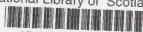


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Protestant Piety
In Early-Modern Scotland

Protestant Piety
In Early-Modern Scotland

Letters, Lives and Covenants, 1650-1712

edited by
David George Mullan

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PREFACE

In my current interest with religious autobiography in general, and the early-modern Scottish variety in particular, I am conscious of standing in an editorial tradition which has witnessed notable contributions from former generations of students who have seen through the press such works as the narratives of Alexander Brodie of Brodie and James Nimmo and Marion Veitch. All of these works are important representatives of a genre in their own time and place, and cast a bright if tendentious light on their surroundings.

The Scottish History Society has been at the centre of Scottish historical publication for over a century, and has lent its patronage to editors of religious (and non-religious) self-writing; I am grateful for its interest in and support of my own work in this area. In the year 2001, first Ashgate Publishing Company contracted with me for a large collection of Scottish women's religious self-writing, and then a few months later the SHS approved this book of masculine writings.

As is ever the case, I have incurred many debts amongst the members of the scholarly community. I am particularly grateful to Julian Goodare for friendship and scholarly advice, the latter given in his capacity as an honorary publications secretary for the Society and whose lunchtime conversations are so helpful to me whenever I am in Edinburgh; to Sharon Adams whom I first met when she was a post-graduate student under Julian's supervision at the University of Edinburgh, and who has now succeeded him as a publications secretary and has generously bestowed her time and her patience upon this project and its editor who is ever revising his submission; to Louise Yeoman, an enthusiastic conservator and researcher of Scotland's rich historical heritage, formerly of the National Library of Scotland, and now of BBC Scotland; to Jane Dawson, New College, who shares my editorial interests and knows the trials and tribulations which await those who tread this path; to Professor Ramsay MacMullen of Yale University who pointed me in the direction of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and solved the problem of what was to me an obscure classical reference; to Professor David Wright, New College, who once again gave advice on a Latin term; to all the staff who attended my requests at New College Library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland, and special collections at the

Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St Andrews. And here at home, staff in the library of Cape Breton University have played their accustomed and indispensable role in helping me, and especially with respect to inter-library loans. In academic years 2003–2004 and 2004–2005 I have been relieved of teaching one-third of my regular course load, and I am grateful to colleagues and administrators who have by this means supported my research—in particular Dr Graham Reynolds, Chair of the Department of History and Fine Arts; Dr Joanne Gallivan, Dean of Research; and Dr Arthur Tucker, Dean of the School of Arts and Community Studies.

Standard research grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada awarded to me in 1998 and 2002 have made possible the numerous trips to Edinburgh which underlie my research and publications. I am profoundly grateful to the Council and its staff, and to all those scholars who have graciously written time-consuming evaluations of my proposals. Of course I cannot name them here—in fact I do not know who have actually written—but they will recognize themselves in my words and understand my gratitude.

Finally, it is a husband's happy privilege to render heart-felt thanks to his wife Arlene whose encouragement and patience has supported my prolonged research in distant archives.

In addition to the works cited in the footnotes, others—whether in traditional or digital format—have been of great use to me, even if not mentioned there. These include various *Oxford English Dictionaries*; the [old] *Dictionary of National Biography*; *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn., ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997); R. Young, *Analytical Concordance to the Bible*, 7th edn. (Edinburgh, [1899]); and J. Strong, *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (London, 1894, &c.); <http://bible.crosswalk.com>, an online concordance of the Bible; *The Scottish National Dictionary*, 10 vols., eds. Wm. G. and D. Murison (Edinburgh, 1931–1976); *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 12 vols., eds. Wm. A. Craigie *et al* (Oxford, 1937–2002); and the 'Gazetteer for Scotland', Department of Geography at the University of Edinburgh and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, at www.geo.ed.ac.uk.

I am grateful to the trustees of the National Library of Scotland for their kind permission to publish manuscripts from the collections under their care; to the University of Edinburgh Library for permitting the manuscripts by John Baird, William Gordon, and Archibald Johnston of Wariston to appear in this volume; and to the St Andrews University Library for permission to include the personal covenant of James Nasmyth. Finally, I am grateful to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Bt, for permitting the inclusion of his ancestor's personal covenant,

found in the family's muniments which are housed in the National Archives of Scotland.

The book is dedicated to the memory of my father, David John Mullan (1906-1989); and to the memory of my father-in-law, Henry Koop (1929-2004).

D.G.M

Ash Wednesday, 2004

ABBREVIATIONS

- Analecta* R. Wodrow, *Analecta*, 4 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1842-3).
- AV Authorized Version of the Bible, 1611, commonly called the King James Version.
- Diary* *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, 1652-1680. And of his son, James Brodie of Brodie, 1680-1685* (Spalding Club, 1863).
- DNB *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885-1993).
- EUL Edinburgh University Library.
- FES H. Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, new edn., 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915-2000).
- GB Geneva Bible, 1560 (facsimile reprint, Madison, Wisconsin, 1969).
- History* R. Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1828-30).
- NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- NC New College, Edinburgh.
- NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- RPC, 3rd ser. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd ser., 16 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-1970).
- SB W. K. Tweedie (ed.), *Select Biographies*, 2 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1845-7).
- SHS Scottish History Society.

- Song Song of Solomon, also known as Canticles.
- Source Book* W. C. Dickinson and G. Donaldson (eds.), *A Source Book of Scottish History*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (London, 1958-61).
- SP D. G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism, 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000).
- STC *Short Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*, ed. D. Wing, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (New York, 1982-94).
- WLW D. G. Mullan (ed.), *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670-c.1730* (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, Vermont, 2003).

INTRODUCTION

26th March [1700]. I think I had never more persuasion of God's accepting my renewing of covenant than that yesterday. I rejoice I have done it, when I think on it; and I am persuaded God has accepted it; for I have had covenanted strength since, as well as the token aforesaid. That Word was made sweet to me in my ordinary last night, Isaiah 54:6, 'The Lord hath called thee as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit, and a wife of youth, when thou wast refused, saith thy God'.¹

In the shadow of persecution, as Scottish presbyterianism continued its slide into a state of permanent division, there emerged a vibrant evangelicalism which crossed the divisions of ecclesiological definition. It included the indulged and the Cameronians during the reigns of Charles II and James VII, and thereafter folk belonging to the societies (many coalescing around John MacMillan of Balmaghie) and others who found places for themselves in the restored presbyterian Church of Scotland. Of course, this form of piety was not invented only after the Restoration, under the rod of Stewart despotism. Its roots were deep in the Scottish Reformed experience, finding clear expression from about 1590 and embracing both presbyterian and episcopalian divines. Everything presented here can be traced back to that earlier time in at least seminal form, and so there is no suggestion of a great disjunction arising from a fit of theological creativity. One might argue, rather, that an earlier blossoming of Scottish divinity was now withering as an intellectually viable plant due to its narrowing focus upon debates about what constitutes a valid exercise of ministry.

The persecution did promote the continued growth of an inward-looking piety which expressed itself in a number of ways. One is frequently tempted to appeal to the term Augustinian to help describe the phenomenon, but such invocation must be done with some caution in that, as I have noted elsewhere, there was more than one Augustine available. The one appealed to in this setting was not the anti-Donatist

¹ *Memoirs of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston*, new edn., ed. G. H. Morrison (Edinburgh, 1899), 150.

catholic. Secession or schism was an obvious aspect of Protestantism from 1517, and presbyterians, if desirous of a national church, would not balk at schism if confronted with a choice between the pursuit of unity and the maintenance of Word and sacrament in their alleged New Testament purity. While still nodding at Augustinian definitions of predestination, Pelagianism and Arminianism were not the primary foes for most presbyterians, and has already been noted by scholars, there was more discussion in this period in England—and likewise in Scotland—about providence than predestination.² Not that the two can be divorced,³ but the shift in emphasis may suggest something about how interested minds viewed the world around them, perhaps arriving at something more closely allied to John Calvin's own theological structure than the Bezan form with its suffocating obsession with election.

The Augustine most evident in this and other contemporaneous material is the author of the *Confessions*, the one who bared his soul before God and created himself in a literary sense for the edification of his readers. He conversed with a God who was as close as his breath, who was the source and life of his humanity; he wrestled, at times desperately like a man in danger of drowning, on his way to a hard-won conversion; he abandoned earthly success in Milan—only to find it again in Hippo;⁴ and he wrote about his life—not the first autobiographer in general, nor even the first Christian autobiographer, but the Christian who made this exercise in literary self-invention a model for future generations. If the seeds he sowed did not germinate widely for 1200 years, Protestant Britain in particular reaped an enormous harvest which has not yet ended.

In this collection of documents, then, what the reader will find is an impressive—and not unrepresentative—focus upon personal piety, but which exists in a dynamic and interdependent relationship with a religious community. Spirit-filled ministers—here, the term describes the view of them held by their admirers—articulated a model of Christian life which they extracted from the Bible, bringing together the Psalms; Paul the apostle; Solomon's Song interpreted, conventionally, as descriptive of the relationship between Christ and the church or between Christ and the individual believer rather than as a piece of erotic poetry; the Hebrew prophets; the sayings of Jesus, and ultimately dipping into every part of the Protestant Bible and weaving the disparate sections and genres together in a unifying divinity focused upon the regeneration of the inner person—man and woman alike.

² J. Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (New York, 1998), 169.

³ K. von Greyerz, *Vorsehungsglaube und Kosmologie: Studien zu englischen Selbstzeugnissen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen and Zürich, 1990), 95-6.

⁴ L. Asher, 'The Dangerous Fruit of Augustine's *Confessions*', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, lxvi (1998), 227-55.

Thus drawing upon the resources of a Christian tradition, absorbing these teachings as individuals and then transmitting them again to interested and responsive people within the sound of their voices and within reach of their pens (with or without the benefit of the printing press), presbyterian divines promoted individual piety, and generating an informal gathered community—a form of Christian separatism—while retaining the form or aspiration pertaining to a national church.

This collection is defined according to several criteria. One is that all the materials come from the hands of men. This reflects no bias either with respect to the writing produced three hundred years ago, nor to the literary tastes of the editor. Rather, the original proposal was intend to parallel in great part the collection recently published as *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self c.1670-c.1730* (Ashgate, 2003).⁵ The writings in this volume are not better or more relevant than those by Scotland's pioneers of feminine prose; they belong to the same historical period, and they reflect a similar piety—though the relationship between masculine and feminine religious prose is worthy of some further consideration, both here (see below) and in ongoing scholarly debate. Second is the assumption that such a volume might benefit from a range of materials, all of them dealing with the issue of individual piety, but indissolubly linked to the interests of building and maintaining a community of enthusiasts, though their enthusiasm was frequently accompanied by a virulent strain of melancholy. So while the book contains three *complete* autobiographies—in the sense of not being truncated by an editor's hand—and three others bearing just those marks of editorial termination, it also contains some sermon notes which constitute a theological treatise, however inchoate in form; a collection of letters, perhaps reminiscent of those more famous, more passionate, more numerous missives of the incomparable Samuel Rutherford; and, returning to a recurrent theme in the SHS library, a portion of the diaries of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston.

If the relative lack of inner focus exemplified in *Reliquiae Baxterianae* characterises most of the masculine writers, clergy and laity, the obsessive interest in the spiritual progress of the inner self, as one finds in *Grace Abounding*, is more characteristic of the feminine authors. This is not to be regarded as a hard and fast rule. Helen Alexander has more in common with Baxter than Bunyan, and some of the men are less like Baxter and more like Bunyan. Both sexes can be so irritatingly vague about their parents, their spouses, their children; among the women particularly,

⁵ See also D. G. Mullan, 'Scottish Women's Religious Narrative, 1660-1720: Constructing the Evangelical Self', in *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, eds. S. Dunnigan, C. M. Harker, and E. Newlyn (Basingstoke, 2004), 178-191; and see *WLW*, 1-22.

movements are jerky and non-continuous—likewise more than a few of the men. One is left with the difficult question as to whether this writing is thoroughly gendered: are the masculine compositions decidedly different as a whole from the feminine? In one sense no, in that underlying the evangelical self-writing of both sexes is a wrenching piety which both tears down and, with difficulty, again builds up the inner self. Generally speaking, however, the men are drawn out of their inner crises by the demands of an external world to which women had a less secure connection. Men were farmers, merchants, soldiers, managers, advocates—and clergy—while the domestic realm of the women, though not entirely confining, provided fewer responsibilities beyond the home, whether their own or those of the aristocracy in which they may have worked. However, such definition tends toward overstatement because a number of women worked as teachers, and the historian can only regret that they did not think of posterity and give detailed descriptions of those experiences. Perhaps the force of habit, even then, kept their thoughts the more constrained; and although they did not feel guilt over personal self-expression, they may still have found themselves reticent to discuss the details and the demands of that outside experience. But these are mere conjectures. More work needs to be devoted to such questions before satisfying answers can be offered, and the study of religious self-writing may take us somewhat further down that road.

One cannot study seventeenth-century Scottish history without stumbling over the notion of covenanting, expressed most visibly and most famously in the National Covenant (1638) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1643). However, in so far as these documents and episodes evoke visions of martial religion, they serve to obscure some important currents in Scottish presbyterianism. For there the growing practice of personal covenanting with God, building upon the diffusion of federal or covenant theology, emphasised an interiorised and private element in religion—the individual standing naked before a wrathful but merciful and gracious God. While these documents reflect the turmoil of repression and intolerance and flight and armed resistance, they also manifest the conditions of evangelical religion where the individual must bear personal responsibility before God and must also nurture her or his own religious consciousness through prayer and other devotional activities, private activities which inevitably connected the individual to like-minded practitioners in the home, neighbourhood, and country. This religion began before thoughts of armed resistance to a hegemonistic monarchy. One can find clear manifestations of it in the 1590s, if not before, and it has continued long after the end of conflict in 1688.

There are documents here by radical non-conformists, including Archibald Johnston of Wariston whose prominence came as a result of his

hand in the National Covenant itself, and Gabriel Semple whose participation in the Pentland Rising in 1666 might have foreshortened his life if he had not escaped and remained at large for fifteen years. It is not clear whether John Welwood, had he not already died of natural causes, would have taken part in the events of 1679, though he was a fervent field preacher and corresponded with Richard Cameron. John Baird (or Bairdy, in *STC*,⁶ or Beard, in *Analecta*) was a moderate who accepted an indulgence—restoration to parochial work on promise of good behaviour, even while not affirming episcopacy. Dick was as stubborn as they came, but would not resort to violence. John Blackadder was outraged at the persecution of the godly, but similarly was no warrior. Three autobiographers, Duncan, Bell, and Murray, had their roots in the covenanting period, but their adult lives were spent in ministry under a favourable political sky—though not without anxious examination of the horizon for signs of more stormy weather, arising in part from the parliamentary Union of 1707. The passionate evangelicalism of the few did not take deep root among the masses, and complaints about ignorance and impiety continued as before. Most of the local clerical crew did not measure up, either.

These texts represent four important genres in evangelical forms of Christianity—the sermon, the letter, the diary, and the autobiography. They reflect the struggle for the conversion of the inner self, the renunciation of evil human nature, and the building up of a community of the committed who could find no resting place in the earthly city.

