Mr. Jo: Rattra, minister of Ellett,' and, from Scott's *Fasti* (iii. 739), it appears that John Rattray was minister of Alyth from 1637 until 1678. Nicoll says (*Diary*, p. 56), 'at Eliot in the north, besyde Killimure [*i.e.* Kirriemuir] or thairabout.' In Blair's *Life* (p. 281), the place is given as 'the town of Elliot.' Colonel Alured gives it as 'a towne neere the Highlands called Ellit' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 320). The village or town of Alyth is in Perthshire; but part of the parish is in Forfarshire, hence perhaps the error of Lamont and Balfour.

as to the North levees, and that it contributed the mor to the calling of the old Commission.¹ The Lord, by the remnant of thes Sectaries, is beating down strangly the remayning heads of our Malignant party, Scotland's idol. Who knows whither the Lord be destroying the rest of them now gon in to England, or be by them punishing the Sectarian party their, England's present idol? . . .

On Mononday, 1 September, . . . M. G. H.² expounded 13 Jerem. . . . Then S. J. C.³ prayed weal, and interposed a question for conference anent the cause of our unfruitfulness under the Gospel, which has been as it wer thes two years at a stand even in the best places. Mr. Ephraim⁴ aunswered weal—It was our not seking our fruit from God in Christ the treu fountayne; which M. G. H. backed, and I thrided by passages of Scripture. . . . Then I was desyred after conference to praye, whier the Lord was pleased for an houre to give me great assistance.⁵ . . . I caused sing 146 Ps., wheron M. Eph. lectured and closed the exercise. . . . I got my wyfe's letter, shewing that Mershel, Ogilby, Humby, Ormiston,⁶ Sir Jh. Smith, M. Douglas, M. J. Smith, M. M. Law, M. Ja. Wood, M. Ja. Sharpe, 12 ministers of al, and near 300 of on sort and another [were captured],⁷ which is a

¹ The Commission appointed by the Assembly of July 1650. See *infra*, p. 150, n.

² Gilbert Hall.

³ Sir John Cheisly.

⁴ Ephraim Melville.

⁵ Here nine pages of the *Diary* are filled with the substance of the prayer.

⁶ John Cockburn of Ormiston was Humble's son-in-law. Humble's own son, Thomas, then a student, afterwards Wariston's son-in-law, was also among the captured (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. ii. 747).

⁷ Sir James Balfour (*Historical Works*, iv. 314, 315) only names eighteen of those captured. Lamont (*Diary*, p. 34) only names seventeen, but says that there were 'about 80 other gentellmen and souldiers, and noblemen's servants,' and 'divers others.' Nicoll (*Diary*, pp. 56, 57), after naming thirty-nine, adds, 'with about 70 prissoneris, souldieris and servandis to noblemen.' A list very similar to Nicoll's is given in Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (p. 9), and with a similar note at the end; but, without Nicoll's aid, it would be impossible to recognise some of the names which are wildly spelt. One appears as 'Mr. John Lawrence, Blaire'; but Nicoll gives 'Johnne Blair' and 'Lawrence Blair.' Save for this discrepancy these two lists name the same number.

strange work of God as in any passage this 12 month, breaking at once the Comittee, the Comission,¹ and the North-levee, and new Malignant designs. [It was] intended to send som troupes to this syde ² to joyne with the mossetroupers to taik som of us and vexe the country. I heard that M. J. Smith was driven in bairfooted to Dundie.³ O the Lord is just and wyse. Lord, maik them see His hand, tho they would not. They had 3000 men within a myle or tuo of them, the hilles hard at their baek, had not out so much as a sentinel to warne them.⁴ If Col. Ker or Strauchan had comitted such a neglect, when they wer in the West, it would haive been sworne to be the foulest treachery and treason that could be.⁵

On Tuesday, 2 September. . . . Foranoone with the Lady Riccartoun; . . . afternoon did wryte over Mononday's notes. . . . S. J. C.⁶ got a letter from the Provost, desyring us to meet him too-morrow at 10 houres, 3 myles beyond Calder in the moores. The Lord maid my mynd averse from it, becaus of the wairnings I had gotten, and that the mossetroupers resorted theiraway, and the meiting was neyther necessary nor so useful as to compece the hazard, or quyet my mynd if I wer taiken, espeealy when men ar inraiged upon yon talking of men in the North. This maid me desyre S. J. C. to wryte

Writing from Leith two days after the capture, Colonel Lidcott only names three lords (Leven, Crawford, and Ogilvie), but he says that there were also 'six or seven of their principal ministers, with three hundred more, whereof divers were of quality and eminence' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 350, 351). Seven of the ministers are named in *Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar* (Abbotsford Club, p. 63).

¹ The Committee of Estates and the Commission of the General Assembly.

² The south side of the Forth.

³ John Smith, M.A., was minister of the second charge of the Trinity College Church, Edinburgh.

⁴ They have been credited with 'having out some horse guards towards Dundee, whence they apprehended danger' (Blair's *Life*, p. 281). It was 'a darke rainey night,' and the way the English took was 'rough and tedious' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 320).

⁵ Sir James Balfour says that they 'wer betrayed to the Englishe, and surpyssed' (*Historical Works*, iv. 314). Colonel Lidcott says that 'private intelligence' was 'given of their place of rendezvous' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 350).

⁶ Sir John Cheisly.

my excuse, and whyl he was wryting, I got thrie letters from my wyfe, shewing that every body cryed for my incoming, and that people was so inraigned as they would give money to mossetroupers to taik me; and shew me withal of the many dying dayly of the purpy fever,¹ and S. J. Broun amongst the rest;² and that 8 ministers wer taiken, and M. A. Ker with them,³ and was to be caryed to Ingland, and was in the frigat at sea during the storme; and that, in many passages of that busines, God's hand was seen; and that Mr. Love and Gibbons had dyed resolutly; and Earl of Derby and his forces totaly routed in Lancashyre;⁴ and Scots airmy was in Worster; and that this was Dumbar day,⁵ and wee had many reasons to thank God for His many kyndnesses and providences in this tuelmonth. O Lord, make hir and me thankful for them al, threw Jesus Chryst. . . .

On Wednesday morning, 3 September, I awaked, remembring the wakning which I got this day tuelmonth at Dumbar. I prayed upon the beginning of 3 Col., and theirafter, in the yaird, went threu al passages of God's indulgence and good providence to me, since Dumbar day to this very daye—as His directing me at Stirling to oppose the calling al out without exception, as in Act of

¹ 'The name vulgarly given to a putrid fever' (Jamieson's *Dictionary*). Clarke called it 'the spotted feavour' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 323).

² 'In September this zeire, 1651, deyed of a fever, Sir Johne Brune of Fordell, at Lejith, being a prissoner ther; he was takin by the Englishe at Dumferline, being Generall Major of horsse. . . . His corpes wer interridd amongst his ancestors at Arngoscke' (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 351, 352).

³ Mr. Andrew Ker was clerk of the General Assembly. 'There were some other meetings [of the Commission of Assembly], but the papers and minuts thereof were taken upon Mr. James Hamilton and the clerk by the English, when they were surprised at Eliot, with the noblemen and ministers, upon the 28th August 1651, and conveyed, by the English, prisoners to the Tour of London' (*Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 513).

⁴ The Earl of Derby was totally defeated by Colonel Robert Lilburne, at Wigan, on the 25th of August. Lilburne's two letters, one to Cromwell and the other to the Speaker, concerning the victory, are in Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 338-345.

⁵ It was the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar by the day of the week, but lacked one day by the day of the month.

Parliament, to the levee ; my speaking with motion to the Comittee, and with liberty to the Sub-comittee and to the Comission, anent the sinful causes of our ruyne, anent chalenging instrumental causes, . . . anent my speech to K[ing] at first meeting with the Comittee at Perth ; His assistance anent purging of the King's leif-guard ; the Lord's carying me to Westland forces ; assisting me their anent the Remonstrance and bringing me bak ; His being with me in Dumfermling and long in Stirling, then in Perth ; His assisting me to reason and protest ; His keeping me their from snares, directing me to send bak Col. Ker's letter afor Hamilton ; His cleanly bringing me out of Perth to Culros, about the Castle, countenancing me in my part of sending in the men ; His trysting my wyfe's overgoing to the surrender of it, and looking to the Registers ; His providence calling me over and directing me in my waye by His Word and giving me good successe ; His ending stryfes between me and my wyfe, anent herself, my papers and goods ; by His bringing to my head His ordinance of casting of lots, wherby in a special maner, at my greatest straits, He hes six tymes directed me since Dumbar, and forced me therafter to seye and say it was His direction. He assisted me at Bruntyland to wryte 5 sheet of an aunswer to Comission's letter to Stirling presbytery ;¹ His exoncring me from slanders and my trust and diligence anent the Registers at Perth ; His assisting me their to wryte a fuller aunswer to the Comission's Wairning² and letter ; His directing my head and pen, and assisting me in the positive tractat against the Publik Resolutions, wherin the Lord

¹ The Commission's letter of 14th December 1650 evoked a lengthened reply from the Presbytery of Stirling, dated 31st December (*Records of the Commissions*, iii. 173-182). The Commission's response was even longer (*Ibid.*, pp. 201-214). On the 13th of March 1651, another letter from the Presbytery of Stirling was produced, and read at a meeting of the Commission (*Ibid.*, p. 304); but its terms are not recorded.

² The Commission's 'Solemn Warning to all the members of this Kirk' (*Records of the Commissions*, iii. 216-228) was printed in 1651 by James Brown, with its 'Act for censuring such as act or comply with the Sectarian Armie now infesting this Kingdom.'

led me straungely on ; His keeping me at Stirling from the mater of the match between the K[ing] and Argyle's daughter ; His preserving my childrein from seaknesse ; His provyding lodging for us in our pilgrimage, and making me content with every thing ; His straunge providence (1) in directing me by lot whyle at Culros, whyl al bodyes was telling me of my extreame great daungers by the sojourns merching that way ; (2) by His comforting me threu ministry and society of M. Ep. Melvin and M. W. Wishart, whom the Lord mightely assisted ; (3) in His calling me away agayn to Edinburgh, by the Parliement's comands, upon the Inglish taiking the Registers the 2^d tyme, wherby the Lord was taiking me out of His and my intended destroyers' cleughs ; (4) then by His good providence that had maid me befor, without foresight or designe of myn, to gett so many passes as cleared the busines, which maid them condescend to let them goe ; and then, when, upon thes at Stirling taiking a spye's lyfe, they wer stopped agayn by new papers, I obtayned their releese agayne after despayre of it. In the meantyme, God at Culros had assisted me to wryte the letter of good hoopes to Glascou in February or Merch, and the aunsuer to M. J. Ferg[uson],¹ and in Edinburgh to continew the large tractat, aunsuer M. D. D.² reply, and mor fully anent their forme of repentance, and to wryte the tractat of Testimonyes, to the which I got the materials out of the Comission Books at Bruntyland and my awen compend of Acts of Assembly. After I had sent away the Registers and a letter with my wyfe, the Lord putt me out to Ingleston, and their assisted me to wryte the tractat agaynst concurrence, wherin He powerfully and specially assisted ; lykeas their, in my greatest perplexityes, He tuyse discharged by lots my going to Stirling or Glascou, altho I was written for to both ; inclyned me by lot to goe to Assembly and give my testimony, unles by warrands from His Word and intervening providences He cleared

¹ Perhaps James Ferguson, M.A., minister of Kelton, but more probably James Ferguson, M.A., minister of Kilwinning.

² David Dickson.

me of another and better way, which He did by both, as from the passages insert theirafter in the letter, and be His stopping my wyfe at Bruntyland and the new Commitee's letter coming to me, and the Remonstrators going their and renouncing their testimony, against the which aforehand He had assisted me to wryte to Glasgow, and after it to the South, and be His letting me see the necessity of declyning them, and so lawfulnessse of not compeiring. Then He putt in my head to send al the paipers to the Assembly with a free letter, in both which He assisted me both anent the wryting, transcryving, saifly conveying to the Assembly, and backing the sam by His testimony of a concurring providence of His displeasour; lykas He deteaned me on Saboth against my will in the house from the kirk, and putt me upon the Declinator, wherein He assisted me and convoyed it saifly to Glasgow; then in His bringing my wyfe saife back to my childrein at Dumfermling, bringing hir and them and my goods saife to Edinburgh, preserving me al this tyme in Ingleston as in a litle sanctuary, assisting me in privat exercises, and publik-fast exercises once in the week; then the Lord's sending the airmyes away into England; keeping me from the mosstroupers; assisting me to wryte the additional observations for confirming the Declinator with reasons of the meiting of the Comission, with good letters to the West, to the South, to Col. Ker and M. S. R.;¹ and keeping me from Westland meiting wheir I had caused² the longer imprisonment of His servants; and my soule acknowledges His being with me thes thre last fast dayes in an very sensible assisting way . . . This I haive written, on the 3 September 1651, in Ingleston's yaird, with a heart and hand desyrous to blisse and to serve this my good and gracious Lord . . . *A. Jhonston*. This day I cam into Edinburgh with S. J. C.,³ and, blissed be God, saw no body; but, after my incoming, I heard of the lords' and ministers' security at Eliote, after thrie wairnings, without a guard

¹ Samuel Rutherford.

² Wheir I had caused, *i.e.* where I would have caused.

³ Sir John Cheisly.

or sentinel at al, and of the resolution to cary them to London or Hull; and after that of Monk's offering very good conditions to the toune of Dundee, and their contemptuous rejecting of them with reproches,¹ and his storming the toune, tho he was tūyse beaten from the walles, and killing many and giving the toun's spoylzee for 24 houres to the sojourns; which maid many remember what was often fortold, that the toun of Dundee, being the vyldest place of Scotland—both for height of Malignancy, ryot and profanetye—would gett on of the sorest flappes of any place,² and of the late Assembly's sitting their, and

¹ Monk says—'I sent in a summons to the Governor [of Dundee], for to surrender us the town, together with all the appurtenances that belong to war; and withal promising him good conditions for his officers and soldiers, and likewise for the inhabitants: but the Governor returned a very uncivil answer' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 345). In the answer Monk was desired to lay down his arms and join the King's forces and receive protection from them (*Calendar of Portland MSS.*, i. 615). According to Colonel Lidcott, 'this impudence . . . was occasioned by the promise of old Lesley, or Leven, with divers other lords and ministers commissioned from their King to raise forces, whereby he would relieve the town' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 350).

² Dundee was stormed on the 1st of September. Writing to Cromwell on that day, Monk says—'We have by storm taken the town of Dundee: there was in it about eight hundred soldiers, besides the townsmen. We lost in the storming about six officers and about twenty private soldiers. It was a very great mercy that there was no more killed, in respect of the disadvantage we met withal, and of the numbers which we were to deal with, they being as many in foot as we were. There was killed of the enemy about five hundred; and two hundred, or thereabouts, taken prisoners: the Governor was killed. Sixty sail of ships in the harbour, and about forty iron guns in and about the town. The stubbornness of the people enforced the soldiers to plunder the town' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 351, 352). Writing on the 5th of September, Clarke says, 'now we come to bury the dead (which is not yet fully done), we find that there was near eight hundred killed. The spoil is like to prove very great' (*Ibid.*, ii. 366). Balfour states that 'Mounke commandit all, of quhatsumever sex, to be putt to the edge of the sword. The townesmen did no dewtey in ther auen defence, but wer most of them all drunken, lyke so maney beasts. Ther were 800 inhabitants and souldiers killed, and about 200 women and children. The plounder and buttie they gatte in the toun excedeid 2 millions and a halfe. Robert Lumsden of Monquhaney, Governour of Dundie, was creully killed after quarters was given to him' (*Historical Works*, iv. 315). Nicoll says, 'Monk grantit libertie to the sodgeris to plunder the toun 24 houris space. They war not ydle, but reft, spulzeit, and plunderit the haill toun, nane escaping thair handis' (*Diary*, p. 58). Notwithstanding Monk's proclamations to stop the plundering it went on for a fortnight (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 325).

their persecuting with toungues and hands God's servants and people; and of the Lord's hardning them to their destruction, 11 Josh. 20, for they could not haive stood out, for waunt of meate, above a week, if he had but lyen about it. Lykas, I heard, at Eliot the Comission was going to proces Mr. Rutherford and the uther Protesters, which the Lord hes prevented; and the Committee was going to send som troupes to this syde; and that Balcarras that night had the guard, but had slighted it; and that he had escaped, and M. J. Woode; and that Dury¹ by sylver to som English sojourns had winne awaye; and that they had 1500 within a myle of them, and 4000 coming to them the nixt day, and al scattered; and so that the Lord had broken Comission, Committee and levees at on blow; and that my Lady Crawford, Ardrosse[']s lady, and a number of uthers, wer wholly spoyled of al their jewels by the Inglishes persewing Balcarras; and that many men's riches was in Dundee, now spoyled. After the hearing of al thes passages anent them, my awen footman, Jhon Steivinson, cam in, and told that he, following me between Corstorphin and Coutbrigge, was overtaiken by Jhon Home and 7 or 8 of his mossetroupers coming out of Saughtonhall, and they asked for me, and sayd I had gon by without a goodnight; which maid me sensible of the Lord's preserving me out of their hands this day, as He did out of the Inglish hands this day tuelmonth. . . .

On Fursday, 4 September, . . . I heard M. J. Stirling preach weal on 2 Hos. 2 v. . . . Afternoon I heard the storming of Dundie confirmed and sundry great Malignants killed, som says 600 men, and 1400 prisoners withal. I heard that M. Ja. Sharpe² sayd to M. Al. Moncreif's³ man to tell his master, that they reued nothing they had doone, and that they wer the old men—which I thought savoured of the Old Man⁴ indeed. I heard strange storyes

¹ The Earl of Balcarres, James Wood, and Sir Alexander Gibson of Dury are not included in any list which I have examined of those captured.

² James Sharp, minister of Crail (afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews), was one of the ministers captured at Alyth.

³ Alexander Moncreiff, minister of Scoonie.

⁴ Col. iii. 9.

of Mr. Blair confirming himself in his waye by lyes, as of M. J. G. and M. P. G.¹ getting Cromwel's gold, and drawing up the Protestation with Cromwell in Glascow, etc., and of the King's defeating the Inglish, etc. At night I was much refreshed by a letter of the Provost of Edinburgh,² wryting a very sensible confession of his foule fault in disclayming the Remonstrance, and his willingnesse to taik with every chalenge, and to give al possible satisfaction to the Lord's people, as he had been realy, if ever, humbled befor himself . . .

On Frayday, 5 [September], I did wryte and send papers to the ministers of Aiberdein, and wrote to E[arl of] Sutherland, Lo[rd] Brody and M[aste]r of Arbuthnot, and to Glascow and to the South; al which I praye God to blisse to them for His nayme's saike, to the strenthening of His awen, and discouragment of His opposers. At night I got the paper of Aunswer to Objections agaynst Declinator from Glascow, and another from M. J. Guthry accepting weal what I had sent . . .

On Saturday, 6 September, . . . I conferred long with the Gouvernor³ in aunswer to jealousies; told of Commission's meiting and Provost's incoming, and spak for Col. Ker's greater freidome, and agaynst the imposing of oaths and subscriptions; heard of the King's being beleaguered in Worcester, and so necessitat to feyght or starve . . .

On Sunday [7 September], . . . Heard Mr. Trayle explayne . . . and preach weal on 1 v. of 17 Jh., and heard the ministers wer gon, weighing anker as M. Hew⁴ and the rest cam to the shore, but they knew that they wer come their; heard of Dundie people's drinking whyl tounne was storming, and of Monk's going North;⁵ heard that the lords and ministers who wer prisoners wer weal and mirry,

¹ James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie.

² Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield and Coltness (*Coltness Collections*, p. 33). Sir John Cheisly was his first cousin (*Ibid.*, p. 29).

³ Colonel George Fenwick was Governor of Edinburgh and Leith.

⁴ Hew Mackail.

⁵ On the 5th of September, Monk sent a strong party of horse from Dundee to Montrose (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 367).

which I thought a sad word when I heard it from Rob. Murray. . . .

On Mononday, 8 September, . . . I begged the Lord might humble our King and thes with him befor the Lord Himself, and that befor the decree com furth, and the blak day of reckning with them overtaik them, wherof al thir passages against E[arl of] Derby, and Eliot, and Dundie, was sad and ominous forrunners. This day I heard M. T. Garvye¹ lecture upon 9 Hezek[iel]; . . . and, as wee cam out of the kirk, wee heard al the canons of the Castel and ships shoote, and learned that it was for the total route of the Scots airmye, and that only an pairty of horse had escaped,² which maid me cry to the Lord, O how treu is the Lord in His threatnings and terrible in His jugments. . . . How often hes this ruyne been for-told by His servants, that durst not runne on in the sam course of defection! How did the Lord assist me at Perth, in the reasons of my protestation [to] forwairne the King, being present, and the Committee, that the Lord, seing this discovery of our sines written in the blood of comouns contemned, would wryte it in the highest and best blood their, that it might be mor legible; and pressed upon the King, befor the Committee, what Joab sayd to David, 2 Sam. 19 ch. 6, 7 v., that, becaus he loved his enemyes and hayted his freinds, a worse thing would befall him then ever til then; and begged the Lord might give him a sight of his personal sines and of his fayther's house; and that by repentance he might break of the Lord's controversy agaynst them; which alas I feare the Lord be now about the executing in relation to him,³ whos nayme I wish and hes often prayed with submission that it might be out of the proces; but this strange pas-sage remembers me of that of the prophet anent Conyah⁴ falling up to me in the fast day befor the Treatye, and of my letter to him in Holland, shewing that his dissembled

¹ Thomas Garven, M.A., was translated from Colinton to the Old Church, Edinburgh, in the winter of 1649-50 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 10, 148).

² The battle of Worcester.

³ The King.

⁴ Jeremiah xxii. 24-30.

incoming to the Covenant would sooner ruyne him nor his fayther's 12 years opposition ruyned him. But straunge hes been and is the idolatrye of this land and people, with him and the house of the King, which provoks the Lord the mor both to plaigue and remove him, that by taiking away the idol the idolatry may cease. . . . I heard of M. R. Ramsey's sudden death in Glascow,¹ which will helpe to settle that presbytery. He hes not long bruiked M. J. Durham[s] place, whom he caused putt out, howbeit the Lord had a hand in it to cast M. J. D. loose of al chaarge for his politik halting betuixt tuo opinions. I heard M. P. G. wyfe² was seak, and was desyred, both by him and hir, to pray for hir. O Lord, even pity thy servant in hir condition, and let them not be the worse for my begging hir continuance with him, for his strenthening in Thy work in thir difficult tymes. . . . My man, when he returned from the Governor, told he had gotten a letter from Lambert, that they had beaten the Scots horse, stormed the toune on the foote, routed the airmy totaly (except a smal pairty of horse with som few foote that had escaped by a passe) who could not winne awaye; and that al this was doen on Dumbar day, the 3 of September, which is a very remarkable circumstance, speaking much of God's trysting the 2^d defeat on the sam day 12 month, lyk the 2^d defeat of Benhadad's airmy worse then the first,³ 1 Kings, 20 ch.

¹ Robert Ramsay, M.A., had held the principalship of Glasgow University for only a few months. Durham had been previously chosen to succeed Dickson there, but was not inducted (Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 154, 207). He had succeeded Ramsay in Blackfriars Church, Glasgow, in 1647 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 17), and now succeeded him in St. Mungo's (*Ibid.*, ii. 5).

² Patrick Gillespie's wife.

³ Writing to the Speaker on the night of the victory, Cromwell also noted the coincidence in time—'Upon this day, being the 3rd of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland) we built a bridge of boats over Severn, between it and Tame, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Tame, within pistol shot of our other bridge. . . . We beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, till we beat him into Worcester. . . . In the end we beat him totally, and pursued him up to his royal fort, which we took, and indeed have beaten his whole army. . . . This hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as

Lykas, I heard that our lords and ministers prisoners¹ had almost perished on Thursday night, by the ship's falling on a sandbedd whyl the wind was great, and was forced to goe out to another open boate, and byde in it al night during the raync, and that they wer carying them to London, wheir they would haive a sad meiting with the prisoners from Worcester.

On Tuesday, 9 [September], . . . I heard of M. P. G. wyfe['s] seaknesse increased, and prayed the Lord for hir preservation, and did wryte for his encouragment. . . . I heard a notable sermon from M. R. Trayle on 7 Amos, 5 v. I did wryte to M. S. R.² I heard the airmyes had fought in the feilds, 4000 killed, 4000 taiken, a smal pairty of horse escaped.³ I did wryte to M. S. R. and to M. A. C.,⁴ and to my Lady Loudoun my mynd freelye. . . . I prayed earnestly for the poor young King, to saive his soule and body, if it might stand with the Lord's will.

On Wednesday, 10 [September], . . . my wyfe's fears and fretting kepted me from going out to this day's exercise in Ingleston: the Lord assist them in it and supplye the waunt of it to us. Wee resolved to keepe on in my family every week, and to see if wee could gett the ministers of Edinburgh to meet with us at it. Lord, maik our abyding in Edinburgh doe both them and us good, for Christ's saike. After our stay, M. Jh. Denham's wyfe told S. J. C.⁵ that a good young man, called Nairne, heard in Posso's house⁶ Jhon Hume, comander of the mossetrouters, tell he had bein in Lauthian wayting to catch me

ever I have seen.' Next day he wrote—'The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts: it is, for ought I know, a crowning mercy' (Cary's *Memorials*, ii. 355, 356, 361; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letters clxxxii., clxxxiii.). 'Cromwell commanded some 31,000 men, whilst the Scottish army did not number above 16,000' (Gardiner's *Cromwell*, 1901, p. 195).

¹ The prisoners captured at Alyth.

² Samuel Rutherford.

³ Lieut.-General Fleetwood estimated the Royalist losses at 3000 slain, and 10,000 taken prisoners with all their arms, bag, and baggage (Whitelocke's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 508).

⁴ Andrew Cant.

⁵ Sir John Cheisly.

⁶ Probably Sir Michael Nasmith of Posso in Peeblesshire. There was also a James Nasmith of Posso.

and S. J. C. ; and that if he had gotten us wee should not haive pairted agayne ; which convinced me of the special overwatching providence for and about us. Lykas, I heard that [at] Gogarston, on Frayday, the ywer lying and took Halzairds,¹ and therafter dismissed him as not being the man whom they wer seeking. . . . M. Jh. Stirling² told us he had learned mor of God's providence against this Assembly, nor al his dayes befor. He told us of their intimation in Assembly on Saturday, that they would ratifye the Commission Book on Mononday, the first thing that they would doe, and desyred every on to haive their thoughts on it ; and then it pleased God to com in with His thought, word and work on the Sunday befor the Mononday ; then that day they did ratifye it the Elye³ was sett upon, and sent the allarum to them ; and, the day that they deposed the ministers, they gott the allarum of the taiking in of St. Jhonston ;⁴ and now the clerk, moderator, Commission leading men, taiken⁵ when intending to processe the Protesters . . .

On Thursday, 11 September, . . . I heard M. G. Hutcheson preach weal on 11 Hebr. 17 v. . . . Being interrupted of going out to exercise in Ingleston, I had invited M. R. Trayle and M. Jh. Stirling to be with my exercise in my family ; and then M. R. Trayle first prayed, and I proponed the question anent our present deadnesse and unsensibleness of our condition, for I heard that som did not beleive the present stroak becaus they thought the course deserved it not ; as M. W. Dalglesh⁶ had spoken heir, and M. Jh. Hog,⁷ who prayed that the Lord would preserve and blisse that airmy, or els religion, liberty, and al good, were gon out of thes kingdoms and undoen ; and

¹ John Skene of Halyards in Midlothian.

² John Stirling, M.A., minister of Kilbarchan, or more probably John Stirling, M.A., minister of the second charge of the Tron Church, Edinburgh.

³ A party of English horse entered the Elie on the 29th of July 1651 (Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, p. 32).

⁴ Perth.

⁵ At Alyth on the 28th of August 1651. See *supra*, pp. 121-123.

⁶ William Dalglesh, M.A., minister of Cramond.

⁷ John Hog, M.A., minister of the Canongate.

M. Th. Vassy¹ sayd the King was gon to London, and thir news was feinzied; and so in Lithgow new presbytery² they wer going on with a high hand . . . After conference on many . . . passages, and M. J. St. praying betwixt, I was theirafter putt to prayer. . . . I prayed earnestly for our King, now hunted as a partridge on the mountaynes,³ and many of the Lord's own chased or captives. . . . S. J. Ch. theirafter prayed spirituallly. I was putt out by my wyfe's fearing my voyce being too loude. . . .

On Frayday, 12 September, . . . I heard the King and 3000 horse was taken, as wee had heard befor of D[uke] Hamilton and Rothes and 7000 prisoners; and that Massy and David Leslye was both killed.⁴ . . . The Lord maid me . . . to wonder, . . . and not suffering so much as on out of that airmy gon into England to com bak to tell tydings. . . . I remembred that I sayd often to Chancellor,⁵ Argyl, to sundry uthers, yea once to Mr. Murray, that, if they let the King goe in the head of the airmy, his head, I feared and apprehended, would goe with it. What if he had been taiken at Leyth, wee had been called his betrayers; I thank the Lord our hand is free of his blood. I heard it remarked that their was great raynes and thunderings befor this feyght; and so it was afor Innerkeything, afor Dumbar, and Long Merston; but not

¹ Thomas Vessie, M.A., minister of Torphichen.

² The feeling between the Resolutioners and Protesters ran so high that 'some presbyteries were divided, meeting in several [*i.e.* separate] places as adverse parties and contending factions' (Blair's *Life*, p. 285). Linlithgow presbytery was one of those that split; each section kept its own records. Those of the Protesters extend from 6th August 1651 to 7th July 1658 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 159). Wariston here regards the Resolutioners' section as the 'new presbytery.'

³ The escape of the king after Worcester and his adventures are set forth in *The Boscobel Tracts*, edited by J. Hughes in 1830, second edition, 1857.

⁴ On the 4th of September Cromwell refers to the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Rothes as prisoners (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter clxxxiii.). Neither Massey nor Leslie was killed in the battle. Massey, who had held Gloucester against Charles I. in 1643, surrendered two days after Worcester, wounded and exhausted (Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, ii. 376, 377). Leslie was captured by the Yorkshire forces (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 509).

⁵ Earl of Loudoun.

Hamilton.¹ Yea it was strange to heare that their was 10,000 prisoners of thes who pretended and swore to dye al in the feild at the King's feete. Heir, from my heart, I blissed God on hearing from M. P. G.² that his wyfe was growing better, and then I heard that M. P. Sharp, a leading man of Hamilton presbytery wrong was dead;³ and that M. R. Ramsey had sayd he would never sitt in presbytery with M. P. G. agayne, and so he deyde the nixt daye. This night wee heard agayne of 10,000 prisoners, 647 officers, al their colours, bag and baggage and trayne taiken, which is a strainge thing to think upon; and it is as strainge, if it be treu, what som reports—that they wil bring King and lords to Scotland their to be execute. . . .

On Saturday [13 September], . . . I read some of their papers anent Ingagment. . . . I blissed God for M. P. G. wyfe[s] recovery. . . . Give me continuing light from Thy Word and works anent my cariage, in the midst of a rayne of snares, which I feare shall fall upon us by the Inglish leading us captives, and clayming power of conquest over us. . . .

On Sunday, 14 September, . . . I did wryte to M. P. G. anent thir tymes from 44 Jer. 3 last verse, 48 ch. from 7 to 11 v., 49 ch. from 1 to 6, Hezekiel 22 ch. 1 v., 9 Zach. 5 v., 28 Isay. . . . and desyred him to wryte North. . . . I heard of Lady Craufurd's great necessities. . . .

On Mononday, 15 September, . . . I heard Mr. H. Mack[ail], on 1 Luik 31 v., preach weal. I did wryte a free letter to the South, with sundry passages anent captivity of K[ing], prinçes and preists, and prayed that, if the Lord took King and princes from us, He would set up His awen throne amongst us. . . . I heard they wer shooting canon and putting on bonfyres at Evendail and Dumbarton, upon news of the King's victory from the Yle of Man, which portended rayther the confirmation nor

¹ Battle of Inverkeithing, 20th July 1651; Dunbar, 3rd September 1650; Marston Moor, 2nd July 1644; Hamilton, 1st December 1650.

² Patrick Gillespie.

³ Patrick Sharpe succeeded his father as minister of Kilbride in 1639 (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 289).

waiking of the sad newes.¹ I heard from my uncle's wyfe many straunge things of Mr. Blair his bitternesse, especyaly in prayers against the Lord's witnesses and their testimonyes; and yet his baise fearfulnessse in the treating with the enemy and drawing up a vyld protection, til M. S. Ruth[erfurd] opposed and mended it, to whos chalmer they were forced to goe and to consult. . . . Mr. Trayle cam in and told me that he found such a chaynge of men's faces and speeches, in the streete, upon the reports from the West that the King and army was weal, that it maid me to saye that the Lord saw no way to end our idolatry but by destroying that generation or destroying our idols, which maid me aprehend our kings was near an end, by and attowr this poor young man, of whom M. Th. Chartres² told me M. Ja. Durham vendit, after he left him, that he was simple and creuel, and that he was ay glaiking at sermons and prayers, in kirk and familie. At night wee heard the newes of al the prisoners was confirmed, except that anent the King, who with a 100 was flying to the Yle of Man. . . .

On Tuesday, 16 September, . . . Heard M. Jh. Stirling preach weal. . . . Read the *Scots Diurnal*, wher I found the English Parliment had given to on Gibbons a 100 pound be year of land in Scotland, which imported their using as Irland so conquest Scotland, and us as the Irish rebels,³ which is the stretching out [the] lyne of Samaria and plumet of house of Achab on us; ⁴ and Tuesday after they apoynted to consider what use to maik of the victorie for their Comonwealth, wherin in al apearance our slavery

¹ Lord Johnstone (who must not be confounded with Wariston) had affirmed that 'the squandering of the Scots army in England was false, for their king was crowned in London,' and had defeated the English army. For that news there had been great rejoicing, with firing of cannon, and bonfires at Evandale, the castle there being 'a great shelter for the moss-troopers, and meetings of the Malignant commissioners' (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 17 n.). The year date 1653 in that note is obviously a misprint for 1651.

² Probably Thomas Charteris, minister successively of Stonehouse and Kilbride (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 289, 303).

³ See Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. xxiii.

⁴ 2 Kings xxi. 13.

will be determined. . . . This day, haiving heard that my weak son George was grown very seak, I offered him up . . . to the Lord to be wholly His in lyfe and death; and I earnestly intreated the Lord to spaire him to His service. . . . Whereas I could gett no trust or credit for means to intertean my family, nor yet command anything of my awen, Andrew Bryson¹ cam in and told me his desyre to subscryve a band for Libertoun, wherof I knew not befor; and, upon his hearing that I could not gett to borrow, offered himself to becom surtye for me and to use means to gett moneys to me, which I thought a good providence of the Lord's to maik such strangers to me, as he and on Hew Watt, to be willing to lenne to me.

On Wednesday, 17 September, I took, after prayer, my physik from the Lady Libertoun, which it pleased God to blisse to me. I heard the news of D. Lesly and Midleton's talking; of the Englishes sending forces West; of the divisions in the North betuixt Huntley and Calendar;² then also betuixt the Committee their and thes that did meet with Chancellor and Argyle in the Highlands, and that they had adjourned their Committee to Dumbartan³ on the 24 day; and that my free letter maid my Lady Loudoun to weepe.

On Thursday [18 September], I . . . heard M. Th. Garvy preach; . . . had written a full large letter to the ministers of presbytery of Lithgow, for their exercise and encouragement at their privat meeting in Ingleston. . . . The ministers of Edinburgh, mett with S. J. C.⁴ and me, spent the day from 12 houres til 7 in prayer and conference, wher they forced me to begin prayer. . . . Then wee fell upon good conference anent the cause of our jugments, whither, besyds the contempt of the Gospel, their was another cause, as our treaty with the King, wheron S. J. C. and I insisted on them both. . . . Wee shew hou he [the King] would never acknowledge his fayther to be

¹ At Michaelmas, 1652, Andrew Bryson was elected treasurer of Edinburgh (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 101).

² Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 337, 338.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

⁴ Sir John Cheisly.

guilty of the blood shed between him and the kingdomes, as Argyle oft told me, albeit I told him to presse on him 2 Kings, 23 ch. . . . and 24 ch. at beginning (with 15 Jerem.); . . . and that he would not speak on the fast day, notwithstanding the Kirk had declaired it a previous requisite to his coronation; and that the kingdom therby, in his nayme, was maid to tak [mock ?] God in that publik fast, both as for his fayther's and his awen sines.¹ And as for that going to the Malignants at Clova² when their- after he brought them al in to him, I remembred his speech against Brody and S. Jaffray;³ letter to Assembly against Remonstrators; M. J. D.⁴ jugment that he was simple and creuel; and Mr. Trayle told me, at his returne, that he refused to subserve the covenant after his majority,⁵ and would not let the Duk of Bukingham doe

¹ The King's coronation at Scone, on the 1st of January 1651, was preceded by two fasts, one on the 22nd of December for the contempt of the Gospel, and the other on the 26th of December for the sins of the royal family (*Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies*, iii. 143-154).

² *Supra*, p. 97.

³ See *supra*, p. 42.

⁴ James Durham.

⁵ Charles the Second swore and subscribed the National Covenant, and also the Solemn League and Covenant, at the mouth of the Spey, on the 23rd of June 1650: and again, when he was crowned at Scone, on the 1st of January 1651. Even on the latter occasion he had not attained his majority, as he was born on the 29th of May 1630. The copy which he signed at the mouth of the Spey is preserved among the Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library. Both Covenants are written on the same sheet of vellum, the one immediately below the other, and after the Solemn League there is in the same hand:—'I Charles, King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, doe assure and declair by a solempne oath in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the Nationall Covenant and of the Solempne League and Covenant above written, and faithfully obleidge myselfe to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling, and that I, for my selfe and successors, shall consent and agree to all Actes of Parliament injoyning the Nationall Covenant and the Solempne League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyteriall Government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith and Catechismes, in the kingdome of Scotland, as they are approven by the Generall Assemblie of this Kirk and Parliament of this Kingdome; and that I shall give my royall consent to the Actes of Parliament, *bills or ordinances past, or to be past, in the Houses of Parliament*, injoyning the same in the rest of my dominions; and that I shall observe these in my owne practize and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these or endeavour any change thereof.' Then follows the signature—'Charles R.' The thirteen words here italicised are in the margin, and are initialed 'C. R.' There are two indorsations, one,

it. Wee told how M. D. D., M. R. B., and M. R. D.¹ was for the Ingagment, 1648 ; and how farre Argyle was on to taik Bervik and Cairleil,² and called Gilespy and me tuo mad-headed youths that would ruyne the kirk and kingdome of Scotland. . . . After parting, I got letters from M. P. G. for a present meiting of the Comission at Glascou, the 24, which—I perceiving to com from M. J. D. and Pollok³ meiting with Argyle—I apreghended to be so full of snares from him and the rest, who the sam day wer to meet at Dumbarton, and of daungers from the Inglishe already gon to the West, that I could not sleepe al night, but tossed up and down for greife and anger.

On Frayday morning [19 September], befor I took my physik, I did wryte a large free letter of al my apreghensions anent it to M. P. G., M. J. G., M. J. L. ;⁴ and sent it away with M. Ja. Sympson, . . . and took my physik, and heard certanty of David Lesly and Midleton's talking, and of M. R. Douglas' letter to M. R. B.⁵ to hold the Comission and proces al dissenters ; and the lyk to M. J. Wood, who was seeking a quorum to doe it ; and M. Rutherford wrytes to me that he had *certissima indicia* of their resolution at that Eliot⁶ meeting to haive deposed him and uthers, and excommunicate thes that had preached afoir⁷ their sentence. Lykas, I heard that remarkable passage of God's providence, causing the whol minuts, warrands, acts and commissions of this last pretended Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundie, to be taiken by the enemy in M. A. Ker's clogbag, so that God hes putt to His awen hand to delete that Assembly, and to prevent

signed by Wariston as Clerk Register, shows that this document was produced and read in Parliament on the 1st of July 1650, and the other by A. Ker, shows that it was produced and read in the General Assembly on the 12th of July 1650.

¹ David Dickson, Robert Blair, and Robert Douglas. See Blair's *Life*, pp. 199-202.

² Cf. Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 18 ; Blair's *Life*, p. 200.

³ James Durham and Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock.

⁴ Patrick Gillespie, James Guthrie, John Livingstone.

⁵ Robert Blair.

⁶ Alyth. See *supra*, p. 121.

⁷ *Afoir* must be a clerical slip for *after*.

its coming ever in the records of Church of Scotland.¹ I did wryte to Glascou, to the ministers, to bewarre of pitching [?] themselves in the counsels, desseignes or interest of thes who had gon on in the defection and was now to meet at Dumbarton; whom I feared the Lord was drawing into snaires, that they might also be partakers of the jugment with uthers with whom they had gon on; and that I would rayther cleanly suffer nor mingle and act uncleanly with them. . . .

On Saturday [20 September], . . . I saw S. J. Ch.,² whom the letter from the West had almost made his vomitor to kill, as also it maid me suerfe. Wherupon I did wryte a second free letter, of my apprehensions and feares of both snaires and daungers to that meiting of the Commission coincident with the Comittee's meeting, and exonerd my conscience freely of whatsoever of the tuo did befall them. I heard of Lord Montgomerye's letter, saying the general officers had neyther witt nor courage nor credit in their managing of that airmy and feyght.

On Sunday, 21 September, I did wryte a very large and free letter to my Lady Loudoun, both anent publik busines and their privat case; and wairnd therin both the Chancellor and Argyle of their sines and snaires, and jugments lyk to befall them. . . . The Lady Riccarton had told me of my Lady Loudoun's melting in teares upon the receate of my former letter, and of hir blissing God for the daye that ever shoe knew me, and that my freedome of wryting had been most comfortable to hir, and was angry at my wyfe for hindering me, and that their moneys was spent above a third pairt; and that their was som intention of a treatye to be motioned from Dumbartan, or els Chancellor and Argyle wald goe out of the country whol hand; but that Argyle at last meiting expressed himself as earnest as ever for every man's rysing in airmes; that they believed not my newes anent the airmye, and excused their not wryting. . . . M. R. Trayle . . .

¹ See *supra*, pp. 121-124. Ker succeeded Wariston as Clerk of Assembly.

² Sir John Cheisly.

preached weal. . . . At night [I] saw the roll of many prisoners, and that the Inglish had apoynted 3 of September for an anniversary thanksgiving throu the thre nations; wherby they took on them to preseryve thanksgiving in Scotland alyk as in Irland.¹

On Mononday, 22 September, . . . This day it pleased God sensibly to blisse my physik to me. At night I got first a comfortable letter from M. J. L.² . . . Then I heard of the strange death of D[uke] Hamilton at Worster, the night imediatly after the warrand to him to be transported with Lauderdail to the Tower; som saying it was of his wounds, uthers saying thes wer not deadly, but that his heart had brok, and onwillingnesse to goe to be a spectacle on a scaffold, uthers that he had poysoned himself; howsoever it is an evil end both of the man—who was very wicked and profane, malignant and proude³—and of the males of the family also, which is lyk, by burthens and partitions of portions, to perish.⁴ Then after supper I got M. P. G.⁵ letter, shewing the ryse of their apoyntment of the meiting to be from themselves, and his exonerig himself at the disapoyntment of it; wherunto I did wryte a full and free aunswer, and casts upon the Lord, who is only wyse and good, to draw good out of al thes disapoyntments. I heard of Suynton's⁶ coming home; of his shew-

¹ 22nd September 1651. 'Act read for a thanks-giving day, and another Act for a yearly observation of the third day of September in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 510).

² John Livingstone.

³ The Duke died of his wounds, not on the day after his capture as Clarendon alleges (*History of the Rebellion*, 1826, vi. 512), but on the 12th of September. 'He died believing that through the merits of the Mediator the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord his Righteousness, and through the infinite mercies of his God, it should fare with him as with the idle labourers, in the parable of the vineyard, who went in at the eleventh hour and yet received the penny; so he believed that, though in the last hour of the day he had entered into his Master's service, yet he should receive his penny' (Burnet's *Dukes of Hamilton*, 1852, p. 551).

⁴ Writing in 1654, Baillie says:—'Dukes Hamilton, the one execute, the other slaine; their state forfault; one part of it gifted to English sojourns; the rest will not pay the debt; little left to the heretrix; almost the whole name undone with debt' (Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 249).

⁵ Patrick Gillespie.

⁶ Sir John Swinton of that ilk.

ing kyndnesse to the prisoners at Worcester ; but withal his leaving of al family exercises and privat retyrings daylie, and walking untenderly on the Lord's Day ; which, following on his conjunction with the Sectaries, as the lyk on M. R. D.¹ upon his joyning with Malignants, I spak [of] with M. R. Trayle and Greenhead as terrible scarcrowes to us, for al our dayes, to absteane from fellowship and intimacy with God's enemyes, and to cleave the mor constantly and closely to God by continual exercises and fellowship.

On Tuesday morning [23 September], I heard M. Hew Mack[ail] preach weal. . . . I spak with Col. Lokhart,² to whom God hes been very kynd and gracious. I heard [Duke] Hamilton's death for certain. I heard of Suynton's telling that many in England was for declairing this a conquest, but the General was for making it on nation, and that it would be obtained to be maid on Comonwealth if the honest party would seake it ; utherwayes they would gouverne us as Irland and a conquest ; and that he was sorrye to see that Malignants was lyk to gett the start of us. And withal he told that the land would be terribly fyned ; that neyther Cromwel nor Lambert would come doun, but eyther Fleetwood or Harrison ; and that impositions of ingagments and acknowledgments would speidily be putt upon us all ; and that since he saw people kept such a distance heir that he could doe no good, and therfor he would goe his waye to Bervik. At night I heard of a letter from the Chancellor to the ministers of the new Comission,³ to meet with Comittee⁴ at Dumbarton ; and that he had written to M. R. Blair, M. J. Wood, M. D. Dikson, and Mr. Ja. Durham, to be their with them, which confirmed me and S. J. Ch[eisly] in our former aprehensions written to Glascou ; lykas [the] Governor⁵ told Greenhead⁶ he lyked not their meeting so near to the Committee. . . .

¹ Robert Douglas.

² Colonel (afterwards Sir) William Lockhart.

³ The Commission appointed by the General Assembly of 1651.

⁴ The Committee of Estates.

⁵ Colonel George Fenwick.

⁶ Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead.

After prayer, that motion and regrayte of Suynnton—that uther folk was lyk to gett the start of and befor me—cam to me, wherto I aunswered that I hoped in God al the Malignants in Scotland should haive the start of me in that. . . . [I prayed for] sanctifying the visitation to us of the seaknesse of my George, and the Lady Ingleston (who was present) hir Sara, and preserving them to His service, if it may stand with His will, or sanctifying their removeal to us.

On Wednesday, 24 September, . . . wee got good by the conference on land's sine and jugment. M. R. Trayle, Hilton, M. Jhon and Rob. Allan prayed weal. . . .

On Thursday [25 September], I heard M. G. Hutchison preach weal. . . . The ministers and wee mett in S. J. Ch[eisly's]. . . . I got great libertye . . . in my prayer, . . . I have no tyme nor memorye now to sett down the particulars.

On Frayday [26 September], I took my physik, and it pleased God to blisse it to me sensibly. . . .

On Saturday [27 September], I got letters from Glascou, shewing the ministers adjourning their meiting til Tuesday nixt at Edinburgh; whair I pray the Lord God to be in the midst of us, and to direct us aright in His wayes.* . . .

On Mononday [29 September], I heard M. R. Trayle on 5 Isay. 5, 6 v. . . . Afternoon, had a long debayte with the Gouvernor,¹ anent the ingagment not to act against their forces and garrisons, which he sayd he would urge on the Provost of Edinburgh. I found that their successe elevated them very high; and told him that God would heare the groans of His oppressed ons; and proposed sundry objections against that premise which he urged.

On Tuesday, 30 September, . . . Heard M. J. Stirling on 3 v., 2 Hos.; had som conference with M. J. Guthry anent this day's meiting of the ministers, who should meet, and in what capacity; and with teares spak my feares of mixtures, which would draw on part of the

¹ Colonel George Fenwick. Wariston, like Robert Blair, had probably known Fenwick in London. He had been persecuted by the bishops as a Puritan and Nonconformist (Blair's *Life*, p. 300).

Lord's controversy on us, and produce mixt counsels and effects. At our meiting M. S. Rutherford prayed and preseided. Somthing [*sic*] spak for spending tyme in prayer, uthers for knowing heads wheron wee might agree. M. J. Carst[airs] proposed now to praye. I seconded it with teares, trimbling to speak in a publik judicatory agayne, becaus of personal guilt, miscariage in publik busines, and even unaunswerablenesse to al His favour and late rod. I pressed voluntary confession from every on, as was in 1595 and 1645;¹ . . . and that non of us could cast a stone at another, [for] who seimed freest in on poynt was guiltyest in another. And so, after tuo prayers, wherin I got accesse, as also in tuyse speaking and proposing motions for freidom of mynd without smothering their awen light or following that of uthers, it was resolved to spend the morrow in confession and prayer. . . . At night I spake freely with Glanderston.² . . .

On Wednesday, 1 October, . . . At the meiting, M. Jh. Leviston begoud, then M. S. R., then M. J. G.,³ then he layed it on me. . . . Heir I must give to my Lord my hearty thanks. . . . for His giving me His sensible presence for an houre during my confession. . . . God assisted M. J. Guthry and M. J. Carst[airs] in confession and prayer. I thought M. J. D. and M. G. H. spak both weal from great understanding, but not so much heart motion, yet with freedom in many things. M. J. Neism[ith] spak affectionatly, and M. W. Guthr[y] prayed notablye.

On Thursday, 2 October, . . . Hearing from M. J. G. and M. J. L. [? C]⁴ of mistake at my not speaking mor anent my disponing places to offensive persons, wheranent I spak

¹ The first of these references is doubtless to the well-known scene in the Little Kirk of Edinburgh, in the spring of 1596 (Calderwood's *History*, v. 406, 407). The other reference is probably to that meeting of the Commission of Assembly, shortly before the battle of Kilsyth, when the members one by one solemnly acknowledged their faults 'as the Lord touched everie man's heart and opened their mouth' (*Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, p. 28).

² William Mure of Glanderston.

³ Samuel Rutherford and James Guthrie.