Let us add a fifth genre at this point, one almost specific to the time and the place, the personal covenant. The first two items, and then at least one of the autobiographers—Duncan—introduce this practice which became an increasingly important element in seventeenth-century Scottish Protestant piety, and especially after 1650. Here, it is Wariston who deals first with the issue, and his experiences, which he appears to have shared not just within his torridly pietistic family circle, may be seen as crucial in its development. Alexander Brodie of Brodie entered, 'again', into a solemn covenant 18 September 1655.⁷ Sir George Maxwell of Pollok subscribed his covenant on 21 July 1656, then reaffirmed it on his deathbed on 13 April 1677.⁸ As one may read elsewhere, women were

⁶ *STC*, B475.

⁷ *Diary*, 155.

⁸ W. Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1863), i, 361-3; the original is in Glasgow City Archives, T-PM 114/5. Certainly others had engaged in the practice earlier; see *A Diary of the Public Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Bart., 1633-1645* (Bannatyne Club, 1843), 99, 122, 159; and James Caldwell, *The Countesse of Marres Aradia, or Sanctuarie* (Edinburgh, 1625), no pagination, at end of book, where Caldwell writes a prayer to Christ: 'never forget this Covenant, I have now bound up with thee'; and *SP*, 200-1, 298.

also avid participants in this form of piety.⁹

The first methodical treatments of personal covenanting were supplied by two Protester divines, Patrick Gillespie and William Guthrie. Gillespie (1617-1675) was the son of John, minister of Kirkcaldy, and younger brother to George. He graduated from St Andrews in 1635, began his ministry at Kirkcaldy in 1642, and moved to Glasgow in 1648. He was opposed to the Engagement and became a leading Protester. In 1653 he became principal of the University of Glasgow. He supported Cromwell, and prayed publicly for him. He was fortunate to escape execution at the Restoration, but his ministry was finished. Significantly, in his *Ark of the Testament opened*, first published in 1661, he wrote of 'a conjugal Covenant betwixt God and his People', stating that it 'doth partake of the nature of a Covenant betwixt Husband and Wife'.¹⁰ He insisted upon the particular and personal nature of the covenant of grace, and that it was a duty for Christian people on various solemn occasions, such as at baptism at an age of maturity, or else upon attaining such an age after having received baptism as infants.¹¹ Gillespie emphasized that covenanting was 'a most serious heart exercising businesse that cannot be done in the by, nor with passing thoughts on the souls condition'.¹²

Guthrie (1620-1665) was born in Forfarshire. He graduated from St Andrews in 1638, and then studied divinity under Samuel Rutherford before accepting a call to Fenwick, Ayrshire, in 1644. He attended the general assembly in Edinburgh in July 1649, and in 1651 joined the Protesters. He was outed at the Restoration. He treated personal covenanting in his oft-published *The Christian's Great Interest*, originally issued, apparently, as *A Clear Attractive Warming-Beam*, of whose circulation and title he did not approve, and first published under its more famous rubric in 1659.¹³ Andrew Welwood recommended him to his brother James; also, among the writers on covenanting copied out by the

⁹ e.g. *WLW*, 389 (Elizabeth Blackadder); Katherine Brown, NC, BOS.2, Box 2.3.11; John Calderwood, *A Collection of the Dying Testimonies of some Holy and Pious Christians, who lived in Scotland before and since the Revolution* (Kilmarnock, 1806).

¹⁰ [Patrick Gillespie], *The Ark of the Testament opened, or, The secret of the Lord's Covenant unsealed, in A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace. Wherein an essay is made for the promoting and increase of knowledge, in the mysterie of the Gospel-covenant, which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to the saints* (London, 1661), part i, 123. The two parts have separate pagination sequences.

¹¹ *ibid.*, part ii, 175.

¹² *ibid.*, part ii, 160.

¹³ William Guthrie, *The Christian's Great Interest*, newly corrected and enlarged (Glasgow, 1661), 1-2. In the preface he wrote: 'some, without my knowledge, have lately published some unperfect notes of a few of my sermons, most confusedly cast together, prefixing withall this vain title (as displeasing to my self as the publishing of the thing) ...'. This item is not in any of the usual catalogues. *FES*, iii, 94, states that it was printed c.1657 at Aberdeen.

diarist Colin Alison was Guthrie,¹⁴ and his work found a place in the inventory of Lady Cawdor's books in 1705.¹⁵ Guthrie wrote of people closing with Christ and entering into 'a marriage relation unto God, and unto Christ also, who is Husband, Father, Brother, &c. to them'.¹⁶ He stated that the personal covenant was not substantially different from God's covenant with the visible church, i.e., baptism, nor 'from the transacting of the heart with God in Christ'; it formalised the turning of the heart, and interiorised the church covenant.

John Baird's sermon notes on personal covenanting came a couple of decades later, and are included here as another important contribution to the notion, developing to its highest point the matrimonial metaphor.

Kaspar von Greyerz has located around 300 diaries and perhaps 100 autobiographies produced in England during the seventeenth century, including both religious and non-religious items.¹⁷ In Scotland the numbers are of course lower, as one might expect of a country with perhaps 20% the population of England. Never the less, to date I have located about 70 *religious* autobiographies and diaries—the line between the two types of writing is not always precise—up to c.1735, which is surely a not inconsiderable total.¹⁸

Some of these Scottish narratives have never been out of sight—James Melville, William Cowper, John Row, Robert Blair, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston. These and some others have long been accepted by historians as indispensable contributions to our understanding of the period and events they describe. But other documents, many written by more ordinary folk, are now coming to light, and they too, whatever the literary qualities one might judge them to possess or lack, are capable of illuminating the piety of their own time, and as such, are due a higher profile and at least a modest degree of respect. There has been little in the way of critical discussion of these texts. Paul Delany writes disdainfully of some of them (apart from Bishop William Cowper's brief narrative and Robert Blair's rather longer reminiscence), dismissing John Livingston's

¹⁴ EUL, Laing MSS, La.III.542.

¹⁵ *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor* (Spalding Club, 1859), 397.

¹⁶ Guthrie, *Christian's Great Interest*, 201; this and subsequent references are to the Edinburgh, 1788 edn. Henrietta Lindsay absorbed this language. See *WLW*, 283.

¹⁷ K. von Greyerz, 'Biographical Evidence on Predestination, Covenant, and Special Providence', in *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, eds. H. Lehmann and G. Roth (Cambridge, 1995), 276.

¹⁸ P. Benedict has written a useful article on the subject in general, but has rather little to say about the Scots who deserve a higher profile in discussion about the development of this genre amongst the English-speaking peoples of the early-modern period. See his 'Some Uses of Autobiographical Documents in the Reformed Tradition', in *Von der dargestellten Person zum erinnerten Ich: Europäische Selbstzeugnisse als historische Quellen (1500-1800)*, eds. K. von Greyerz, H. Medick, and P. Veit (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2001), esp. 360-1.

interesting and revealing record in one terse sentence.¹⁹ This is an unfortunate aspersion passed on a major document which does much to inform our view of various aspects of social life and piety in the period. Similarly the same scholar dismisses James Fraser of Brae's *Memoirs* in a footnote as 'unimportant', though another writer takes the same document as representative of 'the dominant shape of spiritual autobiography', and devotes eleven pages to a discussion of it.²⁰

Publication began in earnest in the early eighteenth century, and some of the specimens gained a sufficient circulation as to wield an influence at times even beyond Scottish borders. Ralph Erskine's son read Elizabeth West's narrative,²¹ while John Wesley was an avid reader of Thomas Halyburton's *Memoirs*.²² This, of course, points to the rationale for writing at all—to be useful, to record God's providence to oneself for the benefit of one's posterity. Ministers recommended this exercise to their parishioners, and some, as will be seen below, engaged in writing their own lives, sometimes, like Blair and Livingston, to provide a record of significant events in their own times, but others, like Henry Duncan, to delve more deeply into their own personal and spiritual experiences.

Autobiography is always a problematical medium, as the writer tells her or his own story without assuming the burden of taking a dispassionate and critical, i.e. scholarly, view of that life. One is left to speculate how other people would have viewed the writers as they wrestled with spiritual burdens, but that sort of perspective is generally inaccessible to us. The reader must also be aware of the fictive or mythic element in life writing. The writer wants to judge his own life from a single perspective—here, conversion by free grace to Jesus Christ, the soul's passionate lover—and so all other perspective is sacrificed to the promotion of this solitary purpose. In making this determination, the religious, evangelical Reformed Christian writers commit themselves to the narrative provided by the discourses of the Bible, so that they lay claim to the title of 'chief of sinners'. In addition to this fundamental reality of the life writing presented here, the French scholar Jacques LeBrun writes that by borrowing from the structures and content of earlier lives, individual experiences actually fall under the treatment of literary themes.²³ Thus in a very real sense, to read Fraser of Brae or Halyburton on conversion—or the shorter narrative given by Mistress Rutherford—is to read them all.

¹⁹ P. Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1969), 68.

²⁰ G. A. Starr, *Defoe & Spiritual Autobiography* (Princeton, 1965), 39–49.

²¹ D. Fraser, *The Life and Diary of Ralph Erskine* (Edinburgh, 1834), 442; *Memoirs, or Spiritual Exercises of Elizabeth West*, new edn. (Edinburgh, 1807 [orig. 1724]).

²² H. D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, 2nd edn. (Nashville, 1993), 143.

²³ J. LeBrun, 'Conversion et continuité intérieure dans les biographies spirituelles françaises du xvii^e siècle' in *La Conversion au xvii^e Siècle. Actes du xii^e Colloque de Marseille* (January 1982), 318.

So the value of these narratives for the historian is not absolute. There are certainly elements of the individual to be extracted from Duncan and Bell and Semple and dozens of others. But the writers were members and representatives of a community of faith which both flowed into and out from the religious life writers, and thus apparent individuality is mitigated by the powerful presence of the evangelical community which shaped the lives of men and women, investing itself in those persons so that others might then draw from their breathless experiences of faith, now reduced to code in their written lives. The historical value of this literature lies somewhere within the dialectic of individual and community.

The Documents

The order is first of all according to subject matter, i.e., personal covenanting, whether in the form of a diary, a treatise; then samples; then autobiographies (perhaps based upon diaries), set out roughly according to time period addressed in the materials, though I have kept Bell with Duncan because of their close relationship.

Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 'Diary', 6 January 1650-23 March 1650

Source: Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, La.III.263, Wodrow MSS, Octavo xxxiii, no. 4; another copy at NLS, Advocates MS 34.5.19, 169r - 183r.

Wariston (1611-1663) was one of the outstanding figures of his time. He entered the legal profession, in Edinburgh, in 1633, and in 1638 joined with the minister Alexander Henderson in writing the National Covenant.²⁴ He sided with the more radical presbyterians in the troubled times from 1648. He co-operated with Cromwell, and was subsequently declared a traitor against Charles II. He fled the country, but was tracked down, brought back, and executed. His religion was of an extreme intensity, and many will wonder whether he was always completely sane. Professor Stevenson argues from Wariston's own writings that he suffered from some form of manic-depressive illness,²⁵ and indeed one may draw a similar conclusion about some other religious diarists and autobiographers from that century. However, in terms of his religious practices, both Stevenson and, even more emphatically, Dr Louise Yeoman recognize that Wariston was distinguished only by degree of intensity—there is nothing in his piety which was not experienced or exhibited by many of his contemporaries, though usually at a lower temperature and in smaller

²⁴ P. Donald, 'Archibald Johnston of Wariston and the Politics of Religion', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 24 (1991), 123-140.

²⁵ D. Stevenson, *King or Covenant? Voices from the Civil War* (East Linton, 1996), 155.

quantities.²⁶ The hitherto unpublished portion of his lengthy diaristic writings included here confirms that his family must have suffered dreadfully from his obsessions.

At the beginning of his introduction to the *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, Vol. 2, 1650-1654*, D. H. Fleming wrote of the gap between G. M. Paul's earlier publication of the section ending in February 1639²⁷ and the material he was publishing, beginning [22 ?] March 1650.²⁸ The originals of the diary are not currently in view, and it remains to be determined whether what is presented here is actually part of the main sequence, or perhaps some other, strictly religious, series. One might question why Fleming would not have included it in his publication, but perhaps he would not have been interested in this material, given its entirely devotional focus: '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.' Critical readers might linger on the quality of Fleming's judgement at this point, and they can determine for themselves whether this material, probably akin to what was left out of Fleming's edition, helps one to enter into Wariston's agitated mind. Certainly these lines illuminate the emerging pious practice of personal covenanting in Scotland, and the centrality of the Lord's supper in the development of Scottish Protestant piety.

There are two copies of this work, differing very little in substance. The earlier of the two is in a volume of the Wodrow MSS held by EUL; a later transcription is in NLS. This later copy is either based upon a different 'original' or else was corrected at the time of writing from some other source (see the additional phrase in [], below, p. 37). NLS has a number of inferior readings, though it can be useful in editing EUL. However, some of the scriptural references have proven to be beyond recovery. Even Wodrow was baffled by some of them (below, p. 35, n. 17), and I have not been able to unravel them all.

John Baird, 'Anent Personal Covenanting', 1677

Source: New College Library, University of Edinburgh, SER 6, Wodrow MSS, Quarto cvi, no. 5.

²⁶ L. Yeoman, 'Archie's invisible Worlds discovered: spirituality, madness and Johnston of Wariston's family', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 27 (1997), 156-186.

²⁷ *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639*, ed. G. M. Paul (SHS, 1911).

²⁸ *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, Vol. 2, 1650-1654*, ed. D. H. Fleming (SHS, 1919), 1. Might that uncertain date have been a day or two later, as the date of 23 March (final paragraph, by implication, as the Monday after 22 March, communion Sunday) appears near the end of this portion?

John Baird took the MA from St Andrews in 1648, was part of the exercise of St Andrews presbytery, and is indicated as having been minister of Kemback from 20 March 1653²⁹ until he was admitted to Innerwick in the presbytery of Dunbar in January 1654.³⁰ He was deprived in 1662, and indulged at Paisley in 1669,³¹ though was in trouble periodically thereafter. Wodrow wrote in the table of contents of what is now Wodrow Quarto xxviii: 'Mr J Baird wrote a sheet or two on this head [withdrawing from hearing the curates] but whether this be it or not I know not'. Following an introductory paragraph the author of the treatise wrote: 'For the first, this is to be premitted, that what we assert in this thing, is onlie to bear weight with those who doe own the obligatioun of the covenant, are confirmed and perswaded in their consciences of the *jus divinum* of the presbiteriall government'.³² Those who had once covenanted themselves and now served the cause of episcopacy were guilty of perjury. The epilogue to this seven-page treatise reads: 'This much shortlie for clearing this case, that it's altogether sinfull and unlawfull to hear praelates, or any haveing dependance upoun them, which we desyre all men of tender consciences soe farre to notice as to take head how they goe and hear them. Januarii 13th, 1664'. Wodrow wrote that on 'March 6th [1684], Mr John Baird at Paisley, of whom before, had been cited against that day. A testimonial of his sickness is produced, and he is continued until April. Whether this sickness carried him to heaven at this time, I know not, but I find no more about him in the registers. He was a minister of great learning and piety, and singular skill in medicine'.³³ Elsewhere Wodrow added that 'he left a manuscript, *De Magistratu*, severall sermons, a treatise on *Hearing the Curats* (see above). He wrote *Balm for Gilead*,³⁴ and Mr Violant the *Review*'.³⁵ As for the sermons, in the volume from which this manuscript has been transcribed there are two by Baird, on 2 Timothy 2:1 and Deuteronomy 34:5 (items 6 and 7). One other was published,

²⁹ He is not even mentioned in the list of Kemback ministers in *FES*, v, 206, though there is a gap from 1650 until 1656 so he might well have been there briefly, as stated elsewhere.

³⁰ *FES*, i, 410.

³¹ *FES*, iii, 165. William Eccles, once minister of Ayr, was indulged here in 1672. *FES*, iii, 168.

³² NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xxviii, no. 13, 164r.

³³ *History*, iv, 38. In *Analecta*, i, 170, Wodrow wrote: 'Mr John Baird came to Paisley 1669. He dyed 1684, or beginning of 1685'.

³⁴ [John Baird], *Balm from Gilead: or, the Differences about the Indulgence, Stated and Impleaded: in a sober and serious letter to ministers and Christians in Scotland* (London, 1681).

³⁵ William Vilant, *A Review and Examination of a Book, bearing the Title of 'The History of the Indulgence'* (London, 1681). Minister of Ferryport-on-Craig in 1656, he was deprived in 1662, then indulged at Cambusnethan in 1669, and is noted in 'The Last Words of The Lady Coltness', in *SB*, ii, 495-508. He was again deprived in 1684; he returned under the terms of the Toleration in 1687. *FES*, iii, 240; v, 201. *FES*, iii, 165 misconstrues this reference to Vilant's *Review* as a book authored by Baird, entitled *Violent the Review*.

posthumously, on Amos 6:1-7.³⁶

Personal Covenants

1. James Nasmyth

Source: St. Andrews University Library, MS DA 804.IN2.

Nasmyth was a lawyer, with an estate at Dawyck, near Peebles. His diary indicates a considerable problem with alcohol, and perhaps this behaviour underlies his epithet, 'Deil o' Dawick'.³⁷ His covenanting was diligent. He began on 10 June 1688, and completed his 256th renewal—all written out in the two volumes of his diary³⁸—on 13 April 1707; he died on 8 May following.

2. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik

Source: National Archives of Scotland, GD 18/2093.

Clerk (1649-1722), created baronet in 1679, wrote out his first covenant on 24 June 1692, and over the next thirty years renewed it 108 times,³⁹ his last one just days before he died.⁴⁰ His son and heir, also John, wrote that John elder 'has left a great many journals and writings under his hand which will, I hope, bear testimony to the regard he always had for religion, vertue, and honesty.'⁴¹

The figure ** appears in the MS.

3. William Gordon

Source: Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS, La. III. 271.

Gordon attended the University of Glasgow and was licensed by the presbytery of Ayr in 1698, after which he was called to Barr, Ayrshire, and ordained the next year. He died in 1724.⁴²

John Welwood, 'Letters', 1675-1677

Source: National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 32.4.4, 1r-25v.

John Welwood (Wellwood, Walwood) was the son of James, minister of Tundergarth in Lochmaben presbytery, who was deposed in 1662 or 1663.⁴³ James's father was a citizen of the burgh of St Andrews, and he himself took the MA there in 1626. He was the schoolmaster of Errol in Fife from 1630 until 1651, and was part of the St Andrews exercise from 1643, suggesting

³⁶ *Sunday, 26 August 1683. A Lecture preached in the Church of Pasley (Glasgow, 1703).*

³⁷ *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, 2nd edn., 6 vols., ed. F. H. Groome (London, 1894-5), ii, 346.

³⁸ The other volume, the second in the series, is located at EUL, Dc.7.81. His son continued to use this book after his father's death, and for the same purposes.

³⁹ NAS, GD 18/2090, at one end of the book.

⁴⁰ See G. Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits: Calvinism and the Development of Capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707* (Oxford, 1980), 235.

⁴¹ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 1676-1755*, ed. J. M. Gray (SHS, 1892), 8.

⁴² *FES*, iii, 17.

⁴³ *History*, i, 326.

the formation of an intention to enter the ministry. He became minister of Tundergarth in 1659, was deprived in 1662, and died before 1668. His first wife was Margaret Dury, and by her he had Andrew who apparently died before 1673; John, born 1649 and died in 1678; James, a writer in Edinburgh, who died in 1679 (not to be confused with the author of *Memoirs of the most material Transactions in England*, 1st edn. 1700, who was the son of Robert Welwood of Touch⁴⁴); and Helen. By a second marriage James fathered another daughter, Mary.⁴⁵

If John Welwood was one of the more radical presbyterians who refused any and all accommodation with the government, he remains also one of the less visible of his kindred, and this fact compels a rather fuller treatment of his life than may be accorded to the others.

Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ (under Wellwood, James) states that he was 'a minister of the Church, who suffered in the time of persecution'. Katharine Collace referred to John as Mr,⁴⁶ the term of respect used in Scotland for the clergy. However, there are several 'mysteries' surrounding his life. He does not appear in university lists, despite John Howie of Lochgoin's statement that 'after he had gone through the ordinary courses of learning, he entered to the ministry, and afterwards preached in many places, but we do not hear that he was ever settled minister in any parish, it being then a time when all who intended any honesty or faithfulness in testifying against the sins and defections of the times, were thrust out of the church and prosecuted with the greatest extremity'.

Not only did he lack the education normally mandated for the ministry—he may never have been ordained. He would have come of age for that purpose after 1670, and one wonders who in Scotland—apart from conventiclers—would have laid a hand on him to make him a minister. However, it is clear that some men were ordained in an 'indefinite' manner, i.e., *sine cura*, at least of a formal parochial type, which true presbyterians might only contemplate in singular circumstances,⁴⁷ an ordination which took place outside the legal channels. James Wodrow, Robert's father, underwent a privy licensing by some nonconformists in 1673.⁴⁸ Also, James Renwick, whose meteoric career did not begin in Welwood's lifetime, was sent to Holland 'to get ordination' and, after all

⁴⁴ James Welwood (1652-1727), physician, had his own troubles for nonconformity. *History*, iv, 48.

⁴⁵ *FES*, ii, 222-3. A later minister, William Thomson, married a Welwood, who may have been one of these daughters.

⁴⁶ *WLW*, 78.

⁴⁷ *History*, iii, 23n. See an approving treatise on this subject by John Brown of Wamphray, in NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xxxvi, no. 15; and a comment in Robert Law, *Memorials; or the memorable things that fell out within this island of Brittain from 1638 to 1684*, ed. C. K. Sharpe (Edinburgh, 1818), 140.

⁴⁸ *History*, i, 'Memoir of the Author', p. i.

manner of negotiation to allay Scottish consciences, he was ordained by the classis of Groningen on 9 April 1683;⁴⁹ likewise Richard Cameron;⁵⁰ and Thomas Linning, who, according to Alexander Shields, was ordained in Emden.⁵¹

Patrick Walker, an early eighteenth-century admirer of the radicals and a supportive pamphleteer, is the best source available on Welwood, and he was reduced to the following comment: 'I am indeed somewhat lame, being 48 years since his death, that I cannot give an account when, where, or by whom he was ordained; only it is certain, it was some of our persecuted presbyterian ministers'.⁵² So the view we end up with, rather cloudy at best, is of a charismatic man lacking the usual academic credentials, being selected by those of a similar radical bent, and perhaps being ordained under cover of darkness to bring the stern gospel of the later covenanters to others who craved the conversion-based piety of such men and its sheer derision for those who remained outside the little fold, from Archbishop Sharp to those who accepted the indulgences. The Collace sisters are testimony to his spiritual power, and Walker adds to this image: 'Tis said by some in Annandale, that he preached six sermon[s] in Tindergirth, formerly his father's parish, blessed with more discernible good effects, than all the diligent painfulness and faithfulness that his father exercised in the ministry these six years he was minister in that parish'.⁵³

In the privy council's register for 26 February 1674, it was recorded that in the preceding August Welwood 'did keep ane feild conventicle above the old place of Kilsyth, where there was a great multitud of people conveyed, in which conventicle he did take upon him to preach, pray and exercise the other functiones of the ministry, in hie contempt and directly contrair to the late act of parliament made against conventicles'.⁵⁴ He was apprehended, and some of his supporters found caution for him, but he did not appear when called for. From a passage in John Blackadder's *Memoirs*, it would appear that he was on the Lomond Hills, a few miles west of Falkland, Fife—incidentally, Richard Cameron's birthplace⁵⁵—at some time in 1674: 'That same very day there was a

⁴⁹ *History*, iii, 446; Alexander Shields, *Life and Death of Mr James Remwick* (Edinburgh, 1724), 21–8. According to old *DNB*, the success of this venture apparently owed something to the intervention of that radical presbyterian leader of rather ambiguous qualities, Sir Robert Hamilton (Preston).

⁵⁰ *History*, iii, 220; and see E. Hyman, 'A Church Militant: Scotland, 1661–1690', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxvi (1995), 67 n. 65.

⁵¹ *Analecta*, i, 182.

⁵² [Patrick Walker], *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of ... Mr. John Semple, Mr. John Welwood, Mr. Richard Cameron* (Edinburgh, 1727), 28.

⁵³ *ibid.*, 23, includes a letter written by James Welwood in 1665.

⁵⁴ *RPC*, 3rd ser., iv, 143. He was cited again on 16 July 1674; 238.

⁵⁵ John Howie of Lochgoin, *Sermons Delivered in Times of Persecution*, ed. J. Kerr (Edinburgh, 1880), 377.

meeting on Lomond Hills, where Mr John Welwood a young man, but grave and pious, and of a good understanding, preached';⁵⁶ his presence in Fife is made obvious in the *Register of the Privy Council*.⁵⁷ That source also indicates that he was in trouble in July 1674, when during the latter days of the month he and other conventiclers were put to the horn for their illegal meetings in April, May, and June, especially in Fife and the south-west.⁵⁸ On 1 November 1677 the council made further notice of Welwood's behaviour: 'It being informed that one Walwood, a pretended preacher, had thrust himselfe into the kirk of Torboltoune, a letter was direct to the Earle of Glencairne and the Lord Rosse to suppress that and other such insolencies by vertue of their commission from the Councill'.⁵⁹ Wodrow noted this, and added: 'I do not hear he was taken, but very soon the Highland reformers came down to that country ...'.⁶⁰ Howie of Lochgoin, in his *Biographia Scoticana*, plagiarised Wodrow and added that 'there is nothing further [that] can be learned anent this order'.⁶¹

From his letters and other documents, some of his travels in the mid 1670s can be ascertained. He was in the south-west,⁶² in Morayshire, Fife, Edinburgh, and also across the border in Northumbria where William Veitch and John Welsh of Irongray likewise took shelter. Apparently it was of his ministry to establish societies 'for prayer and conference', suggesting an itinerant work. However, there is a serious problem in identifying a number of the locations from whence he wrote. Letter 1 was from Kilrage, of uncertain location. Letters 2 and 5 were from Killock, and while one cannot identify this location with absolute assurance, it was clearly in Fife (Letter 5), and it takes little imagination to amend it to Kinloch. If so, this would put Welwood in the home of John Balfour of Kinloch, in the presbytery of Cupar, Fife, which would, again, fit the context of Letter 5; in any event, his residence or stop-over there allowed him conversation with Balfour, and Welwood wrote about Richard Cameron's father, stating that he *came* to Falkland, suggesting proximity. There is, of course, some presumption in the identification of John Balfour as this was a common name, but there is no

⁵⁶ NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xcvi, 72v. Also A. Crichton, *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader* (Edinburgh, 1823), 184.

⁵⁷ *RPC*, 3rd ser., vi, 64.

⁵⁸ *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 18.

⁵⁹ *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 273.

⁶⁰ *History*, ii, 357. The parish was certainly vacant in September 1672, and remained so for some years. *RPC*, 3rd ser., iii, 589; vi, 381.

⁶¹ [John Howie of Lochgoin], *Biographia Scoticana: or a brief historical account of the lives, characters, and memorable transactions of the most eminent Scots Worthies* (Glasgow, 1775), 357. This is the 1st edn. One might also consult a later edition such as that edited by Wm. McGavin and published in 1862, which contains a couple of critical footnotes regarding this original account; see 343, 345.

⁶² Calderwood, *Collection of Dying Testimonies*, 202.

other likely candidate than this man who would later be suspected of participation in the murder of Archbishop Sharp in 1679.⁶³ Letter 3 was from St Andrews, Letters 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 23 were from Lesley, again in Fife. Letter 13 was from Moonzie (or Monzie), presumably that one in Tayside. Letters 19 and 21 were from Laceson (or Lacesston), a land in Strathmiglo parish, again in the presbytery of Coupar.⁶⁴ A couple of letters originated in obscure, i.e., unidentified, locations. Letter 14 is from Boterhil; Letter 17 is from Belgrum—if the scribe did not actually commit an error in transcription. One might venture a prediction that when these locations do become visible, they will almost certainly add to the centrality of Fife in Welwood's career.

In any event, Letter 22 clearly comes from Fife, this time Pitlochrie, another property in Strathmiglo parish. The heritor there was none other than George Scott,⁶⁵ the only son of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, Fife, by his second wife Margaret, a daughter of Sir James Melville of Halhill. George achieved fame in the pages of Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* as the proprietor of the 1685 shipment of covenanting prisoners held in Dunnottar Castle and elsewhere, bound for New Jersey;⁶⁶ as it happened, the *Henry and Francis* departed Leith on 5 September 1685.⁶⁷ Wodrow accused him of making profit from the misery of others,⁶⁸ but there is more to the story, to the extent that the accusation fails entirely.⁶⁹ The privy council had a thick file on Scott's conventicling activities, and in 1677 he spent time on the Bass Rock for his recalcitrance; in 1679 he would be questioned in the aftermath of Archbishop Sharp's murder.⁷⁰ Neither he nor his wife Mary Reid, nor about 70 others, survived the voyage. One can only conclude that Scott had no intention of profit; rather, he was attempting to find a new beginning for himself and his co-religionists. This interpretation is

⁶³ *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 640; vi, 192.

⁶⁴ *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 643. The minister of Strathmiglo from 1655 until his death c.1680-3 was John Rigg, a graduate of St Andrews and who, of course, conformed to episcopacy. *FES*, v, 174.

⁶⁵ *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 640, 648.

⁶⁶ He wrote a couple of books on the colony; see *STC*, S2034A-S2036.

⁶⁷ D. Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, Ga., 1994), 50. There might have been an earlier attempt at such an expedition—or else James Nimmo recorded the wrong date. He wrote that on 21 October 1684 James Reston, about aged about seventy, 'was putt aboard of a ship in Leith Road for to be sent to America, on[e] Pitlochrie having gottn gift of him and others, but by reason of the old man's age some ltil money having beine given it was presented so to the Council, and hee was ordered ashoar and at libertie.' James Nimmo, *Narrative*, ed. W. G. Scott-Moncrieff (SHS, 1889), 65.

⁶⁸ *History*, iv, 333.

⁶⁹ NLS, Wodrow MSS, Octavo ix, no. 26, 'Pitlochees Speech to the Council [space] 1685. When going to New Jersey'.