⁴ James Guthrie and John Livingstone or John Carstairs.

in publik with libertye anent persons and circumstances, with desyre to conferre with any that in general was unsatisfyed. I promised to blisse God, if He would be with me in prayer—as I found indeed, and blisses Him theirfor from my very soule and heart. . . . I spak of ingaging to observe God's wayes in al tyme coming; wher I did wryte in my Sermon Book the rest of uther men's confessions.¹

On Frayday, 3 October, . . . I in prayer pressed on uthers to observe God's dealing with the publik and their awen soules. . . . I heard somthing this morning that the King was privatly killed, whither treu or not I know not. Let us see God in all. I was chalenged be M. Alexander Levis-ton of crushing a paper given be M[arquiss] of Argyle anent pryces. I told I remembred not of Argyle's speaking to me, and thes ouvertures was befor I was Clerk Register, and my advysing that busines with many, but I was not so free as I should. Then I was bidden cleare myself of compliance with this enemy, which I did, and the Lord knows I am free off. This day wee spent as the former in confession and prayer, wherof I did wryte notes in my Sermon Book, and found that many got so much good of it for the present as I thought that God directed me to move this to be our first way and work as in 1645, and 1595 befor; but, on the uther hand, I feared such a doun-sitting on the *opus operatum* of it without amendment of what is confessed, as I apprehended it would be the greatest height of provocation, wherof sundry of us gaive wairning, and desyred al to think on ouvertures and realities, and not content ourselves with papers and words, as wee had

¹ 'Those commonly called Protesters, convening at Edinburgh, did write letters to sundry parts of the kingdom, for brethren of their opinions to resort to them to hold an extra-judicial meeting (as they called it), for a conference to find out the sins of that time. At their first meeting they spent sundry dayes in fasting, praying, and confessing their sins one unto another, especially those which were more public, or the sins of their calling; yea some, more zealous than prudent, did confess very private sins; which being challenged as contrary to Scripture, charity and prudence, was forborne' (Blair's *Life*, Wodrow Society, p. 286). Blair was invited to attend, but declined (Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 559). Sixty-six in all are said to have been present (Balfour's *Historical Works*, iv. 317).

often doon and so was plagued for it, as by greatest prelatical inslavery after 1595, and Kilseyth¹ after that of 1645. . . .

On Saturday [4 October], . . . I prayed earnestly that the Lord would be with me in al debaytes this day. At meiting, instead of going on in our former work, M. P. G.² urged an advyce to be given to thes of Synod of Glascou, anent the prosecuting of the Protestation,³ which M. J. D.⁴ maynly opposed by many arguments. M. J. G., M. P. G., S. J. C.,⁵ and I urged. It was an extemporariye debayte upon som of us, but it pleased the Lord to assist me to sundry things in answer to M. J. D. . . . This spent al the foranoone from 9 houres til 3 in debayte, wherin their was som heats and reflexions, such as maid M. J. G. and Mr. Eph[raim] Melvin and M. Gab[riel] Maxwel call us a deserted meiting, and to misse God's presence amongst us, at which uthers took offence. The Lord, by M. J. D. debayte, confirmed me of my first feares and thoughts that his mingling with us would breake us, for he neyther would joyne agaynst Assemblie nor concurrence, and so would draw many off us, especyaly seing he told us that he had warrant from som eminent men of the uther syde ; which troubled me verry much and maid me the mor apprehend the motion, seing the Chancellor's⁶ letter was to him to com their, and he moved at Glascou to wryte for Argyle and Cassiles.

On Sunday [5 October], I heard Mr. S. Rutherfoord lecture weal on 143 Ps. and teach on 9 Daniel, 8, 9 v., and M. Jh. Leviston, afternoon, on 34 Exod. 9 v. . . .

On Mononday, 6 October, I heard M. G. Hutcheson on begining of 5 Job. . . . Heard confessions al day, til night that Alexander Jaffrey proposed som things in the Covenant as unlawful to swear to, Church and State,

¹ Battle of Kilsyth, 15 August 1645.

² Patrick Gillespie.

³ The Protestation against the lawfulness of the Assembly of 1651.

⁴ James Durham.

⁵ James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and Sir John Cheisly.

⁶ Earl of Loudoun.

government, etc.,¹ against which at morning sermon I got a caution not to be put by straits to quyte our integrity or principles. I feare his conversing with thir people hes shaiken him; and what be him on the on gaite, and M. J. Durham on the uther, I am the mor confirmed to absteane from intimat converse, for I see mor and mor that it shaiks men, even the fixedest, straunglye, when they converse with on enemye or another.

On Tuesday, 7 October, wee spent al day upon confessions, wherin I got good.

On Wednesday [8 October], wee spent the foranoone in prayer, and afternoon the Lord assisted me to delyver to the meiting my thoughts of the causes of God's wrayth,² which the Lord had given to me in the morning, . . . which they pressed me to draw up in writ and give it in.

On Thursday, 9 [October], al foranoon spent in my chamber by debayting with M. J. Menzies³ and Sanders Jaffray, against their paper condemning the Covenant and Presbyterial government and our work thes 14 year; and afternoon in debayting anent the Treatye and concurrence against M. Ja. Durham's objections on the uther hand, and my refusing to medle with apoynting of publik meittings; and being confirmed—by seing so worthy men, on the on syde and the uther, drawen over by societie with on enemye or the uther—to absteane the mor from publik medling or intim[ate] conversing with M[alignants] or S[ectaries]. . . .

On Frayday, 10 [October], foranoon, I drew up the causes

¹ During the five or six months after the battle of Dunbar that Jaffray was a prisoner in the hands of the English, he had frequent conferences with Cromwell, Fleetwood, and John Owen, with the result that his views concerning church-government and the Solemn League and Covenant underwent a change (*Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, 1833, pp. 38, 39). In the same chapter, he refers to his conversations in private with Wariston, James Guthrie, and John Livingstone on these matters; and also to a conference which he and Mr. John Menzies had with many good men, for several days together, in Wariston's chamber.

² Jaffray mentions that, at a meeting of the Protesters, he gave in a paper containing his thoughts on 'the causes of the Lord's controversy with the land' (*Diary of Alexander Jaffray*, 1833, pp. 40, 41).

³ John Menzies, professor of divinity, and minister of Greyfriars, Aberdeen.

of God's wrayth, read it afternoon,¹ . . . begging His presence . . . which I found in thes afternoon debayts anent the Treaty² with the King, which wee voted to haive been unlawful.

On Saturday, 11 October, foranoon, wee debayted the Publik Resolutions, and voted them unlawful, and heard of the Synod of Glascou's doing the lyk, as also their [being] against the Protestation.³ Afternoon, wee debayted the poynt of concurrence, wherin M. J. Durham had gon away from the debayte, altho he was at the former tuo; and therin I thought the Lord's presence was not so sensibly amongst us as in the uther tuo—tho al doubts was fully answered—so that in the vote sundry good men was *non liquets*, which troubled me. . . .

¹ This was probably the first draft of the quarto pamphlet entitled:—'Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland, manifested in his sad late dispensations. Whereunto is added a paper, particularly holding forth the sins of the ministry. Printed in the year 1653.' Its opening paragraph explains that it was agreed upon at a meeting in Edinburgh in October 1651. The authorship has been attributed to James Guthrie (Blair's *Life*, p. 366); and in 1661 one of the crimes laid to his charge was that he 'did contrive, write, compile, and, that it might be the more public and follow his majesty beyond seas and defame and bring him in contempt with foreign princes and states, caused print, in anno 1653, a seditious pamphlet called "The Causes of God's Wrath"' (Wodrow's *History*, 1828, i. 175). In his defence he acknowledged that he was one of those who drew up the pamphlet (*Ibid.*, i. 179); and on the day on which he was executed he emitted a declaration in which he said:—'I do own the Causes "of God's Wrath"' (*Ibid.*, i. 192); but these words may only mean that he helped to revise and enlarge it, and still adhered to it. The Committee of Estates had, in September 1660, condemned it as a book that ought not to be read or possessed by any of his majesty's lieges (*Ibid.*, i. 75, 76); and in October it had been burned by the hangman at the market-cross of Edinburgh (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 304). Next May, Christopher Higgins deponed that Mr. John Feriour gave him the MS. copy and collated the proof-sheets with that copy, and 'that Col. Fynick gave him ane verball orдор for prenting thair of' (*Acts of Parliament*, vii. app. p. 66). It was published by the 17th of March 1653 (Firth's *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 109). In 1844 it was reprinted within 320 yards of the market-cross of Edinburgh. The title-page of the reprint is disfigured by the glaringly erroneous statement, 'Agreed upon by the General Assembly, 1651.'

² The sinfulness of the Treaty with the king is expounded in *Causes of the Lord's Wrath*, 1653, pp. 52-59; and, in another edition of that year, pp. 53-60.

³ The Synod of Glasgow at this time emitted a testimony, reflecting on the Assembly of 1651 (Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 561, 562).

On Sunday, 12 [October], in the morning I was greived at yesternight's difference and debayte, and our not agreing on so eminent a cause of God's wrayth, wherin the Publik Resolutions was aproven and accomplished realy in the body of the land's actual concurring with an anti-covenanted party, in an anti-course for an anti-power to God, godlynesse and the godly, to the cause, work and people of God; and that wee restricted it overmuch to a predominant party, and was mitigating it by a conjunction with an il cause; . . . and so was at the best residing ¹ *pro tanto* from principles [of] 1648 in declarations and Solemne Ingagment, which had not thes qualifications; and so I resolved on Mononday to reade thes, and declare my adherence theirt, and apprehension of new wrayth in case wee did not also so. . . . I had gotten a letter from the M[arquis] of Argyle, to meit him at Inerarey or elswheir, but my heart and advyce of uthers stood at it; and my soule thanked God for His good providence, in thes at Stirling outing me out of al State judicatories, so that I had no calling for State considerations and designes; and therfor, being a privat man, I would not and should not, in this sinful snairful tyme ingyre myself to medle with thes partyes and busines. . . . I heard of England's maiking an Act of their title to Scotland, and of their sending comissioners to settle the civil goverment heir O Lord, direct me whither to presse the meiting of the Comission or not. . . .²

¹ Residing, *i.e.* receding.

² There are some jottings at the end of this volume, and, *inter alia*, notes of the confessions of some of the ministers at the meetings in the end of September and beginning of October, viz. :—of M. J. L[ivingstone], M. H. Mack[ail], M. W. Adair, M. G. H[utcheson?], and M. J. N[evoy?]. The confessions are of spiritual decay and weakness, formality and deadness in their ministry, etc. It is unfortunate that there is a considerable hiatus in the *Diary* at this point. Wariston's prayer for direction, whether to press for the meeting of the commission or not, obviously refers to the action which the Protesters took before closing their conference in October. As, in their opinion, the General Assembly of 1651 was not a lawful Assembly, it logically followed that the Commission appointed by that Assembly could not be regarded by them as a lawful Commission; and therefore they resolved that those members of the Commission appointed by the Assembly of 1650, who were free of defection,

10 BOOK FROM 1 APRYLE 1652¹

On Thursday morning, 1 Apryle, I heard M. H. Mackail preach upon the end of 1 Rom. I got the English votes for the incorporation,² wherin in appearance they mynd to taik away the Covenant under the nayme of oaths for kingly power, and to injoyne the Ingagement,³ and give only 21 votes to Scotland in their Parliament, which being full hes 400 English, and so allows only the 20 pairt.

Upon Frayday [2 April], I prayed on the 20 of Job, and keept afternoone the exercise in our high chalmer, wher M. R. Tr., M. G. H.,⁴ M. Th. Garvan, R. All[an] and Ja. Drumond prayed, and I closed the exercise and got liberty in recommending the caise of my wyfe (who was begun to crye) and of my chyld, and of my familie to the Lord, and then the publik business. . . . This night I sate up, and when my wyfe cryed I presented to the Lord 37 Isay 3 v., and 66 Isay 9 v., and 13 Hosea 13 v.

On Saturday morning, 3 Apryle, I got liberty in my family to recomend my present crying wyfe's caise and of the chyld, and therin of myself and familie to the Lord with teares; and haiving gon privat, and thinking that shoe had left off becaus shoe cryed not, I was wairned that it was out of very great weaknesse and that shoe was in extremity of daunger. Upon that my soule cryed and

should take the name and exercise the authority of the Commission (Blair's *Life*, pp. 286, 287). Against this decision of the Protesters the presbytery of St. Andrews adopted a declaration on the 20th of October 1651 (*Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, pp. 63, 64). On the last day of their meeting, and after John Livingstone had left, the Protesters appointed him and Robert Trail and Patrick Gillespie to visit Blair, and confer with him 'anent the present unhappy differences.' Livingstone, who esteemed Blair very highly, felt that he could not go (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 262, 263). Lamont states that Livingstone was moderator, and that the Commission 'sat about 16 or 18 dayes' (*Diary*, p. 35).

¹ So inscribed on the inner side of the front board, and, on the outside, 10.

² The incorporation of Scotland as part of the Commonwealth of England.

³ Not the Engagement of 1648; but the Engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as established without a king or house of lords.

⁴ Robert Trail and Gilbert Hall or George Hutcheson.

mourned bitterly to the Lord upon the thre passages afor-sayd ; and sent M. Jh. Oliphant, Ja. Drumond and Rob. All[an] to prayer ; and sent to al the 4 ministers of Edinburgh to recomend hir to God in their chambers ; and, whyl I am presenting strong groanes to the Lord, I heard the Lord assisting hir to gett on crye agayne, and that ther-with He brought furth to the world a daughter, an great chyld, for the which my heart in privat adored and blissed the Lord my God ; and sent word to the ministers, and prayed God befor my familie, and often thought how great a favor the Lord's sparing my wyfe was, both in regard of preventing my terrible affliction, confusion, desolation, and temptations, as also in regard of giving me this signe for good, stopping the mouthes of adversaries, which would haive been opened against me in case of that sore stroke. At night I prayed God upon 127 and 128 Ps. ; and I heard the encouraging news of the Stewartrye of Galloway giving a notable aunswear to the 3 English demands, that they could not consent to the incorporation, which was the first, that for the 2d., they should beare the indignation of the Lord as long as He pleased to continew it ; for the 3d. they knew no better ouverture nor to keepe Solemne League and Covenant.¹

On Sunday morning, 4 of Apryle, intending to baptize my daughter Janet, I did reade in my familie Gen. 17, from 6 to 15 v., then Ps. 89, from 25 to 38, . . . and I prayed heartily theirupon for my family and for the young infant, that wee might find the good of the covenant and thes promises maid good to us. . . . Between sermons, in privat, I offered up my litle daughter to the Lord as heartily and freely, and presented and consecrated hir to be the Lord's in soule and body, lyfe and death, as I had presented any of the rest befor to Him, and I am sure mor heartily nor ever any witch offerd up hir chyld to hir master the divel when he gives them their second sight. . . . Then I read the 28 ch. of the [Westminster] Confession, and the Catechisme, Large and

¹ See *The Cromwellian Union*, Scottish History Society, pp. 118-120.

Short, about baptisme, with al the passages of Scripture cited thereon. . . . In the church by ejaculations my soule renewed the same, and remembred the Lord of my particular covenant befor, seven tymes renewed with Him, for me and my seed. Upon which the Lord brought to my mynd and putt it in my heart to maik this the eight solemne tyme of renewing it at this sacrament (seing I had not the oportunity of the Lord's Supper), and that for myself, my wyfe, and al my nyne children, whom their I naymed to the Lord, Archibald, Jhon, Sanders, Elizabeth, Rachel, Helein, Margret, Anna, and now Janet, al whom in the church I inwardly from my soule devoted, dedicated, consecrated, gaive up and resigned over unto the Lord. . . . And so, when I held up the chyld, my soule presented al the roots and branches to Him, to be maid partakers of al the eight benefits befor mentioned ; and when I returned to the family I got great liberty in privat renewing of the sam, and in publik praying in my familie upon the same. . . .

On Mononday morning, 5 Apryle, I prayed on midle of 21 Job, heard M. T. Garvan, on 2 Josh. from 14 v., doe right weal. I got after desner great liberty in the grace, and good in privat at night, and in my family exercise on the end of 21 Job, especyaly upon the coincidence of my greatest desyre with His greatest offer, promise, delyght, union of my spirit with Himself, threw the Son, by His Sprite. . . .

Wednesday [7 April]. . . . I heard straunge reports of the preparations of Holland for the warre with England, and that the Inglish Comissioners wer recalled, and wer to presse som subscription or persecution of opposers. I did wryte West to Glascow and Stirling, and South, and to M. S. R.¹ for telling me of the best young man to supplye Currye kirk. I heard of the Inglish Comissioners speaking of me as their greatest enemye ; and that I would be putt to ingage or to suffer ; and that er long som Scots ministers would be putt to mor silence or to suffering, as Mr.

¹ Samuel Rutherford.

[Christopher] Love was. Then at night I found the Lord's assisting of me to resolve the advisandums anent Caithnesse and Orknaye their plantation by the Comissioners apoynted by former General Assembly.¹

On Thursday, 8 [April], . . . M. P. G. wyfe² told me of the notable death of Commissary Lokhart's³ wyfe in Glasgow, whair shoe spak lyk Margret Mitchel,⁴ much of God's majesty, and then of the creature's vyldnesse, and then of His love to His work and remnant in Scotland, for whom shoe putt up many notable prayers, aye with this confiding clause, *and Thou wilt doe it, O Lord*; and then spak against the apostasye of the tymes and that hir brother and husband's fall had brought on hir death. . . . Major Jhonston told me that Col. Tichburne, on of the Inglish comissioners, sayd I was unworthy to be suffered to live in any comonwealth, for I could not live in peace under any authority; and that their was an Act coming to them after which, if the ministers wer not mor quyet, their would foorscore of them goe the gayte that Mr. Love gaed.

On Frayday morning [9 April], I prayed with liberty on 27 Job. . . . I got an incouraging letter from M. J. Leviston and a letter from Brodye⁵ to justefye the paper of Murray⁶ which was rejected by the Inglish Comissioners, with reflexions on him. His letter and Mr. Love his *Vindication*⁷ maid my soule mor and mor abhorre jouking and jugling in the mater of testimonyes. . . . I heard their was lyk to be a great dinne in the Synod of

¹ Among the unprinted Acts of the Assembly of 1649 there were two, respectively entitled—'Commission for visitation of Rosse, Sutherland and Caithnes,' and 'Commission for visitation of Orknay, Zetland, Sutherland and Caithnes.'

² Patrick Gillespie's wife.

³ George Lockhart of Tarbrax was appointed Commissary of Glasgow in 1647 (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part i. p. 780).

⁴ For Wariston's opinion of Margaret Mitchel or Mitchelson, see his *Diary*, i. 385, 393.

⁵ Alexander Brodie of Brodie.

⁶ See *The Cromwellian Union*, Scottish History Society, pp. 112-115, 161-163.

⁷ *A Vindication of England's Distemper*, 1651.

Glasgow and Fyfe both; and that Argyle¹ was resolved to give his subjection and alledgiance, tho thir people gaive no satisfaction in maters of religion, wheranent his remonstrance wil show the difference of his jugment. As for thir news of peace or warre between Ingland and Holland I putt them over upon the Lord to overrule maters so as may caive most of His mercye to His oppressed people in thes covenanted nations. I saw in a *Diurnal* that the States of Holland was persecuting on Mr. Stormont for preaching weal anent the agreiment of God's enemyes against His people, which portended a storme to them alsweil as Mr. Love's death did another to Ingland. He can maik treu the old motto between them in the pitchers swiming on a watter with *si collidimur frangimur*. I was diverted this day from keeping the exercise in our family by M. M. Murray² his mariage, and by my neice hir physik. I got liberty in wryting a letter to the Chancellor,³ and in praying on 27 Job, and a letter to Arbuthnot.⁴

On Saturday morning [10 April], I prayed on begining of 28 Job, and then mett with M. Jh. Menzeis and heard the reasons of his protestation against thes mett from Dundie, on taiken from their waunt of civil power, another from the unlawfulness of that assembly. And then I forwairned him least Mr. Lockier⁵ should draw him on to give petitions to the English Comissioners with al their titles, and draw on preparative of their visiting the colleges and putting out al [who] wil not give acknowledgment and

¹ In his letter of 23rd March to the Commissioners of the English Parliament Argyle had expressed his willingness to do all which 'with a safe conscience' he might 'for the peace and union of this Island' (*Scotland and the Commonwealth*, Scottish History Society, pp. 37, 38). For a summary of the English negotiations with him, see *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxiii.

² In the *Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595-1700*, Scottish Record Society, p. 508, the 8th of April 1652 is given as the date of the marriage of Mr. Mungo Murray and Agnes Johnstoun. Next month he is mentioned as depute clerk of the bills (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 95).

³ The Earl of Loudoun.

⁴ Viscount Arbuthnot.

⁵ Nicholas Lockier was one of the ministers appointed by the English Council of State, on 21st November 1651, to go to Scotland with the Commissioners from Parliament (*Domestic Calendar, 1651-1652*, p. 28).

ingagment to them, and scandalize al the godly in the South and West and heir, and confirme al the sclanders rayseed against him. I pressed him to meet and 'debayte with M. S. R., M. J. G., and M. P. G.¹ and the ministers of the West and Edinburgh, befor he did it rashly, seing that was thought his fault. And then, for a tayste that something might be sayd in it, I gaive him my paper anent titles and acknowledgments, wherupon I begge the Lord . . . His blissing upon it that somthing of it, som passage in it, may stick with him and cause him suspend his hand and taik it to a new advisandum altho he had no scruple in it for the present, tho to deterre him I told him of the terrible jugling in Mr. Love his *Vindication*, and [of] the speeches of Col. Lokhart's sister and M. Sa. Ruth[erfurd's] letter; and pressed him to meet and debayte with the uther servants of God befor he ingaged himself. Lord, saive and preserve Thy servant from this sinne, scandal and snaire, for Christ's saike; and, seing he urged Mr. Love's arguments and the praying for the present magistrats, assist me to think upon thes tuo and cleir my sprite anent them both. This day the Lord I thought assisted me indeed to think on thes tuo things, and I sett Mr. R. T. and M. J. St.² upon Mr. J. Meinzeis. This day the Lord discovered the thifts of on M. Jh. Wallace who had preached in pulpits of Edinburgh and was thought to haive good giftes. He had stollen many of my bookes out of the Castel,³ wheirof I got som agayne. I got great liberty in praying at night upon end of 28 Job.

On Sunday morning [11 April], I prayed on first pairt of 29 Job. I had wryten yesternight to my Lady Argyle to remember hir husband of first tuo and foor last verses of 29 Proverbes, which did me good. . . .

On Tuesday morning [13 April], I was busie wryting notes upon the ouvertures presented by M. J. D. to

¹ Samuel Rutherford, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gillespie.

² Robert Trail and John Stirling.

³ Wariston had probably deposited these books for safety in Edinburgh Castle, along with the 'great book' (*supra*, p. 2), on the day that Cromwell and his army crossed the Tweed.

Comittee of Synod in Glascow for uniting the ministers.¹ . . . Foranoon I sought the Lord's direction whither I should aunswer M. P. G.² letter with the ouvertures by modest queries or positive assertions of the contrarye ; and, haiving sought God's direction be lott, I was aunswered—Not be positive peremptory assertions to aunswer him, but modestly to propone questions and objections. . . .

Upon Wednesday morning [14 Aprill], . . . I was greived to heare of M. Jh. Meinzeis haiving given titles to the English Commissioners, and seeking redresse of the visitation of the College intending to depose him, and lykwayes of the new magistrates sumonding him not to goe out of the toun, under certification of deprivation and declaring his place in ministrye and college vacant and filling the same agayne.

On Thursday morning, 15 Apryle, I . . . heard M. Jh. Stirling preach ; . . . heard from my Lady Loudoun, St. Jhon's³ hard taiking with hir. Was at Tho. Magdugal's son Thomas' baptisme, whair I presented to my Lord roote and branch of our family to be His. . . . My soule . . . blissed the Lord . . . and begged His blissing on thes queeres. . . . I was troubled to heare that thes in Glascow had presented them to the ministers of Edinburgh their consideration, which I told to M. P. G. wyfe, who from him had assured me that he would not medle in them, and in his letter he sayd he was undetermined in any of thes things. Shoe dyned with me, and after desner I got ane exceeding great liberty in the grace. . . .

On Frayday [16 Aprill], . . . this day I did wryte fully to M. P. G. and to M. J. Guthrye, and sent the queeres to them and heard that the Chancellor⁴ was forfault and uther 27 noblemen and gentlemen. I conferred long with Cesnok⁵ and Cunninghamheed,⁶ and told them freely my mynd in al things past and present. I was dis-

¹ For these ouvertures by Durham, see Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 185, 186.

² Patrick Gillespie.

³ Oliver St. John, Lord Chief-Justice of Common Pleas.

⁴ The Earl of Loudoun.

⁵ Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnok.

⁶ Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead.

apoynted of our intended meeting becaus of the magistrats of Edinburgh distracting their ministers about the principal's place¹ to which they naymed M. J. Fairly and M. W. Colvin. Mr. Ro. Laury urged the last becaus of the new motion of the union. . . .

On Saturday [17 April], I gott M. J. G. letter shewing his dissatisfaction at the ouverture in Fyfe, and desyre of a meiting on 28 Apryle to advyse amongst ourselves about the conference which the Synod of Fyfe hes apoynted heir 12th May. . . . When I went out, Major Jhonston told me from Douning that as ther was 28 forfault so their was many sequestrat, and among uthers he naymed my Lord Brodye and me; another sayd it was only in case wee subscriyved not the Ingagment befor the 1 of July. This I told to my wyfe, and withal desyres not to receave it as a comoun report of news, but to goe to God with it and compleane to my Lord of al the wrongs men shal doe to my soule or bodye or estate or nayme. O Lord, men's hearts and hands, tounge and votes ar in Thy hand; let me find eyther it is not treu, or it is not evil but good for Thy nayme, work and people, and for my soule and familye. . . . After desner haiving told the Lady Libertoun² of hir goodson's forfaulture, I got a long, great spritual liberty in the grace. That night I cam out to Riccarton, heard M. D. Kenedy pray.

Sunday [18 April], I prayed, upon occasion of my sequestration, on thes passages of 1 and 2 Job—God did give and hes taiken, blessed be His nayme, and shal wee receave good and not evil from the Lord, and Job sined not with his lips nor charged God foolishly. I remembred the Lord did maik me be borne to a good estate of my gushir and grandshir,³ and then maid them dispose of that utherwayes; then when my gudam⁴ on

¹ John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh University, died in 1651, apparently towards the end of the year (Dalzel's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, ii. 161).

² George Winram of Liberton, a lord of session, had died of his wounds within eight days after the battle of Dunbar (Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 342).

³ Grandfather and great-grandfather.

⁴ Grandmother.

deathbed sayd, and many thought, I would get my uncle's estate, the Lord disposed otherwayes. Then when He had first settled me in a good condition by first mariage He cancelled it; then when by entring advocat and getting much imployment it was thought I might gett means, He diverted me from that to His publik busines; and when I had spent al my estate and was putt to a desperat condition in 1648 and intended to quyte the land, the Lord restored my estate and maid it better then befor and payed al my debt; so that, tho God can taik it away what in a special way He gaive me, I haive reason to saye as Job sayd, and to live by fayth on Him who can give againe alsweil as He did befor. . . .

Tuesday, 20 [April]. . . . After incoming I heard of the confirmation of my sequestration. . . . I found the Advocat and Tofts¹ persuading Lady Loudoun to supplicat the English. . . .

On Wednesday, 21 Apryle, . . . whyl I was wryting, the drums beat and trumpets sounded at the proclamation of the Incorporation. O Lord, Thou knows whither Thou sayes an amen to it not only in Thy secret decree, but in Thy revealed will which is our rule, and whither Thou would have us according to the law and testimonye saying amen to it. O Lord my God, direct me how to carry myself in relation to it. Every body heard the great shoutes was maid after the proclamation; but about at 6 at night every on observed the terriblest thunder and greatest rayne that hes been heard and seen this long whyle,² just lyk that which fell out on the Blak Parliament 1621 at ratification of the Fyve Articles of Perth,³ so that this day of union and incorporation is lyke to be a remarkable daye. . . .

On Thursday [22 April], . . . I heard of our deputes

¹ The reference is obviously to Thomas Nicolson, who had been appointed Lord Advocate in March 1649, and to Sir Alexander Belches of Tofts, who had been appointed a lord of session in 1646.

² Nicoll, after giving a brief summary of the proclamation, explains the form of the English ceremonial of proclamations, but says nothing about the thunder (*Diary*, pp. 92, 93).

³ See Calderwood's *History*, vii. 505.

giving in a list of 14 for sessioners, and getting a discharge of sequestrations except of thes hes been or was prisoners in this warre or slayne in it since Dumbar; and that they got power to plant kirks with what ministers they pleased if they took the Tender¹ and wer not grosly scandalous. . . .

On Frayday [23 April], . . . I blissed Him [the Lord] in my heart that I heard the news of my sequestration was false, for I lyked not the temptation of it least it did draw me into snares. . . . I intend to keepe this day and seek Thy direction to me anent this mater of the union, as M. J. G.² is doing the lyk this day in his familie. Wee spent then in prayer and conference the afternoon. . . . I blissed God, and so did uthers, for my wyfe's recovery, and for which wee had prayed at the last exercise wee had of this kynd togethir.

On Saturday [24 April], . . . I got a letter from M. Rutherford comending much on M. Jh. [sic] Wallat³ to me as a most experienced young man in al practical divinetye.

On Sunday [25 April], . . . this day both my sister's son Thomas and my eldest daughter fell seik of a fever. . . .

On Tuesday [27 April], . . . heard of English commissioners intending to goe away this week, and speaking against me for not coming to them.⁴

On Wednesday [28 April], I recommended earnestly my daughter and Thomas Burnet to the Lord and found their fever to grow. . . . M. Ja. Guthrye's pacquet to me was sayd to be lost so that I knew not what to doe anent our meiting. I got an angry letter from M. P. G.⁵ anent my querees and his refusal to keep meittings. I got a letter from M. S. R.⁶ highly recommending on M. Ja. [sic] Wallate to me for Currye. I mett with M. Dav. Dikson.

¹ The Tender of the English Parliament that Scotland should be incorporated in the English Commonwealth.

² James Guthrie.

³ Wallat is a form of Welwood.

⁴ They intended to leave Dalkeith next day (*Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 42). They were back in the English Parliament on the 11th of May (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 532).

⁵ Patrick Gillespie.

⁶ Samuel Rutherford.

On Frayday and Saturday [29 and 30 April], . . . I heard the Inglish comissioners wer gon, wondering at my straungenesse to them. My soule—remembring how earnestly I wished at their douncoming to have been in Orknay or France whyl they wer heir for feare of sines, snares and scandal, and my earnest and frequent petitions to the Lord to keepe me from thes thre notwithstanding their coming—blissed now most heartily the Lord my God for guyding the mater so between them and me, as He maid them to cause my distance from them, and me not to converse with them and to be free of al temptations from them, that they ar returned without my insnairment by them or ingagement to them; for the which, agayne and agayne, I blisse my God; and for His keeping me the sam waye from snares and scandals in my youth when my blood was hote enough, by His causing me absteane from the societyes whair their was temptations, provocations and occasions. . . . I got M. J. G.¹ letter bidding me not feare becaus of sequestration for our heavenly Fayther knows what wee stand in need of. . . . I heard the Inglish had naymed Craighal, Col. Lokhart and Suynton for our Scots juges, with 4 Inglishes,² and naymed M. Th. Henderson and Wm. Douny and on Waird for clerks; and was dealing with M. David Hay. Both he and M. Jh. Hay sought my advyce. I told them I could give no uther to any then I took to myselfe, which was according to my light to absteane from every thing was sine and would draw doun wrayth; but I could bid nobody suffer but upon ther awen light and persuasion and upon no uther man's principles. I counselled them to advyse with God and with His servants, and trye what was requyred of them and then follow the light that God should give them; as for me I behooved to suffer losse of al befor I tooke their Ingagment, which I heard was to be pressed upon all. Craighal sayd every clerk was to haive an 100 pound Sterling but without taiking any fees, which indeed would not interteane them and their men. I heard Mr. Douning

¹ James Guthrie.

² See *infra*, p. 167, n.

had gotten my place, and was Master of the Rolles heir. I thank the Lord non of thir things troubled me, albeit I saw it would com to my giving back som things which I had gotten, my heart so blisshed God for keeping me from the sine as I was not troubled at the losse; and the Lord's imploying stil my head in things that concerned His glory, cause, covenant and people, and assisting me even now in them; and verefying my innocency of the calumnies wherwith both enemyes had aspersed me; held up my head and heart from any dejection or commotion at men's putting me out of external callings and imployments, and that for my faythfulnesse to Chryst and distance from them; wheras the Lord might justly haive putt me out with shayme and disgrace for my wronging of Him and His in my publik callings, even in that of the Clerk Register, wherin I heynously offended in the mater of the Act about the exercise of the King's power, for which I craive my Lord's pardon and blisseth Him for His goodnesse that chayngeth punishment dew for sine into an honourable, profitable, pleasant crosse for Jesus Christ, His cause and people, and for a good conscience to God and men. . . .

On Tuesday [4 May], I heard on Dikson,¹ Moderator of Synod of Louthian, preach or reade rayther a tight [?light] neat English sermon on 16 Rom. 18, 19, 20 v. . . . I did heare thes of Fyfe would not meet with M. J. G., M. P. G.² and uthers deposed and was dealing by Durye for the Englishes overseing³ their meiting upon underhand assurance that they should not medle with the Englishes.

On Wednesday [5 May], . . . wrote to Argyle, M. J. Leviston and uthers; conferred freely with M. D. Dikson; heard of a fyre in the Synod of Lauthian wher they asserted the authority of the laite Generall Assembly,⁴ and had a paper of vyld aspersions upon us that sat as Comission

¹ Apparently Alexander Dickson of Kirkurd, or John Dickson of Barra, or William Dickson of Glenholm.

² James Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie.

³ Overseing, *i.e.* overlooking, ignoring.

⁴ The Assembly of 1651.

'50,¹ against which thes of our number protested. M. D. D.² sayd theyr was not a member of the Church of Scotland would question Assemblie's authority, and so thought us no members. . . .

On Thursdave [6 May], I was affrighted by my daughter Elizabeth's inclyning to be siatyke[?] and in a consumption, from which my heart prayed the Lord to preserve hir. I had som debayte with Mr. D. D. about ther rejecting the offered Acts of the Assembly and their admitting the pairtyes to juge in the exceptions proposed agaynst themselves. I heard of the Synod discharging al to wryte, preach or speak against the laite Assembly, but to doe al three for it. And tuo things was most remarkable, that their moderator spak, when on objected this was not the way to peace and union, he sayd the asserting of that Assembly and punishing opposers was the best way of peace; and so they haive taiken up the naymes of al dissenters and intends to processe them. Another when it was objected that som reuling elders was their who had taiken the Tender, they sayde that was a busines of mor publik concernment then they would medle with. And when it was objected that uthers had broken the Act of the Generall Assembly by calling hom Mr. W. Colvin,³ it was sayde—Straunge that som men cryed up on Assembly and not another. Al which shews what this meeting of 12 May wil turne to, the censuring of the dissenters and complying with the Englishes. . . . I heard that the Englishes themselves thought hard to sequestrate men from their places of benefite if they wer not utherwyse sequestrable; but that it was our awen people did the wrong. . . .

On Frayday [7 May], . . . I begged of the Lord to pre-serve my poor daughter from hir consumption. I spake with M. Ja. Wallat, whom I found a practical, experienced

¹ The Commission appointed by the Assembly of 1650. See *supra*, p. 150, n.

² David Dickson.

³ This minister of the Tron Church was deposed by the Assembly of 1649 for favouring the Engagement (Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 92, 96, 105; Balfour's *Historical Works*, iii. 418, 419).

Christian. I heard of the Synod's nayming M. Jh. Waugh, M. A. Steinson, M. R. Ker,¹ Dikson, and present Moderator, with M. D. Dikson, to be comissioners, limited to doe nothing prejudicial to former Acts of the late Assembly, and not to conferre with the deposed brether nor look on them as ministers; and power to call an Generall Assembly; and that they would not reade the protestations of som brethren; and that Mr. G. Hucheson was much displeased at their waye.

On Saturday, 8 May, my wyfe in the morning, as the night befor also, told me of our new Scots lords saying that, seing they putt out the old clerks, they behooved to see them gett their money agayne; and that on Waird, who had been seeking to lodge in this house, had gotten M. G. Gibson's place. Uthers had told me that the Synod was mynded to processe al within their bounds that did not submitt to the Generall Assembly, especyaly who did wryte against it as I did. . . . My wyfe told me of much speaking against me for taiking sylver for places if I did not now restore it. My awen mynd found an uncounesse and deadnesse of my sprite in exercises. Al thir coming on me at once, a rod as it wer on my awen mynd and body both by my great defluxion, then on my daughter, then on my nayme, then on my place [and] estate, jumbled and perplexed me. . . . Tho the Lord should suffer men to taik from me al I haive, yet I would and should depend on [Him], albeit it seimes my ruyme, even as I might haive learned by experience of His taiking al from me that I had gotten and settled upon in my first mariage, and yet He provyded als weil for me afterward; and so when in Ineraray I thought I was ruyned He agayne provyded for me. . . .

On Sunday, 9 May, . . . I heard Wm. Douny had accepted of a clerkship and M. Th. Henderson had not as yet. . . .

On Mononday [10 May], . . . I begged that the Lord would so overrule this intended meeting this week of thes

¹ John Waugh, M.A., Borrowstounness; Andrew Stevinson, M.A., Dunbar; Robert Ker, M.A., Haddington.

that was violent for the Publik Resolutions as might wryte in their browes what is in their hearts, both in relation to Thy people and witnesses and in relation to the Englishes, and taik Thou them in the devyces they haive intended for catching uthers. . . . This day I was convinced of God's good providence in casting to my hand out of M. D. Cald[erwoo]d's books,¹ a little old thing for Uniformity, and another against Subscription, and a 3d. the Confession of Separatists. The midle spake so punctually to the present caise and temptation as to guaird me against the sam. . . . I heard of M. P. G. and M. A. C.² coming to Edinburgh.

On Tuesday [11 May], . . . was troubled when I heard of sundry their fearing my daughter's caise becaus of hir legge lyke to breake and rune out the substance of hir bodye, which maid me crye to the Lord to prevent it and the feared consumption, and to preserve hir to Himself. I shifted M. Al. Strong,³ and did wryte in for M. Ja. Wallate; and told my apprehensions of this meiting . . . to M. P. G. and M. Al. [?M. A. C.] that it would tend to a correspondence with the Englishes, persecution of the dissenters, and calling of a Generall Assembly . . . I heard the new juges had readmitted M. W. Haye and that William Douny had sworne the Tender (wherat I was sorry becaus of his profession) and M. Mungo Murray also, and that Jhon Henderson had gon mad. . . . At night I got a letter from M. J. G.⁴ shewing that he thought my aunswers very useful agaynst H. papers, and desyred me to comuncate it to freinds; then my wyfe got another letter shewing of Elizabeth's being much better al that daye. . . . I went to Ingleston and spake with M. P. Gillespye.

On Wednesday [12 May], I did wryte to M. Ja. Guthrie to recomend my daughter to the Lord. I did

¹ Calderwood, who had died on the 29th of October 1650, had left a collection of books valued at a thousand merks. They filled at least fourteen 'kists,' one of which had been deposited in Edinburgh Castle before that stronghold was surrendered to Monk (Calderwood's *History*, viii. pp. xv-xvi).

² Patrick Gillespie and Andrew Cant.

³ Probably Alexander Strang afterwards of Durrisddeer.

⁴ James Guthrie.

wryte also to M. A. Cant and Mr Rutherford to keepe their hands frie at this meiting. I heard of that meiting's choysing M. Ja. Wood moderator, and apoynting som to speake with the dissenters and desyryng them to com befor their meiting and object what they had to saye against their laite Generall Assembly. . . .

On Thursday [13 May] . . . I got som good news of my daughter Elspet's bettering. . . .

On Frayday, 14 May, in the midst of the night my wyfe and I was sudanly wakned and raysed to see our daughter Anna in extremity of an terrible agonye without possibility of speaking bot a continual feyghting with airmes and legges and rising with hir teeth. . . . After this I heard of the Edinburgh meiting choysing M. Blair moderator, and proposing the ouverture of keeping the nixt General Assemblye and urging the Protesters to concurre therin, which they refused til the rest of their number mett and advysed. And then I saw a pasquil sett up against Mr. Blair, Rutherford, Cant, Dikson, Gilespy, and Guthry, and I heard of the deposed ministers meeting, fasting and preaching in the Tailyors' Hall,¹ and sending som of their number to the meeting, telling them that, if they would not repone them, they would think on wayes of their awen reposition themselves, alsweil as uthers, [who] continowed preaching notwithstanding their depositions. Theirafter, whyl I was reading on Dayrel,² I was called on a sudainty dounstaires to see Anna dye. . . . This is the 2d chyld of myn Thou hes called this year alreadye, O Lord, my Fayther, saive and spaire the rest to Thy awen use. . . . I heard afternoone that litle Anna in the night cryed ay, Fayther, Fayther, pitye me; and that thes wer hir last words. . . . It pleased [Him] this day that He took my daughter to bring M. Ja. Wallate to my house, who, I think, if he wer by God's good hand on us planted in Curry kirk, might be very steadable and comfortable to us, and he prayed weal that night.

¹ The Tailors' Hall is in the Cowgate. Several important meetings of the Covenanters were held in it in 1638.

² Probably John Darrell. See Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, ii. 117-122.

On Saturday [15 May], . . . I heard of the meiting of Edinburgh dissolving and setting doune their Comission to call a Generall Assembly [on the] 2 Wednesday of Julye ; and Mr. Cant and Rutherfurd desyred a meiting of the dissenters on the nixt Thursdays. This daye I buried my daughter Anna. And after the buryal I gotte a letter from the new juges to come in on Tuesdays and bring in al the records and papers belonging to the Sessione which they wer informed that I had ; wherupon, without consulting with the Lord (for the which I begge His pardon), and without stinting at som interrupting thoughts, I did wryte back to Craighal¹ my haiving non of them, and my desyre of his excusing me to the rest. I begoud to apre-hend the desseigne is to draw me into snares or sufferings ; and who knowes but the Lord His removing my daughter is to wairne and airme me to be very tender against al temptations of the tymes ? . . .

On Sunday [16 May], I heard that Sanders was very seak, which troubled me the mor becaus of my wyfe's not mending hir neglect of privat exercise, wherof when I told hir shoe took not weal, which redoubled my trouble. I meditated in the yaird on thes passages of Leigh about afflictions. . . . M. Ja. Wallat expounded weal the 95 Ps. . . . He taught notablie al daye on 12 Hebr. 28 and 29 v. . . . In the going to the kirk I went throu on sheet of the Catechisme with my family ; and in returning from it I repeated to them the sermons. . . . After supper M. J. Wallate prayed . . . and wee recomended my two sons to the Lord, who had layd them seak in their beds.

¹ On the 3rd of May 'Thair wes publicatioun and intimatioun maid at the mercate croce of Edinburgh in solempne maner anent the establisching of judges to sit in sessioun quhair of fyve Englisches and thrie Scottis. The names of the Scottis ar these, Sir Johnne Hope of Craighall, Collonell Lokhart, and the Laird of Swintoun ; the Englische names ar these, Maister Moislle, Maister March, Maister Owen, and Maister Smith' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 93). Both Nicoll (*ibid.*, p. 122) and Lamont (*Diary*, p. 53) speak of Craighall as 'preses.' Craighall had been appointed an ordinary lord of session in 1632 (Brunton and Haig's *Senators*, p. 289). Nicoll should have said four (not five) English judges (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. p. 747 ; *Domestic Calendar*, 1651-1652, p. 210). Lamont gives five, the first Englishman in his list being 'Coll. George Fennick' (*Diary*, p. 42).

On Mononday [17 May], I blissed God that I heard of M. Jh. Veich¹ his comunion, and desyred liberty to goe their, for which I must depend on the Lord's providence in His removing seaknesse from my family, keeping me from snares and daungers by thir new juges, and directing me anent our Thursday's meeting of dissenters. . . . This daye the Lord maid my son Sandy to blead. . . . After prayer got Craighall's aunsuer shewing they wer satisfied with my letter and excused me of incoming. . . .

On Tuesday [18 May], . . . I was troubled to heare of Mr. Knox[']s² proposition at the laite meiting against a rumor of the dissenters willingnesse of joyning with som few men as Mr. Blair, Dik,³ Durham, and som suchlyk, but not with the Kirk of Scotland ; and Mr. Blair's terrible aunsuer that he had oft heard it and als oft abhorred it ; and that M. J. G. sayd he feared many should inclyne to concurre in this nixt Assemblye. . . .

This Thursdaye [20 May], I went to the toune praying for the Lord's presence on me at this meeting, wher the Lord was pleased to assist me in the debaytes anent non-concurring with the Assembly and giving in a testimoney against their constitution, to the satisfaction of manye, for the which at night my heart blissed the Lord God, and withal begged His continuance with me in thir debaytes til the end. I was glayd and blissed God for the union of the meiting for thes poynts after debayte, and then I earnestly prayed the Lord to pitye me anent my daughter, of whom the doctor and lady and my sister told me that they wer all aprehensive of an consumption to hir. . . .

On Frayday [21 May], . . . I saw a greater bakwardnesse in som men, and many debaits in effect contrary to what wee agreed upon yesternight. We naymed som propositions as it wer to be presented to the nixt meeting. Wee agreed to haive a testimoney against the nixt meeting

¹ At this time John Vetché was minister of Robertson, and his son John minister of Westruther.

² Probably Robert Knox, M.A., minister of Kelso (*supra*, p. 105).

³ David Dickson.

of Assembly, and after noon debayted about the proposals to be maid to them. . . .

On Saturday [22 May], I drew up, as it was layd on me, reasons to convince the Protesters against the acts of the last Assembly, that they could not concur in this without passing from their protestations. . . . I spak with M. D. Hay and M. Ja. Balfour, and shew that I should deale conscientiously with them and shayre in their losses for the cause. . . .

On Mononday [24 May], . . . this day we agreed on som reasons to be sent to the several nuikes of the countrey against concurring with this Assembly. My heart blessed the Lord that maid us so weal to agree and pairt so, al satisfyed against concurrence in the nixt Assembly.

On Tuesday morning [25 May] I prayed on end of 7 and beg[inning] of 8 Prov. and heard M. Th. G.¹ upon 1 Col. 16, and found my sprit vaiging whyl my hand [was] wryting. After sermon the Lord in His providence brought to my hand, by James Lauson out of M. D. C[a]lderwood's] books, several old books betuix the Brounests and aunsuerers to them, and that just in the very nick of tyme wherin S. J. Ch[eisly] told me of Col. Lokhart's gathering a new congregation which was to begin and meet at his chalmer on Saturday nixt. The jumping of which tuo together by providence with M. A. Cant's coming in and desyring me to wryte to thes in Aberdein to prevent the lyk, I thought held out som call from the Lord to me to peruse the books, and look over thes things which was now most lyk to trouble the Church of Scotland. This afternoone I heard of men's putting me to the quyting what I had gotten for the places, wherin I was willing to shaire most in the losses of conscientious men who suffered for not daring to taik their oathes. When at night I was somewhat heavy at the aparent aproching ruine of my estate, I got good in meditation and prayer on my ordinary from 11 to 22 v. of 8 Proverbs. . . .

¹ Thomas Garvan?

On Wednesday, 26 May, . . . I was troubled to heare of my daughter's legge lyk to break out agayne. . . . I got liberty in the grace in the Sheins, and then I walked an houre in the yaird remembring the Lord and my awen soule of His goodnesse to me in that place in 1633. . . .

On Thursday [27 May], . . . I begged to haive the Lord's direction to me anent settling with the clerks in a con-
scionable, honest way acceptable to Him. . . .

On Frayday [28 May], . . . I read al day on Mr. Jacob and Fr. Jhonson aunsuer to him.¹ At night I heard of the sea feyght betuixt the Inglish and Holland fleete,² wherein I thought it a remarkable providence of God yoaking thes tuo nations (who caired so litle for religion, and allowed a toleration of al opinions and practises in God's maters), and that for their idolized honor and wealth by trade, upon the puntillo of vayling the bonnet³ to other, and that albeit al the world from reason jug'd non of the tuo such fooles as to fall by the eares in blood. . . .

On Saturday [29 May], . . . I heard that their was som commotions in Ingland about Cromwel, Braidshaw,⁴ and Lambert, their differences, and som report that the Inglishes had gotten the worse from the Hollanders.

On Sunday, 30 May, . . . I found much lyfe and love in M. S. R. lettres, written when he was banished to Aiberdein.⁵ . . .

¹ 'A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of Englande, written against the . . . Brownists,' etc., in two parts, 4to, by Henry Jacob, was printed at Middelburg, in 1599 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, xxix. 117). Next year Francis Johnson published 'An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England,' to which was appended 'An Answer to . . . his Treatise concerning the Priestes of the Church of England' (*Ibid.* xxx. 10).

² This was apparently the battle in the Downs, in which 'the Dutch had the worst, losing in this fight two ships and an hundred and fifty men' (*Baker's Chronicle*, 1660, p. 532).

³ Dipping the flag, or, as it is otherwise put, refusing to strike the top-sail.

⁴ John Bradshaw.

⁵ In 1664 the first edition was published of 'Joshua Redivivus or Mr. Ruthersford's Letters, divided in two parts: the first containing these which were written from Aberdeen, where he was confined by a sentence of the High Commission, . . . the second containing some which were written from Anwoth, . . . St. Andrews, London, etc.' The Aberdeen letters are two hundred and

On the Wednesday, 2 June, wee kept privat exercise in Ingleston, whier M. G. Hall and Mr. Ephram¹ lectured notablye weall upon the 143 Ps. . . .

On Thursday [3 June], . . . this day I meits and conferres al day with Provest Jaffraye, and told him both my mynd against their separat congregation, and his taiking their² imployment and Ingagment, and urged his delaying of both til our nixt meiting in July, and shew the first to be contrary to Christ's ordinance 18 Math. . . . and that the Ingagment taiking seimed to me to be contrary to our deuty and the Lord's will in relation to His inflicted jugment, to our prayers and His promises for delyvery out of our captivetye. . . . This night a lieutenant and a minister with thre uthers comes to quarter on me, and lyes in my awen bedd, and forces me to reteyre to Riccarton for a bed, which jumbled me, especyaly when I saw it was a designe to draw me unto snaires be debaytes, as they had sayd befor they cam out of Edinburgh, which also agreed with Alexander Jaffraye[']s wairning to me, that the Englishs had once thoughts of endyting me for spreading papers against them. When I cam to Riccartoun I got liberty in prayer and grace after reading my ordinary in 14 Prov. . . .