⁷⁰ *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 105, 257; vi, 193, 200, 328-9.

supported by the record of the episode preserved in the *Journal* of John Erskine of Carnock. Then a young man of twenty-three, he wrote about the torture inflicted on the prisoners in Dunnottar Castle, and now, in September 1685, all but the infirm were returned to the south

and disposed of otherways, many of them being banished, and gifted to Scot of Pitlochie, who was now in a few days to sail for Jersey in America. Mr. Archibald Riddell, who was prisoner in the Bass, *having got his liberty that he might go with him*, was now shipped with his family, *several gentlewomen and others having gone voluntarily*. Lord Neill Campbell sailed about a month ago to the same place, having got a considerable number of prisoners gifted him by the council.⁷¹

Alexander Reid wrote likewise: 'Many countrymen that were taken were banished to Carolina and New Jersey; and others that were not taken, went away willingly ... so many concluded the Lord was to leave Scotland, and set up his tabernacle in another place.'⁷² Wodrow claimed that the information he had before him indicated 'that Pitlochy tampered with some of them, particularly James Forsyth, to get money before they sailed, offering for five pounds sterling paid now, to set him at liberty as soon as they came to land. But James answered, he would give him no money, to carry him out of his native land, adding he had done nothing worthy of banishment'.⁷³ Obviously not everyone was happy about leaving Scotland, and it may be that to smooth the way Scott offered an inducement which would also help him to defray his own expenses. But there is no evidence here of a plan to add further injury to the pains already suffered by his co-religionists.

All of these letters, i.e., from 14 to 22 (there are three without locations and dates and another without a location, but the date fits here) were written between 27 March 1676 and 6 June, and are out of place in the chronological progression in the manuscript. Also, Letter 12 from Lesley on 19 January 1676 belongs with these. The letters on either side of this group are of no help in identifying even generally their location, as the time difference would have allowed for considerable movement.

Letters 34 through 38 present no problems; all are from the year 1677, February to September, and all are associated with the Clydesdale and the south-west. From other sources Welwood may be located at Tarbolton,

⁷¹ *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687*, ed. W. MacLeod (SHS, 1893), 154; emphasis added. There is 'ane exacte list of the persones removed [i.e., those who died] since our departoure from the harbour of Leith untill our arivall at Amboy nixt New Jersie in America October 1, 1685', in NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xxxvi, no. 65, 225r.

⁷² Alexander Reid, *The Life of Alexander Reid, a Scottish Covenanter*, 3rd edn., ed. A. Prentice (Manchester, 1829), 40-1. The notion of God leaving Scotland and England was not new. See *SP*, 276-9; and Thomas Hog, NLS, Wodrow MSS, Octavo xxxi, no. 2, 36r-39r; also in EUL, Laing MSS, La.III.264.

⁷³ *History*, iv, 332.

Ayrshire, in the latter part of 1677, as above; and in a deposition on 22 February 1678 concerning John Muir, 'lait provest of the burgh of Air', Welwood was one on a list of the usual suspects who had preached in house meetings either in Muir's own home or that of Helen Leslie, also of Ayr.⁷⁴ But in the period before this activity, upon leaving Edinburgh sometime after writing Letter 25 on 10 August 1676 and reappearing there on 26 July 1677 (Letter 33)—assuming the reliability of the date of this latter item—he wrote one letter (28) from Northumberland on 3 December 1676, two on 25 January 1677 without location given (31 and 32), and four from Hatton. This place is a stumbling block to plotting the preacher's itinerary. The *Ordnance Gazetteer* lists a number of locations which include the name Hatton. The one hint given in the letters themselves about its location is in Letter 26, dated August 29, 1676. He wrote to his correspondent, Katharine Collace, that he had received her letter after his arrival in Northumberland, and had apparently since returned to Hatton, though in health which produced a strong sense of morbidity. He continued: 'You see then how I could have endured a journey to the north, since the third part of it hath brought me near the grave'. This means, then, that Hatton was about one-third of the distance from Northumberland to the north, and therefore one may propose to exclude all the Hattons in Forfarshire and further up the east coast, all the way to Peterhead and Turriff. Such a fraction of the distance allows for consideration of possible sites in the Lothians and Fife. There was a Hatton estate west of Edinburgh, in the parish of Ratho, but its passage into the hands of the family of Lauderdale in 1653 does not encourage speculation that Welwood holed up there. One is left with Hatton Law, in Largo parish, in the East Neuk of Fife, and significantly the former quotation from Letter 26 continues: 'As for what you speake off in your changing of your resolution as to comming to Fife ...'. The language does suggest his own proximity, *to come* rather than *to go*. Likewise, further on in the letter Welwood speaks of a ferry boat: 'After I had written the last letter to you from Edinburgh, I found greater evidence that these souldiers that came over with me in the boat ...'. The simplest interpretation of this passage is the ferry across the Firth of Forth, again pointing to Hatton Law, Fife. Finally, in Letter 26 he refers to a Mrs Geddie in a missive written from Hatton; in Letter 2, it appears that she was a resident of Fife, perhaps Falkland, where some of the Collaces were located in the years 1673 to 1675.

To move from geography to ideas, Walker cited Wodrow that Richard Cameron was the first to demand separation from the indulged preachers. He replied, however, that 'This is not matter of fact; several

⁷⁴ RPC, 3rd ser., v, 543.

ministers and places might be instanced, especially Mr John Walwood, and the worthy Mr John Kid ...'.⁷⁵ According to Alexander Brodie of Brodie, he heard from John Carstairs⁷⁶ that Welwood had said: 'It was as great a sin to goe to hear thes that conformed, as to goe to a bordell hous. He [Carstairs] said, he durst not condemn and censur them that heard out of conscience'.⁷⁷

Further testimony to the vague record of Welwood's life—and his death—may be read in this account found in a letter, probably from David Walker, minister of Temple in the presbytery of Dalkeith from 1690 until 1737,⁷⁸ to Robert Wodrow in 1716. It may be worth noting that Walker came from Leslie, Fife, where Welwood wrote some of his letters. He described Welwood as:

a man of good learning but eminently holy. In his youth he was much exercised with the sense of sin and apprehensions of deserved wrath, yea with very disquieting temptations from Satan, but the Lord gave a blessed outgate and he promised to God that he should imploy his best endeavours for the ruine of Satan's kingdom and I believe he had remarkable success that way; but under his exercise foresaid he fasted much so that his stomach was exceedingly weakned till at length it could receive very little strengthening food and I believe the very weakness of his stomach did at long run deprive the Church of Scotland of his precious

⁷⁵ Walker, *Some Remarkable Passages*, 147.

⁷⁶ John Carstairs (1623–1686) graduated MA from St Andrews in 1641 and went to Cathcart in 1647, and from there to Glasgow in 1650. He came close to death at Dunbar in 1651. He was deprived in 1662, and thereafter was frequently in trouble. He joined in the Pentland Rising in 1666, for which he was granted an indemnity. He went to the Netherlands and refused the offer of joining the ministry in Rotterdam in 1677. He returned to Edinburgh that year. He was the father of William Carstairs (1649–1715) who came to such prominence under William of Orange. *FES*, iii, 460–1.

⁷⁷ *Diary*, 384, for 22 March 1677.

⁷⁸ *FES*, i, 349. The letter is at NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto bxcv, no.13, 186v. Beyond what is repeated here, the letter continues with further information about the burial and also the dying vision of Welwood. There is similar material recorded in Walker, including this about Welwood's physical nature (30): 'Mr Welwood was a man of a lean tender body; he slept, ate or drank little, being always under deep exercise about his state and case, and a great concern upon his spirit with the tyranny and defections of that day, especially of the indulged, and so many others pleading in their favours; but after this meeting, he turned more and more melancholy and tender'. The meeting referred to took place in Edinburgh in 1677, between the 'Erastians', i.e., those who supported the indulgences, and those who refused, such as Welwood, Cameron, Blackadder. Thomas Hog, though in the town, refused to attend: 'Some of the ministers went to him for advice what to do with them: He said, his name is Welwood; but if ye take that unhappy course to depose them, they will turn Thorterwood' ['thorter' means 'across', i.e., 'cross-grained']. According to James Currie, Walker went to Temple as a result of the Toleration, 'praying for that popish tyrant; though I never heard him preach in that congregation, for I verbally ... did protest against his entering to that congregation by virtue of that Toleration, which exonered me in some measure. But for ought I know his ministry was not successfull'. *Passages in the Lives of Helen Alexander and James Currie, of Pentland* (Belfast, 1869), 38.

life. Albeit the government had nothing to lay to his charge but that he preached the gospell in a way which they counted disorderly, tho' it was the only way quherin he had access to serve that God with a good conscience whose he was and whom he served with his spirit in the gospell of his Son. Yet was he intercommuned, though that sentence did never discourage him from embracing every proper opportunity he could have to commend Christ to ane auditory. I had diverse occasions of hearing and conversing with him but I was young, yet I remember that he exprest very high conceptions of the sovereignty and greatness of God and low thoughts even of such creatures as were to others a terror in the land of the living I have oft heard him say in his sermons, 'What are rulers and troupers (tho' they were very frightsome in those dayes to many in this land)? They are but bits of clay', and used the like diminutive expressions of them. He died in Perth in summer 1678 when a good number of people were gathered to his burial. The magistrates of the town would not suffer his body to be buried in their burial-yard nor at all to be transported from the place where it was found till after long debating with them. His brother, Mr James (since Doctor Welwood in London⁷⁹) went to the bishop of Dunkeld and prevailed with him to desire the magistrates to allow his body to be carried without the priviledges of the towne of Perth, to quhich the magistrates consented upon thir terms that 20 men should by bond obleidge themselves to goe between them and all hazard in case they should be called in question for their condescendence.

Welwood is usually stated to have died in Perth in April 1679, after allegedly forecasting the death of Archbishop James Sharp, who was assassinated on Magus Moor near St Andrews on 3 May 1679. However (and this does not affect the prediction one way or the other, if to be taken seriously in the first place—covenanting lore is full of such material, i.e., powerful ministers predicting rack and ruin for the unfaithful, at least back to John Welsh of Ayr⁸⁰), both David Walker's letter to Wodrow and

⁷⁹ As seen above, this is incorrect.

⁸⁰ SP, 21-22. See *Analecta*, i, 132 where Wodrow recorded that, not long before Welwood's death, having emptied the room of all but the one who reported these words (see the MS version, NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xxxvi, 45r-v), 'He told he foresaw several things that wer to fall out in this land; which are as follows: 1st, That many of the Lord's people would appear in arms for the defence of the gospell; but that he was fully perswaded they would be broken and work noe deliverance, but the Lord would take a testimony of their hands. 2ndly, that after the breach of that party, the gospell should be fully buried in this land. 3dly, After that, ther should not be a minister in Scotland that any could converse with anent the case of the church but only two [see the two witnesses in Revelation 11:3], and they should seal the cause with their blood. 4thly, That a dreadfull apostacy and defection should follow. 5thly, Upon the back of these things, God would pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his church and people. 6thly, Many of the Lord's people should dye in the commone calamity, especially these who have made defection from the wayes of God. 7thly, He was fully perswaded the stroak would not be long. 8thly, Upon the back of all these things, ther should be the most gloriouse delivrance of the church that ever was in Britain. 9thly, That this church should never be any more troubled with popery or prelacy'. [MSS—'These are the

the *Diary* of Brodie of Brodie have his death in 1678. Walker placed it in the summer, but on 21 April Brodie wrote: 'I heard of the death of Mr Jhon Welwood at St Jhonstoun, his burial at Dron, the impediments made to his burial, and that it's said Mr Petkarn resisted them that would bury him in his kirkyard'.⁸¹ Alexander Pitcairn was the minister of Dron, in the presbytery of Perth. He was a presbyterian who managed to stay in his place, but clearly he either disliked field preachers or else simply did not want the body of one creating trouble in his own garden. Still, he was eventually ousted by the episcopalian first marquess of Atholl, whereupon he retired to the Netherlands until the Revolution.⁸² The bishop of Dunkeld at this time was William Lindsay, born in 1638 to a laird and a daughter of the Jacobean bishop James Nicolson. He graduated MA from St Andrews in 1656 and was ordained in England in September 1660. He became minister of Auchterderran, presbytery of Kirkcaldy, in 1663; went to Perth in 1668; and was consecrated 1677. He died in April 1679, before the 15th of the month,⁸³ and was not succeeded by Andrew Bruce until 28 October 1679. If Walker is correct about Welwood's death in the summer of 1678, then there was a bishop, as indicated. But if Welwood had died in summer 1679, there would have been no bishop to play a part in this drama.⁸⁴ His mention in 1679 lists of those heard by conventiclers does not alter this.⁸⁵

Welwood's brother Andrew wrote a work entitled *Meditations, representing a Glimpse of Glory or, a Gospel-Discovery of Emmanuel's Land*. It was published in Edinburgh, 1728, and the title page identifies him as 'brother to Mr John Welwood, late minister of the gospel in Scotland'. The publisher's address to the reader confesses that he has been unable to discover any substantial details of the young author's life, other than an anecdote of his night of prayer after the death of his wife, and an apparent assurance that Andrew died in London 'in time of our late persecution, as

last words of Mr John Walwod to me who is your assured freind in the Lord Jesus'.] Marion Veitch wrote: 'One day I was speaking of the Church of Scotland to some; I told them that I hoped He would yet appear in his glory there, and that I should see it; and they told me, I might never see that, for Mr Livingstoun and Mr Wellwood, two famous ministers, had as great hopes to see that sight, and were disappointed; which took deep impression on my spirit, and I went to God and poured out my spirit before him ... that I might not expect that from him, that was but a woman, and so little a plant in his garden, when he had denied it to his faithful ministers ...'. *Memoirs of Mrs William Veitch &c.* (Edinburgh, 1846), 27.

⁸¹ *Diary*, 399.

⁸² *FES*, iv, 202.

⁸³ J. Hunter, *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689*, 2 vols. (London, [1918]), i, 209.

⁸⁴ Unless of course Bruce, who was immediately nominated for the position, was allowed to exercise some jurisdiction before the formalities were performed.

⁸⁵ *RPC*, 3rd ser., vi, 64, 133.

would seem, of a consumption'.⁸⁶ He then went on to discuss what he knew of John's life, but could write only that he

was a person well known to many, and his memory still savory to all that knew him, for his holiness, diligence in the labours of the ministry, amidst many perils from bloody persecutors and false brethren; his undaunted zeal and courage in the cause of Christ, though under a very weak and sickly constitution of body. What a life of faith he lived in these perillous times, is evident from several letters of his, written to his godly acquaintances, and friends, yet extant in manuscript.

And yet, a few personal details involving the Welwood family may be gleaned from letters at the end of the book. At the time of his death, his mother was still alive. He also wrote a dying letter to his brother James, commending to him the reading of William Guthrie's *The Christian's Great Interest* (see above, p. 6), and a letter to his sister Helen.

A few of John Welwood's sermons have survived;⁸⁷ four were published in John Howie of Lochgoin's collection. These include:

1. Caldercruix, near Airdrie, on 16 March 1676
2. neither time nor place given
3. Bankhead, Loudon Parish, on 7 April 1677
4. Bogle's Hole, Parish of West Monkland, no date given.

Another exists in manuscript only:

5. 'A Sermon of Mr John Wallwood. Text 1 Epistle of Peter 5:9, Whom resist in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world'.⁸⁸

6. James Kerr, in his edition of Howie, refers to Welwood's sermon on Paul, 'Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble are called' [1 Corinthians 1:26];⁸⁹ the editor has not seen this item.

Welwood is mentioned by the eighteenth-century autobiographer Marion Shaw (1700-1764). She writes that in 1720, 'At a time, upon a Sabbath, providentially hearing a part of Mr Welwood's letters read, containing good advices to his friends, they had some impression upon me, especially one to a sister, exhorting her to much diligence in reading the Scriptures, and to pray at least three times a-day, which duty I could never since neglect without a challenge from my conscience.'⁹⁰ There is

⁸⁶ *Glimpse of Glory*, ix.

⁸⁷ See Howie, *Sermons Delivered*, 337-74.

⁸⁸ NC, B.b.b./12, MS 2 (near the back of the volume). The sermon contains rambling about resisting the devil, sticking with Jesus. Near the end there is a passing comment about witches: '5. The fifth drection, and ye wad debat with Satan ye most be mikel in prayer, and ther most be [a] messenger sent to himselfe. Paul found this—says he, I besought the Lord thrice. Some will go [unto] witches and other shifts to put him [Satan] away, but ye will not get it don to put him away till ye pray him away, till ye wrestle him away, till ye fast him away, till ye beat him of a way by faith and the sword of the Spirit', pp. 11-12.

⁸⁹ Howie, *Sermons Delivered*, 339-40.

⁹⁰ *The Memoirs and Spiritual Exercises of Marion Shaw, who died 5 November 1764*, new edn.

no passage in the letters printed here which will satisfy these criteria. 'Sister' could well refer to a Christian friend rather than a member of the family. And, all those years later, Shaw may have misrepresented what she heard and which she may even have misconstrued at the time. In any event, what is significant here is the circulation in manuscript of Welwood's letters more than forty years after his death.

Gabriel Semple, 'Life', c.1685

Source: National Library of Scotland, MS 5746, 180r – 209v.

At the outset of the manuscript the following note is given:

Mr Gabriel Sempil was 16 years minister of Jedburgh. He was first married to Mrs Elison Riddel, daughter to Sir Walter Riddel of that Ilk, afterwards to Mrs Margaret Ker, daughter to Sir Robert Ker of Hale. He was first minister in Kirkpatrick-Durham in Galloway, then in Jedburgh. He dyed Anno 1706 in the month of August, 8th day, of his age 75.

This is not an entirely accurate statement. Semple was born in 1632, son of Sir Bryce Semple, sheriff of Renfrew;⁹¹ and of a daughter of the house of Haltoun in Lothian. He took his MA at Glasgow in 1653, and was licensed by the presbytery of Glasgow in 1657. That same year he went to Kirkpatrick-Durham in the presbytery of Dumfries, and was deprived in 1662. He became a field preacher, proclaimed the renewal of the covenant in Lanark⁹² on the way to Rullion Green from which he escaped, and then made preaching tours in Ireland and northern England, holding great communions in Northumberland. On 6 February 1679 a price of 3000 merks⁹³ was placed on his head.

A sermon he preached on 21 March at Kilbride has survived. In words redolent of Samuel Rutherford he proclaimed:

The Lord is not shut up yet, as to Scodand; their assemblies says, that Christ is yet to be found; that he keeps up a public displayed banner in spite of all his enemies, both papists, prelates, and malignants, and all their laws and arms: Christ is covering a gospel table here and there: ... Christ is crying this to Scodand: this says he is not upon the reserve with us; and then seek him while he is to be found, and call upon him while he is near. And I shall notice some of the places, and also of the times, wherein ye will most likely find him.⁹⁴

(Glasgow, 1832), 21-2. This work was first published as *Elijah's Mantle: or, the Memoirs and Spiritual Exercises of Marion Shaw* (Glasgow, 1765).

⁹¹ FES, ii, 126-7.

⁹² James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. C. K. Sharpe (Edinburgh, 1817), 238.

⁹³ Matthew Craufurd, 'History of the Church of Scotland from the earliest dawning of the light of the gospel ... to 1680', 2 vols., New College, CRA 1, ii, section 7, for 1679, has 6000. But RPC, 3rd ser., vi, 119-20 confirms the figure of 3,000. This latter source equates field meetings with 'randevouzes of rebellion' and states that the people lured to such meetings 'are debauched to atheisme and popery'.

⁹⁴ John Howie of Lochgoin, *A Collection of very valuable Sermons* (Glasgow, 1780), 126; appended to Michael Shields, *Faithful Contendings Displayed* (Glasgow, 1780).

He urged listeners to seek God: 'He is yet in Scotland, and to be seen in secret, in fellowship and in the mount of gospel ordinances'.

Semple was captured at the home of his nephew, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Blackcastle, near Cockburnspath, in 1681. He spent three months in prison but was released on payment of a bond of 10,000 merks. He then re-entered England and stayed until the death of Charles II, and then went to Jedburgh in 1690, where he asked Thomas Boston to be his assistant. Semple was known personally to another of the autobiographers in this book, James Murray.

Wodrow stated that he had heard from Henrietta Lindsay, Lady Campbell, a story about Semple according to which three gentlemen walked out of one of his sermons, whereupon he predicted that some remarkable judgement would come upon them, which did in fact happen: one had his throat cut, another fell off his horse while drunk and broke his neck; and the other suffered some form of violent end.⁹⁵ Again, Wodrow wrote:

He [Mr John Williamson] tells me, that when in the South country, he heard this story, which was not doubted about Geddart [Jedburgh]: Mr Gabriel Semple had gote a habite, when speaking and preaching, of putting out his tongue, and licking his lipps very frequently. Ther was a fellow that used to ape him, in a way of mock; and one day, in a dru[n]ken caball, he was aping him and putting out his tongue; and it turned stiffe and senseless, and he could not draw it in again, but in a few dayes dyed. This accompt is soe odd, that I wish I may have it confirmed from other hands.⁹⁶

The manuscript is a copy, in the same hand that transcribed John Livingston's life and other materials composed by him which constitute the first and greater part of the volume. The manuscript's date, given at the end of Semple's narrative, indicates that this copy was written out about 20 years after his death. The autobiography has not been much used, but was summarized first by Wodrow⁹⁷ and then in a work on covenanters in border areas.⁹⁸

The problem posed by the preliminary citation from the manuscript concerns Semple's marriages, of which there would appear to have been three. His first wife was Margaret, a daughter of Sir Patrick Murray of Blackcastle; she has been left out of some sources. His second wife, we are told, was Allison, daughter of Sir Walter Riddell, second baronet of that ilk.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Analecta*, i, 344-5.

⁹⁶ *Analecta*, ii, 187.

⁹⁷ *History*, iii, 267-9.

⁹⁸ D. Stewart, *The Covenanters of Teviotdale and Neighbouring Districts*, ed. John Smith (Galashiels, 1908), 77-92.

⁹⁹ Wodrow does not give her name; *History*, iii, 268. It might be this Walter's wife who is mentioned by John Livingston: Lady Riddell, who had been 'very usefull to him and his

She was the sister of Archibald Riddell, a covenanting preacher and one who survived the *Henry and Francis's* voyage to New Jersey. He returned to Scotland and died in 1708 while pastor of Trinity Church, Edinburgh.¹⁰⁰ But this identification of Allison as Semple's wife seems unlikely. She was probably married to Sir George Home of Barrethead (Bassendean), while the same source, G. T. Ridlon, who supplies this information, has Margaret married to the Rev. George Semple of Jedburgh, who is clearly *Gabriel*.¹⁰¹ Another of Walter's daughters was Agnes, not listed by Ridlon. She married James Scott, fourth son of Sir William Scott of Harden.¹⁰² But how does this make her Lady Thirlestane, as Semple describes his wife's sister? Possibly the context is the fact that Patrick, son of Walter Scott of Gamescleugh, redeemed the mortgaged lands of Thirlestane from Scott of Harden (with the consent of John Scott of Thirlestane).¹⁰³ We do not know of James Scott's role in this, but perhaps he had an interest, and the title 'Lady Thirlestane' may have been altogether informal, as was not uncommon amongst the Scottish gentry. It might also be noted that Agnes, eldest daughter of Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester, thus a grand-daughter of Scott of Harden, became the wife of Sir John Riddell, Walter's son and heir. But in all probability it was Agnes Riddell, daughter of Walter, wife of James son of William Scott of Harden, who claimed this dignity. Such would appear to be the most plausible reconstruction, based as it is on sources fraught with inaccuracies and incomplete entries. All these families were involved in religious dissent, with its omnipresent and serious political ramifications—Erskine of Carnock wrote in his *Journal* early in 1685 that both Scott of Harden and Scott of Thirlestane were sought for questioning in the same affair that brought Sir Robert Baillie of Jarviswood to the scaffold.¹⁰⁴

Quintin Dick

Source: National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS, Quarto lxxv, no. 16.

Dick was an Ayrshire farmer and a committed presbyterian, but moderate in the sense that while he would refuse conformity, he would not associate himself with those who took up arms against the king. His

family'. *SB*, i, 291. Wodrow refers to the Rev. Thomas Archer, who was chaplain to Lady Riddel; *History*, iv, 316. That he was executed in 1685 for being out with Argyll indicates his commitments.

¹⁰⁰ He published *Mount Moriah: or, A Sermon peached at Carrick, by Mr. Riddale, August 5. 1679* (n.p., n.d.). Law, *Memorials*, 140 has him a newly admitted minister in 1678.

¹⁰¹ G. T. Ridlon, *History of the Ancient Ryedales* (Manchester, N. H., 1884), 70-1.

¹⁰² J. B. Paul, *Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-14), vii, 79.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, vi, 430-1.

¹⁰⁴ *Erskine of Carnock*, 102-3. Robert Baillie of Jarviswood, executed in Edinburgh 24 Dec. 1684 on a charge of treason. He had made himself odious to the government by his opposition to its arbitrary measures.

narrative is one of suffering—invasion of his property and home, imprisonment, and separation from his wife and soul-mate.

According to *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, John Dick, minister of Rutherglen, was the son of Quintin Dick.¹⁰⁵ John graduated MA from the University of Glasgow in 1649 and was ordained to Rutherglen and Polmadie, presbytery of Glasgow, before 1655. Robert Baillie wrote in 1656: 'In Rugland [Rutherglen], against the people's heart, they have planted a litle maniken of small parts, whom I never saw; and forced old Mr Robert Young, albeit as able yet as ever, to give over his ministrie'.¹⁰⁶ This was during the time of division amongst presbyterians, perpetrated by the party of Patrick Gillespie and supported by the English occupiers. He was deprived in October 1660 'for many odious speeches in pulpit against the statesmen',¹⁰⁷ and then allowed to return the year following. He was again deprived in 1662 and joined the field preachers. After 1670 he went to London, but returned and preached against those who accepted the indulgences. In *Mr John Dickson's Warning to the Professors of the Gospel in the Shire of Fife. Against Compliance with the Indulgence*. Published from a true Manuscript (n.p., 1716), there are references to Cameronians, suggesting a date of 1680 or later (pp. 13-14); and indeed there is a reference to 1650, 'now 30 years ago' (p. 18). In 1680 he was before the privy council and sentenced to the Bass, until being released in 1686 due to his poor health. It is curious that Quintin never mentions his son, not even the fact that they were imprisoned at the same time.

However, this cannot be the right connection, if there was any at all. The only possibility is that John and Quintin were brothers, sons of another Quintin. According to the rather limited personal information given by Quintin, concerning his sickness and his time in Irvine when Hugh McKell was minister there, he could not have been born earlier than 1623; John was born c.1630. Furthermore, Quintin's text speaks of his aches and pains, but does not emphasise his age, and makes no mention of his family. Wodrow did not make any connection which he could hardly have failed to notice had he been aware of it.¹⁰⁸ The names Dick and Dickson are all too common at the time. *Fasti* gives no authority for its assertion; David Ure, *History of Rutherglen and East-Kilbride*,¹⁰⁹ is silent on the matter of John's family connections.

Parts of the narrative were included by Wodrow in his *History*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ *FES*, iii, 487.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, 3 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1841-2), iii, 314.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, iii, 447.

¹⁰⁸ e.g., *History*, i, 79-80.

¹⁰⁹ (Glasgow, 1793; repr. 1981), 90.

¹¹⁰ *History*, ii, 427, 491-2; iii, 489-90 (apparently from a different source, and on iv, 129 Wodrow refers explicitly to 'his [i.e., Dick's] papers'); iv, 129-131 (some of it paraphrased).

Wodrow had a high opinion of Dick, and his autobiography supplies a lucid evocation of so many of the important political events and religious ideas of that distant time. It is presented here in its complete form, with the existing headings, and without any effort, except where noted, to correct obvious deficiencies in the text.

Adam Blackadder, 'A Brief Account', c.1703

Source: National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS, Quarto lxxv, no. 19.

Adam was one of five sons and two daughters born to the covenanting preacher John Blackadder, who died in prison on the Bass Rock in 1686. As this narrative indicates, the entire family was deeply affected by the religious strife of the time, and several members wrote narratives. John wrote his own 'Memoirs'.¹¹¹ His daughter Elizabeth left behind a manuscript narrative, 'A Short Account of the Lord's Way of Providence towards me in my Pilgrimage Journeys'.¹¹² Son John became a soldier, and kept a diary.¹¹³ Adam wrote some interesting recollections of his own life, and then continued his writing with further material about the sufferings of his father and also his brother William (d. 1704), a physician, who was instrumental in alleviating the legal troubles of his brother and his father's pain from haemorrhoids, but who very nearly met his end through his relationship with the ninth earl of Argyll.

Adam was a firm presbyterian, but he was a practical man and seems not to have suffered from the religious melancholy one witnesses in many religious narratives from the time, including his sister's. When his Swedish wife was dying, Adam refused to call in the minister, fearing that he would do her more harm than good—a remarkable vignette!¹¹⁴

Parts of Adam's autobiography are included in Crichton's life of the father, but they are not complete, and so the entirety of Adam's personal narrative has been included here, and without the sometimes significant editorial interventions that Crichton made.

Henry Duncan, 'The Most Memorable Passages', c.1710

Source: National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS, Quarto lxxxii, no. 3.

Duncan was born on 15 March 1663, 'of parents well descended, who

¹¹¹ NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xcvi, 1r-140r. This source appears substantially in Andrew Crichton, *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader* (Edinburgh, 1823).

¹¹² *WLW*, 384-409.

¹¹³ A. Crichton, *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader, of the Cameronian Regiment, and Deputy Governor of Stirling Castle* (Edinburgh, 1824).

¹¹⁴ see below, p. 208.

suffered in means through supporting presbyterian principles'.¹¹⁵ He attended Glasgow University, and became the schoolmaster at Lanark. In 1690 he married Jean Ross, by whom he had four daughters and a son. In 1693 he was licensed and in 1694 was ordained at Dunsyre. He died 10 June 1712, his 'being removed by death' noted at Lanark Presbytery meeting on 25 June 1712,¹¹⁶ and Wodrow commented: '[June, 1712] The beginning of this moneth, we hear of Mr Henry Duncan's death, Minister in the Presbytery of Lanerk. I observe, generally, that Ministers severall of them dye together about a time'.¹¹⁷ He was the uncle of John Bell, whose self-writing follows immediately after Duncan's. The Dunsyre parish records have not survived, but the Lanark presbytery records contain a number of useful references to Duncan, as may be observed in the annotations. Some of his sermons have also survived.¹¹⁸

The document incorporates another emerging genre at the time, that of the death narrative, in that he writes at length about his beloved son Robin. Along the way of his life of suffering—emotional, physical, spiritual—Duncan supplies an illuminating perspective on pastoral and family life.