On Frayday [4 June], whyl I was begging a blissing on my conference with Sanders Jaffrey and papers to M. D. D.³ wheranent I heard he had sayd to my wyfe that he and I would soone agree, I was called to receave letters wherin the newes of the Hollanders beating the English ships was confirmed; and withal Lo. Arbuthnot's letter⁴ shew to me the surrender of Denoter on baise conditions,⁵

fifteen in number; the others, seventy-one. John Row, who died in 1646, states that some people had begun to gather these letters and had 'wholl books full of them' (Row's *History*, Wodrow Society, p. 396).

¹ Ephraim Melville.

² Their, *i.e.* the English.

³ David Dickson.

⁴ Robert, first Viscount Arbuthnot.

⁵ For the Articles of Agreement between the representative of the English Parliament and Captain George Ogilvy, Governor of Dunnottar Castle, for the surrender thereof, see *Papers relative to the Regalia of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, p. lxxii. In Sir Walter Scott's opinion the conditions were honourable (*Ibid.* p. 41). Wariston did not know that the Regalia had been safely smuggled out

but that therin the Inglish had gottin many of the King's and uther noblemen's papers which discovered many plots, and amongst the rest a roll of al noblemen and gentlemen fast to the King, and a roll of al thes whom they thought the King's enemyes, and what course they intended after their victorie to taik with them; and withal the King's instructions to his frends to complaye with al interests whatsomever that might inable them theirafter to serve him. Al which maid me to admire and adore God's good hand for the clearing of our innocency and daunger, and discovering yet the plots of Malignants against us, and their jugling with the Inglishes, and so casting in jealousyes amongst them, which, joyned with Holland's invasion and Irishes their insurrection, would trouble the Inglishes. . . . I did wryte my mynd frely to Arbuthnot and S. J. Ch[eisly], and begged the Lord's direction to me, whither to wryte to Aiberdein with Sander Jaffray against ther seperating, or not to wryte seing lykly they had already entred on it. . . . At night [I] heard of a proclamation disanulling, since Michelmes last, al sentences past agaynst any; and apoynting such visitors of colleges and ministers with power to trye and putt out al disaffected and scandalous ministers, and discharging (as som reported) al Church judicatories but what should seek and gett allowance from them,¹ which maid me think and hoope their

of Dunnottar three months before. The articles are dated 24th May 1652, and, curiously enough, on that very day the English Council of State resolved to instruct Major-General Dean 'that, as to Dunottar Castle, since the means used for the rendition take no effect, he is to use his best endeavours to straighten and reduce it, upon the best terms that he can' (*Domestic Calendar*, 1651-1652, p. 255). See *Report on Laing Manuscripts*, i. 277-290.

¹ 'Fryday the fourt of Junii, 1652. Proclamatioun gevin out anent a commissioun grantit to 12 Englisches, to sit every Monday in Edinburgh, to cognosce and determine in the Kirk effaires' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 97). On the 2nd of September 1651, the English Council of State had instructed Monk to hinder the keeping of a General Assembly, 'or the exercise of any jurisdiction whatever, either civil or ecclesiastical, on this side the Friths of Edinburgh or Dumbarton, or any other place in your quarters or in your power, by pretence or colour of any authority whatsoever that is not derived from the Commonwealth of England. . . . Their ministers you may suffer to preach, so long as they keep within the bounds of their proper function in preaching the gospel of Christ;

power would be the shorter that they darre discharge Jesus Christ His courts in His awen covenanted land. . . .

On Saturday [5 June], I could gett no rest but was pressed to think on a letter to Aiberdein, and to seek the Lord's direction whither I should wryte or not. . . . I spreade befor the Lord thes passages . . . in 15 Prov. . . . 22 v., . . . 23 . . . and 28. . . . After tuo earnest prayers I got His aunswear to wryte . . . ; by this the Lord strenthened my call which I had to doe, both in relation to the general good of His work and people, and my special calling as Clerk and Advocate to and for the Church of Scotland, to warne any to absteane from doing hir wrong, and then as on of the witnesses against defections and aberrations. . . .

On Sundaye [6 June], I did wryte som notes, and read over M. S. R. litle tractat, and heard of M. J. D.¹ straunge moderation in Synod of Glascou, and the Lord's deserting M. Th. Chartres in his privat comunion. M. Ja. Walwood lectured on 15 Jhon and taught al daye on the 7 v. . . .

On Mononday [7 June], . . . I begoud to wryte my letter [to Aberdeen] and cryed aye for presence, and had written tuo sheet of it and was in the 3d. when, at 11 hours at night, I got a letter from Sanders Jaffraye, and another from thrie, M. Jh. Roue, M. Jh. Meinzeis, M. W. Moore, subscryved in nayme of sundry, directed to me, M. D. D., M. S. R., M. J. L., M. J. G., M. P. G.,² wherin they declaire their jugment agaynst the constitution and gouvernement of this Kirk, and their intention to taik som course to rid themselves of sinful snares under which they wer. . . .

On Wednesday, 9 June, in the morning I ended my letter being 5 ful sheet of paper. . . .

Upon the Thursdaye [10 June], . . . [The Lord] maid

but if they meddle with matters of State, or the power of their jurisdiction, command them out of all places within your power, and, if they do not obey, secure them' (*Domestic Calendar*, 1651, p. 400).

¹ James Durham. See Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 185, 186.

² David Dickson, Samuel Rutherford, John Livingston, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie.

me communicat all to Mr. D. D. and uther ministers of Edinburgh, who wer weal pleased with the letter. . . .

On Saturday [12 June], . . . this day also I heard that Lambert had layd doune his commission, that Cromwel's pairty prevayled and was sending Fleetwood to Irland,¹ and S. A. H.² and Col. Fenuik to Scotland to gouverne maters, and that their was lyk to be chaynges in thes nations; that Fraunce had maid peace and was about the general peace, and that warre was lyk to goe on between Holland and Ingland. . . .

On Mononday [14 June], . . . I heard M. G. H. preach weal on the end of 6 Job wheir Suynton was present and got a sharpe admonition from the doctrine, but he seimed to outpane it with his bever³ which I thought to be an evil token. Al this day and the nixt I was wryting notes out of books *de Ecclesia*, and brought my daughter weal out to landwert. . . . I heard that B. Syndserfe⁴ was com to Edinburgh. I feared the interception of my letter to Aiberdein, and prayed the Lord to convoeye it and blesse it.

¹ According to Whitelock, it was to satisfy Cromwell's ambition that his friends contrived to extend his office as Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of the armies and forces, raised by the Parliament in England, so as to include the forces in Ireland; and this began 'the distaste and grudge betwixt him and Major General Lambert, who being formerly named by the Parliament to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and now in effect that vote by this repealed, he thought himself highly dishonoured, and affronted by the Lord General and his party' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 536). Cromwell's appointment of Major-General Charles Fleetwood to be 'comaunder-in-cheife under my selfe, of the army and forces within the dominion of Ireland' is dated 10th July 1652 (Thurloe's *State Papers*, i. 212, 213).

² Sir Arthur Hezilrigge?

³ The Earl of Huntly pulled his bonnet down over his eyes when the preacher denounced certain sins (Laing's *Knox*, ii. 362). The Lord Treasurer of England 'sat with his hat pulled down over his eyes, ashamed to look up,' when one of the royal chaplains was preaching (Wilson's *History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 152). 'My Lord Dumbar pulled down his hatt in tyme of sermon' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 80).

⁴ Probably Thomas Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway, who was deposed and excommunicated by the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and who was translated to the see of Orkney in 1662. 'He was the only bishop who survived the troubles' (Keith's *Catalogue*, 1824, p. 281).

On Wednesday, 16 June, in Wayreston, the ministers of Lithgou presbyterie and S. J. Ch[eisly] kept the exercise in my familie, wher M. J. Walwood, M. Jo. Stirl[ing], M. R. R., M. G. H., M. H. K., M. E. M., S. J. C.,¹ and I prayed and got His assistance. . . . Wee was too naturaly mirrye at supper after it. I got a sight of M. J. Rew his letter to his brother anent qualification of a member constituent, and was desyred to wryte observations upon it. . . .

On Thursday [17 June], . . . I read al daye on Gerard ² *De Ecclesia*. . . .

On Frayday [18 June], I was at the hauking,³ and read Bal's ⁴ replyes to the 9 positiones. . . .

On Saturday [19 June], . . . my daughter haiving been crewelly payned I sent for the doctor and chirurgien, and heard from them that M. A. Cant, M. J. Menzies and M. Jh. Row in Aiberdein was preaching on against another to the great offence of the people. I heard from my wyfe the strainge sad newes of the burning the most pairt of the toune of Glascow, upon the shot of a musket in a thak house⁵ by on of the Inglishes, whither of sett deseigne or not I knowe not. . . . I heard also that M. Jh. Chartres could not gett liberty to preache unles he took the Ingagment, but behooved eyther to returne or goe to prison in Tomptallon, and that I was suspected for this. The Lord knows I haive no hand in it and dreamed not of it; . . . so wee was necessitated to desyre M. Ja.⁶ to preach, wheras he had growen sad this week, and was thinking of waygoing. The Lord blisse the new intended cure for my daughter's legge, and send me good news from Aiberdein.

On Sunday, 20 June, . . . Inglish chirurgiens cam and quartered on my house, and so impeded our exercise til

¹ Robert Row, Gilbert Hall, Hugh Kennedy, Ephraim Melville, and Sir John Cheisly.

² John Gerhard, professor of divinity at Jena.

³ *Hauking* may be a place name; but, if so, I have failed to locate it.

⁴ John Ball, a Puritan divine.

⁵ A thatched house.

⁶ James Welwood.

after supper. I saw the testimonye of the Synod of Lauthian, which was right freie.

On Tuesday [22 June], . . . I got the mor full storye of the Lord's sad stroake on Glascou in burning a 3d. part of the toune, which for riches was the best halfe, and the strange waye of the fyre crossing streets and leaping over Geo. Porterfeild's (who hes been on of the constantest and boldest men for the cause in al the toune, and may worst bear a losse in his estate) house, brunt every wheir about it but not it, and tho it begoud at an honest man's house, yet it hes lighted most on the heape of the Malignants and substantious men in the toune.¹ . . .

On Wednesday [23 June], . . . this daye wee cauterd Elspet's legge, and I heard from Davie Hay that my good-brother² had written out of Aiberdein, that he had seen my long letter to confirme the brethrein their in the presbyterial fayth, but he beleived it would not doe withe som. . . .

On the Thursday, being 24 June, and our fast day in this presbytry for the drouth. . . .

On Frayday [25 June], . . . this day also we got rayne for which yesterday's fast was apoynted. . . .

On Sunday [27 June], . . . I fand the parish averse from keeping or paying M. Ja. Walwood, but telling that M. Jh.³ would furnish the kirk and exspect to himself the stipend. I urged the speaking the presbyterye constantly to provide us, and if they did it not that som of us would remove our family every Saboth to another paroch, and

¹ 'Thursday the 17 of Junii 1652. It pleased God to lay the toun of Glasgow desolat by a violent and suddent fyre, quhairby the far best pairt of the foir streitis and moist considerable buildinges wer brint, togidder with above fourscoir laynes and clossis, quhich wer the duellings of above ane thowsand familieis, and almost all the chops and wayrhousis of the merchantis, many quhair of ar neirby ruyned. Besydes, a great many moir of wedowis, orphanes, and distrest honest familieis, quho haiffing loist quhat thai haid, ar now put to starving and begging. The lyke of this fyre hes not bene formerlie hard of in this natioun' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 97). 'The great fire in Glasgow . . . burned most part of the town; and the ministers preached that this was for their compliance with the Sectaries' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 537).

² Robert Burnet of Crimond, afterwards a lord of session.

³ John Charteris, minister of Currie.

not be lat by disapoyntment in coming to the kirk and getting non, tho the presbyterye apoynted them. I heard M. Jh. Chartres was caryed to Tantallon to be prisoner their. . . .

On Wednesday [30 June], . . . I blissed God that James Finlay and wee sundred so peaceably, he being provyded in Rathae. At night I heard from my wyfe of Elvingston lyke to break, and so shoe brought me out an assignation to M. M. Murray, but it had the new clause of registration which fashed me a litle til I resolved to leave it out. I heard England had sent away the Holland ambassadors, and that their had been a great feycht at sea and the Hollanders getting the better of it.¹ I sent to Stirling a cotype of my letter to Aiberdein. . . .

On Thursday morning, 1 July, being the fast day in Calder. . . .

On Frayday, 2 July. . . . In Ingliston, about this tyme 12 moneth, I was in great perplexityes, [and] the Lord renewed His covenant the seventh tyme with me and myne, and most in that corollarye in it that even as the Queen of England had done to the Earl of Essex in giving him a rigne with this direction that, whensoever he was in greatest strait and need of hir favor and helpe, he would send it to hir, and with this assurance that, upon the sight of it, shee would releive him,² so the Lord seimed to give me the lyk direction. . . .

Upon Saturday, 3 July, . . . Mr. Alexander Leviston³ told me of M. J. Ch[arteris] letter to presbytery with som reflexions on me anent the paroch. . . .

On Sunday [4 July], . . . I cryed earnestly for pardon of thir 15 yeirs sines since my publik lyfe beginning at July 1637, when stones [were] cast against the bishops

¹ On the 29th of June the English 'Parliament received another paper from the Dutch ambassadors that they were commanded home, and desired audience to take their leaves, which was appointed to-morrow.' They went to Gravesend on the 30th (Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 537). There had been another fight. One Dutch ship was sunk, and one ran aground (*Ibid.* p. 535).

² Robert, second Earl of Essex. For the story of the ring, see *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, 1853, ii. 178-184.

³ Alexander Livingstone, M.A., was minister of Biggar (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 209).

and Service Booke. I remembred the Lord of His pardoning me 11 of them at Ineraray in August '48, and of His sealing that of 44 Isay. 22, and many passages of tuo epistle of Peter, and then of His six tymes renewed covenant with me in the first six moneth of 1650. . . .

On Mononday [5 July], . . . this day I mett at Saughton wattersyde with my Lady Loudoun. . . . I heard of the Marquis agreing with Gen. M. Deans.¹ At night, after prayer for good news of my books, I got a letter from my wyfe that they wer come to the roade . . . from London.

On Wednesday, 7 July, wee went to the fast in Abercorne. . . .

On Frayday [9 July], I got my new books. . . . After noon I got out of the toune the notable great newes (if treu and sure, which the Lord graunt) of many of the Jews professing the nayme of Jesus Christ, and of their rabbies acknowledging their 1600 yeirs captivetye to be for their rejecting the Messias; and that they had apoynted a general meeting in the Valley of Ajilon in Apryle nixt, to debayte and cleir on another in that businesse.² . . . This day I heard of a new feyght betuixt Inglishes and Hollanders, wherin the Inglish was sayd to haive the better. . . .

On Saturday [10 July], . . . I sent this morning to S. J. Ch[eisly] the Remonstrance and Protestation to be revised and prepaired against our meiting. . . . Heard the news of Jews confirmed.

On Sunday [11 July], . . . I went to Kirkliston. . . . I heard M. G. Hal lecture weal on 4 Jerem. from 12. . . .

¹ Major-General Richard Deane.

² In the first volume of *The Phenix*, printed in London in 1707, No. 14 is a tract entitled:—'A narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Council of Jews, assembled in the plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty leagues from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the twelfth of October 1650. By Samuel Brett, there present . . . First printed in 1655.' According to Moses Beer, the alleged conference of Ageda 'shows all the marks of a fictitious creation,' and 'there is not the slightest evidence in Jewish literature to corroborate Brett's account' (*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1901, i. 231, 232). Wariston had apparently heard of the conference three years before Brett's pamphlet was published.

On Wednesday [14 July], . . . at night I got this refreshment and encouragment from the Lord that my letter going to Aiberdein was blessed of God to staye their course til they come hither and conferred with this meiting, which was the upshot of the desyre of my letter ; and that M. Jh. Meinzeis and Saunders Jaffray was com hither with M. A. Kant. . . .

On Thursday, 15 July, being the fast day at Kirkliston . . . M. Ja. Naysmith lectured. . . . Afternoon M. Gilb. Hall preached. . . .

On Frayday [16 July], . . . this day I cam in to our meiting in Edinburgh, being the sam day 12 moneth of the last Assembly's dounsitting as I told then to sundry. Wee resolved to wryte to som that wer absent, and to keepe the nixt meiting til 12 a klok in fasting and praying. At night I reade Mr. Sam[uel Rutherford's] aunswer to Aiberdein letter.

On Saturday, 17 July, the day 12 month of new moderator's sitting down with new Assembly and receiving my testimoney, and of the Englishes landing in Fyfe, I got even now word, befor wee begoud the exercise, of the Hollanders being stronger then the Englishes and landing men in Orknaye. Mr. Andrew Cant, then M. Rutherford, then M. Gillespye, then I was pressed to praye, . . . then M. Jh. Naive, M. William Adair, Mr. Jh. Semple, and Mr. Th. Wyly prayed, all weal. I spak of the foor things which we had maynly to doe. Afternoon in the comitee I comunicated my draught of the Remonstrance and Protestation, and which they subcomitted. I spak with M. Ro. Blair long, and shew him the great mistake that he had of my speech at Perth, that was spoken anent Strauchan's treaty as if it had been anent the Remonstrance.

On Sunday, 18 July, . . . I heard of a paper com hom to be given to al the members of this Assembly from thes in the Towr,¹ which Mr. Blair sayd was al evil and bitter, . . . as Mr. Blair told and Mr. Dikson sayd to my wyfe

¹ For the letter of advice from Robert Douglas and other prisoners in the Tower of London, as to how the Resolutioners in their General Assembly should treat the Protesters, see Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 562-566.

that I was called and counted the cause of al the distance and division. I wondred to heare of M. Jh. Carstars absence, which demonstrated to me the prejudice of M. Ja. Durham's influence on him and M. H[ugh] Binny[ng] both. . . .

On Monondaye [19 July], al the foranoone was spent be M. S. R., M. P. G.,¹ and myself in debaytes with M. J. M.² and Sand[ers] Jaffray. . . . Afternoon wee went throw our Remonstrance to the meeting on Wednesday, and being somewhat plaiged about every bodyes refusal of a Protestation draught, at last God directed us to sitt down together and to assist us when every body told us what they would haive in it, wherin He opened Mr. Jh. Leviston's mouth to speake of the main poynt, that the power of the Kirk of Scotland was come and turned throw the Publik Resolutions into the hands of the malignant, scandalous pairt of the ministrye hands, who wer enemyes to godlynesse and godly men, albeit their wer som precious men miserably intangled and insnaired amongst them. I heard a strange taile of M. D. D.,³ that when on wondred how he could joyne with the toun counsel to nominate a comissioner to the Assembly, from covenant renuncers to a covenant keeping as he thought, he sayd they would taik them any gayte that he could gett them. . . . It is sayd that in above the tuo pairt⁴ of the presbyteries their was dissent entred agaynest the elections.

Upon Tuesday [20 July], wee both passed and subscrived the Representation. . . . Wee had som debayte with thes of the province of Dumfreis. Yet at night was a litle confused about the Protestation, altho indeed I thought the Lord had assisted S. J. Ch[eisly] with M. S. R. and M. J. L.⁵ who maid up the subcomite. . . .

On Wednesday, the 21 July, Protestation against new Generall Assembly. Upon occasion of the Protestation, it pleased God to assist M. S. R., M. J. G.,⁶ and myself in a

¹ Samuel Rutherford and Patrick Gillespie.

² John Menzies.

⁴ Tuo pairt, *i.e.* two thirds.

⁵ Samuel Rutherford and John Livingstone.

³ David Dickson.

⁶ James Guthrie.

debayte to cleare thes of Dumfreis to the conviction, not only of som of them of Dumfreis that was present, but to the great satisfaction of al uthers. . . . Wee concurred and subscriyved the Protestation, and afternoone M. A. Cant with 32 uthers, ministers and elders, presented the Representation and the 8 propositions to the new pretended Assembly,¹ and had a long debayte, wherin the Lord was graciously pleased agayne sensiblye to assist me in the debayte, and to move my heart to teares that I was scarce able to reade out our obtestation of them. After their first refusing to reade it, then graunting to reade it with our propositions, they gaive us for answer that they behoved first to constitute themselves in a generall assembly and then consider them and apoynt a conference; wherupon was read our Protestation, and took instruments in M. Robert Dalgleish and M. Alexander [*blank*] his hand, and left them, blessing God He had inabled and honoured us to give to Him and His interest a new testimonye in an very il tyme. . . .

Upon Thursday [22 July], we was very busye on half of the dayeat our conference with M. Jh. Menzeis and P[rovost] Jaffraye about the constitution of the Church and pollution of ordinances. . . . The afternoone we spent in drawing up ouvertures to maik the propositions effectual. . . .

On Frayday [23 July], I rose early and wrote, throw the Lord's assistance, a postscript to my letter upon that poynt that the ordinances ar not polluted to us who useth al means to prevent known wicked men's winning to them. . . .

On Saturday [24 July], I heard somthing of Mr. Blair

¹ This General Assembly met in Edinburgh on the 21st of July, and continued its sittings until the 5th of August (Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 97-100). These documents were printed in pamphlet form, 'The Representation, Propositions, and Protestation of divers ministers, elders and professors, for themselves, and in name of many others well-affected ministers, elders, and people in Scotland. Presented by the Lord Wareston, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. John Livingston, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and diverse others; to the ministers and elders met at Edinburgh, July 21, 1652. Printed at Leith by Evan Tyler, 1652.' The names of sixty-seven ministers and eighty-five elders and others are adhibited to the Protestation. This pamphlet was reprinted in 1703.

his harsh expressions against us as first ruynating the State by our separat acting, and then putting the girth of the Remonstrance¹ about it, and now the Church, by our protesting at St. Andrews and heir; which maid me wonder, but withal reverence God's providence moving M. J. Leviston to stoppe both his and my going down to him that night. I heard also of a motion and debayte in this pretended Assembly of sending som with som ouvertures to us. . . . This daye wee spent on the ouvertures to maike the eight propositions effectual; and wee inclyned to send som to the English juges to speak freely to them against their inroachments on the liberty, discipline and doctrine of the Kirk of Scotland, by their Earastian Commission, and actings in ecclesiastical causes. I prayed in privat with my Lady Loudon and my wyfe, when they wer very heavy at letters of caption given against the Chancellor. . . .

On Mononday and Tuesday [26 and 27 July], we was exceding busye upon the debayting the ouvertures for maiking the propositions effectual, and adding theron to both what concerned the testimonials and the purging of the ministerye, and settling a waye to prent our paipers.

On Wednesday [28 July], wee was driven by exchaynge of papers to a conference with som from the pret[ended] Assemblie. We agreed on our instructions. I got great liberty in the grace after desner to seek the Lord's direction and assistance, and the lyk agayne in privat when I begged it, and so indeed when we cam to the conference I found the Lord's sensibly convincing assistance al the tyme, and so did uthers as al our meiting thought when it was reported, for the which I blissed the Lord God in the evening, and begged in my studye His renewing the lyk to us al and especyaly to His borrouman nou at our last conference with M. Jh. Meynzeis, which also I found, and so at night with teares blissed the Lord theirfor.

On Thursday [29 July], we went agayne to our conference with the Assembly men, . . . and when wee urged

¹ See *supra*, p. 28.

to haive their propositions and ouvertures in writte they refused it, som of them professing as the reason of their refusal that if they gaive us on sheet I would returne to them 25. After their refusal wee left our instructions on the taible to them; spent the daye in agreing on our last paper of Reasons¹ of our dissatisfaction with their offer anent censures without first agreing or conferring on the causes of God's wrayth, and the constitution and acts of this pretended Assembly² lies amongst the rest, and on the 8 propositions which wee had given in to them. . . . Wee agreed to keepe the solemne fast on 3 September (being Dumbar, and Worster day 12 moneth), and our nixt meeting of the Commission [of] 1650 and of the rest of our number on the first Wednesday of November. Then wee agreed on the instructions to thes that wer to goe to the Inglish juges.³ . . . The Lord brought us in mynd agayne of this befor we did ryse that as He had assisted us to exoner our mynd, 1. to thes in the pretended Assembly, 2. to thes of Aiberdein, 3. to the godly of the land in our ouvertures for maiking the propositions effectual, so now also in the 4 place to the Inglishes. . . . This night at home my heart blissed the Lord for . . . His dissolving us in so calme, peaceable, and unanimous a waye. . . .

On Frayday [30 July], wee was busye al daye to draw up a paper with reasons of our complaints maid to the

¹ The Reasons were issued as an eight-page quarto pamphlet with this title:— 'Reasons why the ministers, elders, and professors, who protested against the pretended Assemblies at St. Andrews, Dundee, and Edinburgh, cannot agree to the ouvertures made unto them at the Conference upon the 28 and 29 of July, 1652. Together with the Instructions given by them to such of their number as were sent to the said Conference, and the Letter directed to Mr. David Dickson, for communicating their Papers. Printed at Leith by Evan Tyler, 1652.' The letter, which is printed on the back of the title-page, is dated 'Edinburgh, 29 July 1652.' This pamphlet was incorporated next year in another, see *infra*, p. 189, *n*.

² Three acts of this Assembly, for promoting the knowledge of the grounds of salvation and observing the rules of discipline, were printed in pamphlet form in 1652, and reprinted in 1843 in the appendix to the Church Law Society edition of the *Acts of the General Assembly*, pp. 1151-1153.

³ Samuel Rutherford, Robert Trail and John Stirling, ministers, and the Laird of Blair, ruling elder, were appointed to give in the Protestation to the English Judges against the proclamation of 4th June (*Laing MSS.*, i. 270, 271).

English juges against their commission and practise ; and at night wee heard that the pretended Assembly had past a vote and an act against our Protestation¹ as false, frivolous, unchristian and deserving the highest censures of the Kirk ; and that they refused to reade our late paiper becaus not directed to the moderator as such ; and that they maid a narrative of the conferences wherin they sayd that wee wronged them, but realy they wronged us. . . .

On the Saturday [31 July], I was busye reading over the rest of the *Reviue*. I got a sight of *The Keye of Policy*,² which som in Assembly and many Malignants sayd was myne altho [?] I had never seen it . . .

On Tuesday [3 August], . . . this afternoone I was called away to meet with the Chancellor and uthers at their tryste in Broxsburne. . . .

On Thursday and Friday [5 and 6 August], I was at the Sheynes on the tryste betuixt my Lord Chancellor and Mistres Leviston, wherin I found som assistance as I had desyred, but had no succes except of exoneration. . . . I presented to the Lord the great straits wherto His people was dryven eyther of ruyne or of making use of the power of the present juges ; and that I was lyke to be straitned seing no bodey would paye me any thing, and on Calderwood, pressing me for som money dew be Janet Haye, maid me very melancholious.

On Saturday, 7 August, I did putt the Chancellor awaye and spak my mynd freely to him, telling him the waye which the Lord had oft blissed to me especyaly in my afflictions, to witt, a particular and exact examination of my whol lyfe and al the yeirs, moneths, weeks and dayes therof and therin, eyther of my personal sines or sines agaynst my relations or in and agaynst my callings or

¹ The Protestation to the Assembly ; not the one to the English Judges.

² 'The Key of True Policy, or, a Free Dispute concerning the Conservation of lately obtained Liberty. In reference to the Parliament of England, not onely for securing Liberty already obtained, but also for enlarging the same. By a Scottish man, a cordiall well-wisher of the just Freedom, and true interest of the People. . . . Printed at London by J. P. 1652.' 4to. 31 pp.

agaynst His interests ; and mourning over thes til I got a particular pardon. And withal I told him my thought that the *fama clamosa* against him for personal uncleannesses¹ called for his searching out thes sines and restoring God to His honour ; nixt that the Lord's making this unreasonable rumour so visibly and violently to oppresse him poynted out his deuty to searche al the violences, oppressions, and wrongs done be him in his publik places ; and the Lord making this busines of the annuities the means of his ruyne, which he had gon about as the means of his benefyte and increasse, poynted out som sines of his in that busines ; and lastly that the Lord's giving the land and the great ones therof and particularly himself and his interests unto the power and pleasour of their and his adversaries poynted out the land's and his great sines in the intrusting God's interests to God's enemyes ; and though wee wer not now in a temper yet to acknowledge the same, the Lord's jugments was lyk to goe on with our sines til He forced us al by acknowledgments to restore Him to His honour, or to doe worse. And so I haiving remembred him of the discourse I had with him on the convoying him that sam gaite throw Calder-moore imediatly after he was maid Chancellor, wee parted neir Erliston [?], and on parting I prayed God to maik good to him the beginning of 107 Psalm. . . . He sayd I had reason to blisse the Lord for His good providence in suffering me to live at my auen hom in quyetnesse which he could not ; and this remembred me of what I sayd in Februar 1651 to him and to the Marquis of Argyle, at Perth, in my Lady Loudon's chalmer, that if they went on to heade and countenance the present defection and imployment of Malignants, the Lord would bring them tuo to the miserablest condition of any in Scotland. . . .

After noone my wyfe com up and read to me Mr. Jh. Dikson's undiscreet letter and Mr. D. Haye his paiper, and therupon I took paper and sett down my thoughts and intentions anent al the clerks—of quyting to M. D. Haye 5000 merks and taiking only 3000, wheras he hes

¹ See *supra*, p. 93.

wine under me above 4000 ; M. Jh. Hay 5000 merks and taiking but 4000 ; to M. Ja. Balfour 13,000 merks and taiking but fyve ; to M. Jh. Dikson 7000 merks and then tuo, and so taiking but 5000 ; to Jhon Ramsey 1000 merks, taiking but 4000 ; to M. G. Gibson 4000 merks, taking but 1200 : be which means I quyte 37,000 merks with the 3 yeirs anuels of it, being above 5000, and so in effect al extending to 42,000 merks ; which, being joyned to above 30,000 merks, lifted or borrowed and spent by me in the Clerk Register's place and in the publik busines since Dumbar, I may now saye I haive no monyes gotten be that place in my hands, but hes restored to the clerks al that is not spent of it on the publik ; lykas that my stok and rent was better at my entree in 1637 to the publik service nor now it is in 1652 when I am putt from publik State imployments ; and that I had and did leave mor to my tuo childrein nor now I can doe to my eight childrein ; but as at the beginning the Lord remembred me of the Valley of [. . ?]nah, so now He maks my heart saye and sing that He Himself, to whom I intended and dedicated my service, is my exceeding rich reward, and wil be a fat portion and inheritance, even all in all and all for all to me and myn. *Hoc credo et videbo*. Then I drew up another paper of my losses by this English invasion amounting to 206,600 merks Scots, above 11,450 pound sterling, and in yeirly rent for tyme coming above 24,000 merks Scots. Both which papers my wyfe and I spread befor the Lord, with many supplications to the Lord to accept of our submission and thanksgiving to Him for His taiking, as for His giving ; and begging His sanctification of al His dispositions and our chaynges theirby ; and blissing Him that we had lesse carking caire to quyte and restore agayne thes meanes and moneyes nor wee had in the getting of them ; and begging His blessing on our litle old portion, and that He would provyde for our mantenance and a good portion to our childrein. . . . I remembred the Lord of His usual waye to give me a great appearance of an estate and then taiking it from me, and yet thereafter provyding me agayne ; as first in my being borne to much

means, but disapoyntit, then sicklyk in exspectation of my uncle's estate according [to] my goodame's expression, then in my first mariage, then in 1641, then in Advocat's place, then in 1648 in Cl[erk] R[egister's] place, the remembrance of my great debt 1648 lyk to sink me, and God's good hand releiving me of that and provyding for me ay since, and keeping me from closing bargaynes of land as with Currihill and Colingtoun; . . . and now restoring me to my first condition; and comparing this His dealing to and with me so as to lett me subsist with liberty and competency . . . with His dealing with the Chanceler, his want both of estate, credit, and liberty. . . .

On Sunday, 8 August, . . . when my flesh was saying, what shal I doe for the 200,000 merks of stok and 24,000 merks be yeir and my callings and the portion of my childrein? the Lord answred He would be in place of al thes and better then al thes to me and myn. . . .

On the Monondaye [9 August], . . . heard of the sequestration of the state of Loudoun by special order, which maid me recomend that poor Ladye's condition to the Lord;¹ and to blesse Him that I yet got liberty to injoye myne. I saw the Answer to our Protestation,² wherin their ar many grosse lyes and mistakes: God forgive them.

On Tuesday [10 August], . . . I heard from M. Ja Guthry of both the people of Stirling and the Inglish officers stopping by force him to preache their, and desyring my prayers and advyse. . . . I did wryte a letter for Mr. Ja. Walwood to M. Ja. Neysmith. . . .

¹ In June 1640, when Loudoun was a prisoner in the Tower of London, Lady Loudoun desired the Scottish Parliament, 'that they would not suffer their loveing apprehensione of hir husbandis danger to restraine theme frome any course which they thinke advantagious for the kirke and kingdome, whairunto shoe desyred thame to have regaird onlie, and nevir to prejudice the samene in the leist wayes for any compassionat consideratiōne of hir husbandis sufferings' (*Acts of Parliament*, v. 266).

² The title of this quarto pamphlet is:—'The Protestation given in by the Dissenting Brethren, to the General Assembly, July 21, 1652, Reviewed and Refuted; briefly shewing the insufficiencie of the reasons thereof; and consequently the justice of the Assemblie's sentence condemning it. Done by a Member of the General Assembly. Psal. 120. v. 7. I am for peace; but when I speak, they are for war. Printed at Leith by Evan Tyler, 1652.'

On Wednesday [11 August]. . . . God might saye to us, as to Israel when sore distressed, that He had delyvered Scotland and us in it seven tymes, as first in 1639 at Duncelaw, (2) in 1640 at Newburne and Newcastle, (3) in 1644 at the battel of York, (4) at Philiphaugh from James Graham in 1645, (5) at Preston and Stirling from the Ingagers in 1648, (6) in the North from the Mackleans and Highlanders defeate in 1649 by 3 troupes, (7) from James Graham defeate by Strachan and Hacket, in the North in beginning of 1650. . . . Young Kirkmichel cam out and proponed mariage to my cousing Hilton's sister.

12 August. Fast. On Thursday morning wee went to the fast in the Ferrye, . . . remembred me of my sayng thir words of David's [2 Sam. xv. 26] at my parting from my wyfe in Ingleston close, at my flight 1648, and my wrestling and then submitting to the Lord in the poynt of service or non at Bruntyland in the fast 1651, 26 December, and then oft in Sunday fasts in Edinburgh. . . . The day of our fast was the daye of the great meiting of the Commissioners of shyres at Edinburgh to send up for concluding the Union. . . .

On Frayday [13 August], . . . at night I heard of the great sea feyght between English and Holland fleet with great blood on both sydes, but that the Hollanders seimed to haive the better of it.¹ . . .

On Saturday [14 August], . . . afternoone M. James Balfour cam out, and he and I presently settled upon my offer; then M. D. Hay cam out, and he was syklyk satisfyed; then M. Jh. Dikson, and he seimed too to be content with my intention. . . . I heard various reports of the sea feyght . . . tho in al human apearance whatsoever way the successe hes gon the poor people in this land is lyk to be sufferers, eyther by England's straits in case their navye be defeate or by their mor insolent cariage in caise they haive gotten the victorie. . . .

On Sunday, 15 August, . . . I thought, the Lord knows

¹ Towards the end of July, Blake, with eight frigates, defeated twelve Dutch men-of-war, capturing ten and sinking two (Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1732, p. 540).

I had no intention to invade or ruyne any in Ingland, and yet they haive ruyned my estate. . . . That night the Inglish lieutenant desyred to be admitted to our exercise. . . .

On Mononday and Tuesday [16 and 17 August], I was very busye upon ending of my Replye to the Answer of the Protestation. . . .

On the Wednesday [18 August], I went in to see and speak with Col. Fenwik, and begged of the Lord to keep me from snaires and to guyde the words of my mouth. . . . I found him grou angry when I told [him] of their profession at their incoming, to distinguish persons and pairtyes be Chryst's interest in them or not ; and nou in the execution they distinguish men be their auen interest to them, to witt, taikers of their Tender or not. I did wryte to M. S. Rutherford, M. P. G., M. A. Cant, who wrote to me of the Lord's maiking the people to cheate [?] him mor then befor.

On Thursday, 19 of August, I . . . did wryte al daye Observations on the prented Acts of this Assembly,¹ to be added as a postscript unto the Replye. At night, about 9 a'clock, I was suddenly called by the servants of the house to see the yokings and feyghtings of airmyes in the lift, wherin I did see, three or four tymes within a quarter of an hour's distance of another, the lykest to a battel that could be by som cloudes coming up in two bodyes the on from above the Castel of Edinburgh, the other from above Halton, meiting midwayes and feyghting, both as it wer be bodyes and partyes al throw uther, with the speidyst

¹ It was presumably in a revised form that these Observations were printed next year, with other items under the comprehensive title :—'Observations upon the Chief Acts of the two late P. Assemblies at St. Andrews and Dundee, in the year of God 1651, and 1652. Together with the Reasons why the ministers, elders and professors, who protested against the said Pretended Assemblies, and the Pretended Assembly at Edinburgh, cannot agree to the Overtures made to them at the Conference upon the 28 and 29 dayes of July 1652. As also the Instructions given by them to such of their number as were sent to the said Conference, and the Letter directed to Mr. David Dickson for communicating their Papers. Whereunto is subjoynd the Propositions which were offered to the Meeting of ministers and others appointed to be kepted at Edinburgh July 21, 1652. Printed in the year 1653.' 4to.

motion and the lykest to pousse of pick,¹ and befor that lyk the shooting of great canons first by great smoak coming from them as a great and light fyre, at the end of that having a short swift motion throw the uther as an bullet out of a canon.² This sight maid me praye agayne to the Lord in my familie. Whatsoever it portends I know not, but it was very uncoue. The Lord prepaire us for all our chaynges.

On Frayday and Saturday [20. and 21 August], . . . I saw the Inglish officers' petition, just lyk ours, for purging out scandalous persons out of judicatoryes.³

Lord's Day, 22 August, I went down to Kirkliston kirk. . . .

On Mononday [23 August], . . . I heard of the 21 commissioners—except Suynton, men that wer eyther for Jam[es] Graham⁴ or the Ingagment—Linton, Carnagye, Durye, Lockhart, Keyr, Riccarton, Renton [?], Shirref of Nidsdail, M. D. Falconer, Mr. Geo. Blair, Drumlanrik's tutor, young Orbiston, on Innes, Suynton, [blank] and Joussy, Jh. Milne, Sir Alexander Wederburne, James Suord, Steuart of Lithgou, on out of Glascou, another out of Aiberdein, both present magistrats.⁵ I heard som word of a sea feight, but no certanty. At night our lieutenant got orders to prepare for a march to Ingland. . . .

On Tuesday [24 August], . . . at night I read over the mad crew of Ranters their book, which I found so full of the divel as maid my soule abhorre sects and errors which draws men on to so abhominable, unexpressible

¹ Push of pike.

² On the 27th of August, Whitelock heard 'of strange apparitions in the air at Dalkeith, shapes of men clashing together as in a skirmish, a great light in a circle' (Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 542).

³ Whitelock advised Cromwell 'to stop this way of their petitioning, by the officers of the army with their swords in their hands, lest in time it might come too home to himself; but he seemed to slight or rather to have some design by it in order to which he put them to prepare a way for him' (*ibid.*, p. 541).

⁴ Marquis of Montrose.

⁵ Lists coinciding more or less with this are in Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 98, 99; Lamont's *Diary*, p. 46; Spottiswoode Society *Miscellany*, ii. 76; Blair's *Life*, Wodrow Society, pp. 299, 300; and Terry's *Cromwellian Union*, Scottish History Society, pp. 183, 184.

villenyas; and I thought the reading of it had done me il and brought things to my mynd that had not been in it thes many yeirs, which maid me begge of God that I might find His good Sprit als livly in His Word as I fand the il sprit by il books and errors infecting and corrupting men. This remembred me of what I had observed of al our greatest professors now joynd with thir people, their greing dayly in opinions and falling out in strange, terrible expressions as Janet [? James] Leviston told me of som from Craghal and Hopton.

On the Wednesday [25 August], . . . I got a very refreshing, strenthening letter from my sister Margret; and on Thursday I did wryte . . . a full aunsueir to it; . . . and heard somthing of a sea feyght. . . .

On Frayday, 27 August, fast, . . . we heard of Hollanders defeating S. Geo. Aseu¹ his fleet, and had reason to feare that seing wee had not betterd but grew worse under this mor gentil captivity, that the Lord justly might bring us under a worse captivity to strangers of a feirce countenance and uncou language. . . .

On Saturday [28 August], . . . both the English lieutenant went away upon news of the Highlanders falling on som of the guarisons,² and James Drumond went out of my family, blissing God that he had been in it. My wyfe told me of Col. Fenwik's taiking litle notice of hir telling him our losses, which maid me saye the best of them was as a bryar;³ and think that the Lord would not haive my reparation from them who had ruyned my estat outwardlye, and putt me in a worse condition, for my outward means, nor they did the greatest Malignant, seing they allowed them the 5 part, and I had not the 5 part eyther of stok or rent of that which I had befor Dumbar, as the note written by me which my wyfe hes can shew. . . .

¹ Sir George Ayscue.

² They surprised two 'garrisons in Cantire, called Turbat and Loughhead' (Spottiswoode Society *Miscellany*, ii. 79, 81).

³ Micah vii. 4. — 'Mr. Fenwick was one of the best of them' (Blair's *Life*, p. 301).

This nixt week I was exceeding busye in wryting an aunsweare to Mr. Jh. Rae's letter, wherof I did wryte out the 9 sheet befor Wedinsday at night. . . . I heard the news confirmed of the English fleette being schattered and scattered, and of Lambert his giving in a petition, with 13 colonels' hands at it, against the other petition given in be Cromwell, which was lyk to maik a great division in their armye; and that the Highlanders was going on in their wayes of opposition; and that Fenwick was but harsh to my wyfe.

On the Wednesday, being first day of September, . . . I remembred that day tuo years wee was at Hadington following the Inglishes to Dumbar. . . .

On Frayday, 3 September, Fast. . . .

On Saturday [4 September], . . . I heard from M. Jh. Oliphant that he saw Durye brought over be an English messenger's caption in a boate to the tolbouth for Sinclair his debt, and that he never saw a man so dejected.¹ This befalling him after his grandeur as president of the meeting of their comissioners, and going up and doun the streets with a great look, and being elected to goe presently to London, maid me to wonder at God's goodnesse to me in keeping me both from the snares and effronts of the tyme. I heard also that the gouvernor of Dundye, Cobbets,² was almost distracted at the Hollanders taiking of the ship that had Munk's and his plunder of Dundee and the King's goods that was in Dunnoter. . . .

On Mononday [6 September], . . . I ended my letter to Aiberdein. I went to Gogar's lady's burial. I heard of the Lady Carlowrye hir death in a most Christian waye, speaking to the encouragment of the Protesters and discouragment of the contrary. . . .

¹ '1652, Sept. 1:—In the afternoone, the Lord Durie, in Fyfe, was taken away violentlie from Leuin to Edenbroughe, by an English officer of armes, at Kirsten Banauees instance, relict to umquhill Sir Ja. Lundie, he haveing payed hir litell or nothing ever since hir husband's deathe; wheras he had obleidged himselfe to pay hir yearlie about 2000 or 2500 mark yearlie. Notwithstanding of all this, when he came to Edenbroughe, he gat a suspension and returned to his owne house the 4 of Sept.' (Lamont's *Diary*, 1830, p. 46).

² Colonel Ralph Cobbett.

On Tuesday [7 September], . . . Suynton cam out and gaive me a visite, wherat I wonderd what had moved him. . . .

On Wednesday, 8 September, being fast at Calder. . . . I got M. Ja. Guthrye's Observations on the Replie. . . . At night I was jumbled and distempered by S[ir] J. Ch[eisly's] contemptuous lyk slighting our papers against the Protestation, which maid me wish that I had taiken M. Pryce his gait of it of publishing observations upon every paper that came out, to hold folk doing til uthers took tyme to putt out mor elaborat peices, for now al the evil is done that can be done befor that ever wee apply a cure or publishes an aunsweare.

On Foorsday [9 September], I was jumbled and distempered about our papers as the night befor, and I found M. Ja. Walwood, at his returne from Hamilton, mightely discouraged by meeting with great disdayne and lightly even of good people, which was lyk to dryve him from the ministrye and me from wryting for the cause, if the Lord convinced us not of our deuty and His acceptance of our indevours according to our talent. . . . This day Jhon Ramsey send out M. Ja. Watson to seek money from me, without speaking to myselfe. . . . The Lord's hand is visibly continowed upon my family, what be the chaynges of our condition, and the recurring or remayning disease of my eldest daughter who was sometymes heavye to the earnest desyre of dissolution as being, sayd shoe, but a burthen to us. Lord, sanetifye thir rods to us, but tho Thou would braye us in a mortar wee will returne to our old sines, with a dog to his vomite and sow to the pudle, and seven devils worse then the former,¹ if Thou leave us to ourselfe and doe not take away thir divelish hearts and hellish affections, humors and passions, that abounds in us. . . .

On Saturday [11 September], . . . this day I got a sight of sundry new books from Dudiston, particularly the relation of the progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians, which refreshed me.

¹ Psalms lxxxix. 32 ; Proverbs xxvii. 22 ; 2 Peter ii. 22 ; Luke xi. 26.

On Sunday [12 September], . . . between sermons I went to the bak of the old house wher I had heard the canons shoote after Inerkeything feyght and had prayed to the Lord above a tuelmonths syne, and blessed the Lord for al the favors I had received from him synsyne, and begged grace and mercy to leade me throu the subsequent year as the former tuo. . . .

On Mononday and Tuesday [13 and 14 September], . . . afternoon I did ryde to Kersuel. . . . At night after som perplexity was directed right with Kerswell. . . .

On Wednesday [15 September], the fast day in Bigger, I read and sang in the going 51 and 25 Ps[alms]. . . .

On Thursday [16 September], . . . I did ryde to Jerviswoode and their had great liberty in prayer with that family. . . .

On Frayday [17 September], . . . I was much perplexed be my wyfe's seaknesse of a violent collect [*sic*] stopping hir voyage, wherupon I remembred what I had sayd the last week to hir and had often found treu, that when I delayed an oportunity of this ordinance I got som obstructions and impediments befor the nixt, and I went alon and earnestly begged of the Lord, if it might stand with His good will, to remove this impediment, which the Lord was gratusly pleased to doe by giving hir rest and som settlement and strenth therby, so that by His good [providence] wee was brought to Newmilnes be 6 of klok. . . .

On Saturday [18 September], Mauchlin communion and covenant. . . . After sermon, up in a litle loft chamber in Mauchlin I got great liberty of rushes of teares, groanes and cryes to the Lord in confessing the sines of my youth, (2) imployments, (3) under my laite chaynges, wher particularly I begged mercy for my hand in the sines drawing on this wrayth as in the bonfyres and act of restoring the King to the exercise of his power, and my not threughing with boldness tymous and open testimonyes against the steps of the laite defections, [etc. He also renewed his covenant, dedicating] my soule and body, my wyfe and children,—Archibald, Jhon, Sanders, Elizabeth, Rachel,

Helein, Margret, Janet, and all that I can call myne, that they may be wholly His in lyfe and death. . . .

On Mononday, 20 September, . . . immediatly after sermon, Knokgray¹ came to me and spak to me, to pray earnestly to be preserved from defection and to continew faythful, assuring me that my standing conduced to the standing of many, and my falling would maik many stumble; and therfor that he and uthers was earnest tuyse in the day with God for me. I requested him to continew to doe so, for he saw far taller cedars had gotten great coups and wee was nearest to temptations. On young man sayd he intended to haive ridden into Edinburgh to haive seen me, but now he saw I was a very glouummy man. . . . Wee was led out of the way, but then guydied right into it and brought on to Avendail. . . .

On Tuesday [21 September], in Streven. . . . After desner in Jerviswood. . . .

On Wednesday, 22 September, . . . begged the Lord's presence with His servants at that fast of Carluik, wherunto I went, and their was an very throng kirk. . . . The Lord convincingly assisted His servants and countenanced the exercise, and did me good in particular and refreshed me by hearing of His eminent presence at Hamilton fast, and that I might have the occasion of it in Bothwel on Thursday nixt in my going to Mauchlin comunion. Now I must close this book, and desyres to doe it with my blessing of God for His sensible presence thes tuelf tymes within 10 dayes since my waygoing—on Tuesday night, on Wednesday in kirk and family, on Frayday night, on Saturday in kirk and at night with greatest liberty, on Sunday night and day, on Mononday morning and evening, on Tuesday after desner, and now on the Wednesday. . . .

54. FEBR.²

[Tuesday] 17 January 1654. The morning of this day is written on the end of the uther book. Lord, blisse this

¹ Alexander Gordon.

² So inscribed on the outside of the front board. The heading of the first entry is: 'Notes of my Diarye from 17 Janry. 1654.'

and give many good materials for it, and preserve thir diaries out of His enemyes' hands, and sanctifye them for the glorye of His auen nayme and the good of His people, and especialy of my childrein for whom they ar written. . . .

[Wednesday] 18 January. This morning I prayed for and gott assistance to wryte out tuo sheet to M. Ja. Guth[rie] in aunsuear to his letter, and read it to my wyfe, and prayed the Lord to accompanye it. . . .

[Thursday] 19 January. . . . My wyfe told me of the wrongs doen by the juges to us in Mr. D. H[ay's] busines and in Foord's, and then went away; but cam down agayne, and then I told hir of E. Ag. apprehension of my wyfe's seaknesse, and then of sundry notes of Mr. J. S. sermon—as our petitioning to creatures, and their not hearing of us because wee prayed not first to Himself, which I aplied to hir petitions in vayne to the sequestrators at Leyth. . . .