The manuscript is very faint at times with discolouration along edges, losing the odd word, and written in a small hand. There are a number of corrections in the text; most of the errors are obviously the fault of the transcriber, who probably made the corrections himself or herself.

John Bell, 'The Most Memorable Passages', 1706

Source: National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MSS, Quarto lxxxii, no. 2.

Bell was born on 2 February 1676 to a Glaswegian merchant. He attended the university in his home town and in 1697 was licensed by the presbytery of Haddington; in September of that year he was ordained to Broughton in Biggar presbytery. He transferred to Gladsmuir, Haddington presbytery, in August 1701. He died in 1707.¹¹⁹ Some of his communion sermons at Dunsyre, his uncle's church, have survived.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ FES, i, 253. The statement about his parents merely repeats what is in the autobiography. Nothing further is known of them.

¹¹⁶ NAS, CH 2/234/5, p. 92.

¹¹⁷ *Analecta*, ii, 53.

¹¹⁸ EUL, Laing MSS, La. III. 611, no. 7, beginning 28 June 1702.

¹¹⁹ FES, i, 241, 366. Some notice of John Bell's life is given in Christina J. Ross [Lamer], 'Scottish Demonology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and its Theological Background' (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1961). See Appendix 4, 284–93. This has to do with his alleged authorship of two late tracts on witchcraft, but there is no evidence of such interest in his autobiography, and so there is no need to air the matter again. See also C. Lamer, 'Two Late Scottish Witchcraft Tracts: *Witch-Craft Proven* and *The Tryal of Witchcraft*', in S. Anglo (ed.), *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft* (London, 1977), 227–45.

¹²⁰ EUL, Laing MSS, La. III. 611, no. 7, 4v–5v, 9 July 1702, 9 May 1703, 29 Aug. 1703.

The title and first two lines of this document are in Wodrow's hand, then another takes over. That (extensive) part of the manuscript which has not been included here has little about the concerns of the published segment. Bell shows himself an ardent presbyterian in opposition to the episcopalian clergy, and writes pages and pages about the Treaty of Union and other matters arising from the Glorious Revolution. This short fragment sheds light on a young man's religious development and on his youthful entry into the ministry.

James Murray, 'Diary', c.1698

Source: National Library of Scotland, MS 3045.

Murray was born in Berwickshire, c.1672. He took the MA at Edinburgh in 1690, became a chaplain and tutor, was licensed by the presbytery of Duns and Chirnside in 1692, and was ordained the next year at Penpont in Penpont [Sanquhar] presbytery. He was a close friend of Thomas Boston, and his name appears frequently in Boston's lengthy autobiography.¹²¹ Wodrow has Murray with four other ministers (James Gilchrist,¹²² Thomas Tod,¹²³ John Taylor,¹²⁴ and one other¹²⁵) in the synod of Dumfries who left their presbyteries for a time, due to the Oath of Abjuration.¹²⁶ A little later Wodrow writes again:

Last moneth [i.e., June] there was a communion at Penpont, Mr Murray's parish, one of the five who have separated from judicatorys since the oath,

¹²¹ *Memoirs of Thomas Boston*, beginning on p. 21.

¹²² James Gilchrist was born in 1674, licensed in 1696, went to New Cumnock and then to Dunscore in 1701. He was deprived in 1716 'for irregular and schismatic courses'. *FES*, ii, 273.

¹²³ Thomas Tod of Craigieburn (1657-1742). He became minister of Durisdeer in 1700. His license was delayed for one year in Selkirk pres., until 1696, for not taking the oath. *FES*, ii, 313.

¹²⁴ John Taylor (d. 1745) was ordained to Wamphray in 1697. He was first suspended then warned and finally deposed for various irregularities. For a time he and two others formed their own presbytery. *FES*, ii, 225.

¹²⁵ According to William McMillan this was Thomas Howie of Annan, minister there from 1703 until his death in 1753. See *John Hepburn and the Hebronites: A Study in the Post-Revolution History of the Church of Scotland* (London, [1934]), 152; *FES*, ii, 242.

¹²⁶ *Analecta*, ii, 207. The Oath of Abjuration was part of an act passed at Westminster, i.e., Scotland's law-making body since the parliamentary union of 1707. The act granted toleration to Scottish episcopalians, while the oath, first suggested for dissenting episcopalians and then made general in Scotland, entailed a repudiation of the heirs of James VII of Scotland (James II of England). But in requiring an expression of loyalty to Queen Anne and the Hanoverian succession, according to acts of parliament, Scots presbyterians felt that they were also required thereby to affirm prelacy, i.e., episcopacy, since the king or queen must be a member of the Church of England. The oath unleashed a storm of controversy, with numerous pamphlets and letters produced. The oath is printed in *The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow*, ed. T. McCrie; 3 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1842-3), i, 153n. For the Church of Scotland's response, see *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842* (Edinburgh, 1843), 473-4 (14 May 1712); McMillan, *John Hepburn*, 142-3.

and Mr Linning was invited into it. It is remarked by the Jurant bretheren, in that country, that there was litle of Christ preached, except by Mr Murray himself, in the action-sermon; but certainly things are aggravated by some of them.¹²⁷

Murray apparently protested at the end of this communion season that he had nothing to do with doctrinal differences which had emerged, 'and professed his sorrow for them'. He died in 1735.¹²⁸

The narrative begins after four pages of other material in the same hand, all but indecipherable, probably pious jottings. It appears that what has been transcribed from fo. 4r has been overwritten by something else at the top, probably a continuation of the first few folios. The above title is actually on fo. 3r, but beneath it the other material continues. Clearly he did not value whatever had been written first. From the point at which this edition concludes, the writing deteriorates badly, and would prove a real challenge for the intending copyist. What is included here is instructive about the various struggles of a young man in his relationships and his quest for a life's work, dogged by melancholy. The latest date in the text is 1716.

Editorial Practice

There has been little editorial intervention. Some of the manuscripts are clearly copies, with likely exceptions being Baird, Bell and Murray, and the three personal covenanters. Apart from this latter, the manuscripts are all highly legible, leaving few problems for the transcriber/editor. Original spellings have been left; there has been no standardisation other than '&c' for 'etc'. Punctuation and capitalisation have, however, been adapted to modern usage. Biblical citations and allusions have been identified, within reason. Where the citation is relatively close, quotation marks have been added. If so, punctuation has been generally adopted from AV, but wording has not been altered back to AV when the writer has amended it. The editor has introduced ellipses to show omissions from Biblical texts. Where persons are not identified the reader may assume that the editor has generally failed to locate additional information.

¹²⁷ *Analecta*, ii, 226.

¹²⁸ *FES*, ii, 323.

Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 'Diary',
6 January 1650-23 March 1650

[fo. 1r] By the Lord Wariston.

Upon the 6 of ~~March~~ January 1650, Mr Robert Douglas¹ had been explaining Genesis 27, of Isaack's blessing to Jacob and Esau, and began the 6th² of January the 28 chapter; and he teacht notably on John 20:28-9, on 'My Lord, my God', as he had done the Sabbath before on 'Be not faithles, but believing.' In the forenoon Mr Hugh McKell³ preached on Psalm 45[:16], 'Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children'; and Mr Mungo Law⁴ explained on Munday the beginning of Exodus 15, Moses's song. In hearing the sermon some passages so powerfully pressed, drave, and necessitated me by present ejaculatory prayers and offers to dedicat and offer consecrat not only myself but also my seed to the service of the Lord my God in their generations, and forced me in the midst of the sermons to set down the same in the midst of my note sermon book, and in token of my formall solemn consent to subscribe the same, and to resolve to cause my wife do the same like, that when any of my children after my death should fall a-reading of that book they might see their interest in God and obligations to serve him. On Tuesday I told this to my wife with my thoughts to cause my bairns, as they came to discretion, to subscribe the same in token of their consent, and withall I thought on this way to draw up in the vacance in write on parchment a short narration of God's kindnes[s]es to me and mine, and therin a solemn formall absolute ~~resignation~~ obligation, consecration, and dedication of my wife and children to become the Lord's children and servants to his covenant, cause, and interest in their generations, and therin to tie my children not only to

¹ Robert Douglas, minister of St Giles, was a prominent Resoluter, and preached at Charles II's coronation at Scone in 1651. He was indulged at Pencaitland in 1669, and died in 1674. *FES*, i, 385-6.

² Dates given in the document are in need of clarification.

³ Hugh McKell, Trinity, came from Irvine in 1649, and died in 1660. *FES*, i, 126-7.

⁴ Mungo Law, Old Greyfriars, was transferred from Dysart in 1644, and died in 1660. *FES*, i, 45.

swear and subscribe this covenant with God for me and my house, but also to oblige them to cause their posterity at their coming to discretion to swear and subscribe the same, and to this effect that we should keep a privat fast, and exhort others to take the like course with their children. And this being done, I thought it was the great portion promised me in God's new covenant, and which he had made me expect from his impressions on my spirit, a hope of his doing with me and in me what he had said to me on 2 Samuel 7; yea, I told my wife that this being once well done and taken of my hand by my God it was born in upon me that the Lord was either to call me to himself or was to call me to greater employments or was to call me to great tryalls for his name, covenant, and cause, and that he made me to expect from his Word and work that who lived to see it should find him very graciously not only to me but also to my seed, and that he was to make more use of them for his service and cause than ever he had made use of me, his unworthy barrowman. And therefore my soul formally and absolutly devoted, dedicated and consecrated them and every one of them and every one of them [sic] to be his in soul and in body and lent to him, as Hannah said of Samuel, for all their days [1 Samuel 1:28].

It pleased God in his providence when I had read my ordinary to make it fall to be Philippians 1:19 and to the end, quhere almost every [fo. 1v] word spake so home to my present disposition and thought and brought to my mind the seasonableness of that passage lighting in my hand and in my wife's hand several times before, as it made me in my family pour forth many petitions to my Lord, especially on vv. 19-21, 27-9, and made me cry with groans and tears to the Lord for to have these things done to and wrought in and for me and mine, through Jesus Christ. *Credo et videbo*.⁵

On the 28 [must be 26, following day, Monday, is 27] January, Sunday morning, I got great liberty of prayer. Heard Mr Robert Douglass preach well on Genesis 28 from the 28 [read 18] verse where he handled Jacob's vow and part of the covenant, as on the Sunday before he had handled God's part of it, quhich brought to my mind my former breaches of my vows and God's performances of his part to me, quhich, with his providence in causing us to sing Psalm 66 from v. 13, wakned my soul to a present resolution of renewing the covenant, and getting my wife and eldest children's subscriptions to it. Again, after Mr Robert's sermon on John 21, he caused us sing [the] first part of Psalm 106. Between sermons in the West Kirk I filled up my confession and vow in my sermon book and then was bidden sing from [Psalm] 36:11, so pertinent for my thoughts,

⁵ 'I believe and shall see.'

quhich brought into my mind that select notable comfortable epithet and title of the Lord our God that keepeth covenant and mercy, mentioned in Solomon's [1 Kings 8:23], Nehemiah's [Nehemiah 9:32], Daniel's [Daniel 9:4] prayers. Afternoon I heard one Mr Cruiks⁶ on Zephaniah 3:7, 'Then I said, Surely they will hear [fear] me and receive instruction.'

At my homecoming I found 3 of my children under the Lord's hand in the pox. After repetition of the sermon I called my wife, my son Archibald,⁷ and daughter[s] Elizabeth⁸ and Rachel,⁹ and having told them and read to them my consecration of them, all my seed and seed's seed to God, and having read before them the last verse [21] of Isaiah 59, paralleled by Isaiah 44, till v. 9, I went with them to prayer; and with tears and liberty of spirit with their consent and in names of the rest and of all that should come of our and their loyns as in Deuteronomy 29:5-16, I dedicat and consecrat them and covenanted them to be his people, servants, children, spouse, members, and to take him for their Lord, God, Saviour, Sanctifier, Father, Master, King, Husband, Head, and to love, fear, serve, trust, and obey him through their generations that with Joshua, I and my family might be the Lord's, and according to that [in] 2 Samuel 7, my house as the house of David might partake of the covenant, of the 'sure mercys of David',¹⁰ and found all our delight and salvation in his sure and well-ordered covenant in all things, 2 Samuel 23:5;¹¹ when after my wife and three eldest children, some of them with tears, subscribed their consents both in my sermon book and in the margin of my diary; wherupon I returned with them to our knees and blessed the Lord our God, and entered a record in heaven of this dayes covenant made betwixt God and my family in their generations that it might be ratified in heaven, and never forgotten by any come of my loins on earth, that both by God's influence, assistance, and imployment of those come or to come of me, and by this good hand and providence towards them in their generations; and on the other part, by their keeping fellowship with God, and doing service to God his cause, covenant, work, and people in their generations, angels and men might be witnes to the evident sensible performance of God's fullfilling both

⁶ Unidentified, and the manner of introducing him, 'one', suggests that he was equally a stranger to Wariston. One might speculate on John Crookshanks, who was minister at the time of Redgorton in the presbytery of Perth. He was episcopally ordained in 1624, but was with the Protesters in 1651—certainly Wariston's kind of man—and was among those deprived in 1662. *FES*, iv, 241.

⁷ Archibald was born 11 Jan. 1639. *Diary, 1632-1639*, xxv.

⁸ Elizabeth went on to marry as her second husband none other than the anti-covenanter villain General William Drummond of Cromlix! See below, p. 183, n. 42.

⁹ Rachel married Robert Baillie of Jarviswood.

¹⁰ Acts 13:34.

¹¹ On this rendering of the text, see *WLW*, 31.

parts of being their God and making them his people; *Facit Deus and faciet. Adoro, adoro, credo, et videbo.*¹²

When I had done and written this I got liberty before supper, but especially in the grace and after supper for an hour, with sweet overflowing rushes of tears and great groans, access of soul into the Lord's bosom for me and my seed to be wholly the Lord's with great confidence and assurance inward reflowing [sic; overflowing? or inwardly flowing?] [fo. 2r] assurances of his presently intimated acceptance of the effect and closing of the bargain, never to be broken or forgotten 'twixt him and my family, like that at large in Psalm [89].¹³ After long and great access it fell me in my ordinary to read Isaiah 6, of the 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts,' and 'Whom shall I send?' and my soul reaching for me and my seed and hoping, 'Touch our lips, purge away our iniquitys, and send, imploy us, make us ready for all tryals to be part of thy truth, thy elm and oak and holy seed that will be the substance.' We sung our ordinary, Psalm 44, and turned all to prayer [as?] at the beginning.