[Friday,] 20 Januar. This morning first I thought what would I fall to at rysing, and then my wyfe desyred me to speake to hir, and I told hir my conception of hir seaknesse as a correction for hir neglect of secret worship and wayring hir strenth and health on uther busines preferred to that, which therfor God blasted becaus of not petitioning to Himself, as in yesterday's sermon; . . . and therby God was calling hir to amend that sine, and the rod getting its earand would be gon and prepare hir for our chaynges and tryals, which I exspected this year, either by the Lord's putting me to great doings or sufferings for Him. . . . The Lady Riccartoun told me that I was a strangely hayted man up and down the countrey by the suggestions of the ministerye of a countrary jugment. Hilton told me of the Inglish intention to nayme him sherif in the Merce, but I told him my mynd not to medle in it. . . . This was notably trysted with the news of Captan Ferguson being killed in Dunfermling after his deceiving so manye, which is an eminent act of His justice. In heaven wee shal sing much of God's wonderful works of providence to us in this lyfe. . . . I found the night my daughter Elizabeth seak. . . .

[Saturday] 21 Januar. . . . I did receive a letter from M. Fr. Aird¹ about calling M. Jh. Oliphant to Stenhous; ² and, after seeking the Lord's direction in it, I wrote back to him. I was greived at night to see my wyfe distracted with businesse, and then I fand my daughter Elizabeth seak and inclyne to a fever. . . .

[Monday] 23 Januar. . . . I heard from my L[ord] Burley of 400 lawers subscriyving som paper that the Protector³ might have nayme of King, to keepe the lawes in integrity and without confusion, which remembred me of som thoughts on 3 art[icle] of the Covenant⁴ on the Sunday morning afor M. Eph. Melvin's burial in Apryl last; and that the Lord semes to be wheeling al things about to the re-establishing of that Covenant agayne. . . . Blisseth God for my daughter hir growing better agayne. . . . I was interrupted by a letter from M. R. Roue, of his people's complening against him as not haiving an edifying gift as M. Gilb. Hall and M. William Wishart, and desyring me to wryte to him for his incouragment. . . . I looked my son Archibald's notes on the Sabath and was weal pleased with them, and blessed God for them and for my daughter's wealnesse. . . . Hilton cam in to me and told me of the English intending to maik him sheriffe. I told him it would indaunger his soule, body, estate, and nayme, and wrong his freinds; and gaive him our last letter from our meiting, and myn to M. P. G.⁵ to reade. . . . M. M. M.⁶ . . . told that Lieutenant

¹ Francis Aird, M.A., minister of Dalserf.

² John Oliphant became minister of Stonehouse (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 303).

³ Cromwell had been installed as Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland on the 16th of December 1653.

⁴ The third article of the Solemn League and Covenant is:—'We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.'

⁵ Patrick Gillespie.

⁶ Mungo Murray?

General Ludlow¹ had broken out with many of the English house; that Col. Lokhart was putt in his bedchamber; that Monk was cuming doune, and proclamation to be delayed til then.² . . .

[Tuesday] 24 January. . . . I heard from my wyfe of Elspet's seaknesse increassing, and that shoe had been exceedingly greived with my sharpe reproving of hir thryse, as if I had chaynged my affection to hir. The Lord preserve and restore hir, for my heart blissed God when I remembred 23 Jer. 18 v. and looked on hir Byble so weal marked. Lord, haive mercy on me in hir person, and sanctifye this stroak to her mother. . . . Remembring that I heard my Lord Brody and L[aird] of Lethain wer beseidged by the Highlanders, I begged earnestly of the Lord to preserve them and sanctifye this tryal to them. . . . I fund my daughter very sick and my wyfe grew very unweal. . . .

[Wednesday] 25 January. . . . I thought this daye of my Lord Brody and Lethan their daunger by the Highlanders beseidging of them, and earnestly recomended them to the Lord, and begged that He would blisse unto them the cotype of my letter to Col. Wallace, which seimes be a good hand of his to be trysted weal unto them agaynst the daye of their need and strait. The Lady Stobs, younger, com to me. . . . I wairned the Lady Libertoun about Hilton, and shoe told me hir hoopes of my wyfe's being with chyld. . . . I had a long debayte with Hilton against his taiking the sherifship of the Merse. . . .

[Thursday] 26 January. . . . The Lady Riccartoun told me that even the good people of the Publik Resolutions counted and called me, be my hand and penne, the ruyner of the Kirk of Scotland. O Lord, be graciouslye pleased to direct, assist, and guyde how to helpe to buyld it up. . . .

¹ Lieutenant-General Ludlow hindered for more than a fortnight the proclamation in Ireland of Cromwell as Lord Protector, and refused to sign the order directing it to be done (Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 1698, ii. 482, 483).

² Monk did not arrive at Dalkeith until the 22nd of April, and the Protector was not proclaimed at Edinburgh until the 4th of May. See *infra*, p. 248.

[Friday] 27 Januar. This morning I awaked blissing God for yesterday's presence, and begging a blessing on the seed sowed, and a blessing on the letter to Stirling and on the uthers to the North, South, and West. . . . I spak to the Lady Liberton and then to my uncle, my advyce against Hilton his meddling with the sherifship. . . . I got letters shewing that Glencarne had brunt al young Letham his lands, but spaired my Lord Brodye his lands.¹ . . .

[Saturday] 28 January. . . . Ingleston told me of a proposition of a daughter of David Macgill to his son with 40 or 50,000 merks, and that he had ended his bargain with James Graye. I thought if the Lord by his providence trysted a releefe to Ingleston's familie in their great straits it would be a matter of many prayes to Him. . . . He told me his hearing from M. Al. Dikson of the General² his being at great straits by the opposition of the Anabaptists, and his intending to give his daughter to Lieut.-General Monk, and the deputation of command heir in Scotland, as Fleetwood hes the uther in Irland; and therafter to declare the election of the subsequent gouvernor to be of on of his lyne to prevent new contests and stryfes. . . .

29 January, Lord's Daye. This night in the begining of it, I dreamed of som coming in and telling me that my fayther was returned and com to me; in the end of it of my Lord Brodye's coming to me. . . .

[Monday] 30 January. . . . After sermon I heard a report of my Lord Argyle's being taken by the Highlanders. . . . My wyfe grew unweal at night. Lord, preserve and sanctifye hir condition to hir and bring hir throw and maik hir partaker of al Thy good chaynges to

¹ 20th January.—'Glencairn burnt the corns and houses of Leathin' (Brodie's *Diary*, Spalding Club, p. 110). In the *Account of the Earl of Glencairn's Expedition, as General of His Majesty's Forces, in the Highlands of Scotland, in the years 1653 and 1654*, it is said:—'The general, on the morning that we marched, ordered all the Laird of Lethem's land and barn-yards to be burnt, which accordingly was done. This was the only skaithe of that kind by him ordered during the whole time of his command' (*Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, 1822, p. 169).

² Cromwell.

me. Shoe told me at night of M. J. St[irling] saying to hir and Elspet that the Lord was maiking me readye eyther for great doings or great sufferings for His nayme, and lyklier *humanitus* the last nor the first. . . .

[Wednesday] 1 February. . . . I went to the Church somewhat calmer when the Lord brought to my mynd that, readily by a mistaik, I had sent on letter to Stirling instead of another. M. Jh. Stirling¹ who should haive exercised was deteaned be the Inglishes, and M. G. Lesly² exercised. . . . I heard this day of the Protector repealing the Ingagment³ and declairing what they would punish as treason, and of som of the Holland deputyes come to London, and telling of embassadors coming to conclude the peace. Al thir is great newes.

[Thursday] 2 February. . . . At night my wyfe told me of the Malignant lords and uthers saying in their compagnyes they saw that I was honest, indeed sincer in my way and sticking be my principles; and, seing I refused to maik use of Cromwel's frendship and that I was opposit to the King's waye, they saw and sayd I would never come in agayn to medling; but, be my preceisnesse, ruyne myself and my estate. This maid me blisse of my enemyes being convinced of my honestye, and being forced behind my back to give a testimonye of it after al their jealousyes, suspiciones, reproches and abhorrings of me as emulitious [?], avaricious, factious, malicious, traiterous, etc. . . .

[Friday] 3 February. . . . My wyfe this morning told me of several dreames of hir both befor my horse was taiken away, of his louping and getting away, and now sensyne of daunger threatned to my lyfe, and now renewed this very last night in hir sleape as from a Highland knaive, Pat. [?] Flesher, that had been once in my familie. I told

¹ John Stirling, M. A., of the Tron Church, Edinburgh.

² George Leslie was minister of Holyroodhouse.

³ On the 19th of January the ordinance for taking the Engagement was repealed. Henceforth no one was to be obliged to promise, even as a test of office, that he would be faithful to the Commonwealth 'without King or House of Lords' (Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 1903, iii. 18).

hir al thes things wer rightly maid use of when they chaysed us the mor to God. . . . After sermon, Stenhous¹ cam into me and told me of Hilton's² saying he had not yett ingaged himself, and that I was not so violent agaynst it and that I urged maynly offence, etc. I told him my apprehension from thes mistakes of his going wrong, but I had exonered myself both to his uncle and fayther's sister, and to himself, that I thought it daungerous and destructive to his soule and bodey and estate and nayme. . . . My wyfe told me people thought my principles and way was so contrarye to ever wining [or] coming in agayn to publik places that non would trust 1000 m[erks] on my band. This maid me ejaculate to the Lord to lett me find and uthers see that my setting my face to that airth of following God fully and wholly, and not casting awaye my confidence, should be found to haive a great recompence of rewaird even in the sight of freinds and foes. . . . This afternoone I saw the Act of Treason declaired by the Protector and his Counsel³ and heard of the Juge-Advocat sending for the ministers of Edinburgh. . . . I blisse God also that I heare my wyfe hes this daye ended with Mr. Jhon Haye; and I recomended my daughter in hir seaknesse to the Lord. . . .

[Saturday] 4 February. This morning it pleased the Lord to putt in my heart to resolve to wryte to Lieut.-Col. Wallace; and . . . I was drawen on to presse him to incourage his compagnons from his experience of God's goodnesse to him in his greatest distresse; and then I was drawen to dissuade them from quyting the land out of despaire of any good to be doen in it. . . . Then I was directed to ask God's counsell by lott whither I should ask His mynd by lott anent my wryting or not to them, to exspect a chaynge in Scotland for the visible good of God's

¹ Sir William Bruce.

² Johnston of Hilton, see *supra*, p. 115, n. 1.

³ This ordinance, applying to 'the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging,' is printed in the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. pp. 814-816. It is dated 19th January 1653, that is 1653-1654.

interests and followers in Scotland, even in this 1654 year of God, and therupon to presse their staye in it as I did on M. D. Dikson and Doctor Jolley in 1637 at the begining of that year, and saw the begining of the chaynge befor the end of it. And heir first the lott was to cast the lott, and then I prayed agayne and the second lott was to tell them it, and presse them upon it to send som to our meiting in Merch nixt; and this I took as a great confirmation of the Lord's continewed intention to doe good in Scotland, for His interests and followers in sight of His foes. I saw the Act of Treason putt out by the Protector and his Counsel very peremptorily against al that shal any way impugne or question their power and gouvernement; but in God's matters full toleration as in the new gouvernement; and even in the Act of Treason the clause against Papists is only in the maters touching their civil authority and prejudices to it from Poperye; all which I thought a prognostik of their ruynes from the Lord. . . .

[Monday] 6 February. This night M. J. Oliphant told me of his dreame of my being in great daungers by the Highlanders. I dreamed myself that I was in great straits, and the Lord maid me to beleive and then brought me out of them. . . . I ended this day my letter to Col. Wallace about the love of God to us and our love to Him and our dying with Jesus Chryst. . . . I was interrupted by . . . telling the apearance of truble for praying for the King. . . .

[Tuesday] 7 February. . . . I heard Lieut.-Col. Wallace and Major Steuart had gotten their passes. . . . Makaumond told me they did not intend to goe to Irland afor May. . . . At night I perceaved my daughter Elizabeth's raiving, and so grew apprehensive of a hote fever or consumption to hir rayther then the aixes,¹ and told my wyfe and found hir also affected with it, and I went to God in ejaculations for my daughter's condition, and for the prevention of the decree befor it cam furth

¹ Ague.

if it be His good pleasour, and for the sanctifying His threatning and our apprehension of the daunger unto hir and unto us; and concurred in M. Jh. prayer to that effect; and therafter shoe sayd shoe found a sweat upon hir, which is the ordinary remedye. Lord, blisse it to hir.

[Wednesday] 8 February. . . . I went to the exercise and being disapoynted was returned back agayne, and found Lieut^t. Makamand standing at my doore for the letters to Kentyre, and thought it a weal trysted providence in both parts of it. . . . The Lady Riccartoun told me of my Lady Cranston's graunting that shoe looked soure upon me, and could not bid me praye becaus shoe thought my hand and my penne was the cause of al the divisions, and that shoe knew the letter was myn from the citations of Scripture, which shoe thought I had al perquyre;¹ but that I was not nor should not be left out of hir prayers. O Lord, Thou sees how even sundry of Thy servants and handmaids blaymes me for al the ruynes. In Thy awen good tyme cleer Thy awen interest and nayme and followers, I requeast The, my dear Lord, and maik hayste, and maik no tarying, becaus sundry of Thy elect ar deceived, and even Barnabasses² drawen awaye. This day wee heard that the Treatye was ended. . . .

[Thursday] 9 February. . . . Mary Magkye com in to me and . . . [told me] that, when shoe com out of Irland, shoe wondered at so litle fellow-feeling of the suffering of uthers in Irland, and mor at so litle regrayting of uthers waunting the publik ordinances, which maikes hir feare our feeling our awen waunt therof, wherof ther is som apearance in the ministers of Edinburgh being putt to suffering and their intending to quyte their charges. . . . M. G. Hall and M. Alexander Guthrye³ cam in and told me of God's following the call of Mr. William Crichtoun in Bathket with mor and mor lyfe, which affected me with

¹ By heart.

² Gal. ii. 13.

³ Alexander Guthrie, M.A., was minister of the first charge of Linlithgow (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 160, 161; Ferguson's *Ecclesia Antiqua*, 1905, pp. 72, 74).

som motion, and that maiks me aprehend the Lord will cayrye them throw.¹ S. J. Ch[eisly] told me how on Tuesday he had kepted his privat famlye fasting and covenanting, and at the close of it my letter com in to him to his comfort. . . . This afternoon the Provost's son, James Steuart, with S. J. C. cam to me about his choyse of a calling, wherin I gaive him my faythful counsel to confesse his sines according to al the particulars under the Comands, to reade Perkins his tractat of callings,² to sett tyme apairt to seek the Lord's special direction anent the choyse of a calling, as that wherin much of their comfort or discomfort al their lyfe would lye, and to begge the Lord to putt them in station and condition wherin they might most glorifye and injoye Him, and then I got libertye to recomend him to the Lord. Then M. M. Mackail³ cam in, and sayd that word to me—*If yee beleive not yee shal not be established*, 7 Isaye; and, in the prayer, that word—*Loe this is the Lord wee haive wayted for him*, etc.; and at his waygoing—*The Lord remember David in all his afflictiones*;—thrie very speaking words to me from His servant at his waygoing, the Lord be with him. . . .

[Saturday] 11 February. . . . Now the Lord assist me to aunswer M. J. G. last question and desyre of inquire anent his abyding or removing from Stirling, and about his sending me the Register of the Kirk. . . . Afternoon I conferred and prayed with my Lady Balmerinloch, and saw much of God's humbling hand on that familye, and on hir fayther's familye;⁴ and then I conferred and prayed with Janet Arnot. . . . Then I conferred with the Lady Cuninghamehead,⁵ and heard of the exceeding heavye condition of my Lady Loudon. Then I conferred with

¹ James Symson, minister of Bathgate, having died in January 1654, had rival successors, John Hutcheson a Resolutioner, and William Crichton, M.A., a Protester (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 167).

² In 1633, Wariston had himself studied Perkins's *Treatise of the Vocations or Callings of Men*. See previous volume of the *Diary*, pp. 134-136.

³ Matthew Mackail, M.A., minister of Bothwell (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 267).

⁴ Lady Balmerino was a daughter of the Earl of Loudoun.

⁵ Cunninghame of Cunninghamehead.

M. Andrew Ker.¹ . . . The Lord blisse al this dayes conferences. . . .

12 February, Lord's Day. . . . I dreamed . . . of God's jugments on Balmerinoch's and Loudon's persons and familyes, wherupon I spak to my wyfe how good it had been for the soules, estats, familyes, naymes of both thes that when they wer imprisoned in the Castel and Tower,² they had dyed then befor their great imployments, and loosness of conversation, and unfaythfulnesse to the publik weale therin; and therupon I prayed the Lord to taik me away in a sanctified affliction befor ever He bring me to unsanctified advancement, and uthers to think and saye of me as I now of them. . . . M. Jh. Oliphant told me of M. Jh. Scrymgeour['s] and M. Jh. Chalmers' thre comforts at their deaths, as old M. Jam. Wederburne yet tels, 1. That Christ was his Saviour and he His servant. 2. That he saw som fruits of his ministry. 3. That he was ay keepd on the right syde of the Kirk's busines. . . .

[Monday] 13 February. . . . I began my letter to my Lady Loudoun. . . . M. Jh. Stirling told me my Lord Yester's observation that never man, how tender soever, medled with and for the King but becam untender, and then was plagued with som jugment from the Lord. And I told him the storry of my Lord Carmichel's dreame, of on threatning to cutt of both his airmes if he did added wrongs against His cause unto his personal provocations. . . . I visited the Lady Stenhouse and prayed with hir. . . .

[Tuesday] 14 February. . . . Hearing that the com-union was to be in Demeanye³ upon the Lord's Daye com 8 dayes, I begge of the Lord His gracious providence to carye me saiflye thither and back agayne. . . . I gott M. J. G.⁴ letter of his many reasons of his dissatisfaction at my publishing my peremptorye determinatioun of the tyme and season of the Lord's reviving His work in Scot-

¹ Andrew Ker, the Clerk of the General Assembly, had, with others captured at Alyth (*supra*, p. 124), been set at liberty (*infra*, p. 258, *n.*).

² John, second Lord Balmerino, had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in 1634, and the Earl of Loudoun in the Tower of London in 1640.

³ Dalmeny.

⁴ James Guthrie.

land, and he tels me of his falling providentially on 28 and 29 Jer[emiah] which bred him many thoughts. . . . I read with his letter the 28 and 29 Jer. . . . and begges conviction and pardon on what I haive wronged the Lord, and begges His prevention of the scandal and prejudice to His work and people, and His confirmation now and verification thereafter of what was from the Lord in that. . . . S. Jh. Ch[eisly] told me his unsatisfaction with my comunitating thes things to many, tho he durst not contradict the thing; and told me of a grave woman's counsel to on, to whom M. Jhon Welsh sayd he could not returne to Air for befor he wane hom the plaigue of God would break out among them, to wonder if it held trew and be silent if not. . . .

[Wednesday] 15 February. This morning I am awaiked with a dream of a man standing steite [?] on a steeple head in a storme and bidden loupe down by M. D. D.¹ . . .

[Thursday] 16 February. . . . After the exercise M. Jh. Leviston told us of the treaty lyk to goe on; of the defeat of Glencairne; of Mr. Nye and Mr. T. Goodwin² preaching against toleration, which wee thought a great busnes as savouring of the Protector's wheeling that gait; of the good ministers thinking now this was the farre better course his protectorship nor letting the Parliament runne on; . . . then that Justice Kyle told al our foer Scots comissioners was for the Anabaptistmal pairtye; and that he had befor a comittee sayd to Suynton that tho his nayles wer never so long they would not scratch ordination out of the Byble. And M. Jh. Leviston pressed our wryting for M. A. Cant and al uther members of the Comission,³ that they might authorize som few neighbour ministers to admitt honest young men and it would weare out the uthers in several bounds. . . .

[Friday] 17 February. . . . This afternoone I took a great sleepynesse, and payne of my head and quasi-

¹ David Dickson.

² Philip Nye and Thomas Goodwin had been members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

³ The Commission of the General Assembly of 1650.

nesse [?] of my stomak, and grew affrayed of the aixes, and so did my wyfe. . . .

[Saturday] 18 February. . . . This morning I found my head better. I told my wyfe of hir great fault of repenting and casting up the putting away of hir swearing servants at my command, becaus of the prejudice of unuseful servants now, wherwith the Lord plaigued hir becaus of His displeasour at hir repenting mor of a deuty nor of uther sines. . . . M. David Hoome and thes of the Pans¹ cam into me, and shew me the juges their order. I told them my mynd freele agaynst it, and what I would wish them to doe. . . . Therafter I conferred awchyle with Elizabeth Ogilbye who was seak, and urged submission upon hir. This afternoon I got lettres from my Lord Brodye, and Laird and Lady of Lethain, and heard from the Laird of Innes, younger, the storie of their great sufferings, and the great swearings, cursings, drinkings, whoorings of that Highland crew, officers pryme and subordinate, and sojourns; and then the Lady Lethain tels me how it pleased the Lord to tye young Torretlye his affection to Lethain's worthy sister, and that it is lyk to be a match. This I thought a remarkable demonstration of a deitye to send hir north, and to bring hir good sister south be mariages.² Now this sam overruling Lord knowes how to provyde maintenance to me and myn, and to bring about unexpected matches to my daughters. . . . I earnestly intreate The to sanctifye the afflictions of that familye unto them, and to my Lord Brodye. My Lord Brodye's letter to M.D.Dikson shews the terrible abhominations of the comandars of the Highlanders to the forcing of women openly. . . . As I went to bedd I thought the abhominable profanitye and cursednesse of the Scots' forces shew their destruction was not lingring; and their crewel barbarity evidenced the necessitye of the Lord's dispensation continewing our injust captivers to be our necessary defenders in the land; and so Innes told me

¹ Prestonpans.

² See Brodie's *Diary*, Spalding Club, p. 100.

that the countrey people in Murraye rejoyced as at a great delyverye when Morgan¹ cam in to Murray and chaysed the uthers to the hilles agayne; and on the uther hand the blasphemyes, heresyess, errors, in the Inglish airmy portends the Lord will in His awen way and tyme reckon with them. The rest of this daye I spent on M. G. H[utcheson]'s papers.

[Sabbath] 19 February. . . . I did tell my wyfe my prayer that the Lord would sanctifye this desolation to my Lord Brody and Laird of Lethane, and to pardon their minglings and complyings with on pairty and with another in power, which had from the Lord helped on this upon their family Seing thes Highlanders professes openly they would roote al out that had been against Ja. Graham,² what would they doe to me! . . .

54. MERCH. FROM 20 FEBR. 1654 TO 6 APRYLL.³

[Monday] 20 February 1654. . . . This afternoon my wyfe was very sick and had a fitt of a fever at night.⁴ . . .

[Tuesday,] 21 February. . . . I resolved to taik my physik becaus I heard of the delaye of the comunion in the Ferrye on M. Jh. Durye's [?] seaknesse. . . . The report of the peace concluded in Holland with Ingland, and the report of Midleton coming from Holland with 6 ships and landing in the Highlands with so many men, above 2000 foot and 600 horse, ar both reported together. . . . I find myself dull and heavy with too much eating. Lord, maik me mor sober and temperat in my dyet, and pardon my insobrietye, and direct and assist me to wryte to L[ady ?] Lethane and L[ord] B[rody]; and let me find afterward a good reason of my not getting word from Stirling. Lord, preserve my Register and letters. . . .

[Wednesday] 22 February. . . . I was exceeding seak

¹ Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Thomas Morgan.

² The Marquis of Montrose.

³ '54 Merch' on outer side of front board, and 'From 20 Febr. 1654 to 6 Apryll' on inner side.

⁴ In this entry the 3rd of September 1652 is given as the date of the oft-mentioned fast day in Calder.

of my physik. After desner Doctor[?] Hay fell on a discourse of melancholye as *delirium sine febris*, best and most knowen be a man's when he is ryding or walking al day alon his haiving extravagant unduly connected[?] fancyes and suppositions, eyther of feares of this and that evil, or hoope of this and that good, bigging castles in the air, *que nusquam sunt nec fieri possunt*; then bent on anything obstinat in *proposito* vindictive and prudent [*sic*]. . . . M. Pat. Gilespey cam in and told of M. And. Graye[']s fall and hurt of his airme in the coming heir. Then I heard the confirmations of the great news of the peace with Holland, and som reports of Midleton's landing with sundry ships, men and airmes, and som aprehensions or exspectations of the King's being their. . . . In the night I fand my wyfe chyding or reasoning with Elspeth Ogilby and Bessye, and then I missed hir out of hir bed which troubled me very much; and I told hir of it, and prayed the Lord to delyver hir from hir passions and humor and to fitt hir for deuty. Then I told hir of Mary Thomson, the woman that M. R. Fleming had spoken of to us and was now with Lauren[ce?] Henderson[']s daughters, and desyrous to com to us who had been seeking for hir; and my sister told me how somtym shoe was ravished at the exercise and so was Nancey Moore the last Foorsday.

[Thursday] 23 February. . . . M. Jh. St[irling] told me of som motion or intelligence of som things to be proposed to us at our meeting in Merch nixt; and that the Protector intended to call an assembly of divynes of Ingland, Scotland, and Irland, and to turne toleration unto accomodation fra once the peace wer settled. . . .

[Friday and Saturday] 24 and 25 [February]. On Frayday morning I took my physik. . . . I was seak but not so as on Wednesday. Heard many news confirming and contradicting the peace with Holland and landing of Midleton. At night my wyfe took a sore brash with the rysing of hir spleen and bairnebed, so as Doct[or] Haye trimbled, fearing shoe should dye in his hand, for hir pulse was interrupted and shoe suffocated. I went to the back-chamber and prayed to the Lord Jesus to pitye,

pardon, sanctifye, and saive me and my wyfe and children, and to compassionate our present condition in soule, body, estate, and nayme. I cryed earnestly for help and releefe in this strait; and in this tyme shoe had been in hir extremity and had revived agayne, and then got good and ease by a cleister. . . . On Frayday morning . . . I took my physik and was not so seak. This afternoon I fell in clashes of idle storyes, wherin I intermixed many feigned or lying circumstances, and was smitten in my mynd for that abhominable corruption of my heart that I think can neyther remember and tell anything bypast, nor think on anything present, nor forthink and forsee or forheare of anything to com, and tell it over agayne without som act of my fancye and carnal affection adding or pairing or chaynging circumstances unto what I would haive befor or now or for the tyme to com. . . .

26 February, Lord's Day. . . . I dreamed I was lyk to be taiken by som troupers and was chaysed and M. Jh. Oliphant taken; and remembred the storrye of James Myles escaping at Kilseyth when his neighbour [was] killed asyde, and a Highland man saiving another, remembring me of that reiterated sentence in the sanctuaries that God wil be found by strange providences in extremities to preserve thes for whom He hes any service. . . . Between sermons I gott the news of S. W. Bruce accepting the sherif-clerkship of Stirling, so contrarie to his promises and declarations to me at our last meiting as troubled me very much. . . . And I heard from the L[ady] Liberton that I was not so farre against it (for which saying I had to him censured Hilton), and that he would not see me for a 12 moneth, and bad hir byde and see what I would bee about another 12 moneth. Al which I thought strange becaus he had assured me not only of his refusal, but of his resolution to give a testimonye in his refusal by letter; and that M. J. G. had sayd he would rayther see him streiked then to embrace such a temptation; and yet his and my nayme wil suffer most in S. W. Bruce his doing. The Sprit of the Lord be with me and keepe me on my feet or remove me. M. Jh.

Oliphant remembred me weal of the observation of sundry, that no man who startled at our first testimonye or letter that was written had stoodden since but fallen off—so Craighal, Hopton, Lokhart, M. P. G., Rob. Simpson, M. Jhon Spreule, the Clerk, Rob. Andrew,¹ Hilton, S. William B[ruce], and sundry uthers. The Lord my God keepe me as a faythful wittenesse unbrybed by eyther party, and constant to His treuth and interest to the death. After the afternoon's sermon I visited the Lady Stenhous. . . .

[Monday] 27 February. This morning I took my physik. . . . I mett with Al. Jaffrey; and then with S. W. Bruce, to whom I told my mynd freely befor the Lady Libertoun and S. J. Ch[eisly] as is written on the uther syde; and then with my Lord Hopton. . . .

[Tuesday] 28 February. . . . This day I intend to draw blood. I praye the Lord blisse it to me, and the physik I haive taiken. . . . The Lord purge away any melancholious evil blood which I may haive contracted with thir thre years and an half great chaynges, and which may maik me mistake the Lord's will and my deuty. I was sorrye to heare of M. R. Douglas spending most of his sermon on Sunday last against meittings of persons of divers familyes or congregations, in a tyme of the libertye of the publik ordinances, as seditious and tending to separation; and so hes M. J. H.² doen several tymes. Al this day I was diverted by various compagne after the drawing of my blood, which was good. . . .

[Wednesday] 1 of Merch. I took my physik agayne by the d[oc]tor's persuasion, and found God's good providence in my doing so by purging out many remayning humours. I got liberty in morning prayer, was diverted al daye by compagne, gott various reports of the news of the peace, and found my body much lighter then befor. . . . At night fand my wyfe not weal, and my daughter very sick and crying out from hir fearful dreames of the English marshal carying her mother and fayther awaye. . . .

[Thursday] 2 Merch. I read this morning M. Ruther-

¹ Lieut. Robert Andrew. ² James Hamilton of the second charge of St. Giles.

furd's aunsuers to M. J. G[uthrie's] three doubts. . . . I remember the Lady Liberton told me of S. W. B. going to dwell in Stirling, and saying that he had mor reason to be jealous of us then wee of him, because he had sayd he could feyght agaynst them, for which the Ingl[ish] would count him a traitor.

[Friday] 3 Merch. . . . I saw Colonel Fenwik and heard from him both of the Holland ambassador's landing in Ingland and of Midleton's landing in Sutherland,¹ and of his discontent at the shews in Ingland, and designes in this busines if there wer any, and at the going on of the sequestrations in Scotland. . . . I heard from Torretly about his match and then recomended it to God. . . .

[Saturday] 4 Merch. . . . I gott a sad letter from M. J. G.² about S. W. B.³ his miscariage opening the mouthes of al the profane, and filling M. J. G. with contempt and reproch as also with calumnyes for the English taiking M. G. B.⁴ . . .

5 Merch, Lord's Day. . . . I conferred and prayed with my aunt the Lady Stenhous. . . .

[Monday] 6 Merch. . . . Alexander Jaffrey told me of the English being very angry at our meittings and testimonyes, as being of privat men laying sines to the publik magistrat's charge; and that they ar farre from giving to us any aunsuer; but wer once on a waye of taiking order with som of us that ar thought to leade on and draw on the rest unto that continewed opposition against them and distance from them, especyaly wer most incensed against M. J. G. and me as the keepers of the godly in Scotland in contrary termes to them by our influence at our meittings; and that they would be very angrye at our meeting the next week. And I fand him verie sharpe against our meittings and testimonyes, wheras Colonel Fenuik was very calme, so that our troubles aryses from our awen Scotsmen irritating the English against us who keeps

¹ See *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, 1822, pp. 254, 255; Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 52, 54.

² James Guthrie.

³ Sir William Bruce.

⁴ George Bennet, minister of St. Ninians?

the rest of the godly, as they think, from following their wayes. . . . After sermon I found S. J. C.¹ doubt much of the expediencye of giving any testimonye at this tyme ; . . . and I found him censorious at my divulging as he sayd my papers, which he thinks occasioned M. G. H.² speaking in the presbytery of Edinburgh that som in the Kirk of Scotland maynteaned trimbling to be a token of God's presence, and then at som expressions of my paiper. . . .

[Tuesday] 7 Merch. This morning my wyfe told me of Alexander Jaffray telling hir of the Protector getting mor hard impressions of me ; and shoe sayd would I never think on my awen estate and condition, that it could not subsist on this waye, and asked what I was thinking on ; and I sayd on S. W. B. busines and the waye of our deuty to God in thir tymes, leaving to the Lord to think on us and our estate as He in His love from His wysdom thinks best to bring about by His power. . . . The Lady [Stenhous] and uthers was fearing my wyfe's wronging herself by hir voyage to Leyth. I praye the Lord preserve hir and the chyld shoe is thought to haive, and to restore my daughter Elspet. . . .

[Wednesday] 8 Merch. . . . M. Jh. Oliphant told me of the miserable condition of the godly in Fyfe, from the rage of the gentrye their against them, and told me of their rayling against me, even of thos whom I never wronged nor had adoe with. . . . I heard of S. W. B. his family falling sick of the aixes : the Lord warne him of his sine and reclayme him in tyme.

[Thursday] 9 Merch. . . . I got a letter from Sophia Jhonston, and had a debayte with Hilton about the shirrefship, and was distracted afternoon about M. A. G. and Ra. Balzyes mariage.

[Friday] 10 Merch. . . . I was distracted al foranoon with M. A. Gray's contract with Rachel Balze,³ both from the kirk and uther exercise. . . .

¹ Sir John Cheisly.

² George Hutcheson.

³ Andrew Gray, M.A., was minister of the collegiate charge of the Outer-High Kirk of Glasgow (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 22). Rachel Baillie was Wariston's niece and daughter of George Baillie of Jerviswood (Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 168).

[Saturday] 11 Merch. . . . I got a letter from Colonel Ker to putt me effectually in mynd to blisse God's holy nayme for His gracious returnes to my prayers in the behalfe of his litle daughter whos fever the Lord had turned by a special hand. . . .

[Monday] 13 Merch. . . . I was called to Elizabeth Ogilby, who in hir fittes was crying out extreemly that I, and 24 uthers who would not yeild, was caryed away prisoners; and that uthers yeilded, and that shoe was aye affrighted that som straunge thing would befall this meeting. I spak to hir, but shoe could not beleive it was I M. Pat. Gil[lespie] cam in afternoon with som uthers, and shew me a letter from the Protector directed to him, requyring him to com up to London to speake to him of maters of very great importance agaynest the tenth of Apryle; and then he told me that he had been out at Dalkeyth, and heard from Colonel Lilburne of uther two the lyk letters to M. Jh. Leviston and M. Jh. Meinzeis;¹ and he desyred my advyce in it. I told it was a new and important businesse and uthers was to meete too-morrow, and I desyred to advyse til then. . . .

[Tuesday] 14 Merch. Day of our meeting. . . . I heard of the *Diurnal* telling of conferences of the Lord Protector with Owen, Goodwin, Locker, Nay and uthers, about the purging of the ministrye and comissions issued out to 30 ministers and uthers. Then I got M. J. G[uthrie's] book of the *Waters of Sichor*² against the

¹ Livingstone says: 'In the summer of 1654, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Menzies, and I were called by letters from the Protector to come to London. I went, because he had the present power over the land, and I thought there might be some hope we might procure some good to Scotland; and I went the rather because at the time the moss-troupers were in the night-time seeking for me at my house, and I was like not to be long in safety. But being at London, I found no great satisfaction, and therefore I left the other two there and came home' (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 187).

² In the Advocates' Library (Wodrow Manuscripts, vol. xvii., Rob. iii. 2.15) there is a collated eighteenth-century transcript of *The Waters of Sihor, or the Land's Defection founded in the late Publick Resolutions*. The epistle dedicatory extends to 4½ pages, the preface to 16½, and the text (which is divided into five books) to 341. So that in all there are 362 pretty closely-written quarto pages. On the back of the title-page are the words, 'Published for

Publik Resolutions, and glaunched over the titles and read the prefaces, which ar weal doen; and so I prayed the Lord to thrust it out in publik and to back it with His blissing. I heard uncou things of M. J. N.[?] I got a letter from my Lady Cranston and another from M. Jh. Burnet. I prayed the Lord to direct us at our meeting this week. . . . At our meiting Mr. Rutherford, M. P. Giles, M. Jam. Neism[ith] and M. Ja. Wederburne prayed. . . .

[Wednesday] 15 Merch. . . . On the uther syde [of this book] ar the passages of the daye at our comittee and meiting, and notes of our debaites against M. J. L. and M. P. G. going up to London, against which I gaive my advyee positively, not only becaus of the snares to themselves and scandals, bot also becaus of the real prejudices to the work of God by their condescending to ouvertures their, and the Protector his maiking thes foundations of persecution of thes in Scotland that will not agree therunto as irreconcilable, obstinat, peremptory men. . . . M. J. G. sayd at desner to my wyfe that shoe might haive yet mor adoe to beare hir prosperity then hir present adversitie; and he told me the strange circumstance of S. W. Bruce his busines, that being under such temptations and getting therein bared [?] at Fenwik and Dunipace comunion, he at both thes had solemnely ingaged himself to the Lord not to medle with them, and when he was remembred therof sayd that was but his weaknesse. O, dreadful. Then M. Duncan Forbes told me from my L. Arbuthnot, who had it from my Lady Sutherland, that their was a blakhaired young man in the Haye¹ with Midleton to whom they held off their hatts when they spake with him.² . . . M. J. G. and I spake our myndes freelye to Col. Ker against his upgoing to Ingland at this tyme about his privat affaires, which, being trysted with their upgoing, would turne to his snare. . . .

[Thursday] 16 Merch. . . . I prayed the Lord to assist

Ædificatione.² But it does not appear to have been printed. The original was lent to Wodrow in 1709 (*Wodrow Correspondence*, i. 68). There are a few excerpts in Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, pp. 618-622. ¹ The Hague.

² See *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, 1822, pp. 94-96.

His young servant, M. A. Graye, that is to preach this daye, and desert him not becaus of folk's thronging and exspecting great things.¹ The Lord assisted him to preach notably. . . . Wee this day settled the voluntary visitationes of som throw the several bounds upon the call of the bounds, and spent this day on the naymes and on the directions about it. . . .

[Friday] 17 Merch. . . . I got libertye to praye on thes things and remembred what M. Jo. St.² told of som ministers of Edinburgh saying that I prayed a preaching. . . . I remember I got yesterday after desner a letter from Col. Hacket's hand, written be Lieut. Col. Wallace, which shew their receate of myn and refreshment be it and prayer that the Lord would blisse the rest to them; and Col. Hacket told me of fyve or six of them reading it, and resolution to staye togither and desyre of a minister; and withal that M. Jh. Carstares had broken up the pacquet and read it, but got not his awen letter til now he, cuming out of Kentyre, delyvered it to him. . . . Ingleston told me the Ingleish looked on me as their greatest enemy; they had no will directly to persecute me, becaus they knew I would suffer from principles of conscience and that would drawe uthers off them; and therfor they resolved indirectly to straiten me, even as Crawford Lindsay resolved of befor. . . . Ingleston told me as M. J. G. had sayd befor that he³ hoped to haive peace with Spayne and Fraunce and Holland and in Highlands, but he expected no peace with Warriston. . . . I blissed the Lord for His free, undeserved grace of exoner my soule to M. J. L. and M. P. G.⁴ afor al the meeting, whom I took and attested to be witnesses of my faythfulnesse in that chaarge of being procutor for the Kirk of Scotland, the only place now left to me be the Lord's providence in the earth. . . .

¹ Andrew Gray was a popular preacher (Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 54). Baillie did not appreciate his 'new guyse of preaching, which Mr. Hew Binning and Mr. Robert Leighton began' (Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 258).

² John Stirling of the Tron Church?

³ Cromwell.

⁴ John Livingstone and Patrick Gillespie.

[Saturday] 18 Merch. . . . After prayer cam in Col. Ker and wee conferred, then M. Jh. Leviston, then M. Ja. Guthrye; and M. Jh. Leviston denyed the speaking so to S. W. B.¹ Then he told his resolution neyther to meet with and sitt in consultation with Independent divynes nor with his colleagues, bot give his aunswers alon; that he would speak in nayme of non but himself; that he would tell them they had our mynds in our testimonyes; that they would satisfactorily aunswer thes; that he knew no waye but to sett up the Comission and visitation [of] 1650; and that they might send down any to speake with ourselves; that they would bewarre of meddling with the godly, and abstean from their vast toleration and delyver us from this Court that was lyke to plant als many evil as good men. I desyred som of his frends might heare from him and how maters went. I told him my aprehensiones of his snares from his temper, inclyned to moderation and compliace, and from his colleagues both of them, and from the societie he would find their as a great chaynge of the air and his complexion therby, and desyred him to remember of Bredhal² experience. I told him my aprehension of their desaigne, eyther to gayne som men in Scotland or to confyne them unto som parts of England or Irland wher they would haive no influence, as K[ing] James did, and K[ing] Charles intended anent me in Newcastle. . . .

[Monday] 20 Merch. This morning I heard of the Advocat³ being fyned in a 1000 pd. sterling for his cariage in 1648 and 50, and could not but acknowledge the just hand of God in it meeting with him and many uthers, that drew on or countenanced that warre for the King, the cause first and last of al our miseryes; lykas I heard of God's talking away in the chyld-bearing [her] that had lyen under incest and murther 14 yeares, according to hir awen oath let that chyld never pairt from hir sydes if

¹ Sir William Bruce.

² Livingstone might well be reminded of his pliability in treating with the King in Holland (*Select Biographies*, Wodrow Society, i. 170-184).

³ Sir Thomas Nicolson. 50 may be read 51. The last figure has been altered.

shoe was guilty of it. Proofes of God's justice confirms my faythe and exspection of proofes of His goodnesse and kyndnesse to his poor oppressed freinds. . . . After sermon my Lord Argyle sent a servant to desyre me to meet him at the Coltbrig. I advysed it with the rest, they bad mee goe to Brunsfeild-yairds, whair now I am intreating the Lord eyther to prevent our meeting be His providence, as He did the last tyme, or els to direct and assist me by His influence to gett good or doe good at it by my exoneration. And, just as I was coming away, M. S. R.¹ standing proponed that their might be a testimonye against the present usurpation of the gouvernement by Cromwell, and that with toleration of religion settled as the essential ingredient of the gouvernement and magistracy, just contrarie to our intent, which is only in the preservation of religion. Now I praye the Lord God to direct them to omitt no necessary deuty or testimonye on the on hand, nor to runne rashlye upon any unnecessary rock. . . . I think it som strange passage of providence that removes me from the consultation about it. . . . Heir, when I look on the house, yairds, and feilds, I remember the Lord's kyndnesses to me within them in the summer [of] 1650, and in His six covenants maid with me and myn then. . . . My Lord Argyle told me a question, if he might imploye the Inglish against the Malignants in airmes, and that M. D. Dik² was mute at it. I told my resolution throw God's strenth not to medle with eyther of them. He told faire hoopes, if I would medill. I perceived his desseigne, and told my continew-ing in old principles against associations with Malignants or Sectaryes; and conjured him to repent of his meddling with both befor that the Lord, who had begun to reckon with his house, should maik an utter end. He pressed me to keepe charity to him, and wee spake about the King's match with his daughter, wherof he disclaymed the knowledge til Cassiles proposed it 8 dayes afor the King's coronation, except be waye of sport and drink.³ He shew

¹ Mr. Samuel Rutherford.

² Mr. David Dickson.

³ See *supra*, pp. 46, 97, 98, 126.

me of the Protector his going to Whythall, and making 60 coates for his guard in the old facon and forme, and of the treatye going on and French ambassadors. I told him our mynd against the ministers upgoing or any bodye's taiking places of power and trust, wheron he had insisted as that it wer good that som of us wer in power, and Col. Ker had the military sword. I urged the contradiction of new gouvernement to the Covenant, and our declarations in 1647 and 1649 and 1650. . . .

[Tuesday] 21 Merch. This morning I sought and gott after long search The Agreiment of the People¹ and the Essex and Lancashyre ministers their testimonyes² against the sam, and blisseth God for the finding of them and therby helping our busines, which wee resolved to send with a letter to our ministers to be comunicat to Cromwell. . . .

[Wednesday] 22 Merch. . . . This afternoon wee had great debayte from M. R. T. and M. Ja. N.³ against the first part of our testimonye against the present civil powers and then against the sending it in a letter to the two ministers as not faire dealing with them, and then a great debayte how to call Cromwell so as to cause him receive it and yet so as not to offend any. . . .

[Thursday] 23 Merch. . . . After debaytes about the

¹ The *Agreement of the People* in its first form (Oct. 1647) is in Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, new ed., iii. 392-394. Of the version published by Lilburne and other Levellers in December 1648, the heads are given 'somewhat largely' in Rushworth's *Collections*, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1358-1361. As finally completed by Fairfax and 'the General Councel of Officers of the Army,' it was printed in 1649, with a Petition to the Commons from Fairfax and the said General Councel, and a Declaration by them 'concerning the same.' Minus the Petition and Declaration, it is in Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 270-282. Lilburne issued still another version in May 1649.

² The titles of these two are thus given in the *Thomason Catalogue*:—'The Essex Watchmen's Watchword. By way of Apologetical Account of the true grounds of their first Engagement in the Cause of God, King and Parliament. Also by way of Premonition of the dangerous evil in a paper entitled The Agreement of the People intended to be tendred to them for subscription.' 'The paper called The Agreement of the People taken into consideration and the lawfulness of subscription resolved in the negative by the Ministers of the Province of Lancaster.'

³ Mr. Robert Traill and Mr. James Naismith.

style, wee agreed on the letter in the foranoone, and then read M. Ja. Simpson's paper and had debaytes with M. And. Ker. . . . Wee spak about the testimoney to the synods and som uther things and particularly of the testimoney against the Highlanders by the ministers. . . .

[Friday] 24 Merch. . . . I heard at supper of the Lord's eminent justice in the terrible death of M. Duncan Forster in great terror after his denying Chryst to be God, remembring me of the lyk death of M. Robert Rancin,¹ another great philosoph by the swelling of his toungue after his blasphemous abuse of Scriptures. . . .

[Saturday] 25 Merch. . . . M. J. Guthrie told to the whol meeting of the Protector his saying that he was confident to haive peace with Spayne, Holland, Fraunce, but that he had no hoope to gett peace with my Lord Wariston. The Lord keepe me from confederacyes with him whyl he builds on the foundations diametrically contradictory to the Lord's foundations. . . . I read a pairt of the province of London their *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*.² . . . I visited Jean Balcanquel and prayed with the Ladye Stenhouse; . . . wondered to heare of my Lord Brodye whos coming maid me feare he had gotten a letter, but I found he was com only upon my Lord Argyle his busines, and he told me of Argyle's baise flattering letters to the Lord Protector offering and ingaging himself to his service. He told me of his and the freinds of Huntley pairting the estate of Huntley among them, and then of Midleton disapoynting the Highlanders, and they disapoynting him in their vayne hoopoes conceaved upon their frothy letters to uthers *hinc inde* as horse coopers, and that Glencairne would be off and is discontented. . . . The Lord be pleased to convoye saife to their homes the ministers that was at our meitings and the uther honest men. . . . The Lady Liberton had told me of the

¹ Mr. Robert Rankine.

² '*Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, or the Divine Right of the Gospel-Ministry. . . . Published by the Provincial Assembly of London. London, Printed for G. Latham, J. Rothwell, S. Gellibrand, T. Underhill, and J. Cranford, 1654.'

fearful death of Lord Maxwel, and comfortable resolut death of the Earl of Orknay, who had been a proud oppressor but was brought to great lownesse in his condition and then in his mynd, and by coming in the King's will lost his lyfe.¹ . . .

[Monday] 27 Merch. This morning my wyfe sayd what would I doe about my childrein. I sayd even cast them and leave them upon the Lord, and, if He think not fitt to provyde any uther meanes of their maintenance, let every on of them goe to service, which by His grace I desyre and resolve rayther to doe for myself then to complye with the corruptions of the tyme. . . . My wyfe had sent for me about the informations to be sent with M. P. G. and M. J. L.² anent the particular wrongs doen to me. . . . The Lord Jesus, in 1638, when He had brought me to a sad resolution of going out of the country and selling my estate, He then provyded better for me and myne nor befor. . . . Afternoon I heard from my Lord Brodye of M. R. Douglas speiking to him as freelye agaynste the King and the lords and thes in airmes as ever he hard me speake; that he exspected no good from any of them, but haytred and ruyne to the work and people of God in Scotland; that in secret he durst not praye for the King's restitution; that he thought he, and his nobles and officers, reuling over us would be farre worse then the Englishes reuling over us; that he knew Glencairne was a proud profan man; that he saw from the profanetye and wickednesse of the generality that the English was not soone lyke to fall nor this land to recover; that he looked for sorer stroakes; that the Protesters their ministers left their awen congregations wheir they excluded manye and cam to uther congregations and gaive the communion to 1000 they know not at al. . . . Then my L[ord] B[rodye] told me of Glencairne's speaking to M.

¹ John, seventh Lord Maxwell, was beheaded on the 21st of May 1613, and Patrick, second Earl of Orkney, on the 6th of February 1615 (Calderwood's *History*, vii. 177, 195; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. 28-53, 81-87, 272, 308-327).

² Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. John Livingstone.

Jos. Brody¹ that, when they prevayled, they would not suffer ministers to medle in civil affaires, but choyse out 15 or 16 of them and close them within a house together to aunswer to what caises they would propone to them, and keepe the doore til they gaive it; and that Middleton had from the King not only an absolut comission in military and civil, but also in ecclesiastik maters, as to depose and putt out ministers.² Then I heard of Monk's coming doun presentlye to be comander in cheife, and that he sayd he could live with any pairty but the Remonstrators and Protesters in Scotland; that he had in the Craags [?] with Lambert urged the burning of Edinburgh and yet inclyned to it; that he would burne whersoever the pairtyes or houses resett their adversaries. At night I saw a declaration of the Lord Protector's for a publik fast, wherin their ar som good things, but som very doubtful, and som very bad, and all smelling in the draught of a sectarian sprite without solidity, order, connexion. . . .

[Tuesday] 28 Merch. . . . I blissed God that putt in our hearts every year thes 3 yeares since Worster to give our thre testimonyes in the begining of every year; and ware with Holland followed on the first, and chaynge of Parliament and gouvernement on the second, and what will follow on the 3d wee leave it to the Lord to think upon and bring about.³ This looks lykest our last testimonye against their civil power in Scotland both in regard of the difficultyes wee had to passe this and in regard Monk readily will not suffer us to meet and testifye. . . . Seing wee thought fitt my wyfe and I to send up with M. P. G.⁴ the papers shewing my prejudices from the English and the wronges they haive doen to me, I praye the Lord eyther to blisse that or any uther mean He thinks

¹ Joseph Brodie, M.A., minister successively of Keith and Forres.

² Middleton's Instructions are in Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 25-30.

³ For the dates of these and other testimonies of the Protesters, see *Report on the Laing Manuscripts*, i. 274, 275.

⁴ Mr. Patrick Gillespie.

best for our subsistence. I desyre to haive the wrongs doen to me known, that eyther they may be repayred or els seen to be doen designedlye. . . . I blisse God for M. Jam. Guthrie's preservation from seen danger wherof he wrytes, and I heard of the ordinance about comissioners to trye minister's past by the Councel. I spak with M. Jh. Murraye; . . . he told me in Stratherne they beleived that tho I satt in my chamber yet I directed al maters in the State. . . . I was afternoon up with my aunty the Lady Stenhous, conferring and praying and therin got som libertye. When S. J. Ch.¹ and I compaired the dayes of their apoynting their fast being the 20 day and the daye of keeping their fast the 24 wer the tuo dayes of our begining and ending of our testimonye. I wish they tooke it as a good trysting providence of an aunsuear to the evil of their waye. I heard their ordinance will seclude ordination. M. Jh. Murray² told me of his fayther saying that M. W. Colvin³ told him that M. Rob. Douglas and he never differed in privat, and then that himself could maik good the Earl of Glencairne's saying that every daye he craived God pardon for his taiking the Covenant. . . .

[Wednesday] 29 Merch. . . . After the exercise wee had a great debayte with M. P. Gil.,⁴ who refused to taik with him the letter and the testimonye; and he told his conference with M. R. D.⁵ which was just lyk that of M. R. D. with Brodye, saying the sam expression that their was not a frend to the cause or people of God in the King or any of his pairty, etc.; and then M. P. G. told him what if Protector sett up a comission to purge and plant as *in corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, seing wee would not doe it, and that he did it with a *salvo*: the uther had no will of that, but graunted the need of purging. M. P. G. spak of busines of union as so necessary, and which L. B.⁶ secunded, and necessitated me to cleare our waye

¹ Sir John Chiesly.

² Probably John Murray, who succeeded his father as minister of Methven (Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 650).

³ See *supra*, p. 163, n. 3.

⁵ Mr. Robert Douglas.

⁴ Mr. Patrick Gillespie.

⁶ Lord Brodie.

of testimonyes to be the waye of our deuty, and the meane of keeping God in the land in the tyme of our forfaythers and our awen; tho M. P. G. called it ay disdaynfully a paper busnes and paper feyght, and spak of magistracye abstractly as among heathens and not as among Christians and Covenanters. . . . I urged and begged to find the favor, protection, countenance, blissing of God as farre above al uther things, and a good compensation of al uther reproches and discontents whatsoever as I mett with som in the hard speeches both of M. P. G. and L. B. against me as the great obstrueter of and enemye to the union.

[Thursday] 30 Merch. . . . I sent M. R. T.¹ to M. P. G. to tell him what a great sine befor God and scandal befor his people it would be to him to slight, disdayne and contemne so farre the faythful advyce of his brethrein, from their consciences as in God's sight, as to refuse to receave their letter; and on the uther pairt to goe and medle in the affairs of the Church of Scotland, and refuse to taik the mynd of thes whom in his conscience he knew to have been honoured of the Lord to be faythful witnesses to and for Him against al partyes and causes; and to desyre him to bewarre of the Protector's commanding the Comission and visitations [of] 1650, and that with restrictions and limitations, which would scruple thes that wer naymed in them; but, if he that usurpes *vicem magistratus* would doe anything *pro magistratu*, let him doe as Cyrus did, proclayme libertye and desyre them to goe and doe al things in the house of God according to the will of God and ther comissioners; and that for their incouragement he assures that they shal not give stipends to thes they purge out nor denye to thes they plant; and as for the uther busnes of comissions, to purge and plant from him as magistrat *in corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, I bad tell him not only he was not magistrat, but also even the right magistrat could have no pretence to that until he desyred the ordinary judicatoryes and extraordinary,

¹ Mr. Robert Traill?

as comissions and visitations, to doe their deuty of purging, and upon their refuseal or corruption taik an extraordinary course. . . . And as for my Lord Brody and his tale of M. R. D.¹ speeches, that I thought thes speeches, in the conscience and mouth of the head of our greatest antagonist and the head of the Public Resolutions, to be in God's providence a great confirmation to me of our testimonyes, and withal to be the best foundation of union, for seing it is graunted the King and his party ar not frends bot enemyes to the cause and people of God, then they shuld not have been trusted with power over them. Let them acknowledge then the fault to God in the Publick Resolutions, and resolve to concurre with us in testimonyes against both partyes² as enemyes, or associating with them and sitt down in the Comission and visitations [of] 1650, and concurre heartily in the purging work, and wee would soone agree. This day M. A. Gr[ay] and R[achel] Bailzy was maryed. S. J. Ch. and M. S. R.³ conferred with me al foranoone and remembred that the fyve who was on the Junto to chaynge our religion, the King, Canterbury, Strafur, D[uke] Hamilton, E[arl] Holland, wer al brought to a scaffold. . . . I was at M. A. G[ray's] mariage, then I was^k with the Lady Stenhous and got libertye to recomend hir to God and begged to hir a view of hir 67 yeirs sines in the on, and of Gods 67 yeirs heaped kyndnesses to hir in the uther. I got libertye to recomend the bryde to the Lord. I was wearyed at supper with our idle discourse.

[Friday] 31 Merch. . . . I remembred of M. P. G. saying if he took the letter and testimonye he behooved to wryte a declaration against it, and then that M. R. Tr. told me that he found him fallen and willing to taik the papers, but God's providence had ordored so that M. R. Tod was awaye with them. . . .

[Saturday] 1 Apryle. I remember yesterday I read to the Lady Stenhous the end of 2 and 4 Hebrews . . .

¹ Mr. Robert Douglas.

² Malignants and Sectaries.

³ Sir John Cheisly and Samuel Rutherford.

and caused hir to repeate it after me. . . . I heard the Lady Stenhous was dead. . . . I thought hir removal at this tyme when S. W. B.¹ was going wrong was lyk a stroak to him removing his parent that would haive been praying for him, even as I thought and sayd to my Lord Crawford, when his mother dyed. . . .

2 Apryle, the Lord's Daye. . . . The Lady Liberton told me of hir sister's dying without any trouble, dead sueat or shiver, and that, tho shoe had not a shilling, God furnished all accomodations to hir, that shoe waunted nothing ever for ease or credit, so that it was good to rely on God; and how He had maid hir eager after the means [of grace], tho hir memory could retayne nothing, and that yet He brought by His Spirit, according to His promise, al passages to hir remembrance to speak and praye on them, sleeping and waiking; and that when shoe was opened their was not fyve spoonfuls of blood throw hir body, and that al hir intrals wer out of hir belly in unto hir rupture; and that the doctor, potingar² and chirurgien³ mervelled how shoe had been nourished, or how the excrement wan throw, thes being out of hir belly (the very colon being in the rupture), unto the draught. . . . I heard S. J. C. house was plundered; and I heard ther was a great stirre among the good people of the uther syde of the Presbytery of Lithgow against their ministers, as M. W. Tueedy⁴ and uthers, since our folks preaching in Bathgaite; and that they sayd it was even lyk a mureburning among them kendling heir and their; and that they thought their ministers' gifts blasted since their seperation. I praye the Lord for their encouragment to guyde weal that busnes of M. W. Crichton and M. Jh. Huchessin,⁵ and notwithstanding the present discouragements to turne it weal and right about to a good close. . . . Wee sang 145 Ps. from 9 v., the verse wherwith

¹ Sir William Bruce of Stonehouse accepted the sheriffship of Stirling from the English (Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 248, 257).

² Apothecary.

³ Surgeon.

⁴ William Tueedy, M.A., minister of Slamannan (Scott's *Fasti*, 1866, i. 200).

⁵ See *supra*, p. 204, n. 1, and *infra*, pp. 227, 231.

I fell dead in the Sheins yards about 21 yeirs sine, in 1633. . . . I was at the Lady Stenhous burial, and repeated the services to my wyfe, and fand hir heaveye upon the news of the Lady Ava hir sudain death.

[Monday] 3 Apryl. . . . I heard of Hilton's instalment in the sherifship with solemnity. I chalenged S. W. B.¹ on his speech of M. Jh. Leviston, wherein he graunted his wrong about the saying he charged him, denyed the ingagement at the comunion, but granted his greatest aversnesse then, . . . and sayd his speech of not seing me was but in sport. I thought him very evil lyke. I read afternoon on *Walters of Sichor*. . . .

[Tuesday] 4 Apryle. . . . I heard in the morning of M. S. Reid speaking against our testifyings, and conjectured then that he had been diverted by M. P. G.² or som English. I learned befor night that he had been taiken out by M. P. G. to Colonel Lilburne on the Frayday. . . . I begge the Lord would . . . sanctifye my wyfe's seaklynesse to hir and me; . . . and to back that testimonye, which is very lyk to be our last in relation to civil powers. . . . I was satisfyed . . . with the news of the juges giving the stipend to M. W^m Crichton, and keeping it from M. Jh. Hucheson. . . . I got a letter from my Lord Arbutnot shewing that the Lord had saifly delyvered his ladye. . . . M. Jh. St.³ was telling me of M. P. G. dealing much with M. R. Tr.⁴ and had shewed to him a letter from many godly in the West to M. Jh. Leviston for his incouragment in that voyage, albeit M. Jh. Naive⁵ and M. Al. Dunlap told us they knew no minister in the West of M. P. G. jugment; and that M. R. Tr. sayd, wer not for feare of breaking us in peeces, he would never com into our meitings agayne. . . . Whyl I was wryting I was called on be a woman of M. Jh. St. to com down to his wyfe and sitt with hir; and then, when I was their, I found it was be a mistaike of the woman sent for M. Jh. St. I blissed God for the providence and so did Jean Balcanquel and

¹ Sir William Bruce.

² Mr. John Stirling.

³ Mr. John Nevay.

² Mr. Patrick Gillespie.

⁴ Mr. Robert Trail.

M. Jh. wyfe and my two neeces. Wee discoursed of God's soveraynety and our deuty of subjection. . . .

[Wednesday] 5 Apryl. This morning I did wryte to my Lord Arbuthnot. . . . Jean Balcanquel's telling me that the Lord's gracious dealing with [her] the former winter, and to spend a day together in prayer and conference every week, and then closing it with the death of hir husband, and then with the death of hir minister; and now sicklyk hir getting good of thes exercises this winter; and now lyk to close it with hir extreame payne of the gravel and apearance of death; that thes had breid in hir breast, lyk a whirlwind or forflaught, a suggestion of quarrelling, taik up the close of their winter work. As I told hir that suggestion was from hir enemye and the giving any waye to it would be most bitter to hir; so I fand it took impression with me that the Lord's bringing the monethly exercises of my family the last summer to a weekly on this winter would be found a preparative eyther to som great tryal on the right or left hand; and as shoe sayd it first lighted on hir husband, then on hir minister, then on hir awen person, it maid me the mor to feare my wyfe's seaklynesse who is ay telling me that I wil not think hir in daunger til shoe be gone. The Lord my God preserve hir and pitye my condition in hir caise, who can neyther care for myself nor my bairnes or affaires, and hes no body in the world that would caire for me and them. The Lord spaire, sanctifye my wyfe, maik hir good and maik hir weal. . . . I was troubled to heare a report of my L. Suth[erland's] daughter: the Lord preserve my children and family from sines and scandals, and the Lord provyde for them. I heard of the Highlanders vyld¹ and violent cariage at Kerswell, drinking S. J. C.² confusion, begining to burne the house, saying they would abuse his wyfe as being the wyfe of a traitor if shoe war their. Blessed be the Lord, James Runcheman told me that the aixes³ had left my daughter Elizabeth. Lord, restore hir mother to health and strenth if it may stand with His

¹ Vile.

² Sir John Cheisly of Kerswell.

³ Ague.

good pleasour. . . . I mett with my wyfe's discontent upon folk's speeches at my lownesse, becaus of a tailyeor boy following me. . . . I got libertye from the Lord to praye . . . that if He would haive me mor vyld yet for His nayme and by new oppressions of me for my testimonyes for His cause, let me be yet mor vyld,¹ tho it wer not only to goe without a man servant but also to becom a man or servant to uthers. . . . I recomended Rachel Bailzie now afor hir waygoing to the Lord, that He would gift and grace hir to be instrumental for His glorie in al hir relations, conditions and stations whersoever. . . .

54. 1654, FROM 7 APRYLE TIL 12 MAY ²

[Saturday] 8 April. . . . I read al daye on 4 book of *Walters of Sihor*; and then after desner upon the storrye of the protector maid King Richard, in Speed his *Chronicles*, and thought the same Lord that was then so just is yet living to taik order with al dissemblers and usurpers. Then I heard the L[ady] Libertoun was lyk to be gulled by Libertouns' frends out of hir conjunct-fee. . . . I fand my wyfe right weakly and seakly. . . . Their ar great reports of the certaintye of the peace concluded between Holland and England. Lord, draw good out of whatsoever be in it to Thy poor work and people, to whom Monk is coming doun, who is thought to be as great a foe and greater to them nor to the Mal[ignants] in airmes. . . . I heard the Synod of Glascow was devyded. Lord, lett us heare The drawing good out of that division, whom some folk's politik tampering hitherto hes prevented; putt Thy servants on Thy purging work of insufficient and scandalous ministers. M. R. Burnet told me of a brother of his whom his fayther when he held up at baptisme devoted to be a minister; and whoe when thrie ycir old grat ay til he was taiken in to the chapel and putt in the pulpit; and when neir seven

¹ 2 Sam. vi. 22.

² '54' on outer side of front board, and '1654, From 7 Apryle til 12 May' on fly-leaf.

year mourned ay, and alledged ay he saw a blak dog ready to devoure him til on day he saw a whyt dog dryve him away; and then between prayers and desner was ay reading in his Byble; and now is at Oxford with M. Wm. Burnet, and in his letter expressed his great desyre to the ministry.¹ . . . I heard strange storyes of on Young and on Haye, and a thrid called More, feigning themselves Christianes and deceiving many by their speeches and prayers and feygned letters. . . .

9 Apryle, the Lord's Day. . . . At supper I was brought unto a discourse about Sophia's mariage, and my discourse to hir upon hearing that shoe was sad since shoe spak with me. . . .

[Monday] 10 Apryle. This morning I did wryte to my Lady Cranston . . . (the occasion of it was the discourse of the Lord's goodnesse to the Lady Libertoun's children, after Riccarton's disapoyntment of hir daughter Rachel, and M. Jh. Skein's saying al hir bairnes would be beggars, as som ar thinking and speaking of myn, and yet the Lord's providence provyding for them in the things of the world als weal as eyther Riccarton's or M. Jh. Skein's bairnes and al very weal, and Ingleston's lady worst [?] that was only maryed against hir will for respect to the world). . . . Elizabeth Ogilby told me of Jean Hamilton telling hir that M. P. G. sayd in a very negligent waye that wee would al shortlye chaynge our mynde in reference to the Englishes, which maid hir weepe; . . . and shoe told me my daughter Elizabeth had found under hir seaknesse a deserted condition and now shoe was weyghted with it. The Lord my God compence to that poor thing and to the rest in spirituals what they ar lyk to waunt in temporals, unto the hoope wherof they wer bred. . . .

[Tuesday] 11 Apryle. . . . I read my wyfe's letter to M. P. G.,² and blissed God for His directing hir to wryte so judiciouslye. . . . Becom of me what the Lord will

¹ Perhaps Gilbert Burnet, Wariston's nephew, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

² Mr. Patrick Gillespie.

in this calamity and captivity, I leave it as my letter will to al myn and to al the Lord's people to live and dye beleiving that His people shall yet in Scotland see the loving kyndnesse of the Lord in the land of the living. . . . Heir I was interrupted by Captain Jhonston shewing the certanty of the peace with Holland as signed on the 5th of Apryl at night.¹ Great news! Lord, draw good out of them. . . . I heard of som things anent my good sister that troubled me, and then I got M. J. G.² comfortable letter observing God's justice on Maknaughton. . . . I prayed with Sophia Jhonston afternoon and then with Nanse Moore. . . .

[Wednesday] 12 Apryle. This morning I got good assistance in wryting to M. J. G. . . .

[Thursday] 13 of Apryle. . . . I blisse The for my daughter's recoverye of hir axes; blisse hir physik to hir. I blisse The for som renewed strenth to my wyfe; Lord, sanctifye it to hir and to me. . . . I was interrupted by M. Jh. Oliphant telling me about my son, his learning weal enough and being a quick sprit, and lyk to be a scholar and good philosopher and to taik delight; but desyred me to cause taik heed to his reading the Byble, and giving an account of it once or twyce in the week, and to his keeping companye with good youthes and not with idle profan lads. He inclyned to M. Th. Stewart to be with him. The Lord be pleased to provyde a good young man to him, and to haive an special caire of his education, and to give me grace to taik mor and more heed to it. . . . I was interrupted by the Lady Ingleston and hir husband, who told me their observations of S. W. B.³ falling under snares in opinion about toleration by his taiking place of them; and the great confluence of 16 or 1800 people gathered together at the admission of M. Wm. Crichton⁴

¹ The treaty was signed by six English commissioners and the three ambassadors on the 5th of April (Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, new edition, iii. 67).

² Mr. James Guthrie.

³ Sir William Bruce.

⁴ Crichton was admitted to Bathgate by the Protesters on the 10th of April (Scott's *Fasti*, 1866, i. 167). See Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 248, 249.

with such greedynesse to heare the Word, tho intimated but on Sunday, as prooved Christ's saying the poor receaves the Gospel, and as was a great token to me of the Lord's mynding yet to abyde in the land seing He was calling in poore ones up and doun the moores; and the very newes of it sank to my heart and went throw as it wer al my bones and bits of my body, as a confirmation of my fayth and hoope of the Lord's yet doing good in Scotland according to His word wherin He hes maid me to hoope. . . . I saw therafter S. Lewis Stewart, . . . my Lady Murray, and Lauderdail and Lorne; and then went to the High School yairds, where I saw many marks of our desolation. . . .

[Saturday] 15 Apryle. . . . I begged a good helper for my son's education, a blissing on my daughter El[izabeth's] recovery, and His provyding for hir in His awen way and tyme. I recomended to Him what concerned the publik or me in particular in the conferences at London. I begged a blissing on the letter to M. J. G. . . . I heard from Col. Hacket of his getting good from M. A. Ker telling about the trouble of godly men at their dead-bed for taiking up fundamentals be supposition without search; and I blisse God that they gott good from that observation. I thought strange providences was remarkable in M. R. Kaye's removeal from Dumfermling upon the poynt of praying for the King be the advyse of the ministers in Edinburgh;¹ and in the blowing [up] of a ship with poulder going out of Leyth to the North unto their forces.² Al this day I spent in reading of

¹ Robert Kay, minister of Dunfermline, 'was imprisoned, by Cromwell's soldiers, in Inchgarvie, for praying for the King; but on the solicitation of commissioners, sent by the kirk-session to the commander-in-chief, was released and allowed to return to his own house. He was, soon after, also permitted to resume his public duties' (Chalmers's *Dunfermline*, 1844, p. 423). Robert Douglas, in September 1655, 'thought praying for the King noe such necessarie matter as to quitt ther ministrie for it; yet the humours of the people was such that nothing could pleas them unless they should quitt ther ministri for it, and when he was clear he thought that noe ground to stand upon' (Brodie's *Diary*, Spalding Club, pp. 155, 156). See *infra*, pp. 247, 257.

² '13 April 1654. Ane Englische weir schip, lyand at the outmest pairt of the peir of Leith, reddie to goe out to sea at the first tyde, tuik fyre, and blew

M. Ja. Wood his book against Locker,¹ and the Declaration of the Scots forces that should haive been emitted at the beg[inning] of the last winter.² I saw Sir Ja. Stewart in a weak, faynting, suinding³ condition and spak somthing to him. . . .

16 Apryle, Lord's Day. . . . How much good might yet be promised to Scotland if every rank wer clenging themselves. Their went few down to Egypt but many went out; 4 or 8000 to Babylon but 42,000 returned out of it. . . . The Lord can keepe the burning bush, and tossed ship in the sea, and He wil com Himself in the 4 watch and speak peace.⁴ . . .

[Monday] 17 Apryle. . . . I heard the Comission of the Synod of Glascow was sitting in Clidsdail about M. R. Hom and about Douglas, and that M. W. Guthrye was to preach in Douglas last Saboth,⁵ but that their was fcare of trouble from a captain of the mosse troupers. The Lord be graciously pleased to countenance, assist, direct, and blisse that Synod and Commission in their trying and purging work, and preserve Thy servants from skayth. M. Jh. Oliphant is gon away from my family to be minister in the Stenhouse;⁶ the Lord blisse his ministerye, and doe him good and doe them good by him. . . . I was putt by S. J. C. to praye for Doulph[in]gton's son that was dying, and for his fayther. . . . Heir I got a letter from Daulphington desyring me to remember

up all the pepill being thairin for the tyme. Thair remayned none to schaw how the fyre come, being all blown up and killed. It was a great providence that scho did ly out at the fardest key, quhairas gif scho haid lyne in, all the schips in Leith haid bene blown up and brint, and the haill toun also in danger' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 123).

¹ 'A Little Stone pretended to be out of the Mountain, tried and found to be a counterfeit; or an Examination and Refutation of Mr. Lockyer's Lecture. . . . 1654.'

² Glencairn's proclamation, dated 22nd December 1653, is in the *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, pp. 235, 236; and his declaration, dated 1st February 1654, is in Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 34, 35.

³ Swooning.

⁴ Matt. xiv. 24, 25.

⁵ See Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 246, 247.

⁶ Scott erroneously gives 1656 as the year-date of Oliphant's admission to Stonehouse (*Fasti*, ii. 303).

his son to the Lord, and shewing his dedication of him unto the Lord. I went down after desner and spake with the youth and heard him regraite his neglect of prayers and reading the Scriptures. I got libertye of teares and cryes to the Lord on behalf of his saule and body and parents, and then spak with him agayne. I praye the Lord preserve him and sanctifye him. He told mee they learne debaucherye in the College; and desyred me to speake to Archibald¹ and to send him to him, that he might speake to him to learne of him to be better guarded agaynest such surpryses. Lord, if thou hes gotten Thy earand now, the faythers and the sons giving themselves to The, Thou can soone spare the youth and rebuik the seaknesse; and at the privat prayer in my chalmer and then at the publik, I begoud to conceive som hopes of it, and in the prayer I recomended Zion's bleeding condition as it wer even to death wherof I thought this youth was a vive² paterne and resemblance. . . . I prayed both in the grace and the prayer after supper upon occasion of the growing weaknesse of Daulphington's son for the Lord's mercy, favour and grace unto him.

[Tuesday] 18 Apryle. This morning I was rayased be foor hours to Daulphington's son who was very weak. I read to him the end of 2 and 4 Hebrews, and then prayed with him upon what I had read yesterday anent the new birth; and after prayer he sayd he found both strenth and comfort com in to him, and bad us blisse the Lord for it who eased him of his paynes and terrors when they wer at an extremitye; and then M. Rob. Trayle prayed weal, and I left him to think on that passage of 64 Isay, and 1 Cor. 2—Eye hes not seen what He hes prepared for them that wayte on Him. The Lord spare him if He hes service for him; and, if not, sweeten his removeal to himself and to his fayther. . . . After sermon I got M. J. G. comfortable letter, . . . and then Daulphinton's letter blissing God and telling of his son's finding the Lord blisse to his comfort M. R. T. and my morning's con-

¹ Wariston's son.

² Lively, vivid.

ferences and prayers ; and earnestly desyring that M. R. T., S. J. C. and I would spend an hour together in prayer for him to the Lord ; and so wee did and found the Lord's assisting us whyl wee spent the foranoon in prayer for him and for Zion. . . . Then I went in and spak to him and read to him God's naymes in 33 and 34 Exod., 103 Ps., 2 Joel, 6 Jh., and 7 Heb. . . . Wee are servants in our awen land, let us gett our burgess ticket for heaven. . . . Happy who dyes burgesses of heaven (as deid-bell distinguisheth dyers in Edinburgh, burgesses or inhabitants). . . . This afternoon Mr. Lighton¹ diverted me. I was refreshed to heare M. Ja. Kirkton's² letter of the Lord's preventing the dissolution of the Comission in Clidsdaile by his inclyning M. Pet. Kyd³ to undertaik the busines of Douglas and his preaching to their great satisfaction. . . .

[Wednesday] 19 Apryle. . . . At the grace after desner I found my wyfe mightely mooved to tears and groanes, which maid me insist the mor on sutes for mercy and grace ; and shoe went to hir bed and I found hir oppressed with greife. I found that M. D. D.⁴ had been at hir and greived hir, and that shoe apprehended I and my familye was ruyned in my estate ; and shoe wished to be out of the world as on cause of it as shoe sayd. I pressed hir to be earneast with the Lord for mercy to hir and to me and to our childrein ; and, getting assurance of His reconciliation, let us begge His grace to be honest, faythful, upright and constant to Him in privat fellowship and publik serviceableness ; and let us submitt to Him anent our outward condition and be content with whatsoever lott He send, how strait, mean, low, sore, soever it may seem to our flesh and blood ; and, if wee doe so, the Lord would eyther delyver us from our straits and distresses

¹ Presumably Robert Leighton, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane.

² James Kirkton, M.A., author of *The True and Secret History of the Church of Scotland*, married Grisel, daughter of George Baillie of Jerviswood (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 50).

³ Baillie calls him Mr. Francis Kidd, 'a silly young man, a meer stranger, from Fife' (Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 247).

⁴ Mr. David Dickson.

or sanctifye them to us. . . . Just as I was going to wryte this up, Daulphington cam in and told me of the Lord's blessing the physik to his son, and the doctor's conceaving good hoopes of his recoverye, and his son's sending him up to me to desyre me as earnestly to thank the Lord for the apearance and begining of his recoverye as befor I was earnest in prayer for him; and heirupon wee satt down and thanked the Lord; and particularly I blissed God even for His trysting thir newes of His hearing our prayers in a particular for another, as a token for good that He would heare us for ourselves, and for Zion's case that was nearer and dearer to Him. . . . I told him my hoopes of his son's recoverye of befor upon the occasion of the Lord's bearing in on me in al prayers for him, whither with him or uthers, that if the Lord's desseigne was by this seaknesse to ingage the fayther and the son to be His, He getting His desseigne could and would soone rebuke the fever; and the Lord's trysting our singing of the psalme 107 from 10 v. and giving him strenth and comfort after our prayers, and then the reading of the text this day about the bringing the seek to Peter and the Lord's healing of them every on, thes providential temple words had given me good hoope of his recovery, as I had told my wyfe befor and now shew to Daulphingtoun. . . . Therafter S. J. C. cam in and told me he found be the Provost, his wyfe was not willing to quyte M. Th. Steuart, and so I am lyk to be disapoynted that waye. Now, Lord, I cast the education of my son upon Thy good hand, provyde Thou a good, pious, able, prudent young man to him. . . . I heard Walter Cheisly his wyfe recovered som strenth the nixt day after desyring our prayers, and that shoe does apprehend shoe got good therby. . . . I heard M. Jh. Leviston and M. R. Tod went up together som dayes befor M. P. Gilespey, now I praye the Lord to assist and direct him conscientiously to maik use of our testimoneye befor the other impd him; or constrayne them both to doe it, and let us heare of Thy good hand upon that testimoneye which Thou drew out of us. . . .

[Thursday] 20 Apryle. . . . The Lord God blisse His word

to me this daye in His temple, and blisse our exercises, and prepare me for the comunion in Dudiston. M. G[eorge] H[utcheson] taught weal on 11 Heb. 37, 38. . . . Heir being at the baptisme of Captain William Jhonston's son James, he sayd it was a listing under the general's colours, and taiking His lyverye and the feed¹ of His enemyes on us; and that wee could not in a trying tyme spin treuth so smal but Christ was in it. . . . After desner hearing of Monk's aproch I went and desyred grace to wairne our Lord Jesus Chryst that an enemye of His (for ought wee heard) was coming to command this peece of His confederat land and His remnant, and intended to use them hardly in their outwards. Lord Jesus, eyther prevent the tryals of the witnesses, or give them grace sufficient and actually carying them throw their tryals to Thy honour and their wealfare and good of Thy interests, or delyver them from it. . . . I fell somewhat angry becaus the boye was out, then I went down and saw Daulphington's son in a great fever and he fell asleape. I heard of a gentleman found killed in Currye parishin, between Riccartoun and Balbertoun and Hermistoun; and then I heard from the Lady Libertoun that som understanding man sayd I was to be called up and weal receaved and offered power and place; and, if I would not, then to be sequesterate unto som reteyred place; and that Monk had caused summond al the gentlemen of the Merse to meet him at Bervik. . . . I got liberty in praying with Daulphington's son and caused him praye. . . .

[Friday] 21 Apryle. . . . I heare Monk comes down not only general but gouvernor of Scotland.² Lord, fitt us for every tryel and deuty. . . . As I was at M. D. D.³ lecture I was rayased to Daulphington's son who was wearing away. . . . He prayed the Lord to blisse my familie. Lord, heare his prayer. . . . I recomended Daulphington's family to the Lord and my awen. . . .

¹ Feud.

² Monk's commission to be commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland, dated 8th April 1654, is in Thurloe's *State Papers*, ii. 222. He superseded Lilburne.

³ Mr. David Dickson.

S. J. C. immediatly after exercise told me of Daulphington's son saying—*God, God is come. I cannot tell the good of it, Prayse Him. I haive gotten a sight of glory. I would be out of the world if it be the Lord's will. I am going to glorie,*—and spak thes at pauses and with a strong voyce. . . . This day the Lord took him to Himself befor our meiting. . . . At night I heard of Hilton's wyfe falling seak in the aixes. Lord, open his eyes to see the error of his waye. . . . This night my wyfe told me somthing of hir aucn flouers coming on hir now at the turne of the moneth, which shew that shoe was not with chyld, and so was in a decaying, weakning condition; and told me of Hew Kenedy's wyfe's death and S. Ch. Arskn's¹ [?] ladyes weakning that way; and caused me find hir bak-bones and legg al decayed. . . .

[Saturday] 22 Apryl. This morning finding my wyfe's auen to be on hir and that therby it apeared shoe was not with chyld, I begoud to aprehend mor seriously the daungerousnesse of hir condition, weakning mor and mor now al this winter; and being troubled that the Lord heirby seimed to imped and prevent hir wining to the sacrament, I prayed the Lord to sanctifye this threatening to hir and to me; and enjoined hir to goe throw the commands as I shewed to hir; and, when I went privat, I took this as a warning and waking and alarum from the Lord to me, of his threatning to remove al my outward comforts, helpes, releefs and ease, wherof He had maid hir thes 20 years the cheif mean and instrument under Himself to me; and to consider not only I would think and find so, but al my freinds would think so of it as my outward ruine, and al my foes would look on it as the most just and visible jugment of God upon me and my children and familye. . . . I prayed for the Lord's blissing this oportunety of His word and sacrament I was going to, and to pardon my sines since the last at Carluk. . . .

¹ Sir Charles Erskine, fourth son of John, Earl of Mar, married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Hope, on the 5th February 1639 (Hope's *Diary*, p. 85). She was probably the Lady Ava (or Alva) whose sudden death is referred to on the 2nd of April, *supra*, p. 227.

I went out to Dudiston preparation sermon, and their heard M. D. Dikson preach weal. . . . I blisse God for what my sister told me of mony thinking yesterday one of the best dayes and blissing God for it.

[Lord's Day] 23 Apryl. Dudiston comunion. . . . Wee had sung out 22 Ps. and began 25 Ps. Wee went out and went thryse about the kirk, and desyring to wine in, but going back to our seates the yle doore was open and I rane in, and, with difficulty and breaking of my shin on a forme, I wane in by ; and, whyl I pityed this confusion, it pleased the Lord, by their singing 25 Ps. 11, 12, 13 v., to speak very powerfully and convincingly in to my heart. . . . I declared in my heart to God and wrot doun at the table that I communicated *pro me et semine meo et ecclesia Christi in Scotia*. . . . Thryse cited or sung this day, I sayd in my hayste al men ar lyars,¹ etc. Alas ! wee oft react the saints infirmetyes but not their graces. . . .

[Monday] 24 Apryl. . . . I was interrupted by M. R. Tr.² coming in and telling me his son's observations of al our prayers with Daulphington's son on Fraydaye ; and then I got M. R. Ramsey's³ letter full of incouragments to beleiving in thir evil tymes, and assurances that many ar often praying to the Lord for me, and that God had blissed my letters and counsels to him and to uthers ; and this letter of his being written in Merch, and not coming to my hand til now, and so weal trysted whyl reading such a sermon, and after hearing of Monk's threatnings, I could not but acknowlege and blisse the Lord God for it and receive it out of His good hands with thanks. . . .

[Tuesday] 25 Apryl. . . . After the wryting of this, S. J. C. cam and took me up to his goodsister, whair Rob. Lokhart and Thomas Hall was. Wee discoursed about contentednesse and thankfulnessse and fayth and unbeleife ; and I heard the comparison of Mr. Blair anent the Christian as the fyre that first had great reak as al bodyes knew

¹ Psalm cxvi. 11.

² Mr. Robert Traill.

³ Probably Robert Ramsay, M.A., minister of Cummertrees (Scott's *Fasts*, ii. 6, 14).

their was fyre in the house, and then mor light and lesse smoak, and then al smoak evanisht and cam to rid-hot aymers¹ and little low.² . . .

[Wednesday] 26 Apryle. This morning the Lord remembred me of J. L. [J. C. ?] in Perth, August 1649, and so of the great chaynge befor my returne therunto in September 1650. . . . I recomended publik and privat busines now at London to the Lord's best guyding. . . . Lord, let me be even mor and mor convinced how unfitt my temper is eyther for multitude of busines or great busines, and how good the Lord is in dryving me to and keeping me at this reteyred lyfe. The Lord sees how unuseful I am even to my awen, eyther for soule or body or estate; and knows how hateful I am to the world. The Lord mend me or end me, and remove me befor I dishonor Him. The Lord help me to a good pedagoge to my son; and haive Thow a care of his education. . . . M. R. Tr. told me tuo strange words, that Gen. Monk spak very respectively [*sic*] of the Remonstrators, and that on of their captanes sayd he was a farre chaynged man to the better. . . .

[Thursday] 27 Apryle. As I laye down somewhat heavye upon hearing the report of my son's neglecting his book since M. J. O.³ waygoing, so this morning I prayed to the Lord upon the 2 Thess. 2, 12, 13, 14. . . . Hearing of my Lord Craighall⁴ his fayling and wearyng away, I went to him praying the Lord to direct me; and he fell a justifying of himself and his ways thes 3 or 4 yeirs as not having the lust of the eye and of the flesh or pryde of lyfe befor him, but following his light; and spak of our being too self-willed and not follouing the will of God, and against condemning on another who stands and fals to their owen master; and that he would not condemne me in my waye. I waited the particulars of his discourse about the tymes, becaus of the multitude about the bed. . . . I recommended to him the exercise of soule examination on the roll of deutytes and sines under the

¹ Embers.

² Flame.

³ Mr. John Oliphant.

⁴ Sir John Hope, Lord Craighall.

comands in the *Large Catechisme*, and to maik a stand at every particular and confesse the samin and deprecate wrayth, and begge mercy of every particular in the nayme of Christ. . . . Then he prayed God to blisse and sanctifye me; and, as He has maid you (sayd he) a choysen shaft, that He would not laye you by. I told him my recommending to him the exercise I would begge grace in my seaknesse to be exercised with myself. He spak som thing of the Sprit not needing thes things, tho they wer good helpes in themselves; but I told him the Word of the Lord and the Sprit was joyned together. . . . As I cam from him I got a letter from M. S. Rutherford, desyring me to tell such a paper was spread throw Saint Andrews in my nayme, and I was called therby a Chylyast, a Shaker,¹ and a keeper of a strainge waye. I prayed in my heart the Lord to sanctifye this dispensation to me. It was a part of a letter of myn, 25 Febr., to S. J. Ch. of the first good newes of Chryst rysing and reigning agayne. I could not find the principal, but S. J. C. hes it. The Lord discover Thy mynd and my duety in this letter coming to light, and that at such a tyme and in such a waye and with such construction. . . . It was somewhat borne in on me to goe and praye for my Lord Craighal, who in all apearance was dying, that the Lord would be graciously [pleased] to pardon his errors and scandals; and, if it might stand with His will, that He would open his eyes to trye and search his later wayes, which hes not been so good as his first wayes; and to discover unto him al the wrongs and prejudices he hes doen to Thy nayme, interest, work, covenant, cause, Christ's remnant in Scotland—what blunders upon the profession, what stumblings to many weak ones, what confirmations of Thy adversaries on al hands, what greifes to the godlye; and to open his mouth to acknow-

¹ Chiliasts or Pre-millenarians believe that Christ, at His second coming, will reign with His glorified saints over a renewed earth for a thousand years. The Shakers trace their origin to the French prophets or Camisards; and did not form a distinct body in England until the first half of the eighteenth century. 'They term themselves the Millenial Church: they hold that the millenium has begun, and that they are the true Church, and have all the apostolic gifts.'

ledge and confesse them, that Thou may be restored to Thy honor, and Thy Church to hir reputation; the blunderd profession unto its luster and credit; the fallen weak reclaymed; the confirmed adversaryes dashed; Thy disheartned remnant therby strenthened. . . . Now I am going to S. J. St. son his mariage, let me begge of the Lord to order, guyde and direct my speeches and actions, and my wyfe's and my daughter's their. . . . Lord, back for the good of my son what I spak to the regent this daye. I was at night in S. J. St. at his son's mariage,¹ and was wearyed to the heart with the idle discourses and longsom tables without any conference to edification, but somthing about Craighal that he called for no minister to be with him. O the vanity of the world, even in their feasts and grandeur. What comfort hes he now in his tuo years publik employments? which he took to provyde his children, and in al apearance hes lost mor be the superiorityes nor gotten be his fees.

[Friday] 28 Apryle. This morning I admonished Archibald fully afor his mother and comanded him to studye in the regent's chamber. . . . O Lord Jesus, who told me in Wareston the newes that Thou would ryse, live, reigne in Scotland in His influences on His ordinances and consciences of His saints, and in His providences also, both of mercy and justice; and maid me wryte it; and now hes brought the cople of that letter abroade in St. Andrews without my knowledge, and their it is interteaned as opinion of a Chylyast and Seeker² and author of som new strainge way. Lord Jesus, look to Thy awen nayme, covenant, cause and remnant in this, and draw good out of this dispensation, and sanctifye it to Thy barrowman. . . . M. H. Mack[ai]³ taught upon 2 Rom. 25, 26. . . . I prayed

¹ The marriage of Thomas Stewart (afterwards Sir Thomas of Coltness) and Margaret Elliot, only daughter of his father's second wife, by her first husband (*Register of Edinburgh Marriages*, 1595-1700, Scottish Record Society, p. 663). In the *Coltness Collections* (p. 39), 1659 is erroneously given as the date of this marriage of the Provost of Edinburgh's eldest son.

² The small sect of Seekers arose in England in or about 1645, and professed to be constantly seeking for the true church, true ministry, true scriptures, etc.

³ Of Trinity College Church.

the Lord to blisse the college to me for I thought M. H. M. very baire this daye, and then I heard of my Lord Craighal's death. M. D. D. taught on 31 Is. . . . Heir I blissed God for the 6 [good words] in sermon and 9 in the college, and His hearing my ejaculation anent the college. Then I heard mor of Craighal's dying about midnight, after a great wrestling with death for fyve or six houres. The Lord hes not thought it fitt to open his mouth to confession ; but his brother told me that, about the 4th daye of his seaknesse, he told him he had been under oppression of thes 3 yeirs and was now lighter in his mynd then he had been thes three yeares ; and withal that he did not exspect death til a day or tuo afor he dyed ; and that his brother, to ease him, had persuaded him to taik that place on the very last day of the session, and now he was removed befor the session sat doun agayne. I thought the family looked very ruynous lyk when I went in to it, and that now in 9 moneth the old woman had hir tuo daughters and eldest son removed ay befor shoe could come to them. The Lord sanctifye it to Hopton and to the Lady Craighall, both whom I visited. . . .

[Saturday] 29 Apryle. . . . My wyfe told me of tuo dreames, on of my Lord Hopton's at London, of the falling of the walls of his fayther's and my Lord Kerse his house, and missing his freinds ; and the uther of my Lord Craighal¹ shortly of his wrestling up a brae and lossing his freinds, finding a pearle, but withal finding a meekle holl which he straive to fill but could never gett filled ; wherof he told when he awaked, and sayd he thought he yet saw the holl. Then shoe told me of the Advocat seing a cotype of yon paiper com from Saint Androwes with som bodye, and of its going throw the toune with strainge constructions. . . . Al this daye I wrote on letter to M. J. G.² about this busines ; and then, hearing agayne that my nayme was going throw the toune with sore reproches, I was prest to studye somthing of the busines, and to

¹ Lord Hopeton, Lord Kerse, and Lord Craighall were sons of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall.

² James Guthrie.

wryte it to M. S. R.¹ . . . M. Jh. Menzeis cam in and told me of Al. Jaffrey being thought to be entred in a consumption, and not to haive been tuiyse in the Church since he com horn, and to haive spit some blood. The Lord be pleased to convince his mynd, and open his mouth to confesse his scandals. . . . M. Jh. Menzeis told me of a long protestation given in at Aiberdein, and of som ministers calling uthers villanes, and of speeches among them not beseeming Christians. . . . I heard that Craighal was killed with melancholye. . . . Befor supper I caused Archbald repeate his ch[apter] which fell to be the 43 Isay. . . . Then at supper my wyfe told me of my Lo. Craighal's saying somthing of me and to me that maid me aunswer him—the *Lord graunt*. And I heard that his death was throw melancholy what for the Inglishes' ingratitude to him, and al people's reproches of him, and honest folk's distance from him.²

30 Apryle, the Lord's Day. This morning I dreamed of preaching and ejaculating to God whyl I was in the pulpit. . . . Dudiston shewe me his brother's letter between sermons, anent the two comissioners speaking with Protector, and the speach of a new Confession of Fayth, and som able pryme ministers to com down to Scotland; and fairweal with assemblies, and in place therof som directions in som pryme men's breasts. Lykas Ingleston sayd their was 26 ships landed from Germanye with men, which, if treu, wil haysten our troubles. . . . I heard Craighal sayd God had maid me steadfast and would keepe me so, and that I sayd, *Lord, graunt it*. . . . I was called up, I got a sight of the Act of Grace and Union,³ and saw therin a number forfaulted, and a number fyned; and could not but acknowlege that men was injust and God was just in the breaking almost al the

¹ Samuel Rutherford.

² 'Sir Johnne Hope of Craighall, knight, ane of the Lordis of Sessioun, and now ane of [the] judges of this land, and preses in the Hie Court of Justice, depairtit this lyff upone the 28th day of Apryll 1654; quhais opiniounes wer thoct erronyous; . . . geving out also that God haid a great work to wirk by the Englishes;—and much moir to this purpos' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 124).

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vi. part ii. p. 818.

great houses in Scotland ; but non of thes that wer comissioners to London and Dalkeyth are fyned or forfeaulted, which sheweth how they haive been budded ¹ befor, and ar now payed hom for their selling of the countrey to them by their consent, tho they wer als guilty of the faults for the which they forfeault or fyne uthers. This dealing smels not of justice but deseigne, interest, partialitye. . . .

[Monday] 1 Maye. I praye the Lord to be gracious to me in this moneth, and give me much good matter to wryte both of His influences and providences. I prayed in the morning on 2 Thess. 3, from 7 to 12, about the Apostle's diligence in his calling and working that he might eate. The Lord tell me in what calling He apoynts me to work and to eate, for al my callings almost ar taiken from me but on—of testifying and suffering. Lord, inabile me to be faythful in thes, and provyde for me and myne what is necessary and convenient. I see, be Thy works of justice, Thou art a living, reigning God, meeting with men, even great men, in their sines (whoesoever be the instruments and whatsoever be their wayes in it). I was interrupted ; and in grace and prayer I begged for a sight of a vayne world, our wicked self, and our good God, throw the Mediator ; and I begged that the Lord would count al myne His and that I might count al His myne. Alas ! habitually wee misken ² God and ourselves, when al things goes according to our mynd, and so forces the Lord to remove them from us or let us perish. . . . The Lady Inglestoun sayd shoe had fayth that non of my childrein would begge ; and I sayd I desyred submission [to God's will] even to their begging, if He would be with them in it, and mak it the mean of His greater glorye and their greater fellowship and serviceablenesse. Mr. Th. Garvan taught on 7 Josh. til 11 v.—a fitt word for yesternight's news, and this morning's letters written to my Lady Loudon and Lady Cranston. . . . Foranoon I communicated M. Rutherford's letter and my aunswer therunto unto M. R. T., M. J. St., S. J. C., M. W. Symervall,

¹ Bribe.

² Neglect or ignore.

and Mr. William Jack,¹ who I found weal satisfied with the aunswear. I blissed God afternoon when I heard the busnes of planting Douglas went right afor the juges.² I conferred freely with M. Jh. Meinzeis, and told him my mynd of the foor articles anent religion in the new gouvernement, and anent what I heard about the new Confession and anent this infirmety of chaynging and falling unto snaires in the compagnye of uthers; and wairned him not to medle with the fundations of the Kirk of Scotland, and I as procutor of the Kirk pressed [him] who was but a privat man and had no calling to medle in thes publik things, and urged him, seing he would goe, to exoner his conscience in telling al the evils and wrongs to Christ, wherof in secret his heart was convinced; and told him an incouragment from my practise to the King, [in] 1642, and the fruites of it. He told me that he knew Mr. Owen³ and Th. Goodwyne, and som uthers at Oxford, was about a draught of a mor general Confession of Fayth, as might draw al to an agreement, thes several moneths (which I think wil be just to thir powers as the late service book and canons was to their predecessors). He thanked me for my freedom, told me if things had been to doe he would haive been mor warye and circumspect and loath to vent his jugment, that he had hindert the seperat congregation, that he would give al the world to wine hom with a good conscience, that he resolved to be free and exoner his conscience, that he would be very spairing to medle with any publik thing. He desyred me to praye for him to the Lord to keepe him from snaires. The Lord graunt. I repeated to him what I sayd to M. Jh. Leviston and M. P. G. about the chaynge of the aire.⁴ At night I got libertye in grace and prayer with the Lady Liberton and Ingleston. When I went to bed my thoughts ranne

¹ Robert Trail, John Stirling, Sir John Cheisly, William Somerville, M.A., minister of Pettinain, and William Jack, M.A., minister of Forrest Kirk, now Carluke.

² This refers to the admission of Peter Kid, M.A. (*supra*, p. 235), instead of Archibald Inglis, M.A., as minister of Douglas. Baillie was very displeased with the manner of this settlement (Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 247, 248).

³ John Owen.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 217.

on the 37 Ps. 4 v., *Delyte thyself in the Lord and thou shal haive the desyres of thyn heart*, of that renewed heart that delytes in the Lord, for thes must be on things tending to God's glorie and our fellowship with Him, and means and wayes of increassing our delyte in God ; even as a heart that delytes in profits or honours or pleasures hes its desyres on things, means and wayes tending therunto ; and, if God graunt me the desyres of a renewed heart delyting in God, what altho He denye me al the desyres of the unrenewed part that wer hinderances therunto.

[Tuesday] 2 Maye. . . . I was directed to give to my Lord Sutherland an account of Sundaye's lecture and afternoon's sermon. . . and I found the Lord assist me to wryte it, and I praye the Lord to blesse it to him. M. Rob. Ker taught upon 2 Timoth. 2 ch. til 8 v., a notable text. . . . Afternoon wee debayted about the Representation. I marked on M. R. Ker's prayer and told them I thought it strainge they would urge from 1 Timoth. 2. 2. as the main place the praying for the King and yet doe not nor durst not praye that prayer as is their that wee might live a godly and peaceable lyfe ; and I heard M. D. D. chaynged his prayer for him unto that of Nehemiah when the Juge Advocat was present : and told them what M. Douglas sayd to M. P. G. and my Lo. Brodye about the K[ing] and theis in airmes.¹ . . .

[Wednesday] 3 Maye. . . . I heard the magistrates was lyk to taik doun my hingings as they had sought them. I told voluntarily I would not leine them to thes proclamations ; and for violence I could not hinder it, they might taik myself too if they would. . . . As this morning I got discouragments from William Bruce of Neutoun, by his refusing to maik application to M. J. G. and M. Ja. Simpson, so I got a notable incouragment from Whytbank² shewing to me the Lord's sensible assistance, and blissing to him my exhortations, in soule covenanting, and blissing him in the act and exercise with a discoverye

¹ *Supra*, pp. 221, 225.

² Alexander Pringle of Whitebank.

of many Gospel treuths ; and as he desyred me to blisse God so I got som liberty to spread that letter before God with teares and cryes. . . . The Lady Liberton told me of the honest man in the West, hearing of his wyfe being lyk to dye and going to the doore, nayming over every on of his childrein's naymes and saying, Lord, thou knows such a chyld, Thomas, cannot waunt hir, and Jhon cannot waunt hir, and then, at the close, and I cannot waunt hir. . . .

[Thursday] 4 Maye. This morning I arose and wrote on letter to Whytbank and another to M. Jh. Naive. . . . Seing this is the daye of man's great proclamations both for themselves and agaynst the land, I praye the Lord to preach into my heart the impressions and persuasions of His being God and my God. . . . Heir I heard the shoute at the Protector's proclamation.¹ O Lord ! Thou heares it in heaven. And I heard on saye, James Graham² was execute about this tyme 4 yeir within few dayes, and so strange dayes may be befor uther four yeirs. . . . O Lord ! men ar proclayming themselves protectors and maiking unions of thes nations, but not in The or for The, but for themselves, and by leaving every on to themselves in Thy matters. O Lord ! be Thou the High Protector of Thy people and interest, Thy two great jewels on the earth, and find Thou the waye to unite al Thyne in The. Keepe us from new Confessions of Fayth that will be real denegations of it, and let the attempters feare or find as the attempters of the lyk at the begining of thir troubles hes found. . . . As I was going out to the Sheins Yairds I was called agayne in the Cougait upon

¹ This day Monk came to Edinburgh 'in great pomp, and companeyis both of fute and horse, haiffing sex trumpettouris sounding befor him ; quich companeyis did all compas the mercat croce of Edinburgh, quhair a proclamatioun wes emittit, declarand Oliver Cromwell to be Protector of the three kingdomes. At this proclamatioun Generall Monk wes present in persone, upon the mercat croce, upon the richt hand of the Judge Advocat, reidar of the proclamatioun, and Archibald Tod, Provost of Edinburgh, on the left hand. Estir this proclamatioun wes red, thair wes ane uther emittit, red and proclaimed that same day, anent the Unioun of Scotland to the Commounwealthe of England' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 124).