On Munday morning I remembered my wife of setting apart the tenth of our annuall receipts, according to our vow and yesterdayes text, to be imployed to piouse uses as I should do of our flock. And quhen I caused read English Notes¹⁴ on Isaiah 59[:21]¹⁵ and beginning of Isaiah 49 and 2 Samuel 23:5, and resolved to mark in my Bible, and sett down here a note of all the paralel places of scripture that may confirm my faith of this covenant between God and my seed, that my children, whenever they read this, at any time after my decease, may see their engagement to God and the Lord's obligations to them by covenant as in Genesis 9:9; 17:7, 19, quhich is anent the establishing of the covenant with his seed and the like; in 28:4, 13-14, the chapter that last revived this nation; Numbers 18:19-20; 24:7; 25:12-13; Deuteronomy 4:37; 30:6 to 'circumcise the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all their heart and soul, that they may live', and v. 19, 'chose life and blessing that both you and your seed may live'. Ruth 4:11-12, 2 Samuel 7:12, 1 Kings 2, last part of v. 33; 1 Chronicles 17 from v. 11 to the end; Est[h]er 9:27-28, 30; Job 5:21 [read 25], 'Thou shalt know that thy seed shall be great' and flourishing; Job 39:12; Psalm 22:30; Job 11:13; Isaiah 53:10-54:3; Isaiah 61:9, 'The seed which the Lord will bless;' Malachi 2:15; Acts 3:25 ['Ye are the children ... of the covenant]; Romans 4:16, 'That the promise be sure to all the seed;' [Romans 9]:8, 'children of the promise'. Upon these passages of the

¹² 'God has done, and will do; I adore, I adore, I believe, and shall see.'

¹³ 89 from NLS.

¹⁴ see below, note 18.

¹⁵ see NLS.

Word of God, my soul fell down before the Lord my God and begged that according to his manifold applications of it to me and mine in my privat readings, in publick hearings, in time of communion at his table, and in time of straits and of blessings, but especially in times of great privat libertys and access with 'Abba, Father',¹⁶ to his throne, and in times of my spreading before him for me and mine his covenant in Jeremiah 32:6 (this scripture seems wrong writt having [been] writt in great hast[e])¹⁷ [that] the Lord God would make them all good to me and mine. *Credo et videbo*.

On Munday morning 27 I resolved to look [at] the English *Notes* and answer (I suppose it may be Ainsworth¹⁸) that the last on the above-mentioned passages, as [well as] English *Notes* on Genesis 9:9,¹⁹ drave me to Acts 2:39 ['For the promise is to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord our God shall call'], quher they say the spirituall covenant is hereditary; on Genesis 17:7; 2 Corinthians 6:16, 18; Psalm 119:15; Revelation 21:24; Hebrews 8; Hebrews 11:16; Matthew 22:31-32. Mr Douglas preached admirably that day on John 21:4-6, and Mr Robert Laurie²⁰ very well in the afternoon on Psalm 90:12, 'Teach us to number our days &c.', wherin he founded 12 exhortations on the doctrine of our mortality and misery, and God's opportunitys for our deliverance, quhich I applyed at night. I blessed God heartily for the apparent beginning of my bairns' recovery out of the pox. We sang this day Psalm 34 from v. 18; Psalm 71 at the beginning; and Psalm 90 at the end, wherin is for his mercy to our self, and for his glory to our children [v. 16]. Then I looked after passages for the covenant 'twixt God and me and my seed: Exodus 2:24; 6:3-7; 24:6-7; Deuteronomy 7:6-10, 29, 31, 37; he blessed their seed, 40, that it may be well with the[e] and thy children;²¹ [Deuteronomy] 5:29; 6:3-7; 7:9, 12, he will

¹⁶ Romans 8:15; Galatians 4:6.

¹⁷ Wodrow's intervention. NLS supplies Jeremiah 31:33 and Hebrews 8[:10].

¹⁸ Wodrow's own editorializing. He must refer here to the English Separatist divine, Henry Ainsworth, who wrote numerous volumes of annotations. But NLS identifies it as a work of John Diodati, a Genevan divine, and that seems to be the stronger suggestion. See his *Pious and Learned Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, 2nd edn. (London, 1648).

¹⁹ Diodate, *Pious and Learned Annotations*, 9, for Genesis 9:9: 'I will give you an authentically promise thereof, and through it I do in a manner bind myself to you as by an expresse covenant.'

²⁰ Robert Laurie, son of the minister of Perth, graduated from St Andrews in 1636 and was ordained to Perth in 1641. In 1644 he was transferred to Trinity, Edinburgh, and from thence to the Tron Kirk in 1648. In 1662 he moved to the High Kirk, and in 1672 became bishop of Brechin. He stayed there but two years, before returning to Trinity. He died in 1678. *FES*, i, 59, 126, 127, 135.

²¹ Some of the foregoing references are impossible, i.e., there are not enough verses in chapters; but see Deuteronomy 12:25, 28.

keep covenant and mercy to thy children. Deuteronomy 10:12; 26:16; Deuteronomy 27:9, for what Moses said to the people, I say to my seed after this covenant; Deuteronomy 29:30 [impossible]; Joshua 24:15-18, 'For he is our God', the God of our fathers, as [in] Exodus 15:2, 19-27; and the formal historical part quhich may be paraleled by God's dealing with my parents, me, and mine; consider Judges 2:18, 1 Kings 8:23, and in Nehemiah 1:5, the Lord 'that keepeth covenant and mercy'; 2 Kings 25:3; 2 Chronicles 34:15:12, as a covenant; 2 Chronicles 21:7, to give light to David and his sons for ever and not to destroy his house for ever; 2 Chronicles 29:10-11, Hezekiah's; Ezra 10:1-5, after confession in Nehemiah 9. In [Nehemiah] 10:28, with 'their wives, sons, and daughters' they clave and enterd into a covenant; Psalm 74:19-20; Psalm 89:4-5, 19, 35; Psalm 105:8-10, so to mine by 3 preceeding generations; [Psalm] 106:45 and Isaiah 44 and Isaiah 54:10, 17; 55:3; Jeremiah 11:3-5, 8, 10; Jeremiah 14:7-9, especially vv. 20-21, 'Break not covenant to us' though we have broken to the[e], let not our unbelife make the faith of God (whose delight is to keep covenant and mercy) of none effect; Romans 3:3 [read v. 4], 'God forbid, but let God be truth'. The new covenant in Jeremiah 31:31-4, repeated [in] Hebrews 8:10; John 16:32; Jeremiah 40 and 33:20 to the end, as the covenant with the day and the night; Jeremiah 34:12; Jeremiah 50:5; Ezekiel 16:8, 59-60; 20:5, 37; 34:25, 36; and 27 *per totum* both for privat and publick covenanting; Hosea 2:18-19; Zechariah 9:11; 11:10; Malachi 2:4, 5; Luke 1:70 even till the end; chapters 22:28-9; Acts 3:25-7; Galatians 3:15, 17; Ephesians 2:12; Hebrews 7:22; Hebrews 8:6; 9:17-18; 13:20. All these I close up with a remembrance of my Lord's promise in Genesis 9:15; Exodus 6:5; Leviticus 26:42; Psalm 111:5; Ezekiel 16:61-2, to remember and establish his covenant; and in Psalm 119:49, to remember his Word on quhich he has caused me to hope many a time (and that in my greatest approaches to himself and communications of his Spirit to me, and that not only for myself but for my seed in whose name and to whose behove also I lay hold upon this covenant of mercy and grace, *vitae et pacis*, according to that of Isaiah 56:4-5, and quhom I their generations I [sic] do dedicat for all their lives to the honnour, worship, fellowship, and service of the Lord my God, the Lord their God, by this covenant of salt²² never to be forgotten, and gives them and lends them to the Lord for all their dayes as Hannah first promised in 1 Samuel 1:11, and then gave Samuel to the Lord so as he should be lent to him as long as he lived, vv. 27-8. Thou, O Lord, my God who keepest covenant and mercy, see thou and also hear me in this in the heaven,

²² Numbers 18:19.

and accomplish it on the earth. I attest heaven and earth, angels and the glorified spirits to be witnesses between the[e] and me and mine now become thine. *Adoro, supplico, credo, et videbo*. Upon that occasion I read over the catalogue of God's blessings on these who belong to God set down at large with passages of scriptures in pp. 79-81 of Bernard's *Abstract* after his *Thesaurus Biblicus*,²³ quhich I recommend to my children to peruse. It pleased the Lord to bear in upon my spirit this observation from Exodus 12:1, 3, 23, 29, that the Lord moving me to consecrat my seed to him before my children's sicknes had been one mean in his mercy to preserve them from death, quherof five of them this last week wer in danger by the pox.

This day Mr Douglas explained Genesis 29[:31-35] quherin are the 4 names of Jacob's 4 sons: Reuben, the Lord hath looked upon me; Simeon, God has heard my prayers; Levi, now God will joyn me; Judah, I will praise the Lord. My soul got a powerful ejaculation for my sons, as is marked in my sermon book. We sung Psalm 37 from v. 3, which sealed up to me the close of the passages of scripture written with a *Credo et videbo, credet semen meum et videbit*. He preached on John 21:7, quhere at the close he pressed on [us] Christ's preparing the fish, that such as wer faithfull in their master's service would find their master's *persone* providence, and without means, quhich I sealed up as a truth from experience. We sang Psalm 18:27 ['The Lord will light my candle,' which was the last words of my dying mother, now singing in glory. Afternoon we sang the beginning of Psalm 106]²⁴ and heard Mr James Hamilton²⁵ on Deuteronomy 31:39. I got good in my family.

On Munday morning Mr [Robert] Trail²⁶ preached on Isaiah 2:10. After

²³ Richard Bernard, *Thesaurus Biblicus, seu Promptuanium Sacrum* (London, 1644). Wariston refers here to another section appended to the main part, entitled *The Bible's Abstract and Epitomie, The Capitall Heads, Examples, Sentences and Precepts of all the Principall Matters in Theologie* (1642). The pages to which Wariston refers, 79-81, fall under the heading 'A Catalogue of God's blessings prepared for godly persons'. The three columns have an alphabetical list of different blessings on the left (abundance, angels, an arme, blessings, &c.), with citations from the Bible and the actual Biblical references in the other columns. Such a work was tailored for the use that Wariston made of the Bible.

²⁴ NLS.

²⁵ James Hamilton was ordained by Bishop Echlin in Ireland in 1626, but was deposed in 1636 for his refusal to use the Prayer Book. He returned to Scotland, and was placed at Dumfries. After visitation and imprisonment in Ireland he again returned to Scotland and was admitted to the Old Kirk, Edinburgh, in 1647. *FES*, i, 74-5.

²⁶ Robert Trail was the son of James, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Prince Henry. He studied at St Andrews and Saumur, was tutor to the duc de Rohan's sister, chaplain in the Scots Army at Marston Moor, and to the eighth earl of Argyll. He began his parochial ministry at Elie in Fife, in 1639, and then was transferred to Old Greyfriars in 1649. *FES*, i, 38.

sermon, at the baptism of a child, God brought in my mind [to] take resolve and promise that at the sight of every baptisme I should take and present in my heart all my children to the Lord as now in covenant, and with them to be presented all my seed to the Lord and to remember him of his covenant with me for them to be his, with this seal in my sermon book, *Credo et videbo, credet semen meum et videbit*. O Lord, accept them off my hand, and give me grace to perform this work with my spirit, acted and assisted by his Spirit to his glory. That night after supper I got a great liberty in privat exercise, and has written down in my sermon book 3 sides of God's dealing with me at that communion, quherof the substance followes.

(On the 10 March²⁷ the communion at the Queensferry sealing to my covenant.) On Sunday morning, looking on my design at this communion to have my privat covenant made with God for me, my wife, and seed, renewed and sealed upon the sacrament by God to me, and [I] resolved to spread before him at table my 3 petitions for his work and the 3 for his barrowman and the three passages cited by Mr Robert Douglas before parliament²⁸ as 2 Chronicles 29:15-16, Luke 7:5, and Jehoiadah, Mordechai, and the centurion[s] encomia and epitaphs, and the 3 passages repe[a]ted to us out of Mr [John] Dick's²⁹ preparation sermon, Isaiah 59:21; Acts [3]³⁰:25-6; Romans 11:26-7; and to spread before God my thrice lately renewed privat covenant for me and my seed with him and to seek the obsignation of all these to me and mine at this sacrament through Jesus Christ with *Credo et videbo, credit semen meum et videbit*. Therfor I remembered and added 1 Thessalonians 3:11-13; 5:9-10, 23-4; 2 Thessalonians 1:11-12; 2:16-17; 1 Timothy 1:13-17, and 4:8-9. 'My grace is sufficient for thee' [2 Corinthians 12:9]. We sang the beginning of Psalm 63, quherat I got much good. Mr Ephraim [Melville]³¹ preached. It was Mark 10:51, 'What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee?', quhich my soul answered presently and in the prayer, That thou seal up the covenant between thee and me and my seed, and that thou keep forever covenant and mercy to me and mine in their generations, upon quhich terms I will take the sacrament this day and enter a record in heaven upon it before

²⁷ '10' supplied from NLS.

²⁸ Parliament reconvened on 7 March 1650. *APS*, vi/2 (1648-1660), p. 555.

²⁹ John Dick, probably minister of Inch and Sauseat, Stranraer pres. *FES*, ii, 336.

³⁰ NLS.

³¹ Ephraim Melville was the son and grandson of ministers, his grandfather having been James Melville. He graduated from St Andrews in 1629 and was chaplain to Lady Boyd. He went to Queensferry in 1641 and at the time of Wariston's writing had just been transferred (31 Jan. 1650) to Linlithgow. He was an avid Protester and a persecutor of witches. *FES*, i, 215, 225. His dying words are in Calderwood, *Collection of Dying Testimonies*, 13-16.

angels and saints with my *Credo et videbo, credet semen meum et videbit*. Remember, O Lord, thy promise in Psalm 57:3-6, 34, and Psalm 119:38, 49. Mr Ephraim preached well on Isaiah 11:12, an excellent sermon of Jesus Christ, quhich I prayed God to bear upon my heart and to seal it up to my soul and seed with all the other passages of his Word confirming his covenant with me and mine. After sermon he spoke well of the key of discipline and doctrine, of house sinners and heart sinners. I went to the 4th table wher I got great liberty at it and spread upon it my six old petitions and the six for[e]mentioned citations with the beginning of Isaiah 44:1-9; Isaiah 59[:21],³² on quhich my hand lay all the time; the covenant in Jeremiah 34 and Ezekiel 36; and therupon formally and inwardly I consecrat and dedicat my wife, myself, and seed to the Lord my God, and renewed my covenant before privatly made and subscribed by some of us, and took the sacrament on his becoming mine and mine becoming his, as my formall real answer to his question, 'Quhat wilt thou that I shall do unto the[e]?'³³ And amongst all his stiles and titles my soul adored him as the God of my fathers, my God, and the God of my seed who will keep covenant and mercy to me and mine forever, and took angels and saints to be witnes of it. My heart was mightily moved at [fo. 3r] the table, at singing after it from Psalm 103:8-15, and then Mr John Dick had a little exhortation and read Psalm 91:14-16 and pressed it home for our comfort, which I took for a *bonum omen* and a good reply from heaven to be made good for me and mine, this being joined with the evidence of his acceptance by the presence of his Spirit granting to me a soft heart all that for[e]noon. I had forgot to set down Mr Ephraim's pressing Psalm 42[:11] while I was at table under motion and therat I presented to God for me and mine the terms of his covenant with Joshua for God's part in his promises, Joshua 1:5-9; performances, Joshua 23:14-15; and for Joshua's part in the same verses of chapter 1, and in 24:14-15, and sicklike the terms of his covenant with David and his house for God's part, 2 Samuel 7:12-18; and for David's part till the end, closed up time [read: by me]³⁴ with the 2 Samuel 23:5, expressed by David at the close of his dayes, and which I pray may close up mine. My soul had no reply to make to God his gracious and full reply but to say, *Credo et videbo*, O my father's God, my God, and the God of my seed, keeping covenant to me and mine in their generation, and to admire and cry out in my heart, 'Is this the manner of man?'³⁵ What can thy servant say?