² The Marquis of Montrose.

allegeance of a letter from M. J. G. ;¹ but I went on, and be the waye acknowledged the language of my heart and lyfe to haive [been] and to be the sam with thes revylers, wagers of their head, mockers, theives against Christ on the crosse, and deprecated wrayth, and begged mercy and gráce to amend it ; and then I thought my lyfe and heart had in effect used Sathan's language to Christ [in] 4 Math. and Peter's language in 8 Mark and 13 Jhon ; and then I thought I doubted if their was in the Evangel any on wrong doen by word or deed to Chryst recorded by the Evangiles but my conscience can instance my doing and saying in my heart and lyfe, tho not in my lips, and reacting the same wrongs and injuries against the Son of God. And then walking in the Yaird I considered it was about 20 yeirs since that I had walked in many an exercise in that ayley, and had found many chaynges since that 1633, and received many proofes of the Lord's attributs and promises and words in His works from Him, and that He had putt many imployments on me, countenanced them with influences and backed them with blessings, and now had taken away His publik state imployments, and yet by His influences and providences lett me see and find that I had als good and great reason to blesse God when He took them away as when He gaive them, tho, befor my experience, if on had fortold me of it, I could not haive believed it possible. . . . I heard that the officers in Irland wer al Anabaptists almost and agaynst this present chaynge ; and four of them gon over with Henry Cromwel² to England, and al quyet til their returne, and Fleetwood distracted between the partyes.

[Friday] 5 Maye. . . . After desner, I . . . heard the trumpet sound about the Act of Forfaultures ;³ and had heard of the Inglish taiking Philiphaugh⁴ becaus his

¹ James Guthrie.

² Henry Cromwell, Oliver's second son. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, 1698, ii. 490-492.

³ Nicoll also refers to the proclamation of this 'Act of Grace' on the 5th of May, and gives the names of those whose estates were 'forfaultit,' and of those who were fined (*Diary*, pp. 125, 126).

⁴ John Murray of Philiphaugh.

uncle had gon to the Heighlands ; and that Col. Fenwik had sayde to Ingleston that General Monk would taik the fayther for the son or brother for the brother. . . . The Lord, by His very gracious providence, trysted and brought to my hand a letter of Col. Ker's, wheir he speaks much of his awen heavy condition and struglings about soul covenanting ; and conjures me to recomend him to God be the bands of the Covenant ; and speaks much from the Word of his good hoopes for poor Scotland, and that God was opening a doore in it which no man or Monk would gett shutt agayne ; and then tells of that notable expression of M. J. Leviston's letter, that their was no feare of his going a greater lenth with that people then he had doen, but rayther of a temptation to the uther extreme ; . . . and then he tells the Protector told them the earand that he sent for them was to haive from them ouvertures for maiking up the breaches amongst the lovers of treuth in thes nations, which they sayde was a busines above them. I heard also upon the giving in the Representation to the Synod that M. D. D.¹ sayd wee was a deluded companye full of that disease and was to be pityed, abused the Scriptures, was petulant and not tolerable, thought that their was no excesse in zeale. M. G. H.² sayd their insolence and presumption incouraged him, and that it was an insolent and presumptuous peice, he had oft fortold thes tuo years, that their was a great deseigne lurking in al this busnes, and now, it was breaking out, he would saye *quod facis fac cito*. M. G. Lesly sayd the Scriptures wer the sam that was cited by the Brownists. M. R. Douglas sayd it was full of lyes and calumnies, and his face hated³ and eyes swelled. And then they insisted on what was the meaning of the expression of complying with straungers, and they told with the English Sectaries ; then they pretended to a visitation for trying and reporting ; but wer angrye to heare of the acts of uncontraverted assemblies as the reules,

¹ David Dickson.

² George Hutcheson.

³ Heated.

and then to haive a fast for the neglect of the imploying of Jesus Christ as the cause of al our evils. . . .

[Saturday] 6 Maye. This morning, I wrote both to Colonel Ker and to my Lord Arbuthnot. Lord, accompanye thes letters to their hands and hearts. I conferred with M. Ja. Simpson¹ and M. An. Haye. I heard of Greenhead's intending for London, which is a plotting of a snaire for him. I heard General Monk sayd he should sweepe Remonstrators and Protesters out of Scotland, and yet the letter to me sayd he had a verbal direction to trouble no godly man in Scotland. I prayed in privat earnestly for the Lord blissing the fyve lettres sent this week and yesternight's exercise, and to pitye and pardon and cure and comfor[t] His servant Col. Ker who desyres our prayers. . . . This foranoone I read on Hakwil's *Apologie*,² afternoone in the feilds on Ambrose his compend of Hooker, about the new birth.³ . . . I went in and conferred and prayed with Janet Arnott. . . . I heard therafter of S. J. Ch[eisly's] Gregorye bleeding to deade. The Lord preserve or sanctifye him, for the Lord hes been begining to doe good to the lad. Then I heard of everybody's dissatisfaction with thir proclamations, as ruyning so many by general clauses: and that General Monk hes sayd that he should sweepe Scotland of Protesters and Remonstrators, which in the feilds I spreade befor the Lord and when I reflected on the two courses of this present power, the on for toleration in God's maters, destructive to the first Table; the uther for oppression of men, familyes and nation in human interests, destructive to the second Taible, I thought they looked very lyk an anti-comanding, anti-covenanting pairty and so very ruynelyk. Good Lord, keepe me from partaking in their sinnes and plaigues; and I think it is a great folly to exspect good from thes who thus wrongs both God and

¹ James Simpson, M.A., minister of Airth.

² 'An Apologie or Declaration of the power and providence of God in the Government of the World.' By George Hakewill, D.D.

³ Apparently a compendium by Isaac Ambrose of one of Thomas Hooker's works.

man, and from politik principles dryves only on their awen carnal ends, and maks al uther things subservient therunto, notwithstanding the deepest attestations and asseverations in the nayme of God on the contrarye. . . . I mark from the date of the letters for M. Jh. Leviston and M. P. G.¹ that they wer to be their the 10 Apryle, and the proclamations ar dated on the 12, and their conference with the Protector is on the 14 Apryle, which was no good hansel, and they preached on the 24. I thought I apprehended Cromwel's designe in sending doun Monk, that as he had tryed Scotland be faire means with Dean and Lilburne, now he would trye it with rigor and ruyne by Monk. . . . The consenters at Dalkeyth and Edinburgh ar free, becaus utherwyse it would disapoynt them of their hoopes upon their comissioners' faire words, that who did contribute to the interest of the Comonwealth and did them good service should be free, and it would discourage any heirafter ever to doe them service. I heard al debts or rights from the persons now forfaulted that ar daited since 17 Apryle 1648 will be counted null and voyd, and so farre mor by brod general clauses [will be] forfaulted and fyned and ruyned, nor by the particular expresse naymes. . . .

7 Maye, the Lord's Daye. . . . I heard M. P. G. wyfe was going up to London. . . . At night my wyfe sayd shoe apprehended the Lord was lyk to call hir to death, and asked the meaning of that Scripture of 14 Jh., *I am the way, treuth and lyfe*, and of the [blank] and I prayed the Lord to prepare hir and me, for hir and my tryals and chaynges. Shoe told me, by hir intention, shoe had been drawen to reade the *Catechisme* on the resurrection and got good of it. Lord, sanctifie thir wairnings to hir and to me.

[Monday] 8 Maye. . . . Heir I was interrupted by Hilton and M. Ja. Neismith coming in and telling me of the great dissatisfaction which they gott at the meiting on Sophia's² mariage. . . . Wee sang 107 Ps. from 17 v.

¹ Patrick Gillespie.

² Sophia Johnston. See *infra*, p. 265.

I blissed God for the fyve circles in that psalme instamped on me in the Sheins Yairds and in ryding by Rosneyth to Ineraraye up the lough's syde, and for any experiences I fand therof after both thes straits, and seing now I am in another of them, longer and greater nor any of them, I even begge of the Lord a new prooffe of His hearing my cryes in my distresse The Lord can maik the Inglishes as busie how to free Scotland as now they ar to deteane it captive; and, if He shal see its freedom fittest for His ends, will He not will it? And if He can and will it, what shal be aible to hinder His doing of it? And if He see it not fitting, should wee or could wee be wyse to desyre it? . . . M. Thom. Laury¹ cam in to me and told me of M. Ja. Wilson² desyryng me to recomend him to the Lord, becaus [of] both his discouragments and seaknesse; and yet his incouragments by 12 converts in his paroch after four years begging for on. And he told me an uncou story about the Lord's work among the chapmen, and their protesting and rysing up as for Chryst against the lord of the chapmen comanding a sinful thing. And then I got a notable letter from young Whytbank of al the passages of his soul covenanting with God, wherein their was many wonderful demonstrations of the hand of God dryving him to it. . . .

[Tuesday] 9 Maye. . . . I heard their was great fynesse and prodigality and pryde and grandeur at Court, which portends the speidier turne. This morning Greenhead cam unto me, and I told him my feares of his voyage as a snaire unto him many wayes. I remember in discourse with M. Th. Laurye, . . . he told me his observation on 1 Kings 19 ch. 17 v., *Him that escapeth the sword of Hazael (James Graham) shal Jehu slay, and him that escapeth the sword of Jehu (the English Cromwel) shal Elisha slay* . . . as in 6 Hosea. . . . I got a letter from M. J. G.³ about the paper of St. Andrews, desyryng me

¹ Thomas Laurie, M.A., afterwards minister of Robertson.

² Probably James Wilson, M.A., minister of Dysart.

³ James Guthrie.

to pray the mor for the Lord's accomplishing His word, not my word, out of zeale for Him, not for myself; and concealing another use of it til meeting, which, I think, is that I lighted on and wrote on the uther syde. Lord, mak his confidence good that I shal see afterward even this particular hes fallen out for good. He desyres me to wryte to the West. Why I was heavye and after my wyfe had resolved to wryte up to M. J. Leviston and M. P. G.¹ and Lady Clatworthy, I went to the kirk. . . . After desner, why I omitted to read the Byble, my wyfe told me of people's applying M. Jh. St.² citations out of the 20 of Job unto me, which maid me goe to my chamber and poure out my heart with teares in my Lord's bosom; and begged that the Lord would pardon al my miscarriages in my publik imployments, especyaly in disposing of places of clerks; and that He would maik the viper fall off my hand which maid the people speak so, 28 Act, 4, 5, 6. O Lord, pardon me as Nathan sayd to David, tho I find that the chyld of that mariage, al benefit be that place or any place, is dead. Thou would not haive any of my estate maid up with S. L. St.³ gear, my first tocher, nor with K. Ch.⁴ gear in my pensions, nor the Parliaments gear in that place given to me; but Thou hes shaken al to the doore and reduced me unto my awen pittance as at the begining of publik imployments. . . . Lord, blisse that litle to me and adde no sorrow with it, 10 Prov. [22]. O Fayther, Saviour and Sanctifyer, taik Archye Jhonston—a poor, silly, imprudent, ignorant, improvident, passionat, humorous, foolish, ungrate, diffident body—in unto Thy thoughts, and know him by nayme and surnayme,⁵ and maik him knowe yet that Thou art the Lord God and his God and the God of his seed both in Thy words and workes. Thou sees I am condemned and revyled be every body. Leave me not in their hand when I am judged. . . . O, for grace to exercise it upon suppositions of tryals

¹ Patrick Gillespie.

² John Stirling.

³ Sir Lewis Stewart, the father of Wariston's first wife.

⁴ King Charles.

⁵ Exodus xxxiii. 17; Isaiah xlv. 4.

what be the on party what be the uther, they prevayling, that being so oft forwarned of trouble in the world I may be forairmed and fitted for it, and come when it will it may be no new thing, no not a carying me to prison and to a scaffold, but may be in my brain pre-acted and pre-resolved on. I heard of two men brought up to be execut and caryed down from the gallous and top of the leather agayne, and on of them read in his Byble both going to it and from it, speaking freely agaynst the Inglish way. . . . The Advocat, after story about the mariage, told me of our testimony to the Synod; and sayd playnlye the ministers for the Public Resolutions should repent of al thes former papers wherin wee had insnaired them. . . .

[Wednesday] 10 May. This morning I begged and gott assistance to wryte a long letter of tuo sheets of paper to M. J. G. about the word and acting of fayth on 8 Rom. 32. . . . Then I was putt to wryte a letter to Col. Ker to persuade him unto the closing his soul covenante with God. . . . Then I wrote a letter to M. Th. Wyllye, and then an answer to M. M. Mowat.¹ . . . The Shiref of Teviotdale sayd upon the occasion of the proclamations *cum duplicantur lateres tum venit Moyses*; ² and I heard som say Col. Lokhart was Lieutenant General or General Major, and uthers that he was Clerk Register, but withal that he wist himself in America. . . .

[Thursday] 11 Maye. This morning I ended letter to M. M. Mowat. . . . After the end of the exercise, on told me of a young woman much tempted that their was not a God, and when Sathan had caused hir to drink vineger then tempts hir to think that a sine against the Holy Ghost, and that shoe trimbled the tyme of my prayer. . . . They told shoe would com to me about it; and M. R. Trayle told me of the aunsuer given to his fayther about Glaidstones ³ that God had mercy on his

¹ Matthew Mowat, M.A., minister of Kilmarnock.

² Exodus v.

³ Row gives two very coarse epitaphs on Archbishop Gladstones, who died in 1615 (*History of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Society, pp. 303, 304). His son Alexander, who was minister of the first charge of St. Andrews, was deposed in 1638 (Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, Maitland Club, i. 315, 316, 395-402, 547).

soule, but that it was not fitt to be known least any should be encouraged to follow his steps. . . . Lord, helpe us poor bodyes, justly so in God's esteyme, realy so in [the] world's esteme, and deuitfully so in our awen esteyme. . . . M. J. G. told me that M. D. D.¹ sayd our last paper to the Synod conteyned blasphemye against God, and was a designe to maik the Inglish cutt their throats, and that it was from my Lord Wariston being idle and the forge, and another to be the smith and to give it the fyle, and beguyle therwith poore people and simple misled folk. I heard from M. Richard Broune of the Lady Busbye hir death, and that befor it shoe spak comfortablie that the Lord would yet be gracious to His work and people in Scotland; and I told him the Lord's maiking the feare of a fall M. G. Gillespye's both his exercise and his preservative. M. Jh. Nairne² told me of M. J. Wood's speiking to him about my letter and of his saying in the Synod of Fyfe that it was the greatest guiltynesse he knew on the Synod that they had not chairged us with defection. . . .

54. MAYE. 1654, FROM 12 MAYE TIL 8 JUNE.³

[Friday] 12 Maye, 1654. Blissed be the nayme of the Lord my God for al his favors recorded in the last and preceeding Diaries, and the Lord my God be graciouslye pleased to give me much good mater from Thy influences and providences to record in this, and begin weal with me this daye. . . . M. R. Laury taught weal (after my wryting a christian letter to my wyfe) upon Gal. 5. 7, 8. . . . I was afternoon at a meeting about the Shirref's mariage. . . . I heard that Col. Lokhart sayd he wished he had never medled with the Inglish, for if a man goe not on with them in al things, even wherin they ar unsatisfyed, he wil find them turne his real enemyes. . . .

¹ David Dickson.

² A John Nairn signed the Protestation of 21st July 1652.

³ '54 Maye' on outside of front board, and '1654 from 12 Maye til 8 June on fly-leaf.

[Saturday] 13 Maye. . . . The Lady Riccarton told me from Tofts that M. D. D., M. R. D.,¹ M. Ja. Hamilton sayd to Monk that they did not, nor should not, praye for the King's restitution, but only for the sanctified use of his trouble;² and that they called him King only be waye of distinction, as in Scotland wee call any nobleman or laird that hes sold his land, and hes no right, yet til his death be³ such a title and style; and that, if they prayed not for him, the comoun people would be the mor sturred up and pray the mor for him, wheras now they lippen to the ministers' prayers. That Monk semes to spaire them until he hath clenged the hilles; and they asseured him they would neyther preach nor praye nor act anything to sturre up the people against the present Gouverment. I got a letter from my Lady Loudoun, and wrote back my mynd and best advyce to hir. I conferred and prayed with the Lady Cranston and L. Riccartoun afternoon. . . . I heard a report of M. Jh. Leviston coming away discontented. O how much better is that then to be insnaired. M. R. Burnet told me the sam substance of M. R. D. and M. D. D. reasoning with Bryan⁴ afor Monk . . .

14 May, the Lord's Daye. . . . My sight of Y. G. maid me remember the dayes of old and submitt and be content and exercise my sprit unto it. . . .

[Monday] 15 May. . . . The remembrance of sight of Y. G., and so of the parents pressing that match to E. when I was in prosperitie, maid me now see God's preventing goodnesse of my marying then my daughter with any who would haive repented it upon the chaynge of my condition, and of my buying Currihil, and the land between Leyth and Edinburgh, which had utterly ruyned me, tho at the tyme I was most bent on it as if their would never be a chaynge of my outward condition. . . . Sitting

¹ David Dickson, Robert Douglas.

² In January 1654, it had been reported from Dalkeith that 'the ministers in these parts are daily praying for Charles Stuart as their king, for which they pretend conscience—the commander-in-chief hath secured divers of them,' (Spottiswoode *Miscellany*, ii. 169). See *supra*, pp. 221, 232, 247.

³ Be *i.e.* by.

⁴ Colonel William Brayne?

in the kirk my Lord Hopton¹ told me of General Monk's shewing to him ane order for calling up by sea M. R. Douglas,² M. R. Blair, and M. James Gutherye to London against the 5 of June, which as it would amaze M. J. G. so it did trouble me, yet withal maid me remember the Lord's strainge hand strong upon my sprite to cause me wryte to him the last week such an exercise of my heart on 8 Rom. 32 v., and withal to wryte that I knew not how the Lord forced me to wryte it, might be to tryste with som heavye rencounter he might meet with by General Monk's going their. . . . O Lord, for Thy great nayme's saike, direct, assist, incourage, uphold, comfort Thy servant, and leade him in and unto the waye that wil be most acceptable to Thee and comfortable to Thy work and remnant. It remembers me also of the impression I had this winter that he would be by som providence drawn from Stirling wher he was so perplexed, and of my wryting it to him for his incouragment to staye til the Lord's clear call. O Lord, allow me to maik a temple inquirye about this providential tydings everyway (for Hopton useth not oft to com on the Monondai). . . . M. Douglas had a notable sermon on 37 Ps. from 34 v. to the end, and the finest I haive heard from him since he came home. After sermon M. R. T., M. J. St., S. J. Ch.,³ and I mett. I saw a letter from M. P. G. and M. J. L.⁴ that they had on meiting with the Protector self, and another with him and som ministers about our discomposed condition, and the divisions their; and his desyre of a settlement of both, and his ouverturing to send for M. R. D., M. R. B.,⁵ and

¹ Sir James Hope of Hopetoun, a Lord of Session.

² Douglas had been captured at Alyth in August 1651 (*supra*, p. 122), and carried to England as a prisoner; and was not released until February 1653 (*Domestic Calendar*, 1652-1653, pp. 161, 185). The English Council of State offered a hundred pounds to Douglas, James Hamilton, John Smith, and Andrew Ker towards their expenses, which they desired to be excused from accepting (*ibid.*, p. 205).

³ Robert Traill, John Stirling, Sir John Cheisly.

⁴ P. Gillespie, J. Livingstone.

⁵ Cromwell's letter requiring Robert Blair, Robert Douglas and James Guthrie to be in London by the 1st of June 'or suddainely after' is in Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 102.

M. J. Guthrye, which, as they did not propose, so they did not oppose but by modest shewing the inconveniences theirow.¹ I fand by discourse their three mynds for his going if M. R. D. and M. R. B. went, and that utherwyse it would be very prejudicial. I was most perplexed about his going, and so I was putt to prayer and therin got som libertye for the Lord's direction of him, eyther to stoppe his voyage or assist him to walk on that sea without sinking at the boysterous wind,² and for them al three to reckon with their awen hearts for al God's quarrels personal and national with them, and to be sure that the Lord carye them not up from hence unles He goe with them.³ . . . If He cal His servant, Lord, maik him testifie at Rome as he hes doon at Jerusalem. . . . I prayed this day with Sophia Jhonston. Went to Leyth to see Fenwik but mett him not. . . . Heard of M. Jh. Leviston weeping al the tyme of his sermon afor the Protector; and, in his prayer, in a whyning waye, praye God pitye the poor men that hes the power to use it for God and His people, and to sanctifye the affliction of thes from whom He hes taiken power. . . . I heard that Fleetwood beis maid Lord Deputye and comes and resides in England. . . .

[Tuesday] 16 Maye. . . . Just as I was going to the familye prayer I got M. J. G. letter shewing that he had received a letter from the Protector, was dealt with much by Col. Lokhart, and spok with Monk; but had no clearnesse in the call and so had written his excuse; and that it was lyk to be on of his greatest tryels and should shortly give me a full accoumpt of it. I blissed God for His direction of His servant. . . . I wrote afternoone to M. J. G. I fand myself under desertion at night, and after prayer my wyfe told me of the increasse of hir disease and daunger therof. . . . I, at my wyfe's desyre, went and lay down the staire heavye, and cryed often for mercye.

[Wednesday] 17 Maye. . . . I spent much of the afternoone with Grysel Forrest and Mary Symervail, about the temptations that their was not a God, and to

¹ See Blair's *Life*, pp. 315, 316.

² Matt. xiv. 30.

³ Exodus xxxiii. 15.

self murther ; and I prayed twyse, and shew the greatnesse of the sines and the remedies against the temptations as in Dounham's *Warfaire*,¹ which I read to them. . . . Now, as the Lord was pleased to blisse what I sayd to hir at Dysserfe, I praye the Lord to blisse this afternoon's conference to them. . . . I remember at desner hearing how the Lord had moved an most obdured woman, after M. J. St.² prayer, to confesse hir adulterye with Willy Moore, and suspicion that shoe was guilty of murther of the chyld of befor. I blissed God heartilye for His discoverye of that sinne and His demonstration that He is, and that He is God blissed for ever, that He lives, sees, heares, marks, remembers, discovers, punishes sine, even the hiddest [*sic*] sine. . . . When my wyfe told me of som motion of M. Ja. Neismith anent my uncle's son to my daughter, my soule even committed the maintenance of me and my familye, and the provision of my daughters and education of sons, unto my living and loving God ; and prayed the Lord to direct me anent the pedagoge to Archbald, and to think aright of this providence of Arbuthnot's resolution to send his son to England, whither M. Rich. Broune sayd he would not goe, and so may readily fall in my hand. . . .

[Thursday] 18 Maye. . . . I praye the Lord to direct me in this busnes anent my sone's pedagoge, about M. Jh. Coulter and M. Rich. Broune, and that Fleming in St. Andreues ; the Lord further that which wil be best for the education of my chyld. . . .

[Friday] 19 May. . . . This morning whyl I was wryting to my Lord Arbuthnot about M. R. Broun, he, haiving mett with Th. Burnet first, had told him and then me that he would not ingage to goe to England, and so by God's good providence is lyk to com to my son, for the which unexpected providence I desyre to acknowlege and adore the Lord my God. M. Th. Burnet taught weal on 19 Luk, 9, 10 v., al about the Son ; and M. D. D. lectured

¹ 'The Christian Warfare against the devill, world and flesh ; wherein is described their nature, the manner of their fight, and meanes to obtaine victorye.' By John Downame, B.D.

² John Stirling.

weal on first part of 33 Isay. . . . I got a letter out of Saint Andrewes from M. Rutherford and M. R. Mackuaird¹ about on Houison to my son. . . . I got a letter from M. J. G. about Bothkenare, and another from M. And. Gray very incouraging and comforting to me in my afflictions, for which I blisse the Lord. Then I ended with M. Richard Broune, for the which I blisse God and prayes for a blissing on my family, son, and on himself and us. . . .

[Saturday], 20 May. I did wryte my aunser to M. Rutherford; and, whyl I was wryting to M. J. G., M. Jh. Blar [?] cam in and it confirmed me to incourage him to goe on in that busines. . . . I was maid cankind this morning, what at my w[ife] and my d[ughters'] long lying and long a being readye; and what at hearing of Archbald's being angrie at his getting another paidagoge. . . .

[Lord's Day] 21 May. . . . [Notes concerning the communion this day at Liberton.] . . . I was troubled at my doun-lying, finding my wyfe in a distemper both of body and mynd.

[Monday] 22 May. . . . Imediatly after sermon M. Jh. St.² told me of ther difficultye about the magistrates pressing the comunion and the ministers' daunger to refuse them. I told him my present thoughts against it. . . . At supper I heard it come of the juges to remember my wyfe of hir particular busines, which maid me aprehend their was som direction or order given from above to som of them not to oppresse us in our particular in that busines. . . .

[Tuesday] 23 Maye. . . . M. J. G.³ letters com with his aunswer to the Protector's letter . . . and then we debayted about the ministers of Edinburgh giving the communion to the magistrats against which I declared my jugment. I was somewhat jumbled with M. J. G. question about the treu cause of the trimbling joyned with

¹ Robert MacWard, one of the ministers of Glasgow, editor of the first edition of Rutherford's *Letters*, and author of a number of books and pamphlets.

² John Stirling.

³ James Guthrie.

the ministers of Edinburgh[']s] unsatisfaction with my letter to M. Rutherford. . . . I fand be M. James his letter that somthing was reserved to the Parliament to doe in Ingland both in religious and civil businesses.

[Wednesday] 24 Maye. . . . After prayer, my wyfe told me of Col. Fenwick's telling hir of his speaking to the Protector of my condition ; and that M. P. G.¹ was, from my wyfe, to represent it to him ; and that he sayd I was a most rigid man, and thought their power usurped in Scotland, and he knew [not] what to doe with me unles it wer to give me employment in Irland, where their interest was cleare, and where Col. Fenwick sayd I might maik a fortune. My wyfe sayd I desyred no employment, and it stak with hir his nayming Irland, and so it doeth with me as portending that eyther I must complye with him, or els som on waye or uther, upon on pretence or uther, be removed out of Scotland. And heir I went to my bed with this thought that the Lord knew best what was best for His glorye and His people and my good ; and that it is ever best for me to be at His disposeal ; but that He withal saw man's desyne in this poynt, and my desyre, if it may stand with His good pleasur, to live and dye with His covenant, work and remnant in poor but covenanted Scotland.

[Friday] 26 May. . . . After desner, I got Arbuthnot's letter weal content to settle with on of thes young men and constructing right of him ; and so I sent for M. Jh. Coulter, and I hoope it shal be good for them both. Then I got a letter from M. W. Guthry wherin he seemes to acknowledge the Lord's doing him good by my two letters. . . . I heard Geo. Murray a chyld prayed for. I praye the Lord preserve him, being a hoopful chyld if it be M. Th. Murray's son. I heard of a young dāmosel of 7 yeirs old in Mr. Al. Leviston's parochin ² that prayes weal. I heard the comunion was stopped in East Lawthian whier he should haive given it. . . . The Lord was pleased in this sermon to bring to my mynd my old dreame at London in 1646, that

¹ Patrick Gillespie.

² Biggar.

I would be chaysed in over the hilles to Argyle; that S. J. Ch[eisly] would follow me; that, being depryved of other callings, I would taik me to be a schoolmaster to teach any the *Catechisme*; and would maik S. J. Ch. my doctor; that I would be in great hazard of my lyfe and be delyvered from it, but whither that was afor the teaching of the *Catechisme* or after it I remember not weal; then that I was in C. place and first in S.; and that I told this dreame (except the last part of it, and yet that in general to my wyfe) to many then at London, to sundry in '47 and '48 yeir of God in Scotland; and that I was chased realy in to Argyle in '48, and S. J. Ch. cam their to me, and that I haive been in daunger of my lyfe at Wariston, and hes once in the week been ledd and driven to conferences on the *Catechisme*. What dainger or chaynge heirafter is to befall me the Lord best knowes. . . .

[Saturday] 27 May. . . . I read, ryding to the kirk, on som sermons at Dalmeny on the Canticles. . . .

[Lord's Day] 28 Maye. Liberton comunion. . . . Why! I am going awaye in great overhayste I am stopped at the closehead by on telling me that the ports ar kepted because of the escape of som prisoners out of the castel,¹ which maid me wryte tuo lynes to Col. Fenwik, gouvernor in the castel, about it. O Lord, I desyre to reverence this providence and submitt to Thy will in every disposeal of Thyne. I got heir a passe from C[ol.] Fenwik for me and thes I would ounne as myne. Without ejaculating to God for counsel, I took som out with me but farre fewer then I might. God forgive me and learne me not to omitt ejaculations, and in consultation to look mor to God's honor and interest nor man's pleasur or trust. . . . Ther was 18 tables. I went to the tent after a consulting ejaculation to the Lord for His direction. . . . M. G. Huch[eso]n taught afternoon. . . . Wee repeated it in going from the

¹ The prisoners who escaped were: 'Lord Kynnoull, the Laird of Lugtoun, ane callit Marschell, and another callit Hay.' 'Thair was ane uther prettie gentillman, and a brave sodger, essaying to do the lyke, he, in his doungoing, fell and brak his neck, the knotis of the scheittis being maid waik by the former persones wecht that ast doun before him' (*Nicoll's Diary*, pp. 128, 129).

kirk. . . . I got a letter from M. J. G.¹ about their keeping the thanksgiving day on Foorsday last, and intending to keepe the humiliation day the nixt Foorsday at Airth. . . . He tels of the greater rage of the Highlanders against us, and of Monk and Argyle dealing with the gentlemen of the West to taik airmes for their awen defence. The Lord preserve His awen from snares.

[Monday] 29 Maye. . . . Torretly cam in afor his going north and desyred me to recomend him to God, which I did. . . . I spak with S. Al. Stewart's brother. I heard of the fast at Kirkliston on Thursdaye. . . .

[Tuesday] 30 Maye. . . . I got a letter from M. Ja. Guthrie of his opinion against the admitting of the magistrates to the comunion. . . . Now the Lord preserve His servant who is exposed to the malice of the Highlanders, the toun being emptye of sojourns.² Afternoon I was taiken up in conference and prayer with Grysel Forrest who is under fearful temptations and went not to the taible. . . . Wee resolved to keepe the fast on Thursday up in my sister's house. . . .

[Wednesday] 31 Maye. . . . I did wryte this morning to M. J. G. about the P[rotector's] motion of giving me imployment in Irland or sending me thither, and of my desyre to be rayther at God's disposeal nor my wishing and carving. . . . Haive serious thoughts, at least for an quarter of an houre in the day, to ask how wil I wine to heaven, for, if the Bible be treu, I am in a sad condition for not working out my salvation with fear and trimbling. Wee seeks spots in al the works of His providence, but His work is perfyte, 32 Deut. He maid the world for gathering His Church. . . . I perceaved by M. J. Olip[hant's] letter that he was mightely perplexed about his settling.

[Thursday] 1 June. Our fast daye. . . . M. G. H[ucheso]n preached weal on 9 Job from 29 v. . . .

[Friday] 2 June. . . . M. Jh. Spreule gaive me a

¹ James Guthrie.

² Guthrie 'was very hardly used by the woefull Malignant party in Stirling. One day they stoned him, and he very hardly escaped with his life' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 97).

letter from Pollok Maxwel, Ralston, Walkinshaw,¹ Geo. Porterfeild, and on James [?] Hamilton, to call a meeting of gentlemen together agaynst the 19 June. After seeking the Lord's direction by ejaculation, I told him freely my mynd both how it was not faizable and how unuseful, yea daungerous, it would be to them, and offensive to uthers and prejudicial to our meeting in August. . . . This day the mariage between M. Jh. Ferne and Sophia Jhonston was settled in my chalmer.² . . . I conferred afternoon with Glanderston's brother, S. J. Ch[eisly] and Whytbank; hard the good newes of the Lord's converting 20 in M. R. Fleming's parish³ since he went their, and 50 in M. Jh. Burnet's,⁴ and putting sindry to deuty in Monkland paroches; for the which wee bowed and I blissed God heartily and intreated Him to goe on in that conquering work as a greater prooffe that He is God and is Scotland's God. . . . I discoursed long with Whytbank. He lett me see Col. Ker's letter to him, heartily blissing God for His goodnesse to him in closing that controversye, telling he had gotten my tuo packets, and that God was very gracious to me, and that I was getting the blissing of many poor things and his blissing. . . . I remembred S. J. C. censuring me for speaking so much of the Lord's deserting of our meiting, as that which would discourage uther, but I hoipe it both brought God's returne to us in the last prayer and chaysed som to their prayers at hom. . . .

[Saturday] 3 June. . . . Afternoon I went to Leyth and saw Col. Fenwik and thanked him for his kynd respects to me in speaking about my busines to the P[rotector]. I told him I desyred no imployments, but libertye to subsist, and that they would not doe me wrongs in my particular above any uther bodye. He acknowledged that high places was a great vanitye and that they wer subject to suddain chaynges. . . .

¹ Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, William Ralston of Ralston, Gavin Walkinshaw of Walkinshaw.?

² Mr. John Fairholme and Sophia Johnston were married on the 10th of August 1654 (*Register of Edinburgh Marriages*, Scottish Record Society, p. 367).

³ Cambuslang.

⁴ Kilbride.

4 June. The Lord's Daye. . . . I was highmynded and trusted in uncertain riches, gaive every on of my children portions, wherof, I told C[olonel] F[enwick] yesterday, the English by their incoming had caused me losse the portions of 8 of them. . . .

[Monday] 5 June. . . . Blisseth the Lord for His guyding weal my wyfe's physik.

[Tuesday] 6 June. This morning I prayed on 2 Timothy, 1 ch. 5, 6, 7 v., and blisseed God for my grandmother and mother and any uther of my parents that ar in heaven befor me. . . . I was afternoone with my Lady Loudoun and prayed with hir and hir daughter. . . .

[Wednesday, 7 June] . . . I fand by M. Jh. Oliphant's letter his busines went right, as the Lord did beare in on me upon Saturday and maíd me wryte so to him. I fand my wyfe in a little distemper upon many their apprehensions and reports of my daunger from the Highlanders, whos corresponders and favourers sayd I had the wayte and cheifest hand in al thes men's blood that was executed. . . . Blisseed be the Lord for al His good influences, indulgences and providences recorded in this, and the Lord preserve thir diaries and blisse them to myne, and give me now good matter to fill up the nixt with—*adoro, oro, benedico*. A. Jh.

54. JUNE. 1654, FROM 8 JUNE TIL 5 JULY.¹

[Thursday] June 8. . . . Al this night I thought in my sleepe on the wairnings I got from my wyfe of the Heighlanders intending my blood, and desyred to putt myself and al that was myne over unto the Lord's awen hand and guyding, keeping, sanctifying. . . . I fand Hilton in a sad condition, growing seek heir, and haiving his wyfe very seek at Huttonhall. I blisseed God that our folk had taibled the naymes of 5 insufficient or scandalous ministers. . . . My wyfe telling me of the desseigne of the Heighlanders to aprehend S. Ja. Stewart and me, to

¹ '54. June,' on outside of front board, and '1654. From 8 June til 5 July on fly-leaf.

intertayne the army a whyl with good sowmes as our ransomes. . . .

[Saturday] 10 June. . . . Seing every body forbids my going [to the communion at Colinton] I intend to absteane, but, Lord, supplee it to me. . . . This foranoon I told to the Lady Broomhal my feares of hir going over to dwell in Fyfe. I heard from my Lord Arbuthnot of M. R. D., M. J. W., and M. G. Hⁿ,¹ insinuations to C[olonel] Fen[wik] that they would acknowledge the Prot[ector], and that M. R. Laury, in their nayme, desyred and warranted on Richye, that keeps the seasing, to shew the Prot[ector] so much that he needed not be troubled for they should within a short tyme publikly owne and acknowlege his gouverment, and that the young man needed not feare to be disclaymed in it, tho as yet they thought it not fitt to putt it under their hands; and Col. Barclay told me that the young man going up to London with him told it to him. Lykas he told me of Midleton's coming to Lochaber. . . .

11 June, the Lord's Daye. . . . I begge a weal-trysted word in the sanctuary as the blissing of Thy awen daye, and the compensation of my waunt of Colingtoun comunion. Lord, be heir and be their also with al Thyne and myne, and my sprite be ther. . . . God's consolations never run drye, ar ay taystye and keeps men ever fresh, for they ar a fountayne, not a pudle or pond, and they ar tuyse a mercy in wattering ourselves and inaibling us to watter uthers, wherby wee may trye if it be blissed to us. The restitution of Israel shal watter many nations. . . . I was drawn by my Lady Loudoun to repeate the sermons which I did and got liberty in both the prayers and in the grace after supper. . . .

[Monday] 12 June. . . . Imediatly after sermon M. R. B.² told me, from on then com from Ingland, that judicious men observed and sau throu the present pouers as only men for themselves and their auen ends, and even their

¹ Robert Douglas, James Wood, George Hutcheson.

² Richard Broun?

ministers was so, and that M. L. took money, and that uther ministers preached freely as on 10 Hos. i.; that M. J. L.¹ was left to himself in preaching, and M. P. G.² afternoon deprecated desolation; that M. Jh. M.³ was discontented and sayd he sau God's jugment was coming on that pairtye, as only being for themselves and not for religion which they pretended, yet that he was gon to Oxford; that the 3 ministers kneu not yet weal wherfor they wer sent for; that they lived on their auen charges; that a man was making a stamp of Cromuellis *Primus Imperator*; that many befor cleaving to them was nou dissatisfyed. O Lord, discover Thou every person's and pairtye's heart that maiks religion but a shoehorne to their auen ends. . . . I got great libertye in the grace, after receiving a heavy letter from Arbuthnot chaysed from his house. . . . Prayed the Lord to comfort the honest people in Kilmarnok, whair the Highlanders had com in and plundered their shopes the very night afor the fast, which maid the humiliation the mor sensible. The Lord recompense this losse to the hearts of His servants. . . . I heard on Sunday the Highlanders sent a charge to the parish of Curry for their levees, to L. Corstorphin⁴ under payne of burning and dryving, etc.

[Tuesday] 13 June. The Lord be with my sprite and waye this daye, for tho I got som prayer in my sleepe I found a desertion when I was awaike. . . . I prayed that the poor people of Kilmarnok and al uther plundered ones maye find the Lord fill al the empty boxes in their boothies, and hearts with somthing of Himself in His Word backed be Thy Sprite; and that the Lord may sanctifye to Arbuthnot his banishment from his house. . . . I heard afternoon sundry storyes of Glenurwhyhes house from M. Richard [Broun]. Had many discourses with M. J[h]. H[arper]. . . . He told me of Traquair's denying any protestation given in in 1648, and of resolutions to seaze upon any that maid any protestation. M. Th. Laury

¹ John Livingston.

³ John Menzies.

² Patrick Gillespie.

⁴ Lord Forrester of Corstorphine.

cam in to me to consult about Strabrock and Robertoun.¹ . . .

[Wednesday] 14 June. . . . I blissed the Lord God and had it brought unto my mynd to send my first letter directed unto Wallace, unto him for the use of the poor spoyled people of Kilmarnok, which I praye the Lord to blisse with the last letters sent to M. Wm. Guthrye. The Lord can maik the Scots hill drayne the Inglish armyes in Irland and Ingland, as befor he did with our armyes out of them both. Whyl I was wryting, M. Th. Laurye cam in and told me the perplexitye he had been in al night til he was forced to ryse, and after many prayers with submission, he did cast the lott and was directed to goe with his servant, and found a shudring goe throw his bodye with great peace unto his mynd. Now blissed be God for hearing our yesterday's prayer. . . . Whyl I was up seing my Lady Loudoun I heard of the great staite that the Lady Suynton cam up the street in coache, and the great back he went down the street with. The Lord sanctifye al chaynges to us for Thy nayme's saike, and blisse the studye of God to me above al the courts in the world, and know that if the Lord would maike me instrumental to discover anything anent Him to any poore creature, that that wer a blissing above comanding armyes and navyes, and preceeding in counsels and Parliaments, for any man of pairts and natural gifts hes or does or can doe thes things ; but they had need of grace to saive soules. And I saw the vanitye of outward shewes vivly² represented to me in the poor daft man going up the street brave-lyk and al the bairnes following him. . . .

[Thursday] 15 June. . . . I heard M. R[obert] Douglas preach weal on 1 John 3, 1. . . . Befor our meiting, I got a discouragment by my wyfe's telling me of folk's taiking exception at my speaking so much, and M. Th. L. speak-

¹ Alexander Keith, M.A., minister of Strathbrock (now Uphall) had been deposed by the General Assembly in 1649 (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 205). John Vetch, M.A., minister of Robertson, in Lanark Presbytery, was deposed by the Protesters 'as unsufficient,' and was succeeded by Thomas Laurie, M.A., in 1654 (*Ibid.*, ii. 335).

² Vividly.

ing the last day of me in his prayer ; and then I got an great incouragment from M. J. Oliphant telling me of M. Fr. Aird his hearty blissing whither he lived or dyed. . . . This day my wyfe told me of som motion from old Smeeton Hebron, for a matching of his son to my daughter and my son to his [daughter ?]. The Lord guyde me in His awen waye in al motions and propositions of that kynd, that I may neyther wrong God nor myself nor my childrein, but maik me praye much for His counsel in thes maters, that threw diffidence I hayste not to any offer, nor threw lipning to my awen dreames I slight not and misse not any good offer. . . .

[Friday] 16 June. . . . As the planets steeling bakward or sydwart by their awen proper motion whyl wheeled about by the comoun mover, so with many after comoun tyde of the Covenant, *non progredi est regredi*. . . . I went out to the Sheyns, prayed ther, thought al afternoon on God's righteousnesse, cam in by Janet Arnot, conferred with hir. . . . I got great liberty at conference and prayer with hir. Lord, blisse them to hir and the rest that was their. . . . I got great libertye at the prayer afor supper on 3 Mal. 10, 11, 12 v., a straunge trysted word imediatly after my hearing of the Heighlanders haiving been in Wariston, and plundering any swords and pistols [that] was thair, and plundering 6 horses from Ingleston. The Lord God give me a prooffe of The according to this most seasonable word of Thyn, after my hearing of Major Strachan saying that burning would be the end of my house. . . . I was very greived when I laye down and heard of Jam[es] Runcheman being drunk in Barners, and swearing so many oathes to the Major about airmes, that they bad taik up the believer, and they believed him the lesse becaus of his oaths. As this was a heavye sin and scandal upon my familye, so it hes been a rayned snaire upon them, and I prayed the Lord to ridde out of my familye drunkards and swearers. The Lord be merciful to me and mend him or rid me of him.

[Saturday] 17 June. . . . M. Jh. Oliphant told me of the high, proud, unreuly sprit of Archbald, and thought

he was wronged by Jam[es] Runcheman ay when he went out. Then Mr. R. D. told me of his miscariage to him with an oath; and heard of another when he was out at Wariston; and of his haunting the compaignye of Dalmahoy's sons who ar great swearers. I thought I heard the description of my awen youthly humor, passion and furye, my awen picture and nature in his temper. O Lord, restrayne it and renewe it for Thy nayme's saike, and direct my sprit in Thy feare to worship Thee, and to educate him who haiving often been dedicate to Thee and now deserted of The is raiged in the mor by Sathan. O Lord, sanctifye him; O Lord, putt over his youth without a mark or meinzie.¹ O Lord, tell me Thy mynd anent my deuty to The concernyng my chyld. At desner wee spak of parents giving to children as they saw they would be for God or not, whither they be youngest or eldest. And I heare that Andrew Hill, who was in my familie, hes allured and drawen awaye with him Revilston's daughter, and shoe hes caryed with hir hir mother's jewels and ringes. He deserves hanging that under trust steales away a man's chyld mor then he that steales his sheepe,² as the servant in the E. of Sutherland hes doen with a young thing; but my soule desyres to blisse God that ridd our familie of him, and that I could not lyk him and prest his away-putting; and I thought it a remarkable beacon sett up to us to taik heed of interteaning evil servants in my familie. Lord, direct me to carye myself in that busines of Jam[es] Runcheman. Wee read after desner on 2 Mark at beginning; and then I spak to my son in privat, discharged him from going unto the compaignye of Dalmahoy's sons, told him I apoynted M. Richard³ to goe out with him, remembered him of his covenant to God, pressed on him deuty to God and man. The Lord God putt it and keepe it in his heart continualye. I told him I had nothing to give him with the rest; what I had I would give to thes that

¹ Meinzie, *i.e.* complaint.

² In Scotland, even in the nineteenth century, horse, cattle, and sheep stealing were capital crimes (Hill Burton's *Manual of the Law of Scotland*, 1839, p. 174).

³ Richard Broun.

had most of the feare of God. I prayed when he was gon that the Lord would maik somthing keepe impression in him. It troubled me to see him going down the gaite his alone. I told him it was tyme to him to prepaire for the comunion, which was the mean under God that first tooke me be the heart. I told him that as the Lord maid me devoute him to God and gett it under His awen hand and to praye often for him, so I thought eyther the Lord would maik use of him and blisse him or would plaigue him eminentlye. . . . M. R. Fleyming told me of the Lord's wakning 30 in his paroch¹ to the very trimbling of their bodyes with the exercise of their mynd ; and told me of on old lady that, after great exercise, got great manifestations to speak lyk Margret Mitchel or Janet Ogilbye for tuo dayes, albeit befor that shoe could not expresse hir mynd at all, and, after questioning that manifestation as a delusion, shoe is fallen in a straunge delusion that shoe needs not praye and cannot indure the work or preaching of the law ; which I thought the punishment of hir sin that, as shoe had called the work of God to be the work of Sathan, so shoe shal count the work of Sathan to be the work of God, and that as Sathan rayseed up in Luther's tyme so now in their tyme he rayses up ay a chapel wher God rayses a temple. . . . At night my wyfe cam in, and when I spake to hir to ridd the house of James, becaus of his drinking and swearing and the scandal to the Gospel and my profession, and told hir of his causing hir son drink at the baptisme of his chyld, shoe fell in passion that hir servants and daughter kepted things from hir, as if shoe wer so grosse a natural bodye ; and shoe told me I be-hooved to quyte landwert labouring, for I would not gett libertye to dwell their ; and that shoe could not gett sylver to doe our absolute necessaryes ; and weeped bitterlye. My heart was sare to see sine lying on us all, master, mistris, chyld, servant ; and the Lord's hand on our calling, nayme, estate, as ruyned and going to utter ruyne. . . .

¹ Cambuslang.

[Monday] 19 June. . . . I went and conferred with my Lady Cranston, and S. J. M. lady with hir, and heard many strange expressions of hir two daughters in their seaknesses, shewing very much of God, which I thought a gracious dispensation from the Lord to compence hir many sorrowes urtherwyse. . . . I was distracted a tyme by the Lady Suynton, who told me that the Court lyked M. P. G.¹ better as a better preacher than M. J. L.;² and my L. Cr. had told me that shoe saw his letters to his wyfe, telling how wearyed a wight he was their, and that he could converse with nobodye their almost; that thes who befor seimed to haive much of God in them had little now; that he sought the taiking off ingagments, the restrayning of tolleration, the countenancing the Comission [of] 1650 for purging; but had gotten no aunswear. . . . I got liberty in the grace after supper with my Lady Loudon to praye for the Lord being our portion and refuge. . . .

[Tuesday] 20 June. This night I dreamed of my being drawn to serve my Lord Craighal,³ and I thought he was an Advocat, and would haive me as his man to taik the dolor⁴ of drink-sylver, and I could not gett that digested as unsutable to my former calling; and then at another tyme that I heard folk bid me flye to my mountayne,⁵ and that I sayd I would even dye at the foot of that mountayne and not cast awaye my confidence; for dependance on Him and submission to Him was the best waye I knew to give Him glorie. . . . Dav. Aunderson cam in and told me they had a good daye at Dalgetye. . . . I was interrupted by Hilton's incoming and telling me that the indenture was com home to call knights of the shyres to his Hyennesse Parliament, provyding they medled not with the chaynge of the gouvernement as it was established in the person of on (which leaves latitude for nayme of Empeureur and for the croune to be established in his posterity). . . .

¹ Patrick Gillespie.

³ Sir John Hope of Craighall, see *supra*, p. 167, n.

⁴ Dollar, not dolour.

² John Livingstone.

⁵ Psalm xi. i.

[Wednesday] 21 June. . . . I spak with Jam[es] Runcheman and layd drunkennesse and swearing to his chairge, and charged him, befor the Lord, to absteane from thes sines or els I wairned him that I could not keepe him in my familye. I praye the Lord to sanctifye and blisse this admonition to him and reforme him or ridde me of him fairlye. After desner I found my wyfe begin to passion, when I begoud to speake with hir about James, that I left hir, and thought in my mynd the Lord discover mor and mor to me the vanitye of al earthly contentments, for the Lord might rayse to on in his wyfe or any of his childrein every moment that cariage as would insoure al the injoyments and contentments on the earth. . . . I conferred afternoon and prayed with Glenurchie's daughter; the Lord blisse them to hir for Christ's saike. . . . M. Richard Broun told me of the Lord's blissing exceedingly to Glenurche's daughter our conference and prayer. . . .

[Thursday] 22 June. This morning I gaive to M. Richard Browne going West the causes of deadnesse, and begged the Lord to blisse him and the papers with him, and bring him and them saife threw and hom agayne for Thy nayme's saik. . . . I got a packet from Col. Ker and his auen letter showing his great contest about his interest, and blissing God and me in His nayme for my letters and papers . . . and tels me of M. J. Lev[ingstone] coming awaye the 21 day, a most wearyed man and refusing to staye. . . .

[Friday] 23 June. . . . After desner I heard of a lasse in our house in hir fittes of the mother¹ imagining himself to be queen, and then that R. Laury had been al Sunday with a young woman in Wariston hynd's house, then I intrapped my son in a lye by his master telling me that they had gotten the playe yesterday, and I fand Els[peth] Ogilby extreamly seak. I thought that the devil was exceeding busye about this family to bring scandals on it in children and servants; and the Lord just in His jugments to let lurking sines in us break out in ours. . . .

¹ Mother, *i.e.* hysterical passion,

I entreated the Lord to think upon His work and people ; and then called upon my son and told him al his faults and exhorted him, in the nayme of the Lord, to seek mercy for them from the Lord, and grace against them for the tym to com, and I prayed and then caused him praye, and therein he had sundry sensible good words. Now the Lord my God blisse this admonition unto his soule . . . and keepe it in his thoughts continually, and give him grace to reforme his wayes for Thy nayme's saike. . . .

[Saturday] 24 June. . . . The Lady Ingleston told me of C[olonel F[enwik] dissuading hir husband's upgoing, becaus it would be but to his discontent, discredit and prejudice. . . .

[Monday] 26 June. . . . I heard after sermon of M. W. G. haiving the worme, and not being able to com to the kirk al the Saboth, which I thought a sensibly remarkable providence for his refusal to preach heir when he was called. . . . M. Ja. Simpson told me of M. J. G.¹ getting my last letter, and communicating it to their meeting on Frayday to their great refreshment, which was a refreshing word to me, running throw my bodye. He told me of how he wayne free of thes [who] took him into the wood, by his pressing them to goe and praye and doe as in the sight of God. He refreshed me by telling of their getting on M. Jh. Blair be al human apearence. M. W. G.² told me of God's providence, bringing my letter closed to his hand from M. Jh. Carstaires at the Synod, and the tuo papers from M. Androu Hucheson. He promised me his tractat about the Covenant. He spak to me about his discoveryes of idolatrye as the great cause of God's wrayth against this land by our putting God out of His roome and titles-things [?] in it. On Wilson told me about M. And. Cant being oppressed in Aberdein bringing in M. Jh. Paterson.³ The Lord support and comfort him. . . .

¹ James Guthrie.

² William Guthrie.

³ The Town Council of Aberdeen having, in June 1654, nominated John Paterson, M.A., of Ellon, to be one of the ministers of Aberdeen, the kirk session successfully opposed his election. In December 1658, the Town Council again nominated him, and, notwithstanding the opposition of Andrew

[Wednesday] 28 June. This morning I was wakned befor foor and raysed and prayed earnestly. . . . I communicated M. J. G. letter and my aunswer to my wyfe, the Lord blisse them to hir also, to keepe up hir heart in thir faynting tymes and in hir troubles for my cause. . . . I was much taiken up with the newes of the Protector scoring my Lord Hopton's nayme out of the roll of the juges,¹ being rem[em]bred of the letter the Lord maid me wryte to him by waye of wairning and to Sanders Jaffray, at their upgoing, to bewarre of the pinnacle of the temple and thes slydery places from whence men cam faster down since this work begoud nor they went up; and wee heard when he went up of his speech for the Jewes, and of his being preferred to be putt on the Counsel of State; and uthers hearing [?] how his brother had persuaded him to enter in the Session the last day therof, to help him the nixt, and then they never got leave to sitt on day together, and that he sayd he entered against his will; and that now that familie which had the Court was now al going down the wind. . . . I went by S. J. Ch[eisly] and told him the storye about Hoptoun. He went out to the Graiefrers with me. I had an consultation in my mynd whither to communicate M. J. G. letter to him or not, and ane ejaculation to the Lord for His providential direction, and I was maid to resolve as I was going up the close not to speak anything of it to him, but, if he spak to me and asked for it, to reverence providence and communicate it to him. Immediately thereafter as wee ar going throw the Societie²

Cant and the session, he was admitted in 1659 (*Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, Spalding Club, pp. 122-124, 146-159, 245-256).

¹ 'Upone the sevint day of July 1654, thair come down from the Protectour ane new commissioun for the juges and commissioneris for administratioun of justice to the pepill in Scotland, quhairin all the former commissioneris were insert; onlie my Lord Hoptoun, a Scott and very fyne judicious man, wes oversene, for quhat caus it wes not knawn, bot the land suestnit much prejudice throw his removell, for he was a guid and upricht judge' (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 132).

² That part of Edinburgh, near Greyfriars or Bristo Port, acquired in or before 1598 by a corporation for brewing ale and beer.

he asks if I had gotten a letter from M. J. G. ; and I told yes ; and then he asked if I had it on me ; and I sayd yes. He sought a sight of it, and I sayd it was a letter indeed, and gaive it him and desyred him to keepe it weal. . . . Then I prayed the Lord to countenance their visitation and admission of M. Jh. Blair this day in Stirling ;¹ and seing be His providence I am now in the long ayly of the Sheins Yairds, wher the Lord about 21 yeirs since assisted me to praye much unto Him and on the uther hand maid His Word speak many promises, . . . I would now intreate the Lord to remember al His gracious promises. . . . O Lord, I recomend al my diaries to Thy preserving and blissing hand that they may som waye be to Thy prayse. I blisse The from my heart for the good matter I haive gotten already to wryte in them thes 21 years bygon since my great exercise in this place ; and I praye the Lord to give me als much good matter and much mor, both of Thy influences and providences anent Thy work, remnant and barroman, to wryte in in this and any uther subsequent year of Thy contineuing my lyfe. . . . I prayed for the Lord's directione whither to goe in to S. J. Ch[eisly] or not for my letters from him, and if I did to lett me gett good. I was ledd in. He sayd M. J. G. was a leil² ghuesser. He told me that my coming in Wariston so suddenly, out of the yaird to the chalmer wheir he was, to taik out my diaries, maid him curious to search the rest of the papers, and that he found, in som notes, som memorandums of som citations and exercises that shew him as much as M. J. G. wrytes, and so he sayd the Lord ordered that my hayste to prevent his knowing anything was brought about by the Lord to be the mean of his knowing somthing. He then told [of] folks observing in the kirk my wryting at the psalmes, my wagging my head and weavling³ my mouth in the singing, and that it was offensive ; and if I did not wryte in the tyme of privat singing no mor should I doe in publick singing ; which I thought spak to its

¹ Blair was admitted to Bothkennar in Stirling presbytery. See *infra*, p. 279.

² Perhaps *led*.

³ May be read *weathing*, perhaps *writhing*.

being as much a custom as conscience. He shew me a letter of M. J. G. anent the remedye of his melancholye, which indeed speaks jumplye to M. Jh. Burnet's caise. The Lord direct me in that busines of wryting at the psalmes, keepe me from everything that is offensive or may divert from ful joyning. O Lord, Thou sees my imprudence in external cariages even in Thy sanctuary, that folk thinks I am crakt. The Lord sanctifye this wairning to me and give me prudence and grace to amend everything that is offensive. . . .

[Thursday] 29 June. . . . I and my wyfe spak to Archbald against suyming [?], and that in debaucht men's compaignye. . . .

[Saturday] 1 Julye. . . . M. Th. Laury cam in and told me the great opposition wherwith he mett at the kirk of Robertoun¹ by M. Jh. Hume that would not suffer him to speake; but the Lord's carrying him throw. The Lord direct, assist, countenance and blisse him. . . . I heard of Archbald's byding from the shool [*sic*], and being in the compaignye of Dalmahoy's sons, debauched lads. The Lord God direct me without passion to taik the right course how to reclayme or correct him for Thy nayme's saike. . . . At night I spake agayne to my son Archbald afor his mother, and gaive him wairnings to follow his book, and absteane from il compaignye and everything that was scandalous. . . .

[Lord's Day] 2 July. Great fast daye for sines against the Gospel. I spread befor the Lord the causes of the fast; *the causes of God's wrayth* sett down be us; the inlargments of the sines against the Gospel by M. Gee. . . .

[Monday] 3 July. This morning I wrote to M. W. Adair after seeking the Lord's assistance, and I found it and blisses God for it. . . . My wyfe asked about M. J. Gut[hrie's] letter, and I shifted it. Afternoon I read up in M. J. Kenoir's yaird. . . .

[Tuesday] 4 July. . . . I got this foranoone from

¹ This apparently implies that Laury had been admitted to the charge of Roberton on, or rather before, the 1st of July.

M. J. G.¹ his letter, blissing God as a mercy that his letter was to my edification and consolation ; and then desyring me to think seriouslye and trye the Lord's mynd about my going to the visitations of Teviotdail, wherfra I found S. J. Ch[eisly] averse because my caise was not as uther folks. M. R. Tr[ai]ll told me of the Lord ordoring their visitation weal, notwithstanding the great tumult against M. Jh. Blair's admission.² I read to M. R. my aunsweare to M. Jh. Burnet, and told him som uther passages wherwith I sawe him edified. The Lord blisse that letter to him and M. And. Graye. The Lord direct me in my aunsuer to M. J. G. . . . I earnestly recommended the Lady Ingleston's heavy mynd and distressed condition to the Lord, wherof I heard this daye. . . .

[Wednesday] 5 July. This morning I wrote to M. J. G. the reasons of my not going abroad to visitations. . . . The Lady Ingleston dyned with me. . . . M. Jh. Hart³ cam in and told me . . . of their getting a notable daye in Bothwel comunion, Saboth day last ; and then M. William Weir⁴ told of their getting a good daye for the thanksgiving yesterdaye in the Ferry, and that the Lord saifly delyvered M. Gil. wyfe⁵ on the morning, which providence helped him to be the mor thankful in the afternoon. . . . I heard many strange expressions of Elspeth Douglas in hir raivings, that shoe had given the devel 20 lyes for shoe would never quyte hir interest. . . . I heard M. G. Hal's preaching weal in the Ferry on end of 40 Isay. Som thought M. Jh. Lev[ingston's] discontent was a confirmation of our testimonye against his voyage. I told M. Jh. Heart and another that Crom[well's] loosnesse in the maters of the first taible was punished by his grossnesse in the maters of the second, and his toleration by his oppression. I spak to the Galloway gentleman that the reacting of fayth, repentance, etc., when Sathan would

¹ James Guthrie.

² The tumult is described in Laing's *Baillie*, iii. 258.

³ John Hart of the second charge, Hamilton.

⁴ Willam Weir, M.A., then of the second charge, Linlithgow.

⁵ The wife of Gilbert Hall, M.A., minister of Kirkliston.

dispute the former acts, was the mean to resist the devil and maik him flye away lyk a dog with his tayle between his legges as haiving occasioned our honouring of God instead of dishonouring of Him. . . .

[Volume without boards.¹]

[Thursday, 6 July.] . . . I heard M. R. Douglas teach on i Jh. 3. . . . I went to Leyth. . . . I could not but acknowledge and adore the Lord's goodnesse to my sprit since Dumber. . . . I blissed God that had preserved me hithertill in thes 4 years' terrible chaynges. At night I got M. W. Guth[rie's] tractat anent personal formal soule covenanting,² and adored and blissed God when I read it that ever God putt that busines in my heart, and maid me communicate and presse it on uthers, as a greater favor nor if the Lord had given to me the ownarship [?] of the whol earth. I praye the Lord to blisse that tractat and exercise to many of His in thir sad tymes. . . .

[Friday] 7 July. . . . This night I dreamed of my being in daunger, persued by som Scots, flying in to a house, and reskewed by som English; then that I was in Whythal with the Protector and bidden dyne with him, and that I thought he had a distracted, distempered lyfe.

[Saturday] 8 July. . . . As I was going out, Sam. Hunter marked I was growing full of gray haire.³ . . . Hearing the storye of my Lord Hopton's outputting of the Session, I ejaculated that the Lord would manifest Himself as visibly gracious to som as He did demonstrate His justice to uthers. . . . I heard at desner in the Sheins of the great vanity, pompe and grandeur at Court and in London. . . . I read al daye on Burrough's *Jewel of Contentment*⁴ and fund therin many notable things. . . .

¹ This volume, which lacks one or two leaves at the beginning, extends from the 6th of July to the 3rd of August 1654.

² This 'tractat' was probably the first draft or germ of William Guthrie's famous little book, *The Christian's Great Interest*, which has been translated into several languages, and has gone through nearly eighty editions.

³ Wariston was now in his forty-fourth year.

⁴ *The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment*, by Jeremiah Burroughs.

When I came hom I fashed at every circumstance of civil busines, and then reflected how unfitte I was for any publik imployment and how unuseful I was to my familie. I had been in at Jan[et] Arnot and found hir saying the sam, and I spak to hir of submitting to and being content with God's disposeal of hir ; and so I praye for myself. . . .

[Monday] 10 July. . . . Greenknowes told me, from Col. Ker, how the man that was bringing in my last letter was persewed by the Toryes¹ and that his horse flang so as they lett him alone ; for which providence I blisse God. He told me also that M. Jh. Leviston spak of M. Jh. Meinzeis carying himself weil their at London. Archibald's master sayd that he had caryed himself weel since I spak last to him ; for the which I blissed God. I went and saw my Lord Hoptoun and told him my contentment with my reteyred condition, and how the Lord brought me to submission and maid me search al my wayes of every moneth, week, and day in my publik imployments ; and to craive His mercye for al the wrongs I had doen therin ; and so insinuated from my awen experience what would be my best counsel to him ; but I apreghended be his eye that he would turne melancholious. Afternoon both Col. Fenwick's lady and Swynton came to my house with their coaches, which would breed talking enough. . . .

[Tuesday] 11 July. . . . I got this day Mr. J. G. letter, wherin he hath som strange expressions of peremptory byding be his former opinion anent my going abroad now ; as also that he saw nothing why I should not haive gon to St. Andrews and Glascow ; yet, if their be daunger, he thinks ministers should not goe. . . . My wyfe being laite acoming in I fell in privat to meditation. . . .

[Wednesday] 12 July. A notable daye. . . . I did then wryte to M. J. G. and to M. Richard Broune. I prayed the Lord to taik a caire of our affaires which ar even now befor the juges ; and wherof my wyfe, after my being

¹ Thomas Manley, of the Middle Temple, thus defined 'moss-troopers' in *The Interpreter*, published in 1672—'a rebellious sort of malefactors in the furthest North of England that live by robbery and spoyl, not unlike the *Toryes* in Ireland, or the Band in Italy.'

privat, gaive me som good account of hir full informing them all. The Lord be graciously pleased to look tenderly upon our distressed family, whos stock of moneys comes not up to the former rent of on year ; but let us haive our litle with a blessing. I advertised sundry about the daunger of the endenture sent to the shyres to be their tender and engagment to the new gouvernement.¹ . . . As for the two businesses anent my subsistence now befor men heir and at London, I recomended them to the Lord's caire to move the hearts of my enemyes to doe me justice. . . . Doctor Hay sayd at desner that their was divers reports that the Protector spake of no man in Scotland so respectivly [*sic*] as he did of me, which maid people think I would taik imployment from him. . . .

[Thursday] 18 July. . . . I found my wyfe vexed that the juges, notwithstanding their full information, seimd to cast off our busines that was befor them and that Osburne² spak pughtily to hir. . . . About on after midnight, whyl I am sleeping and dreaming, my wyfe on a sudainty cals on me and causes me draw back the courtain to see if their was any light in the roome, and I lett hir see their was non ; then shoe bad me find hir, and I found hir all in a sweat with feare. Shoe told me shoe had slept non that night, becaus shoe had lyen down heavye and was tossing in hir thoughts the apearance of evry bodye's doing us wrang, as the juges their, Robert Bailze of Walston pressing to turne the losse of Scotsraig moneys upon us, Osburne's cariage, and then hir woman Bessy Jhonston (whom wee had bred both for soule and body) hir dealing with the Lady Kilbirny to goe hom to hir, and saying my wyfe did weare hir cloths now so long and made them up agayn for hir children, and that wee had so many children as was so great a burthen to any servant that they could expect no profit by us ; and that—when shoe was thinking on al our frends and servants turning upon our hand and

¹ The writs for the elections in Scotland, and the forms of indentures between the sheriffs and the electors, had been sent from Whitehall to Monk on the 29th of June (*Domestic Calendar*, 1654, p. 228).

² Lieut.-Col. William Osborn. ?

counting our children a burthen, and that seing wee ourselves found thes men [?] had doen so much for doing us such wrongs in our awen tyme—how evil our children would be used by everybody, that shoe thought shoe wished the Lord rayther to taik them to Himself then to suffer them to live in extremity of want and contempt heir. And whyll shoe is thus tossing himself from syde to syde, and acknowledging shoe imployed not God as shoe sould but went about affaires in hir awen strenth ; and lying waiking with hir eyes open shoe sees a great light in the bedd, lyk flaming fyre and lyk the sun with the fyry glancing beames of it coming therfra moving and stirring in the bedd above hir eyes, which straik hir in such feare and amazment and maid hir crye on me to see if it cam off the street or of an candle or anything els ; and I fand hir a long whyl after stil amazed at the aparition, and I behooved to call for a candle and let it burne asyd hir. This maid me presse hir to recomend herself and children and husband and busines the mor fervently and frequently to the Lord ; and withal to tell hir that it was the mor strainge to me becaus of my remembrance of the very lyk befalling to myself once in Wareston and tuyse or thryse heir in Edinburgh [in] bed in the night ; and that yesterday I had gotten 12 great sensible confirmations of the Lord's good intentions and goodwill towards me and myne ; and that this should fall out in the evening therof and apeare to hir whil shoe was in such a heavy, melancholious and despairing mood and temper, to convince hir and me both of our infidelity, and to confirme us in our fayth in God Himself as our sun and sheild and rich rewaird and portion, tho men should heape wrongs and ruyne on us. And I told hir of the angels apearing as flaming fyre—and shoe added, and Sathan too—wheron I told hir that that very day on of the passages I had written was that of 10 Luke, when he is compared to lightning, and that on of the marks to know whither an aparition be of good or bad angels is by the impression of light, lyfe, and heate they leave behind them or not, as I had written, which I praye the Lord lett us find to be the effect of this on hir and my sprit. . . . On of the things

that hes vexed my wyfe yesternight hes been hir missing and so aprehending that shoe had lost a band¹ of 4000 merks of the town of Edinburgh, but it pleased God after the prayer to cause hir find it agayne, after I perceived by hir eyes shoe had been weeping and sending out to uthers to trye about it. . . .

[Friday] 14 July. This night wee was much disturbed by the English stryving to break up our yett,² and my wyfe was putt to tremble throw feare. . . . I got M. Jh. St.³ letter desyryng me to thank God for his wyfe's saife delyverye. . . . I laye down praying the Lord to . . . direct my going to or byding from the visitation of Teviotdayle, to which M. Jh. Scot's letter and M. J. G. peremptory thoughts and Col. Ker's exspection in his letter doeth invite me; and from which the reports and aprehensions of my personal daunger and the contrary opinion of al freinds dissuades. . . . The Lord that directed me about the voyage to St. Andrews direct me now in this. . . .

[Saturday] 15 July. . . . This morning I got a letter from M. Jh. Levis[ton] bearing that it was not saife to travell, that he repented not of his going, haiving gotten oportunetye of speaking his mynd freely anent religious and civil maters, that he mett not with feared temptations, that they never cam the lenth as to think convenient to speake of any person's particular, regraits the English ministers' ignorance of our matters of fact, that if a man had been through al England, yea through the whol earth, I juge (sayeth he) he would think it good dwelling in Scotland for all our unsettlednesse and differences, yet he wishes al indevours for unity with the godlye. . . . I blissed God for M. J. L. good thoughts yet of poor Scotland after his tryel of what is in England in this their prosperity. . . .

[Monday] 17 July. . . . I heard of Hilton's wyfe['s] seaknesse from melancholye, [and] then of Hopton's⁴

¹ Band, *i.e.* bond.

² Gate.

³ John Stirling?

⁴ In December 1653, a 'Lord Hopton' was reported to have been captured and carried as far as Durham. Maidment was puzzled to know how this could

taiking be the Toryes and winning awaye only on his parole, which with the former was lyke to distemper his wyfe. . . . I heard that M. R. Dougl[as], M. M. L.¹ and M. Jh. Smith laughed in the kirk when M. J. St. spak of God's using instruments no better then beasts, and that M. R. D. shook the glasse; ² and on of them sayd, after sermon, Might not God maik use of Highland men alsweel as Highland kye? I thought it a scandalous cariage . . . and deserving censure and betokening a great desertion. I was distracted by compagne al afternoone. I heard from Craigens that Middleton had gotten a most ample comission³ lyk the Protector and had listed sundry houses in every shyre to burne, and had power to emitt proclamations of pardon, excepting som persons wherof I am on. . . .

[Wednesday] 19 July. Al this night I was heavye and slept and awaked at Rachel's crying of hir sore legge, with som sense of my abhominable nature the cause of many jugments or chastisments on me and myne. . . . [I] wrote to M. J. G.⁴ a sensible confession in general termes of my inward idols and outward scandals, greiving, resisting, vexing, quenching the Sprite; and I praye the Lord to sanctifye the letter to him, and to move him, as I wrote, to praye the Lord for me to end me or mend me. . . . Afternoone I was up in Rob. Lokhart's yaird. . . . At night I wrote to Arbuthnot, and I got from M. R. Broune a letter from M. Ja. Rowat shewing God had blissed my papers to them, and another from M. M. M.⁵ shewing the sam, but withal telling me that my adversaryes maid many misconstructions of my letter written to Kentyre; and advysing me to be warye what I wryte of experiences, and to whom and what use they maike of it. I begged of the Lord the sanctified use of this honest wairning. . . . After supper I got liberty in the grace to commiserate and

have happened to 'the gallant hero of Stratton,' who had died 'at Bruges in 1652 (Spottiswoode, *Miscellany*, ii. 151). Can it have been the lord of session—Sir James Hope of Hopetoun—he to whom Wariston here refers?

¹ Mungo Law.

² The sand-glass.

³ Middleton's Instructions are in Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 25-30. ⁴ James Guthrie. ⁵ Matthew Mowat or Matthew Mackail?

recomend to God the distressed condition of His people in the West, that wer plunderd and continually in daunger, and I heard of the plundering of Cesnok's house and writs, and spoyling sundry therabout, and of M. W. G[uthrie's] heavynesse. . . .

[Thursday] 20 Julye. . . . I was heavye about M. M. M. letter, and prayed earnestly the Lord to turne about that letter to Kentyre to His awen glory, and to forgive me al my misrelations. . . . Let me see Him draw good out of al the jeers at that letter, as out of the misconstructions putt in St. Andrews upon the uther. . . . As I cam into the kirk S. J. Ch[cisly] told me the great report of our King, and the Queen of Sued's mariage with our King; and I sayd on a sudainty, if it was treu, their was lykly to be *manus diaboli* in it; but blissed be His nayme, who is *Deus supereminens*, haiving a hand in al chaynges. . . . I heard of the sensible desertion of Hoptoun to speak as he did which insnaired him; and of the Toryes drowning and pistolling a woman at Irwyne. I heard of the Lord's spreading the Gospel among poor things in the South and in som places in the West; and that Midleton was gon into Argyle's bounds and Monk after him. My daughter Elizabeth told me that shoe heard first the Lady Libertoun and Hilton's wyfe discourse, and then shoe gott mor fully the storye from Hilton's wyfe in Culros, that my Lord Libertoun on night in Culros took a great distemper in his head in the night, and would be up and cryed he saw the Englishmen haggng down our army, and bidding kill him as the cause of all the blood; and that he could not live behind them; and that the nixt morning he took his horse and came to us afor Dumbar, wher it fell out just so as he had been forced to crye out of befor, and that the lady and his two daughters that night held him down in the bed.¹ . . .

[Friday] 21 July. This night I dreamed of Chryst, and ejaculations to Him, as being my freind and at Court near the Fayther, to speak for me. . . .

¹ He died of his wounds after Dunbar (Balfour's *Hist. Works*, iv. 98).

[Monday] 24 Julye. This morning I was troubled in a dreame about London and M. P. G. and the Protector. . . . I heard of Midleton's being defeate, then of great confusions in the English airmye by discontentment at the present gouverment, then of great discontents in England, and elections of commissioners of a contrary jugment to Cromwel, as S. Arth. Hazelrig, S. H. Vayne, Bradshaw, and withal Doctor Owen. Then I heard a noyse from M. W. Weir of som letters of myn interceped that greatly offended the juges. . . . I thought about this tyme 4 year wee was gon to the feilds in the Links. I heard from my Lord Burley that ther was a great number of the old Parliament men, who was raysed by Cromwell in Apryle 1653, choysen to be on this, which was lyk to breed il blood among them; and that the Protector kepted himself since the last plot very reteyred and reserved, and very few gott acces to him. When I could gett liberty to be alon I went and by prayer acquaynted the Lord with my condition at hom and abroade, both necessitous and daungerous and odious, and begged His thinking on it and looking to it; and whyl I was doing so it was borne in on me that I had much mor peace, quyet and content then the Protector had, who lived in a feare of his lyfe; and that if I had the command of the nations, and withal a continual feare of my lyfe, I would think it a miserable condition and think every mean body I saw in the streats, voyde of that feare and haiving necessars, in a farre better condition. . . . I found my wyfe very cankerd about our affaires, and wishing rayther to be a servant to any then the burthen-som lyfe shoe had and the litle ease or helpe shoe had from me. This mynded me of my unserviceablenesse to God, and unusefulnesse to my awen, and unpleasantnesse to myself, and hatefulnesse at hom and abroad. . . .

[Tuesday] 25 July. . . . I got Arbuthnot's letter shewing that the Heighlanders maid a report of my fasting and praying to know God's mynd about the Steward's family; and that it had been revealed to me that His controversy with them was at an end; and that this ran for a certain treuth amang the Malignants. The Lord be

merciful to me for thes ar strange fictions. Lord, give me the right use of them, and preserve me even from circumstantial misrelations which ar justly payed home by substantial calumnyes, which hes a language to me if I could taik it up right. I did wryte to M. S. R. about M. W. G. tractat anent personal covenanting, and pressed him to tell the distinguishing characters of motions and inbearing from right or wrong sprit. I remember the story that Lanrik¹ told of himself, that, when he was borne, on told his mother that he should be the greatest man in Scotland; and what it cam to, as al the devil's prophecyes did. . . .

[Wednesday] 26 July. This morning I was wakned early be 4 houres sounding in my eares as six, and I did ryse and praye the Lord to ryse with me and assist me to wryte to M. J. G. for which end I thought He had wakned me.² . . . I heard this day of the juges, by the Act of Grace, stopping and wronging my bygon fees as procutor of the Kirk. The Lord sees how they wrang and persecute me. O Lord, I haive desyred and desyres to serve The in that calling. O Lord, looke to my subsistence. I was called to desner, and heard both that Sanders Jaffray told my wyfe how Desborough had abused him, so as shoe found they wer happyest that had least medling with them, and shoe thought what he mett wyth from them should be his dead; and the Lady Liberton sayd—Melancholy ruyned him. And my wyfe observed his discourse to verefye M. J. G. letter about his disapoyntments; and then my wyfe told me that Colonel Fenwick thought them happy that could reteyre to such a condition as I had doen, and they wer fooles that eyther lipned much to the freindship of men or feared much their feed.³ . . .

[Thursday] 27 Julye. I heard our busines in the

¹ William, Earl of Lanark, second Duke of Hamilton.

² Here Wariston gives a long account of an interview with Alexander Jaffrey, who explained that, although he had charity for many good men among the Anabaptists, he did not hold their principles; that he was not against the ministry as 'a standing ordinance,' but against the way of their ordination by presbyteries; and that he did not speak against the Kirk of Scotland, but about patronages, and purging and qualification of ministers.

³ Feud.

Session was delayed til Wednesday nixt. Lord, direct me in that and doe me good. . . . In the going to the kirk wee was stopped with the Inglish carying the Scots prisoners away to the Barbados.¹ . . . Wee repeated the sermon; . . . and then fell in upon the dispensation this day of the Inglish carying awaye a number of Scots prisoners shekeld² doun the street to goe to Barbados. . . .

[Friday] 28 July. . . . Now I prayed the Lord to be with me in the busines anent the procutor of the Kirk of Scotland, wherin I desyre to be faythful in the office, and leave the Lord to His awen waye anent the fee of it to me and myne. . . . This afternoon I was interrupted by M. R. Rae about his processe, and told him my mynd freely that it was best for him to submitt to the presbytery sentence, and acknowledge any imprudence and inanimadvertencye. At night after wryting my thoughts upon the Act of Grace. . . .

[Saturday] 29 July. . . . I heard that M. P. G. and M. J. M.³ was on their way home. Al this daye I was distracted by being in the Advocat's, at a consultation about that procutor's office and fees, wherin I thought wee got light mor and mor. I heard Elspet Ogilby sayd their was sadder stroaks coming but shoe had good newes to Wariston. I heard old Jhon Mean was dying and I prayed the Lord to helpe and assist him. Then I spak with Elspet Ogilby who told me of her getting good on Foorsday at the prayers, and then at night from M. Richard.⁴ Then I prayd in the familie. . . . After supper my wyfe told

¹ Nicoll describes these men as 'Toreyis and Heylanderis,' who had been long prisoners in the tolbooths of Edinburgh, Canongate, Dundee, Perth, and other jails. Fearing their escape, and grudging the 'great fascherie and expenssis' of a strong guard, the English prepared ships in Leith Road and put them on board, eighty-eight of them being from Edinburgh Tolbooth, and as many from the Canongate. While one of these ships was riding near the shore at St. Andrews, the prisoners mutinied, and, 'albeit every twa of thame wer bund with yron fettires be thair handis,' they overmastered the English officers and crew, and would have escaped had not an English warship, which was riding at anchor near by, immediately seized them and reduced them 'to their former servitude' (Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 134, 135).

² Shackled.

³ Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies.

⁴ Richard Broun.

me of Col. Fenwik insisting to hir on the obeying of the heigher powers, and not refusing imployments which was putt upon men without their knowledge; and that he thought no bodye's waye was so layd open to suffering as myn was; and he found the mor that I was self-denied to the world, and not given to recentments so much as my wyfe. And shoe told him my having a privat lyfe, and that I had no mynd nor ayme at a publik lyfe; and that shoe saw non could have medled unles they goe up their full lenth; and that I was resolved to see my children putt to service befor I ventured on anything agaynst my mynd. Shoe apprehended he was hinting to haive me choysen comissioner; but he sayd he thought I had a sweet lyfe, and he wist he could win to the lyk. I got liberty after this narration in the grace, especyaly in giving up myself to be at God's disposeal, and melting our will in His will and runing it in unto His will, as a litle rivulet unto a great river, which wil certaynly carye it down directly with it unto the ocean of His glorye, their to be swallowed up with joye for ever; so that it is the best airt and a deep mistery of godlynnesse to gett God's will and ours thus on, and then both wil gett their will. . . . I haive oft forgotten to remember the observation that the last stroak in the Heighlands was very lyk God's hand at Dumbarre, for Monk had despaired and given it over, and Midleton was led unto a trappe unto the place wheir Morgan was, the on not dreaming of the uther;¹ and Fenwik told the Protector and General's order to send al awaye to Barbados without exception;² and that he was wryting to exeeme thes who had wyfe and children. Now the Lord prepare me, I thought, even to submitt fully to God's hand in such a voyage as that

¹ This was at Lochgarry on the 19th of July 1654. See *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, 1822, p. 183; *Letters from Roundhead Officers*, pp. 83, 84; Thurloe's *State Papers*, ii. 483.

² By the instructions of 6th April to Monk, any Englishman proved to have been in arms with the enemy in the Highlands was to be put to death when apprehended; and any of the enemies in arms in the Highlands, who might be brought into his power, were to be transported to foreign English plantations when and how he chose (*Domestic Calendar*, 1654, p. 85).

[Tuesday] 1 August. . . . Now the Lord be blissed for this notable day, the first of August 1654 never to be forgotten by me. *Adoro.* A. Jh.

[Wednesday] 2 August. . . . The Lord be pleased to guyde weal this daye thir businesses wherin I am so much wronged, the busines of M. D. H[ay] wherin is such falshood, and the busines of the procutor of the Kirk now to be disputed. . . . Lord, Thou knows it is my right, and it may help to keepe me from straits, and so from temptations wherat men ar dryving by putting me to straites. I continowed sending up ejaculations until I heard that the juges had delayed it til too-morrow. . . . I heard the Scots burnes many houses as Kilseyth, Glorat and Cardros, and that the Inglish mynds to doe the lyk in the Heighlands. . . .

[Thursday] 3 August. I wakned and slumberd often on a passage of Job but cannot remember it. . . . I prayed the Lord to direct me anent keeping this day or too-morrow, and becaus of Calder fast I inclyned to this afternoone, and too, whither my busines goe right or wrong, the Lord may blisse it to me in the afternoone; and my wyfe and M. R. wil goe readily away too-morrow. . . . I, after prayer recomending the Session busines to the Lord, got knowledge that wee had wonne the cause for bygons afor 1652, for the which I blisse God and begges a blissing on His provyding for me in this interim. . . .

54. AUG. 1654, FROM 4 AUGUST TIL 29 AUG.¹

[Friday] 4 August. . . . I told of K. Jam[es VI.] receiving no petitions or aunswering them but throw Bukingham's hands, so doeth the Fayther with Christ that He may be glorifyed in Him. . . . I went and visited M. Jh. St[irling's] wyfe who was in a great exercise of hir mynd wherupon it pleased the Lord to direct and assist us in a good conference. . . . I got M. W. Adair's letter and read it as I went down to Leith. . . . I went and spak

¹ '54. Aug.' on outside of front board, and '1654, From 4 August til 29 Aug.' on fly-leaf.

to Col. Fenwik and I took M. W. A. letter for a ground and Cape of Good Hoope to keepe me from any faynting expressions to him. We debayted anent swearing to doctrin and disciplyne. I told him how farre I was wronged, and my intent to leade a privat lyfe, and desyre to injoye with peace my awen; and shew him England's obligations to me by our ingoing [in] 1640 and 1643, and my feight at Newberry, mony voyages to Scotland for them, keeping of their writs, taiking awaye their naymes from the Paper sent to Scotland.¹ The Lord forgive me my misrelations of circumstances according to affection and custome, for this checked me in the up-coming out of Leyth. The Lord pardon and cure that evil in me which yesternight S. J. C.² marked in me about G. M.³ resolution to taik an ordor with som in Scotland that non was dreaming off. He told me of gouvernor of Dundee intercepting a letter going to M. A. Cant about books and contributions to it. I found he thought not himself much tyed by the provision in the Indenture. In the coming up out of Leyth I read Corbet's chapter of Fayth in prayer. . . .

[Saturday] 5 August. . . . Janet Arnot told me it was borne in on hir that I would see hir this day. . . . I recomended the comunion of Calder to the Lord now. . . .

6 August, the Lord's Day. . . . On Frayday at 12 houres I got M. W. Ad[air's] refreshing letter preserved by God's good providence at Calder when al the rest of the man's letters was taiken. . . .

[Monday] 7 August. This morning I wrote to M. W. Adar. . . . I remembred of K. James glorying in his making Bukingham his creature of nothing to be so much courted. . . . I got a letter from my Lady Cranston acknowledging that God had blissed my letters to hir, and inviting me to the communion in Ormiston. I wrote back to hir that I would seek the Lord's direction, and that

¹ Can this refer to the cutting out of the names in the declaration and engagement forged by Lord Saville? See Nalson's *Impartial Collections*, 1683, ii. 427, 428; Gardiner's *History of England*, new edition, ix. 210, 211.

² Sir. J. Cheisly.

³ General Monk.

I desyred to be their. Imediatly after desner I heard that the Scots troupers had disturbed them at Calder yesterday foranoone, and had hurt som of the elders and som weomen. Then Colonel Fenwik cam up and rendred me a visite. Wee spake about the Paynted Chamber debaits,¹ which he sayd was the great prejudice to me, and that al the disputes in Scotland was al faytherd on me. I acknowledged that I had gon too farre on in thes debaytes in the Paynted Chamber, and what had been any of our mis-cariages wee had confessed them in the *Causes of God's Wrayth*.² I remember now for my comfort how my question to M. W. Adair laye so long heir as forgotten, and how his aunsuer is com saife to my hands. . . .

[Tuesday] 8 August. . . . As I cam from the kirk S. J. Ch[eisly] and Thesaurer Deput they tell me that on Sunday on with a toulk [?] ³ rines into Calder kirk as they wer going to the tables, hurt som men and weomen; and afternoon he and 7 uthers with drawen swords rod throw the people in the kirkyaird, crying for Edinburgh dogs; that it was worse to be at that comunion then at the messe; ⁴ that it was Wariston's, S. J. Chesly[']s, S. Ja. Stewart[']s, Ingleston's comunion; cryed they would give them out Wayreston and S. Jh. Cheisly; and they should maik their blood cold befor they went from that or els they would hurt and disturbe them their. O what a madlyk dis-temper was thus to interrupt the ordinances of Chryst. . . . I got M. J. G. letter of his faynting and being cast down and near Jonah's caise (4 ch.), if the Lord hold him not up; and tels of his fruitles dealing with G[eneral] Monk about

¹ "The Chamber of St. Edward," as it was called from him, or "the Painted Chamber," from its subsequent decorations, was the kernel of the Palace of Westminster. This fronted what is still called the "Old Palace Yard" (Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 1868, p. 24).

² The debates in the Painted Chamber are not referred to in either of the two editions of the *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland*, printed in 1653; but, in a postscript to one of these editions, six other causes are given of 'our late humiliation,' and the first of these is: 'The late declining of the Land by consenting and engaging unto the publick actings of the present Powers, so contrary to the Covenants, and so much prejudicial to religion and liberties.' See *infra*, p. 298.

³ A knife fixed in the haft?

⁴ Mass,

the prisoners; of the appearance of Ingland's warre with Spayne; and then that my letter conteyned precious and comfortable treuths. . . . I recommended to the Lord M. J. G., S. J. Ch[eisly] and my condition, and to pitye, pardon, direct, protect, sanctifye us, the mor that He saw wee heard som people would mingle our blood with our sacrifice (13 Luik 1, 2), and slaye us between the temple and the altar (23 Math. 35). . . . I heard at night from Elspeth Ogilbye of the sojour in Calder nayming me. . . .

[Wednesday] 9 August. . . . I heard o. the Lord's providence preserving them at Fenwik when Kenmure was coming to the kirk (as som of his pairty did on the Saturday) on the Monondaye by an English pairty appearing merching that sam waye. Then I was remembered of M. J. St[irling] urging me tuiyse to wryte to Collernye¹ who was decaying in seakness, wherin I sought the Lord's assistance and found it. . . . Then I conferred and prayed with Gryssel Forrest that shoe might gang to Ormiston and gett good their and not darre to byde from the taible; and I prayed the Lord eyther to mak my call and waye clear to goe to Ormiston, or, if not that, yet that He would supplye the waunt of the comfort of thes meanes to me utherwyse. . . .

[Thursday] 10 August. . . . I saw M. Ja. Rouat's letter telling me that many precious Christians sayd they wer not mor refreshed thes 7 yeares then at their comunion,² and that they had mett with Christ Jesus thair; and he thought my hand was at the work and desyred me to be encouraged to assist at a distance; and he asseured me that Christ was at the comunion in Fennik and that it was a refreshing day; and that the Lord protected His people from Kenmure's disturbing them; and he desyres that I would inroll his nayme amongst thes whom he³ uses [?] to remember befor the Lord. Now the Lord my God remember him and my blissing be on him, for I heare he growes in Thy work daylye. I desyre to reckon him amongst

¹ Sir David Barclay of Collairnie, who was succeeded by his son Robert in 1656 (*Inquisitionum Retornatarum, Fife*, No. 860).

² Kilmarnock.

³ He is apparently a clerical error for I.

thes I present to The from this day forth. O Lord, maik Thy servants remember Thy poor, naughty, wretched, unuseful, passionat, humorous, vayne, proud, silly, imprudent, phantastik barroman befor The Lord in their approches to The. *A. Jhonston.* After this, at the grace to Sophia¹ the bryde's desner, I begged pardon of the sines of the partyes and of the familyes they belong to, and of the compaignye that meets at the wedding; and I entreated for a blissing to the occasion. After their mariage I heard fyve gentlemen's sons heir was taiken and caryed down to the ships for Barbadoes or West Indyas. I went and conferred with M. Jh. St[irling's] wyfe. . . . I thought M. Ja. Rouat's letter a better argument nor if 20,000 men had landed for our releife. . . . I told hir I was troubled what to doe about Ormiston, and now I desyre the Lord's direction. . . . I shew to motives: *pro*, His glory and my comfort in the ordinances, especyally at such a faynting tyme, immediatly befor our meiting, and when I was called by my Lady C[ranston] and heard from M. J. R. of God's blissing on communion and the good I got the last tyme and som impression left of it behind me: *contra*, the reports of Calder busines, the hazard of drawing disturbance to the ordinances and daunger to myself and trouble to my freinds, the aversenesse of my freinds even of the best, then too much of vayn glorye becaus of the last, should maik me abstayne. . . . I thought I was neyther in so perplexed nor so devoute a temper as to medle with the casting of the lott, but wayte on this night and too-morrow and see what the Lord's providence wil produce to dissuade or persuade me. . . . After prayer I heard tuo lettres read, on shewing the Lord's eminent presence at Kilmarnock, the uther the settling and growing of the Gospel in Bigger presbyterye, wher the young man newly turned² sayes that he finds God keeking out from under the shadows of His withdrawing.

[Friday] 11 August. This morning after a greiving dreame that I discontented my nearest freinds when I

¹ Sophia Johnston.

² Luke i. 16.

was going quyet, M. R. Spreule cam to me and told me they heard no word from M. P. G., and M. J. M.¹ . . . M. Jh. St[irling] cam to me and told me his confidence that my letter to Collernye would doe him good, and he had no will of my outgoing. An young man, called [*blank*] Thomson, cam and told me of the man's crying for me at Calder; and then shew me som lettres of his and desyred me to recomend him to Lithgow presbyterye about burser. In on of his letters he exhorts us to follow out our look against stormy weather on the dark night blowing in our face, to look over the broad mure when wee, etc. Heir I was interrupted by M. R. B.² telling of a carious going to Kilmarnock, which maid me praye the Lord to give me somthing to wryte to him for edification; and I thought the Lord was pleased to leade me threw the sheet Himself, blisse it, and, when I had put up foor papers to goe with it, S. J. Ch[isly's] man cam in with the last letter anent synceritye very seasonably, which maid me pack it up, and praye the Lord to blisse thes fyve papers to them to whom they ar sent, and convoye them saifly and powerfully to their hand and heart. And then I begged to know the Lord's mynd, anent my going or not going to Ormiston. . . . I heard at supper of their promiscuous dauncing down the gayte, which, with my wyfe and daughter's not coming hom, greived me, and maid me, after praying for God's direction whether to gang or not, to goe heavye to my chalmer, and thinking their was a greater necessitye nor befor of my going, to mourne with Job for my awen, my wyfe and son and daughter's distemper. I fell on ejaculating for the Lord's settling my mynd anent my going, and thought I was in perplexitye thes tuo dayes and would never be cleare anent the Lord's mynd whither to abyde or staye but by trying be the lott, whither I should cast the lott anent my going or not; and, if it was not to cast, to taik it for not going, which was the commoun advyce of folk. And so, after prayer and layng my hand on my Byble and on my covenant with the Lord,

¹ Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies,

² Richard Broun,

and earnest conjuring ¹ of the Lord my God as he loved Jesus Christ, the Son of His love, that He would direct me aright, that if the lott was to cast and then to goe, I might find His special protection, direction, assistance, influence, blissing; and, if it was not to cast or casting not to goe, He would lett me find His gracious direction in it, and His supplying that waunt and losse to me. And then, after som conjuring ejaculations, I drew the lott and it was not to cast, and so to staye. I had som objection suggested, as if I should have resolved aforhand that not to cast was to goe as upon a clear duty, and that this might be an aunsuer according to my idol; but I got thereafter som liberty that the Lord may by His influences and providences cleare to me and uthers that my abstinence was from His good hand; and I thought my going might readily haive kept others in feare and trouble. . . .

[Saturday] 12 August. . . . I spak my mynd sharply to my wyfe and hir daughter against ther promiscuous dancing at the mariage; and was glayd to sie it affect my daughter. The Lord blisse this ordinance to them and to me too. Lord, forgive and cure the negligent and humorous temper of my son. . . . I heard, after the prayer, of S. J. Ch[eisly's] resolution to goe their.² The Lord preserve him and blisse it to him. . . . Pardon my tuo distempers at my wyfe's spending yesterday and this day on vanities and worldly busines, instead of any preparations to the comunion; and at the horses not coming in to hir; and cure hir of thes grosse faults and me of my distempers. . . . Alexander Jaff[rey] let me see a letter of the death of Mr. Whitakers,³ Mr. Strong⁴ and Mr. Sedjwik;⁵ and that they hooped to be dismissed this week,

¹ Imploring.

² Ormiston communion.

³ Jeremiah Whitaker, M.A., pastor of Stretton and of Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey in Southwark.

⁴ William Strong, M.A., pastor of a congregation of Independents in Westminster Abbey. He 'was buried in the Abbey church, July 4, 1654; but his remains were dug up at the Restoration and thrown into a pit dug on purpose in St. Margaret's church-yard' (Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, iii. 196, 197).

⁵ Obadiah Sedgewick, B.D., was a member of the Westminster Assembly.

and Al. Jaff[rey] told me how ill he was used by Mr. Desborough.¹ . . .

13 August, Lord's Daye. This morning I recomended in my bed to the Lord my wyfe and daughter that He may blisse the ordinances and exercises to their pardoning and sanctifying ; and that he would suplye to me the waunt of thes ordinances. Then I thought I saw thes four, in the carying away our young men in shekels to captivetye, (1) our land's obstinacy, and (2) the Lord's going on in His indignation rewling [?] Dumbar and Worster on us, (3) the Lord's mercy to His people and ordinances ridding them of their disturbance, (4) the reason of the Lord's keeping the Inglish yet in Scotland as His scourge to purge them out and protect His awen from their furye. . . . I was ledd to confesse the sines of my youth and of 14 yeirs' publik imployment, and now four years under the furnace and at the Red Sea. . . . I remembred God's quarrel stil prosecuted against the King and al instruments for him, and how that the speeches in the Paynted Chamber for him² did now most meet me by His providence. . . . Let me find Thy debarring me from Ormiston and Calder—wher Thou hes befor blissed me when I had lesse need—is not from justice and in wrayth, but from mercy and in love. . . . I remember former Calder's and Ormiston's comunions. . . . I stand mor in need of comunions this yeir, wher but thrie, nor the last, wherin seven. . . . Heir I remembred this was 13 of August, the day four yeir since of our Declaration at West Kirk.³ . . . I am gon lyk the shadow when it declyneth, I am tossed up and down as a locust⁴ (that is tuiyse remembring me to present my graye haire to the Lord to remember Him of His promises). . . . I was often intermitting ejaculations for my wyfe and daughter

¹ Major-General John Desborow, a member of the Protector's Council.

² Writing from London, on the 24th of April 1646, Baillie had said : 'The eyes of all are most on the propositions of peace. Our state-commissioners had many and long debates, both by word and write, with a committee of the Houses. . . . All the Royalists in Scotland could not have pleaded so much for the Crowne and the King's just power as the Chancellour [Loudoun] and Warriston did for many dayes together' (Laing's *Baillie*, ii. 366-368).

³ See *supra*, p. 110.

⁴ Psalm cix. 23.

at Ormiston, for whom I had not readilye so oft prayed if I had been their. . . . If wee will not suffer eir wee dye, wee may saye wee had als good doen it, for often He sends ugly jugments to His awen for shifting cleanly suffering. My skill fayles me if jouking shal doe it eir all be doen, even as in Irland many a jouk til the Backurnie Irish maid no exception, and then wec wil saye it had been better to haive kepted a good conscience nor gett both the hurt, shayme and scorne. . . .

[Monday] 14 August. . . . Prayed the Lord . . . to prepare som good word in the temple for me, and to be with my wyfe and daughter and His servants and people at Ormiston this daye. . . . I blissed God for His providence freing my house of quarterings al this tyme since Whytsunday last and from many fasheryes, wherin I perceived uthers involved that had turned asyde, as Sand[ers] Jaffrey with that Holland busines. . . . Then thinking my wyfe would com hom and I might gett the sermons, I went to my knees to praye, and whyl . . . I am praying I am interrupted by on's chaping, and it is my wyfe and Colonel Ker, who told me at the entrie of the troupers seeking me at Ormiston that morning, and taiking away som horses and missing ours; and of the Lord's assisting His servants and doing good to His people. I was so convinced with the Lord's trysting providence jumping with my thoughts on 31 Ps. 22, and giving a reason of the Lord's deteaning me, and a new prooffe of His ordinance of lotts and watching providence over me, that wee sate down to pray, and I got great libertye to tell what past and to taik this as a new prooffe of a God in heaven hearing prayer. After their taiking som refreshment Col. Ker told me of M. Leviston[']s] unsatisfaction with England, and how he saw Mr. Whitakers afor he dyed, and asked at him about the workings of God in the sprits of His people in England and fand that he could tell litle of it. And then he told him treuly, without boasting and lying, of God's working on the sprits of people in Scotland, wherat he weeped for very joye; then that M. Jh. Leviston sayes often in publik that God is now most to be found in Scotland amongst His remnant; and that he

sayd in privat several tymes that, for als great an army the Inglish had in Scotland, eir long wee would haive als great a on in Ingland; but let us manage it mor for God nor we did befor; which was a strange speech. Then my wyfe cam down with an advertisement out of Wariston that the Toryes mynded to burne it, and desyring hir to remove anything out of it. It cam from Jam. Symervail by his mother. . . . On told that my Lady Cranston's daughter censured M. Jh. Lev[ingston] and Col. Ker for silence at table, and sayd they did not as Wariston did. . . .

[Tuesday] 15 August. . . . I heard from S. J. Ch[eisly] and Col. Ker of God's providences, 1. M. L. K. getting M. J. L. persuaded on Saturday morning to come when he had quyte it on Frayday at night becaus Col. Ker could not com, and that forced him to com least M. J. L. stayed; and then, by their delaye til 7 aclok on the Saturday, when they wer ryding they fand that a Scots troupe had been lying by the waye, and merched but an houre away befor them, so that if they had com sooner they had lighted on them; then that yesterday morning they wer al sett in the feilds, but M. J. L. absolutly refused to preach without,¹ and so they wer forced to goe to the kirk, and be that means kepted from the troupers disturbing them as they had doen if they had been abroad; then that the troupers asked for me and my horse and sayd if they had me, etc.; and that S. J. C. was deteained in Ormiston Place; then that M. J. St[irling] told how he was often called on to goe out and preach and bidden forsaik his meat and doe his Master service, and that then not knowing what to saye he took the 5 Revelation, and never had greater liberty in his dayes nor² ther and then, and so found the prooffe of following God's necessary call and preferring publik good to privat. . . . We read begining of 7 Mark and notted that wee ar too much taiken up with outwards and too litle with inwards, for I heard of Jhon Faroline's daughter that was busye dancing on

¹ Without, *i.e.* outside.

Nor, *i.e.* than.

Fraydaye at hir brother's mariage, and the nixt daye took an apoplexye and is dying of it without ever recovering any of hir senses, language or motion. Then I heard somthing at desner of Douning's¹ intending to com doun about the fynes; but afternoon at our meeting I heard he cam on Mononday night post and went away post to Gen. Monk; which imports some busines of consequence even to us, becaus often the Lord trystes som such thing to our meiting often, and becaus I heard that he had som instructions about Church busines. Then M. Jh. Lev[ingsto]n told the long storie of his voyage; and, to M. S. R.² and me, of the 8 or 9 articles; of the Protector wryting a letter to Monk to countenance the godlye and discountenance uthers when that of Commission and Visitations was refused; 2. of a letter to the juges (1) to follow the better part; (2) to respect testimonials of honest men; (3) to impose nothing lyk ingagments or bargaynes on their entree; (3) of sending doun som to conferre with persons of both opinions; (4) som effectual course against growth of popery and grosse errors; (5) anent the magistrats; (6) anent the 500 pound and the Register; the (7) forgotten; (8) an indeument to the colleges; (9) superiorities of tuo bishopriks to Aiberdeen and Glascow.³ M. Jh. Lev[ingsto]n and M. S. R. prayed weal. When I went up my wyfe was cankerd about hir son's untowardly cariage, and I was heavey. . . . I got a letter from M. W. Guthry about the folk at Kilmauers seeking a minister, whom I earnestly recomended to the Lord; and I heard of the abhomination and ruyne of the house of Boyd and Glenurwhy, and the Chancellor being with Lo[rd] Lorne; and

¹ Emanuel Downing, clerk of the Protector's Council in Edinburgh.

² Samuel Rutherford.

³ See 'An Ordinance for the better support of the Universities in Scotland, and encouragement of publik preachers there,' reprinted in Nicoll's *Diary* (pp. 164-167) from the copy printed at Edinburgh by Christopher Higgins in Hart's *Close* in 1655. Wariston, and many of those frequently mentioned in his *Diary*, are among the commissioners named. The ordinance was passed on the 8th of August 1654; but the order to print it was not given until the 17th of October 1655. It is in Firth and Rait's *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, iii. pp. cxii-cxv.

that the madman at Calder sayd S. Jh. Gibson sent him to disturbe that meeting. . . .

[Wednesday] 16 August. The Lord be with us this daye being first day of our meiting. . . . This daye wee mett, debayted about the causes of the fast and grounds of our conference too-morro, and afternoon about the communion in Edinburgh, and about presbyteryes admission of ministers, etc. It is mor largely in the uther syde, and at night I prayed, . . . and I thought on our fast instead of our supper.

[Thursday] 17 August, fast day. . . . I heard M. R. D. teach a notable sermon on the 1 Jh. 3, 2. Wee went to our fast, wherof the whol passages ar written on the uther syde.¹ . . . I thought M. J. G. was much assisted to expresse and presse the sense of our sin and God's wrayth, and that M. S. R. got a good incle of it in the prayer at the close of the day, a token for good. And imediatly after the prayer my sister told me that my wyfe was called out to Wariston, becaus they had burnt part of Leviston and fyred Calder, and was thought to intend the burning of Wariston; and that shoe went out in great feare to the children. I ejaculated that the Lord might either prevent it or sanctifye it to us and recompence it by His favors som uther waye. I told M. S. R., M. J. L., M. J. G., S. J. C., and M. J. S. and M. R. T.² of it at night. . . .

[Friday] 18 August. This morning I prayed often very early be tuo a clock, not being able to sleepe, that the Lord would be pleased to look down upon my condition with a merciful, gracious, compassionate eye, and to prevent or sanctifye that intended designe to burne Wayrestoun. The Lord knows it is the only place I haive to retein to if the countrey wer peaceable, and my estate is not aible to interteane my familye in this towne; and it is the place which He maid a Penueel and a Bethel³ unto me, and wherin He promised to doe me good and deale weal with me. I prayed in the morning on the end of 4 Hebr.;

¹ See Appendix.

² S. Rutherford, J. Livingston, J. Guthrie, Sir John Cheisly, John Stirling, R. Traill.

³ Genesis xxviii. 12-19; xxxii. 30.

agayne was deteaned from the kirk by the committee; debayted M. A. R. busines; then about a letter to the Protector to free us from this yoak of their ecclesiastical court; then in the meiting wee debayted the busines about the comunion in Edinbrugh, and M. Al. Moncreif prayed weal, as M. Jam. Wedderburne had doen of befor. Then I got a letter from Arbuthnot of som lettres or inst[ructio]ns of Midletoun's, that maid the English very jealous of the ministers for the Public Resolutions, becaus of som letter of the King's to thank M. Douglas for his bygon kyndnesse, and to correspond with him. I got a letter from my wyfe of the Lord's preserving them yet quyet; now the Lord doe so stil or sanctifye every dealing to me. . . . Wee spent this day in debayte about the comunion of Edinburgh, and anent the admission of ministers, M. A. R. and the Presbyterye of Stirling. I got a most refreshing letter from Knockgraye. Wee spak at night fully to M. R. Makhand [?] for the Kirk of Kilmaurs, wherin I thought the Lord assisted us sensiblye to argue about God's calling which is not now by imediat revelation and voyce from heaven but by His Word and servants. At night I got liberty in grace and recomended my Ziglag, Penuel, Bethel, to the Lord. . . .

[Saturday] 19 August. I had remembred yesterday at our meiting that the fast daye was the day of Preston, 1648, and of the great Act in Assembly at Edinburgh 1639. . . . I thought I got assistance in the conference with C. L. and Suynton to tell them the storye of M. Jh. Davison, and to wairne therby the Protector that if he fell in the sines of thes that was casten out befor him, as is oft sayd of Jehu, Baasha, and the new incomers, that he would partak of the sam jugments, for the Church is Christ's spouse, and He wil avenge hir quarrel on al the wrongers of the apple of His eye and jewel and darling. . . . I read over M. J. Simpson['s] paper against taiking of places, and thinks it would now be very seasonable and useful. . . .

20 August, the Lord's Daye. . . . I read in the church M. Jh. Lev[ingston's] sermon afor the Protector on

10 Hebr. 31 v., right weal and freely spoken. . . . O my soul, blisse God that thou art not among the ringleaders of the Public Resolutions and complyers with present powers ; and, as I have oft thought, if our defeats had been victoryes wee had had mor sine by acting al thes sines in Ingland which they doe now in Scotland. . . .

[Monday] 21 August. . . . I haive written on the uther side many things that past this daye at our meeting. . . .

[Tuesday] 22 August. . . . I got a sight of the order by Strachan for the levee, threatning the burning of my house. Lord, pitye and preserve my Ziglag¹ if it be Thy goodwill. I comunicated it to our meiting and counsellled my wyfe to goe out. Al the proceedings of this day in our meiting is written on the uther syde. . . . Wee debayted this daye much about the thanksgiving, and about the taiking of places and commissions from p[resent] powers. I moved the questions. . . . Wee conferred with M. R. Tod. I heard my nayme with difficultye was putt on the new comission, and I was putt to prayer and got som glaunce that God would move al the wheelles right and overrule them to the best, and eyther restrayne the rage of enemyes or turne it about to His prayse. I heard of Suynton's repenting of his leaving ordinances and ingaging to the Inglishes, and wishing he wer free and reteyred, and so did his lady ; and that sundry sayd so of Col. Lokhart ; and som sayd Garthland² had litle content, and on the uther hand he told that the Protector was hayted be al pairtyes in Ingland—Presbyterian, Anabaptist, and Independent. At night when I was weary and it late I called for supper, and, it not being ready, was dryven to prayer beyond my intention. . . .

[Wednesday] 23 August. This morning the Lord assisted me in the letter to Knockgraye. . . . Wee debayted al this daye about the taiking commissions from the Inglishes, and voted negativly that in ecclesiastical matters

¹ 1 Samuel xxvii. 5, 6.

² Sir James MacDowall of Garthland was in Cromwell's Parliament.

wee could taik non ; and then that, upon their nomination and command, wee could not taik or exercise extensive power over the whol Church. And whyl wee ar on this debayte . . . wee wer interrupted by som English officers [come to ?] rayse us and discharging al the ministers off toune once too-morrow ; and they asked who was the Lord Wariston, and I told they called me so ;¹ and he spak no mor to me of that kynd. When on sayd if wee went not he would laye us by the heeles, M. J. G.² sayd that was no great argument to a man eyther of conscience or courage. They would not remove till wee advysed. M. S[amue]l R[utherfur]d closed the meeting with a prayer ; and wee mett in M. R. Tr[ail's] gallery, and was refreshed their by the incoming of M. Th. W., M. W. Ad., and M. Gab. M.,³ and resolved to doe nothing anent any comissions or nominations from Ingland until wee had a new meiting and mutual debayte and consent theirat ; and M. W. G.⁴ by prayer closed the meiting, and apoynted 3 and 4 Foorsdays of October for fast and thanksgiving, and 2d. Wedinsday of Merch for nixt meeting. I got word at night of the Englishes deteaning in apearance Jam. Runcheman, and their intending to burne Ingleston also. The Lord see to thes evils and prevent or remeid or sanctifye them.

[Thursday] 24 August. . . . I went to church, whier M. G. H[ucheso]n preached. . . . As I cam from the church I heard of an enseigne that would quarter in my roome. . . . After desner wee read 8 Mark from 10 v. to 22. . . . Now imediatly after this and my apprehension that the heinsigne was com but to see if their was any meeting, I fand wee was troubled of new with him ; and I confessed our not thankfulnesse to God for our family being this last year free of quarter, and my intreating the Lord to keepe us free of them or sanctifye every trouble and disturbance to us. . . . I was interupted by M. A. Forbes, who sayd

¹ This meeting was in Wariston's house, and was dissolved by Lieut.-Colonel Gaff (Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 135). See *infra*, p. 316.

² James Guthrie.

³ Thomas Wylie, W. Adair, Gabriel Maxwell.

⁴ Wm. Guthrie.

I would be the first that wer assaulted and that would suffer, which I spread befor the Lord, and, first walking and then on my knees with teares, that the Lord God, the Fayther, for His Son[']s saike, would taik me in His thoughts what to doe with me and to me. I desyred grace to submitt and trust that whatsoever His choyse to dispose of me, work in me, and performe for me, it would be the best for His glory, good of His affaires and people and myn too. . . . I was interrupted by M. Jh. Steinson who told me of the od storye of M. Edward Jameson¹ hearing M. R. Douglas sollicite Juge Smith, notwithstanding of his sermon against us for doing the same, which taiking him in the fang and the tyning of the busines would trouble him. I recomended to the Lord eyther to prevent or to sanctifye what is feared anent burning Wariston house or quartering of men heir. I blisse Thee, Lord, for former preservation and libertye, and recommends it to The and leaves me and myn to The. . . . Som thought our Frayday's debayte about the debarring from the comunion hes caused rayse us, for the Lieut.-Col. spak of our meiting on Frayday. . . . I found the enseigne reel as a mad body at my chalmer doore, and I miskend² him, and the Lord's providence brought in my wyfe to meet him in the staires. . . .

[Friday] 25 August. This morning I earneastlye recommended to the Lord Mrs. G. Gillespye's³ relict, and hir childrein. . . . I was interrupted be my wyfe's consultation what to doe anent Wariston, for Strauchan would burne it if he gott not the levee, and that som would give it for me. I told, afor my sister, that neyther directly nor indirectlye would I give any levee, becaus I thought it sinfull and snairful and scandalous, a wrang to the cause and people of God and to my awen conscience, estate and nayme; and therfor that I could not allow wyfe or servant or freind to doe it any maner of waye. Let me doe deuty and leave the succes to God; if I did sin to eschew

¹ Edward Jameson, M.A., minister of Swinton.

² George Gillespie died in 1648.

³ Ignored.

burning, God might justly burne it utherwayes and kendle a fyre in my conscience ; and when I absteane from every apearance of evil the Lord hes many wayes to prevent it or to sanctifye it and to compence it. I would not saye it was a sinne to people, when they cam to burne their houses, to give them som moneys to spaire their houses, as the half in a man's purse to a robber to spayre of his lyfe. I begge that the Lord wil keepe me from sinnes, snares and scandals in this or any uther busines. Let not the greatest good be turned unto the greatest evil. . . . I got a letter from som gentlemen in Kentyre. I heard from Captain Cambel the certainty of tuo lettres from the King, on to the Moderator of the Assemblie and the uther to the Moderator of the Commission, both to thank them for their bygon good service, and to desyre them to continew and hold up the hearts of the people, and in both to desyre them to crush and suppress the party which he perceived to inclyne to the enemye's waye, and that he looked worse on them then on the rebels themselves.

[Saturday] 26 August. I had this last night a sore payne in my head, and I blisse the Lord for any ease of it. My wyfe told me of a motion from my uncle's wyfe anent their son to my daughter. I praye the Lord to direct me anent the disposeal of my childrein ; that it may be to His glorie and their good ; that I may neyther be haystye afor He cals nor sitt His tyme. . . . I spak to my wyfe against direct or indirect doing anything with yon people of Strauchan, but to suffer honestly and patiently. . . . I cam in and heard of the Protector's sending for his officers to be at London in the tyme of this Parliament, and that he was to nominate the officers in brughs and shyres for this yeare. Then I conferred and prayed with Janet Arnot an houre and a half, and shoe told me of hir great dumps and weyghts on this day was 8 dayes, and then in the night the extraordinary great liberty shoe gatt that from tuo to 8 houres¹ shoe knew not weal wheir shoe was. . . . As I cam hom I found my last night's dreame of

¹ That is, from two o'clock to eight o'clock.

meeting with M. P. G. read, for he was in my house upstairs, and told he had mett with M. Ja. Simpson near Coldingham, and their had heard of our meiting, debayting and raysing. He told me their was no comission to minister or professor, but an ordinance to the juges to doe anent the planting of kirks according to the testimonials of such and such men. He had told my wyfe about his getting an ordour from the Protector for my bygon and subsequent kirk-fces, and faire promises for the rest. . . . Imediatly after M. P. G. told my wyfe, and afor hir telling me, of Protector saying that they thought the giving to me was the waye to doe me wrong, becaus straits was best to gayne me, as Juge Smith had told of befor. O Lord, Thou knowes Craufurd-Lindsay and Lanrik sayd and did so to me. O Lord, look Thou to it, and keepe me from wronging The in my straits. . . .

27 August, the Lord's Day. . . . I heard of the people's construction, becaus of the death of Gordoun that cam to Wariston, that it was not good to doe me wrang. . . .

[Monday] 28 August. . . . I went and prayed . . . as I spak yesternight at supper, whither He thought best to preserve Wariston, and lett me reteyre their and worship Him this winter, or deteane me heir. . . . M. P. G. cam in and told with what difficulty the Protector graunted the warrand anent cl[erk] and procutor of Assembly, and passed a solemne promise for the rest, if the Thresaurye wer settled, be way of Exchequer as he intended, in Parliament. Then I heard of a feyght between Scots and Englishes near Lumphoye House and in the close and house. . . . Afor the Lady Riccartoun and then S. J. C., I renewed my direction not to medle with Strauchan to give him anything. Heir I was interrupted and heard the waunt from M. P. G. and M. Jh. Menzeis of the ordinance about the certificats. . . .

[Tuesday] 29 August. . . . I heard of letters from K[ing] to M. Knox and from him to K[ing], and many letters from K[ing] to M. R. D. . . . M. William Ferguson and M. W. Adair cam in and wee spak of the new ordinance and

I fand myself feltered with it. I thought I was glayd that God putt any restraints on evil presbiteryes, and so rejoiced as Paul sayes (1 Phil.); but I thought the preparative ill and desyred subscribing of testimonials in the countrey to be by uthers joyntly with the persons naymed. . . . I gott a letter from M. Ja. Guth[rie] of his conjecture of many desyring a new Captain-General in Ingland. Then my wyfe told me of Glencairne's capitulation ¹ and Lugtoun's ² going doun the waye with his sword, and maid me draw the tuo lynes in James ³ his nayme, aunsweiring to Strauchan that we could not medle in levees or things of that kynd. Lord, preserve my familie and childrein. . . . I visited the Advocat, then my Lady Craighal, then M. Jh. Peirson, wher I got libertye to the conference and prayer. . . . I saw theirafter the young Lady Torretlye, and then spent thrie houres with M. Jh. St[irling's ?] wyfe, who told me the great exercises of hir mynd first in comforts and then in waknings almost to death, and shoe told me hir sute about the tuo maides preserved from the plaigue of whos deaths shoe thought herself guilty. . . . Then [she told me of] the man's coming in to Trochrig, and taiking God to brogh ⁴ he would steale non, and runing away the nixt daye with ther pott, and his wyfe flyting, and his saying he would putt at the cautioner, and he would eyther returne it or bring as good in the stead of it; and how a great mist arose and maid the man to waunder back to the sam house with the pott agayne on his head. . . . Then shoe told of a poor body that was given over as posest, and becoming weal sayd, when shoe sayd an amen to Sathan's suggestions that shoe was posest al was wrong; but now shoe learned to saye—*Daft devil, help on [with] the burthen that I may away with it to Christ*; which shoe learned by seing the lasse sweeping the house to the windye doore and shoe grew the mor blinded and the house the fouler, and I bad the lasse sweep from the doore and it goued weal,

¹ The Articles of Glencairn's agreement with Monk, dated 29th August 1654, are in Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 165-168.

² David Creighton, laird of Lugton.

³ Runciman.

⁴ Brogh or borch, to pledge. See Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 8.

so I resolved to sweepe al my pollutions fra the door on Christ, and I grew weal. . . . I heard som word of my Lord Forrester and Strauchan seeking to capitulate. I mett with M. Jh. Wilkye and gaive S. J. C.¹ a cotype of our last testimoney to be comunicate to C[ol.] Lokhart, Suynton, and Garthland. . . . I heard the Captain Gordoun that threatned Ingleston and his house was killed, and the man Gordoun that cam to my house was killed in back-going. Sundry woundred at the great termes given in the capitulation to Glencairne and Athol, and thought it behooved to proceed from som great apprehension or designe. . . . I heard that the Protector kepted counsel on the Saboth Daye, as M. J. M.² told me; then I heard in the Sheines that M. Douning never maid the facon of privat prayer to God al the tyme he laye their; and I heard the lyk of G. M. Lambert when he lodged in Scotland, and that M. Ouen sayd of him that, if he got the power, al the godly in thes nations would be ruyned; and that the Protector sayd their never sate a minister in the House of Commons of befor as now in Oxford he doeth the office of the civil magistrate.

¹ Sir John Cheisly.

² John Menzies.

APPENDIX A¹

ANENT our fast day [Thursday], 17 August [1654]. . . . Many cases falleth out to trye us anent covenanted deuty; an union in relation to the sam principles, the uther, as previous to it, in affections to maik the best use; their great jealousye of our complying with and furthering the interests; if wee could agree in purging and planting; a committee of 12[?] on ilka syde, and the tuo pairtyes to follou their advyce; distinguish a deuty and waye of prosecution, testimonyes bygon and to come, an elder and minister, etc.; matters of jealousyes; sines in our waye; by saints praying for it or miscarying in the waye; an il word of slighty cariage, not taking [?] their waye or disclayming ours. I maid my motion to submitt to 12 anent the waye, letting M. J. W.² and me, becaus of our passionat natures, submitt. I renewed my offer of submission; tuo trysting circumstances, the on from Midleton's inst[ructio]ns and lettres, and then from the ordinances coming from England. They will interprett all to be designes; faythfulnesse in most despicable deuty is alyk acceptable as if in greatest, for that is our work and deuty which God layeth to our hand, and not what wee choyse; and God's heart is the sam to His work and servants when over-clouded. My soule blissd God for this word in M. J. Simpson's prayer. Neues about M. P. G.³ journey; meiting with M. R. M.; speeches of honest men; letter to M. M. M.⁴ and the lords; consultation and direction not to send papers with M. R. B.,⁵ etc.; M. Ja. Simpson's index of comparisons; som cases to regrayte, but not to be remeidid, but wee will haive an out-gayte in every caise for that which wee think best. After conference with C[olonel] Lokhart and Suynton, M. J. G.⁶

¹ The volume from which this Appendix is taken has been begun at both ends. The matter here extracted is from Wariston's supplementary notes of the proceedings of the Protesters (*supra*, pp. 302, 304, 305), and may be regarded as, to some extent, a report on religion and morals.

² James Wood.

³ Patrick Gillespie.

⁴ Mungo Murray.

⁵ Richard Brown.

⁶ James Guthrie.

prayed weal, that our zeale turnes in passion, faythfulnesse in peremptorynesse, repentance in dejection, fayth in frellik [?] rying of heart; and so wee distinguish not weal the exercise of His sprit from that of ours. . . . Som sayd M. P. G. and M. J. M.¹ had drauen the draught and C[olonel] Lok[har]t sayd it was doen according to their desyres. I sayd that I marked often that wee never mett but wee got somthing to think upon that wee dreamd not off, and so nou thes tuo neu ordinances mentioned in the *Diurnal*. . . .

M. Al. Moncreif² told of mor work on Fyfe nor befor; a great resort to comuniones, and ministers speaks much of people getting good theirat, and the Lord very gracious to comunions in north syde of Fyfe, folks saying they never sau such dayes. About young Naughton,³ the work going on; he was an eminent enemy to godlynesse, he resisted the first waking and suppressed it by cairding, etc.; he aprehended his seing the devil at his back pulling him from the taible. He hes a gracious sister; he chept on hir; shoe thought to be mocked; they went to prayer al night. After thre nights terror, extraordinary joye; he starts first to the taible; and aye since he gets much sense of presence.

Jh. Semple⁴ heard of God's being mor at Fenick and Hamilton; and in Gallouay never a greater outletting of God's presence in comunions; tuo congregations befor dead falling in great love of the ordinances.

M. Ed[ward] Jameson⁵—wee think God hes a people indeed to be brought in; the publik preaching hes doen good since M. J. Hoocheson's⁶ being their; several raylers nou diligently praying and follouing meanes; wee ar lazie becaus of opposition and God doeth rayther good to the paroches about us then our auen; the gentlemen swearing they shal never kendle reik under them that begins to praye. Blackader debauched lounes! shal yee taik on the mask of hypocrysye as to praye? near 24 in a parish about, as Whytsom, whyl minister rayles; and 6 or 7 in Sympron⁷ paroch; som that voued never to boue a knee, and som spytfully revyling, ar turned to God; som in Eccles cam to revyle but taken, and com agayne constantlye.

¹ Patrick Gillespie and John Menzies.

² Minister of Scoonie.

³ Peter Hay.

⁴ Minister of Carsphairn.

⁵ Minister of Swinton.

⁶ James Hutcheson, minister of Kilallan.

⁷ The Blackader and the parishes of Whitsome and Simprin are in Berwickshire.

Let this meeting pray God to send men, for apearantly their is a harvest their. Who naymd ¹ honest ministers their stands mor in waye of Gospel ; non unstaible but Jh. Hom of Kello ; ² Hilton's taiking on place, but disouning their waye.

M. J. Wed[derburn] ³ tels of sweet meetings, solemne. M. Jh. Litlejhon ⁴ hes som apearance of good ; entree and cariage scandalous ; a mor raire work to reach a minister ; a smith in Stremiglo casten in an agonye, reproched as if he had given the comunion to his familye, the man haiving blissed God for a cup of cold walter, etc. Som persons that had been praying spread ⁵ as if committing leudnesse.

M. Ja. Donaldson ⁶—God hes a people their, and I cannot say but He is doing som good among young ones, of poor ones of 13, 14, 12 years, whom wee wer necessitat to taik notice of, they keep kye and caryes their Byble and prayes. Members of neighbour congregation would see them sunken who ar seeking God.

Gentleman from Dinkel—sin very loose in Athol and rebels out in J. G. ⁷ tym ar begun to praye that wee may hold them up to God who reules in the midst of enemies. . . .

M. R. Tr[ail] ⁸ told of parents persecuting their young children when pious ; not dayes of Edinburgh's thryving.

M. Al. Lev[ingston] ⁹—the confirmation of poor things, and His inbringing the poorest round about.

M. G. Hall ¹⁰—somwhat lyk a convincing presence of God at the tyme ; it evanishes and their sprits cannot lye under anything gotten in privat ; lesse sprit of mocking and mor external reverence.

M. J. Simpson ¹¹—God countenances His ordinances ; unfaythfulnesse, sluggishnesse, faynting, unsutableness of ministers ; al of qualite opposite ; God countenanced, etc.

M. Jh. Veitch ¹²—the Lord does somthing, and restraynes the bounds from grosse outbreakings, and hes doen good to som soules ; ministers labours to beare it doune.

¹ Who naymd, *i.e.* those who are reckoned.

² Father of John Home, afterwards minister of Greenlaw.

³ Minister of Moonzie.

⁴ Minister of Collessie.

⁵ Spread, *i.e.* reported.

⁶ Minister of Dolphinton.

⁷ James Graham, *i.e.* the Marquis of Montrose.

⁸ Minister of Greyfriars, Edinburgh.

⁹ Minister of Biggar.

¹⁰ Minister of Kirkliston.

¹¹ Minister of Airth.

¹² Minister of Westruther.

M. S. R[utherford]¹—godly professors sayes they see the sprit of persecution sturring eminently in som ministers (thes of Southesk and Ethye cam up to visite me). I hoope for an harvest in Fyfe if their wer a spiritual ministry; multitude of honest faces at comunions refreshes me. Young Naughton got a weal-favord lyk waking. I'lyked the smel of his end and air of his words weal. I haive seen violent and sudden chaynges miscaryd. He slept non for 3 or 4 nights; they dreu som blood of him; he pressed us to nayme him to God in our privat prayers; he spak of the casting out of on devil, and fearfulness of backslyding after a wakning; he forsaike his old acquaintance, and seeks fellouship with godlye.

Kaitloch told of a seed of the Gospel in the South. It begoud and halted in that parish, and spreads abroad. The Lord blisses som young men; som great enemyes, and who hes mor moyen with thes in pouer. He is increassing Christians in Dumfreis. Paynes ar blissd.

C. K.²—the Lord hes doen somthing in M. J. C. Yet wee haive ground to blisse God; o[ne] poor [near?] familye only thrie and al seeking God and convinced fully of the Word (somthing of Angus and Hamilton). I thought it was pleasant. God countenanceth publik fasts as their they wer convinced. A poor family in Dundee parish of precious Christians, labourers and a cotter and a young boye in the Kerse keeping cattel is much in fasting and praying. Som in the toune of Dundee helped by M. Jh. Coulter.

I told of M. Jh. B. and M. R. Fleiming[']s] parishes.³

At Stirling, sayd M. J. G.,⁴ Sathan hes a heigh thron; a profan loosnesse of sojourns and Scots people meeting together; drunkenesse, blasphemy and uncleannesse, 60 or 80 knouen fornications, and errors among the Englishes; the Universalists breeding trouble; yet som in the place seeking God and number increased. I knoue them by somthing they haive had long since, the image of God, tho many toes and fraes, som as old as M. R. B[ruce's?] ministrye, any good their is unto thes of neighbouring regions, a considerable number every Lord's Daye; mor in M. G. B.⁵ paroch, mor eminent opposition to the Gospel they gett good of him when he leaves off his

¹ St. Andrews.

² Colonel Ker.

³ John Burnet of Kilbride and Robert Fleming of Cambuslang. See *supra*, pp. 265, 272.

⁴ James Guthrie.

⁵ Probably George Bennett of St. Ninians, or George Buchanan of Callander.

feiry-fayryes [?]; in the darkest places of Stratherne som feu seeking God. God hes many mor in Scotland nor any of us knoues. Sundry in Perth seeking God *nonobstante* opposition; the greatest opposers ar ministers; and the poorest receives most the Gospel, and al attend the meanes mor. Uther men haive souen, etc., as in Leuchers paroch, M. P. Scougal¹ compassionat to Christians; som m[inisters] diligent to bring them in but then not to countenance; people coming to M. P. Kidd² notwithstanding the great opposition; the pouer of the Gospel remarkable; the Lord's providence maiking captain of Inglish garrison to be very useful to restrayne drunkenesse.

M. Alexander Leviston told of a paroch befor in rage as not three to concurre, yet nou so convinced by the Gospel as al to concurre in planting of a minister, and so not on word against his getting the stipend, and the man hes choysen his lete [?] called enemyes to be his trysters; when wee could gett no witnesses he hes sentenced himself. He putt us to suspend, and then he went and preached, and so was deposed; M. R. Home³ sentence after opposing M. Th. Laurye.⁴ Use 1. ministers hes matters of humiliation; 1. becaus they ar great obstructers of God's worke; 2. even honest men fand short of diligence; on the uther hand matter of prayse that, in such a conjuncture of the land's calamitye, He brings in so many soules; and that is the great and proper work of God farre mor nor reuling or gouver[men]t of kingdoms. This should attest us mor then an outward delyverance. . . .

M. J. G[uthrie] sayd he feared least Su[ynton], Lokhart, Garthland should so greive the Sprit of God as to quench Him or cause Him putt them to open shayme, for their walking contraire to His light and checks. And my wyfe told me of Suynton's ladye expressing great discontents and wishing to be at their 3000 merks agayne. . . .

[Wednesday] 23 August. . . . Mr. Dan. Douglas⁵ in the Merse straingly wrought on to praye til 12 a klok every night in the kirk, to preach tenderly and boldlye and with such a posessing of his auen sprit as al his body to shaik and cause thes that heare him to shaik, and som to gett out of the kirk at

¹ Patrick Scougal was successively minister of Dairsie, Leuchars, and Salton. He became Bishop of Aberdeen, and died in 1682. ² *Supra*, pp. 235, 246.

³ Minister of Crawfordjohn. See Laing's *Baillie's Letters*, iii. 247.

⁴ Minister of Robertson. See *supra*, p. 278.

⁵ Minister of Hilton, in the presbytery of Chirnside.

his impression of and pressing of the threatnings. Why! wee ar on the debayte about the last state of the question in the evening anent medling, a Lieut.-Col. and thrie uther officers came in and told us from Gen. Monk his order to ask be what authority wee meet and to rayse [us].¹ And tho wee told wee claymed not to be an authority or judicatorie or judicial meeting, yet he sayd he behooved to rayse us, and wee to be gon too-morrou out of toune. On of the officers asked who was the Lord Wariston; and I sayd they call me so. He sayd thes gentlemen who ar called ministers if they be not gon wee will laye them by the heeles. He asked and gott our naymes. M. Rutherford prayed weal and intreated the Lord to look upon the oppressions of His people in this land. Wee mett therafter in M. Ro. Trayl's, and their wee mett with M. Th. Wyly, M. William Adair, M. Gab. Maxuel—an observable providence to haive moar of our number meiting after our breach. Wee resolved then on the busines wee had been debayting; and took this providence for a speaking argument to hold up our hands from intrusting this people² with any pouer over the cause and Church of God with our consent. M. W^m Guthry prayed weal at the close. It is a remarkable providence that wee wer not interrupted till wee wer neer a close. After close I got knouledge that Jam. Runcheman was not returned. . . . I sayd afor the English officers, wee had need to haive freedom within our chalmers seing som of us had not freedom without the ports,³ and had threatnings of men to burne our houses. Remember Mr. Welsh and the rest their sufferings, and the tuo papers, the on in beg[inning] and the uther at end of the *Review*. I heard of M. Dan. Douglas going to som shakers in Bervik, and their abusing, excommunicating and cursing of him, which was a great mercy to prevent his snares.⁴

¹ See *supra*, p. 172 and *n*.

² This people, *i.e.* the English.

³ Without the ports, *i.e.* outside the city.

⁴ Douglas was 'a man of great piety and considerable learning,' and of 'perfect ability' until, by the melancholy following the death of his son, 'a youth of great hopes and expectations,' he 'cracked, and, some way, lost his reason' (Wodrow's *Analecta*, iv. 268). On the re-establishment of Episcopacy, he was deprived of his charge (Scott's *Fasti*, i. 452). When there happened to be a temporary vacancy, he took possession of the church and preached. Hilton ordered him, in the king's name, to come out of the pulpit; and, on his refusing to comply, pulled him out by force. Douglas then warned him that, for this injury to a servant of God, he would be brought into that church 'like a sticked sou.' Shortly afterwards, Hilton was fatally stabbed in a duel or drunken quarrel and his bleeding corpse was carried into that church (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 154).

APPENDIX B¹

PERTH, 3 January 1651. 'The King's Majestie and Committee of Estates nominats and appoynts the Marquis of Argyle, the Earle of Cassillis, the Lords Humby and Clerkingtoun, Robert Arnett and Georg Jameson, to consider upon the best way of transporting and securing the public Registers that are or were in the Castle of Edinburgh, as also to consider upon that must be necessarlie layed out in doeing of the same' (*Register of the Committee of Estates*, Jan. to March 1651, fol. 4).

Perth, 7 January 1651. 'The King's Majestie and the Committee of Estates ordaines the Lord Register to cause transport the haille writts of the crowne with the charter books, the haille exchequer rolls and registers, all principall bands, contracts, and dispositions, all decreit bookes, registers and warrands of proces, that were or are in the Castle of Edinburgh, from thence to Brunt Iland; and, when they shall be arryved there, to send advertisement to this place, that horses and necessities may bee provyded for carrying and transporting them to such places as shall bee thought fitt. And his Majestie and the committee do hereby declare that the charges and expenses, that the said Lord Register hes beene or shall bee at in transporting the papers and others aforesaid, shall bee repayed by the public, and gives warrand and command to the Commissary Generall for that effect' (*Ibid.*, fol. 16).

Perth, 17 January 1651. 'The King's Majestie and the Committee of Estates, considering that the carriage and transporting of all the public records, registers, books and other papers, that were in the Castle of Edinburgh from thence by sea and land to Brunt Iland have beene verie chargeable, do hereby therefore give warrand and command to the Generall Commissary to refund the charges and expenses which the said Lord Register hes been at in hyreing of carts and waggons from the said Castle to Leith, and conducing of boats from Leith to Brunt Iland; and further requyres the said Generall Commissary to conduce and prepare boats and barques for carrying and conveying the said records and

¹ The extracts in this appendix are taken from two of the volumes of the unprinted *Register of the Committee of Estates* in the Register House.

registers to such places where the King's Majestie and the Committee shall think fitt' (*Ibid.*, fol. 34).

Perth, 20 January 1651. 'The King's Majestie and Committee of Estates, understanding that the Lord Register hes caused transport from the Castle of Edinburgh to Bruntlyland the publict records, registers of Parliament, and writs of the croun, that were in the said Castle, do hereby therefore ordaine the said publict records, registers, books, papers, and others, to be transported from thence by sea to Dinnotter; and gives warrand and command to the Generall Commissare to conduce shippes and barques for carrieing and transporting the same to the said house, ordaineing the proportion of the fourscore thousand merks, payable by the toun of Aberdeen for the horse of the first leavie which should have been putt furth by them, to be applyed for the use aforesaid, and that notwithstanding any former acts whatsoever appoynteing the same to be applyed to any other use; and do lykewise ordaine that so much of the excise of the said toun of Aberdeen as their proportion of the said fourscore thousand merks will extend to do make up and supplie the same for the enterteanement] of the King's familie' (*Ibid.*, fol. 37).

Perth, 19 February 1651. 'The King's Majestie and Committee of Estates ordaines the clerks to the session to repaire to Edinburgh and Leith, and to cause imbarque everie one of them their oune registers, and to sie and attend the transportation [*sic*] therof to the north side of Forth according to former ordors' ¹ (*Ibid.*, fol. 80).

Stirling, 20 June 1651. 'The King's Majestie and Committee of Estates ordans and commands Mr. Thomas Henderson ² to exhibite and produce, befor the Committee of Estates, the Registers of the Committee of Estates, with the warrands of all the acts, and all bands, scrolls of acts, and other papers whatsumevir relateing to the publict service of the Committee of Estates sinc August 1648, and all the publict papers that war sent from the shyres to the said Committee, and other publict paipers whatsumevir in his possession, and that this be done

¹ If these registers were also in the ship when captured in March, this entry explains the references to the clerks in Cromwell's letter of 12th April and Wariston's of 14th April (*supra*, p. 38 *nn.* 3, 4), and in the text on the 1st of May (*Ibid.*, p. 45).

² On the 6th of June, Henderson was deprived of the post of clerk to the Committee of Estates, and Sir Archibald Primrose appointed in his place (*supra*, pp. xxxi, xxxii).

to-morrow at the furdest; and, in caice of the not sitting of the Committee, that he delyver thame to Sir Archibald Prymerose, as he will be ansuerable to the King's Majestie and Committee for his dissobedience at his hiest perrill; and ordans intimation heiroy to James Broun, servant to the said Mr. Thomas, to serve for ane intimation to himselff' (*Register of the Committee of Estates*, April to July 1651, fol. 66).

Stirling, 24 June 1651. 'Right Honorable.¹—The King's Majestie and Committee of Estates have thought fitt that your lordship sould stay no longer there, bot that yow sould repair hither for such things as concerne his Majestie's service, for which purpose wee have sent the enclosed pass signed be the King's Majestie, and doe requyre your lordship as yow will be ansuerable to come heere, or quher the King's Majestie and Committee of Estates sall happin to be, befor the thrid day of July nixt to cume. For what yow proposed concerning the secureing of the Registers in the Bass, another course is thought more fitt concerning thame; so as your lordship's stay ther being no further warrandit, wee sall expect your lordship's obedience to this order, and rests your lordship's affectionat freinds, Loudoun, *cancellarius*, D. Hamiltoun, Huntly, Crafurd, Glencairne, Tullibairdin, Wigtoun, Buccleuch, Lauderdaill, Bargany, Beilheauen, Lee, Riccartoun, Carden, Lag, Maner, Mr. Johne Cowane, Androw Glen' ² (*Ibid.*, fol. 73).

'CHARLES R.

'These ar to requyre and command all officers and sojours of our armie to give free pass to Sir Archibald Johnstoun of Warriestoun, Clerk of Register, and his servants, to repaire to Stirline or wher it sall happin us or our armie to be for the tyme, and not mak anie stope, trouble or impediment to thame therin, bot to be assisting in what may tend to thair accomodation in thair repaire hither, as they will be ansuerable. Given at [blank]' ³ (*Ibid.*, fol. 73).

¹ In margin—'Lettre to Sir. Ar^d Ionston.'

² On the 25th of June, Wariston received a copy of this letter from his wife (*supra*, pp. 75, 76); but the letter itself does not appear to have reached him. On the 30th, he heard that Cromwell had turned back the messenger (*supra*, p. 78).

³ As will be noticed the pass is not completed in the Register. One, on fol. 83, to Sir James Lamont's sister, superscribed 'Charles Rex,' is thus terminated:—'Gevin at our Court at Stirling the 27 of Junii 1651. Seigned in presens of the Committie of Estates, *sic subscribitur*, Lauderdaill, i. p. d.'

Stirling, 25 June 1651. 'The King's Majestie and Com-mittie of Estates, considdering how necessar it is that the keepers of the publict registers and seills should, for the ease of his Majesties subjects, stay in Stirling where the King's Majestie and publict judicatories reside for the tyme, doe therfor ordayne and command heralds and messers to pas to the mercat croce of Stirling, and there be opin proclamatioune command and charge all and sundrie keepers of publict registers and seills, clerk to the bills, wreitters to and keepers of the signett, wreitter to the great and privie seills, the keepers of the registers of horneinges and saisings, and all uthers whome it effeires, to repair to Stirling ; and to bring with them the saids registers, seills and other things concerning ther offices, and there to stay for the service of his Majesties liedges in their severall places ; and that they be heer befor the fyft day of Julii nixt to come preceisly ; and heerin they faill not as they will be ansuerable upon ther obedience. *Sic subscribitur*, Loudoun, *cancellarius*, Hamiltoune, Crafurd Lindsay, Marshall, Lawderdale, Glencarne, Buccleugh, Cochrane, Cranstoun, Lagg, Sir Ja. Muray, D. Wilkie, Hew Hamiltoun, Andro Gleenn ' (*Ibid.*, fol. 77).

NOTE.—On the 31st of March 1651, Parliament remitted to the Committee of Estates 'to considder how the warrandis of the actis and signatouris of Parliament, and the great charter granted be King Robert the Bruce [containing the tailzie of the Croune] shal be keepit now in tyme of truble' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. p. 664.).

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NOTE.—Since the text was passed for press, I have found that Andrew Ker was town-clerk of Edinburgh, and Mungo Murray was Wariston's 'servant' or 'servitour' (*Acts of Parliament*, vi. part ii. pp. 549, 552); that Robert Rankin (*supra*, p. 220), a professor in Edinburgh University, was deprived of his office in 1638 for refusing to take the National Covenant (Dalzel's *History of Edinburgh University*, ii. 106, 107); and John Oliphant is mentioned as Wariston's chaplain (Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 145, 146).

D. H. F.

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REPORT OF THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY.

THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING was held in Dowell's Rooms, Edinburgh, on 1st December 1917, Mr. J. R. N. Macphail, K.C., presiding.

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council as follows :—

During the past year six members have died, and six have resigned. The number of members is now 372 (besides 97 libraries); there are therefore 28 vacancies.

Since last General Meeting four volumes have been issued to members, viz., the third and concluding volume of *The Records of the Regality of Melrose*; *Contribution to the Bibliography of Scottish Topography*, by Sir Arthur Mitchell and Mr. C. G. Cash (whose recent death is deeply regretted by the Council and is a serious loss to learning), two volumes; and Professor C. S. Terry's *Papers Relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant*, vol. i. The first two of these were issued for 1915-1916, the other two for 1916-1917, so that the arrears are now completely wiped off, and it is hoped that it may be found possible to maintain this position hereafter.

For 1917-1918 it is proposed to issue (1) the concluding volume of Professor Terry's book; (2) *Wariston's Diary*, vol. ii., edited by Dr. Hay Fleming. The former of these is so far advanced that if its issue is approved by the General Meeting,

it will be sent out as soon as possible thereafter to those who have paid their subscriptions for the current year. The other will probably be ready in the spring of 1918.

Among books to be undertaken in the near future are (1) the third volume of the Society's *Miscellany*, for which abundance of materials is available, and of which some sections are already in type; (2) a volume of the *Early Records of the University of St. Andrews*, coming down to the Reformation, to be edited by Dr. Maitland Anderson; (3) one or more volumes of the *Treasury Register, 1667 to the Union*, to be edited from the MS. in the Register House by Professor Terry.

Mr. J. T. Clark, who has been the Society's Treasurer since 1890, intimated to the Council in April last his desire to be relieved of that office. The Council, in accepting his resignation, expressed their great regret and their appreciation of his uniformly attentive discharge of his official duties, in spite latterly of failing health. At the request of the Council Mr. C. S. Romanes undertook to act as interim Treasurer, and it is now recommended that his appointment be confirmed.

In present circumstances the cost of publication is much increased. The Council desires to print as much matter as it can afford, especially as the official Record publications are practically suspended. There are many Scots at home and abroad who are interested in Scottish history, and who are not Members of the Society. The Council ventures on public grounds to invite their support, and the support of such public libraries as do not already subscribe.

The Members of Council retiring by rotation are Mr. Romanes, Sir G. M. Paul, and Mr. Hannay; and ex-Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff has resigned. It is recommended that Sir G. M. Paul and Mr. Hannay be re-elected; that Mr. James Curle, W.S., be elected in place of Mr. Romanes, whose place is in any case vacant by his acceptance of the Treasurership;

and that Mr. George Neilson, LL.D., be elected to fill the remaining vacancy.

The accounts of the interim Treasurer, of which an abstract is appended hereto, show that the balance in the Society's favour on 13th November 1916 was £201, 9s. 11d., the income for 1916-1917 £608, 6s. 6d., the expenditure £650, 14s. 8d., and the credit balance on 13th November 1917 £159, 1s. 9d.

In moving the adoption of the report, the CHAIRMAN said twenty-two members had joined last year, and he considered the result most satisfactory in these times of stress. It also reflected great credit on all concerned that they had succeeded in sustaining the interest of the public. But there should be no gap in the membership at all, and with a little individual propaganda they had every reason to suppose that they would have a big waiting list, as they had had before. What more interesting subject was there than the history of Scotland? Some time ago a lady said to him, 'You Scotch are the most arrogant people on the face of the earth.' 'You never hear us,' he replied, 'say we are better than the English or the Irish.' 'No,' retorted the lady, 'but you take it for granted.' Even if we did, was there anything far wrong in the assumption? To us, at least, the past history of our race was full of interest, and it was a curious fact that even to foreigners the history of this little kingdom had a fascination possessed by no other kingdom. That was not merely by reason of the great causes which had been cradled here, but because of the personality of the actors in the comedies and tragedies of the past. Queen Mary, John Knox, Argyll, Montrose, Prince Charlie—were not these figures in which French, Italians, and all other civilised peoples were equally interested with ourselves? We could still fight the old battles, avenge the old injuries—at all events on paper—and why should we not do our best to maintain an intelligent interest in it, and provide materials for rectifying the views, not quite accurate, perhaps, which so many of them held?

Mr. Macphail, continuing, referred to what he described as the recent diverting controversy in the public Press regarding the character and merits of Martin Luther. One zealous gentleman actually claimed Dr. and Mrs. Luther as the originators of that happy Scottish manse life to which we all owed so much. Whatever people might think of the Reformation, Scotland at least

took neither its faith nor its ecclesiastical polity from the Boche. It was not Luther but Calvin, an educated French gentleman, who moulded—some people would say for good, others for evil—our Scottish formulæ, and much else besides, and it was not to Wittenberg but to Geneva that Knox and his successors looked for inspiration. He thought one good result of this war would be as big a slump in German professors and their wares as there would certainly be in German brass bands. To ensure the success of the Society, in dispelling the ignorance of all of them, they would have to provide material which would interest the members. He appealed to them not to confine their publications to Charters, lists interesting to genealogists, or menus of cookery in old Scottish houses, but to be selective and to cater for all tastes.

Dr. Dickson seconded the adoption of the report, and expressed his satisfaction with the financial position.

Lord Sands spoke of the desirableness of historical accuracy before rushing into print, and he ridiculed the attitude of those who suggested that we in Scotland owed our religion to Martin Luther. As the Chairman pointed out, we derived our theological doctrines from Geneva rather than from Wittenberg. He remembered reading a speech of the present Emperor of Germany, in which the Kaiser said it was quite a mistake to suppose that his family drew their doctrines from a Lutheran source. No, they drew their religious inspiration from Geneva. That showed the extreme desirableness, both here and in Germany, of a thorough study of our own native histories, and this Society served a good purpose in so far as it did that. It gave delight to its members and to many beyond its membership, in the stimulus it gave to the romantic instinct of the people.

ABSTRACT OF THE HON. TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS

For the Year ending 13th November 1917

I. CHARGE.

I. Funds at close of last Account—

Sum in Account Current with the

Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh, £201 9 11

£201 9 11

II. Subscriptions received—

(1) 379 Members for 1916-17, . £397 19 0

Arrears of subscriptions collected—

For 1911-12 (one), . . . £1 1 0

For 1912-13 (one), . . . 1 1 0

For 1913-14 (two), . . . 2 2 0

For 1914-15 (seven), . . . 7 7 0

For 1915-16 (twenty-eight), . . 29 8 0

In advance—

For 1917-18 (forty-seven), . . 49 7 0

£488 5 0

Less in arrear (22), £23 2 0

Paid in advance in

previous year, . . . 5 5 0

28 7 0

£459 18 0

(2) 97 Libraries, etc., . £101 17 0

Arrears collected—

For 1915-16 (four) . . . 4 4 0

Paid in advance

1917-18, . . . 4 4 0

£110 5 0

Less 6 in arrear, £6, 6s.

Paid in advance pre-

vious year, £1, 1s. . . 7 7 0

102 18 0

562 16 0

Carry forward, . . £764 5 11

	Brought forward,	£764	5	11
III.	Books sold to Members,	30	9	0
IV.	Bank Interest—			
	Interest on Deposit Receipt for			
	£300,	£4	2	8
Do.	do. for £200,	1	4	10
Do.	do. for £505, 7s. 6d.,	7	16	9
Do.	do. for £87, 7s. 11d.,	1	6	3
Do.	do. for £60,	0	11	0
			15	1 6
	Sum of Charge,	£809	16	5

II. DISCHARGE.

I. Printing, Binding, and issue of Publications—

(1) *Melrose Regality Court Books, Vol. III.*—

Paid T. & A. Constable for				
Composition, Printing,				
Binding, etc.,	£266	12	3	
Parcelling and Delivering,	5	0	0	
Postages, etc.,	7	0	10	
	£278	13	1	
Less paid to account,	95	12	6	

£183 0 7

(2) *Bibliography of Scottish Topography, Vol. I.*—

Paid T. & A. Constable for				
Composition, Printing,				
Binding, etc.,	£263	1	3	
Parcelling and Delivering,	5	0	0	
Postages, etc.,	7	1	10	
	£275	3	1	
Less paid to account,	209	9	0	

65 14 1

(3) *Bibliography of Scottish Topography, Vol. II.*—

Paid T. & A. Constable for				
Composition, Printing,				
Binding, etc.,	£171	6	3	
Parcelling and Delivering,	5	0	0	
Postages, etc.,	6	12	9	

182 19 0

Carry forward, £431 13 8

Brought forward, . £431 13 8

(4) *Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, Vol. I.—*

Paid T. & A. Constable for			
Composition, Printing,			
Binding, etc., . . .	£171	5	10
Less paid to account, . . .	27	2	6
			<hr/>
			144 3 4

II. Miscellaneous Expenses—

T. & A. Constable for printing			
Annual Reports,	£24	2	4
C. G. Cash for transcribing Sir A.			
Mitchell's MS.,	6	6	0
A. Mill for indexing <i>Melrose</i>			
<i>Regality Books</i> (3 vols.),	23	17	6
A. Mill for indexing <i>Armies of</i>			
<i>the Covenant</i> (2 vols.),	11	10	0
A. Dowell for room for Annual			
Meeting,	1	6	0
Late Treasurer's Outlays and			
Posts,	4	14	6
Posts of Circulars, Letters, etc., .	3	1	4
			<hr/>
			74 17 8

III. Funds at close of this Account—

Sum on Deposit Receipt with			
Bank of Scotland,	£125	18	7
Sum on Account Current with			
said Bank,	34	4	2
			<hr/>
			160 2 9
			<hr/>
			£810 17 5
Less Balance due to Treasurer,			1 1 0
			<hr/>
Sum of Discharge,	£809	16	5

EDINBURGH, 28th November 1917.—Having examined the Accounts of the Hon. Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year ending 13th November 1917, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, we find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a sum on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland of £125, 18s. 7d., and a balance at the credit of the Society's account current with the said Bank of £34, 4s. 2d.

WM. TRAQUAIR DICKSON, *Auditor*.

RALPH RICHARDSON, *Auditor*.

Scottish History Society

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1917-1918.

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R U L E S

1. THE object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The number of Members of the Society shall be limited to 400.

3. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

4. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

5. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

6. The Society will issue yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.

7. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

8. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

9. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

10. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

11. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

12. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

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