³² NLS.

³³ Mark 10:51; Luke 18:41.

³⁴ superior reading from NLS.

³⁵ 2 Samuel 7:19.

'What shall I render unto the Lord?'³⁶ 'Praise waiteth for thee in Zion: to thee the vow shall be performed.'³⁷ 'O thou hearer of prayer, blessed is the man, blessed is the man', quhich fell to be the afternoon's text. In the meantime my soul acknowledged the Lord's sensible presence all that time, and Blessed Blessed Blessed be the Lord my God for it, and charges myself and my seed never to forget it, but to register it for God's glory and our comfort. *Credet semen meum et videbit.*

Mr John exhorted on Hosea 2:16, Zephaniah 3:18; Zechariah 12:7, and ch. 13. Mr John Dury³⁸ in Matthew 9:18. We sang Psalm 17:5-9, Psalm 65 from the beginning, and Psalm 119 from v. 41. O my soul, praise thou the Lord for his great covenanting matching sealing confirming comforting day, through Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour.

On Monday night I was straitned, but blessed God from my heart for that dayes experience and liberty. On Monday morning I got good in hearty adoring and magnifying my Lord for closing and sealing up his bargain and covenant with me and mine. Mr John exhorted again on 2 Corinthians 12:9, 'My grace is sufficient for thee,' and Mr Ephraim preached well on Isaiah 11:2-3, of Christ's excellencys and vertue.

I resolved to go to Kirkliston³⁹ communion for the 2d seal of my our covenant (on the 22 of March, the 2d seal of my covenant that year), and so I will set down here what is written in my sermon book, as before and after it as followes: I remember of the good quhich I got in [1] Timothy 6; 2 Timothy 1:5, particularly applied to me and mine, then of vv. 9-10, but especially vv. 12-13,⁴⁰ 'I know in quhom I have believed', and to quhom I have committed me and mine; as also his cause as [Zechariah] 2 [NLS has 8]:7, 19, 21-22, and ch. 3 [must be ch. 8] from ... and then from 16-17; in 4:7; Then I considered the arguments of God's love to us out of Mr Robert's *Believer's Evidence*.⁴¹ Remember thy great access in *⁴² on Saturday

³⁶ Psalm 116:12.

³⁷ Psam 65:1.

³⁸ John Dury, minister of Dalmeny, pres. of Linlithgow. He was a Protester, like his neighbours Melville and Hall. *FES*, i, 200-1.

³⁹ Gilbert Hall was minister of Kirkliston, and neighbour of his fellow Protester Ephraim Melville at Linlithgow. Robert Baillie attributed to him a remarkable gift for preaching. *FES*, i, 212-3.

⁴⁰ I have deleted from the text 'where in the 18 and 19 v.' There are only 18 vv. in the chapter, and he is referring to v. 12; same in NLS.

⁴¹ Francis Roberts, *Believers' Evidences* (London, printed by T. R. and are to be sold by the booksellers in Edinburgh, 1649). 'God's speciall love acts towards his beloved ones, chiefly in three wayes. 1. In electing them before all time. ... 2. In redeeming them in fulnesse of time. ... 3. In immediate applying of Christ unto them in due time by sanctification, effectually calling, ...', p. 5. Roberts was born near Leeds in 1609, went to Oxford, entered holy orders, and then became a

morning upon thoughts and hope of his new seal to his covenant for me and mine, and particularly on Joshua 1:6-9,⁴³ and every word thereof leaving an impression on my spirit. The Word as with Moses driving me to Exodus 33:11-34:20,⁴⁴ 'And then, I will not leave thee,'⁴⁵ leading me to it thrice in Deuteronomy 31:6-10, 22-3, and in 1 Kings 8:56-61, and Hebrews 17:5-6.⁴⁶ By the way to the kirk I caused sing all Psalm 89. Lord, make it good to me and mine. *Credo et videbo.*

Mr Ephraim Melvil preached [the] preparation sermon on John 20:26 very spiritually and pertinently, as in my sermon book. Afternoon I went through it and then through Solomon's prayer both in 1 Kings 8 through [and 2 Chronicles] 6, and desired the Lord to accept of these prayers of my hand both for myself and my seed and his covenant work and people, and make good his name which is set on the front therof to us, that he will keep covenant and mercy to us, and to speak mercy to us and to our seed. I had forgot that Mr Ephraim's preface was on 2 Samuel 7:16 [read 19], '[Is] this the manner of man?' which made me resolve to paralel all that chapter with 1 Chronicles 7 and with Psalm 89, in the whole strain of it, and to lay them on the table with the other two paralels of Solomon's prayer and that of Exodus 33 and 34, Deuteronomy 31, and Joshua 1. At night Mr John Weir⁴⁷ in family exhorted on Psalm 111, quherein it's said that God will ever be 'mindful of his covenant', although we often forget it. We had sung Psalm 61 at the beginning. I gote great liberty in end of Mr Ephraim's sermon and prayer and told him at the end of it he had given me a term's warning before Pasche to flitt at the term upon the close of a particular treaty (if God changed not the king's heart and brought him not really in) from all offices and places; but withall had given me good hopes through grace and great matter of encouragement to do and suffer all for [fo. 3v] the best of masters; quhich from manifold experience I did and does seal that he is the best master that ever man served, and that to keep

presbyterian in the 1640s. In 1642/3 he was appointed to St Augustine's, Watling Street, where he was at the time of writing. Thereafter, in 1649, he transferred to Wrington, Somerset, where, having conformed at the Restoration, he died in 1675.

⁴³ figure in both recensions.

⁴⁴ Woodrow could be a careless copyist—over and above the problems presented by the manuscripts from which he copied—and it would appear, again, that he did not check biblical references as he went along. It is certain that he writes here 'Hos', i.e. Hosea, but Wariston clearly intended Joshua.

⁴⁵ '33 ch. Exod. from v. 11 to 20, of 34 ch.'

⁴⁶ Joshua 1:9, 'For the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.'

⁴⁷ An obvious error, as Hebrews has but 13 chapters. Probably read as 13:5-6.

⁴⁸ John Weir, minister of South Leith, whither he had been transferred in 1647 from Carluke. *FES*, i, 162.

fellowship with Christ and to do service to him is the best life and the greatest gain, honour, and pleasure that a creature is capable of. My soul desires, as in Psalm 107:32, to praise him in the assembly of the upright with my whole heart and of the congregations. *Adoro, laudo, praedico Dei meum optimum*. His promise in David in 2 Samuel 7, and Solomon's acknowledging of the Lord's performance of it in part and his prayer for the accomplishment of the rest in 1 Kings 8 made me bless God for his promises to me and mine and his begun performance thereof, and to begg this more ardently and confidently, the accomplishment of what remains to me and my seed. On Sunday morning I and my wife offered up ourselves and our seed to him heartily and conjured⁴⁸ our God by all his attributes, promises, and covenants to accept of us and them to be wholly his and to seal in his sacrament this day his acceptance to us and to evidence it to us by his assistance to our spirits in spirituall motions, quhich God grant (as he did therby after, *sit laus Deo*, quhich I now add in my writing over again). Mr John Weir lectured well on Psalm 65. We sung Psalm 42. I got great liberty in Mr Gilbert's prayer. Immediately after it the first thing falls in my way is ~~Psalm 13~~ Zechariah 13, and while looking on it, the minister names the first verse of it for his text, quhich I took well because the 'fountain is opened to the house of Israel [David]'—Lord, open it to mine, as my soul ejaculated instantly, and got good in the sermon and thereafter in the blessing of the elements and then given with sundry exhortations quhich made me deprecate his desertion and beg his present countenance at his second formall ~~signing~~ sealing our privat covenant with him. I waited for the return of his presence till near the X⁴⁹ table I got liberty in attendance of one, and my soul recommended my wife, who was sitting therat, to his assistance of her to offer up at it her seed to God. When I came to the table I spread open Genesis 28:13-15; Deuteronomy 7:6-9;⁵⁰ Joshua 1:5-9; 2 Samuel 7, paralleled with 1 Chronicles 17 and Psalm 89, the whole strain of it; 1 Kings 8 paraleled with 2 Chronicles 8; Zechariah 13:1 with Hebrew 13:5-6; closed all up with my last week's ordinary, 2 Timothy 1:12, 'I am persuaded'; then vv. 13-14, then vv. 16-18, to have mercy on me and my house. So we sang in going to the table the three last verses of Psalm 103, and therin a promise for our children. At the table I got a sensible presence and great liberty, quhich I took for his sign from heaven

⁴⁸ to band together by an oath.

⁴⁹ There should be an ordinal here, i.e., first, third, fifth.

⁵⁰ Deuteronomy 7:6-9.22.29. The latter numbers are unclear; there are but 26 verses in ch. 7, and 22:29 is not at all relevant, even to Wariston's tortured mind.

(as the afternoon's eloquent sacrifice) of his acceptance of my consecration of myself, wife, and seed to him, and of my resignation of his covenant, cause, and people to his direction and protection in all talks and tryalls whatsomever. Mr Ephraim at our table ex[h]orted us to venture to Christ and on Christ and for Christ. I took the sacrament in belife that his body was broken for me and his blood shed for me (as Luke⁵¹ and Paul⁵² expresseth it with application ['for you'], and not only in general as Mat[t]hew⁵³ and Mark⁵⁴ express the words sacramental). My soul begged leave and desired to add, 'and for my seed'. I took a record in heaven upon his 2d sensible sealing up the covenant between him and me and them. We sang Psalm 116. Mr Gilbert exhorted on Psalm 68:26 to bless God 'from the fountain'; Canticles [Song] 2:12, 15; and on Isaiah 12:3,4; Revelation 3:12, 'I will make them a pillar &c. [in the temple of my God ... and the name of the city of my God]. Lord, write these on me and mine. He then prayed notably, and caused us sing Psalm 26 from v. 6 at [to the] close, as at the beginning Psalm 65. The Lord was sensibly with his spirit in preaching and mine in hearing that sermon. Blessed be the Lord my God for that fair day of the Son of Man.

My wife at night told me of God's presence with her both before and at her being at the table, and quherafter it, in recommending both herself and our children to him as his by covenant. I remember[ed] that passage of Exodus 33[:12], 'I know thee by name,' and in 34[:5],⁵⁵ in proclaiming of God's name, and the writing of his new name upon his own, Revelation 3:12, made me present to him all the names of my present children ([by] particular nominatione) and of the child also quhich is in my wife's belly, and to beg that he might know us and them by name and let us find grace in his sight, as it is thrice there repe[a]ted in Exodus, and to make us and them know his name and experimentally to find his name mentioned in these places made good to and in us and them, and to be engraven on our spirit and lives for Jesus Christ's sake. I remember before I went to the table Mr Ephraim cited the promise [in] Psalm 84:11, 'I will give grace and glory', and be a sun and shield, 'and will withhold no good thing'; and at our table urged that of Ephesians 3:19-20, he would grant to us 'all above quhat we could ask or think', and asked no less than that God and that he has be mine and be the same to my seed, and that I, my wife, and they be

⁵¹ Luke 22:17-20.

⁵² 1 Corinthians 11:23-6.

⁵³ Matthew 26:26-9.

⁵⁴ Mark 14:22-5.

⁵⁵ The MS indicates that 34 is a verse, but obviously not.

wholly altogether his. There came thereafter to my mind Psalm 4:7, Isaiah 8:18, 1 Corinthians 7:14. Before supper Mr John Weir explained Zechariah 13 and went through the whole, but especially insisted on the close of it [v. 9], 'They shall call on my name, and I will hear them: I will say, It's my people: and they shall say, the Lord is my God,' which struck me into the heart as the return of my secret ejaculations that God might send me a proper word that I might call mine, as Mr Ephraim observed that Christ had given a particular word to Thomas besides his general word of 'Peace be unto [you],'⁵⁶ spoken to all the apostles. O Lord, engrave all this on my heart, my wife's heart, and my seed's heart, as the issue and upshot of our privat covenant and this dayes solemn obligation. Therefore that word proceeding, 'They shall call on my name [fo. 4r] and I will answer hear them,' made my soul cry, 'O Lord, hear me in quhat follows in my cry for establishing thy covenant with my soul and seed, and I will be the more confident for the rest according to thy reply at last communion from Psalm 91.' My thoughts came also on the words of Zechariah 13[:9], 'I will say' and 'they shall say,' compared with the phraze of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31:32; in Ezekiel 11 and 36, 'They shall be my people, and I will be their God' [Ezekiel 11:20]; and Hosea 1:9-10, quhereby God engageth first to make us his people and then to make us acknowledge him as our God, and so to do both parts of the covenant to and for us; and for that effect and to that end he promiseth us his Spirit and a new heart and his fear, that we shall never depart, and his grace causing us and making us to walk in his studies (statutes).⁵⁷ 'I will be your God' shews his willingnes, and his power and love to constrain us to be his. O let not, let not the devil, world, sin, our corrupt hearts, ever be able to outsay, unsay, gainsay God in this, what thou sayes of us, that we shall be thine. Let nothing in hell or earth, within or without us, be able to say, We shall not be thine, in that thou sayes, we shall be thine, in that thou sayes we shall be thine, sayes, swears, promises we shall not be thine enemies people, we shall not be the devil's nor sin's nor the world's nor hell's. O keep this word of thine, remember it, forget it never, let us as thine be continually before thee, be engraven on the palms of thy hands,⁵⁸ be 'set as a seal upon thine heart'.⁵⁹ O the len[g]th, the height, and breadth, and depth of thy love⁶⁰ in saying so, and of our consolation in hearing it, believing and sealing it. Let heaven and earth and angels bear witnes. O I adore, I adore thee, O my God. O let all my posterity quhen they read it fall

⁵⁶ John 20:26.

⁵⁷ Wodrow's correction of Wariston?

⁵⁸ Isaiah 49:16.

⁵⁹ Song 8:6.

⁶⁰ Ephesians 3:18-19.

down and bless the Lord their God.

I had almost forgotten to remember that Hebrews 13:5-6, therefore spread upon the table, brought to my mind Psalm 56:4, 11, 'I will not fear quhat man can do unto me;' and Psalm 118:6, 'What can man do unto me?' Good guards against future storms quhich are to be feared, but not so much as future * *ut sit Deus [noster et nos cum pro deo contra mundum]*.⁶¹ On the Munday communion day Mr Gilbert [Hall] preached on 2 Timothy 4:7, notably. He made us sing at the entry Psalm 86:3; at close Psalm 37 from v. 23. We repe[a]ted in Riccarton⁶² and praised. On Wensday morning I got in the green great access upon Genesis 32:9-13 and 24-31, especially on v. 10, 'as one unworthy of the least of all his mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast shewen to thy servant' (and the like acknowledged by Jos[h]ua, and Solomon in the beginning and close of his great prayer) by imploying, assisting, and blessing thy barrowman these 12 years in thy cause and work, and thou hast promised to deal well with me and my seed after me, and surely to do good to me and mine, and thou hast begun by accepting of us to be in covenant not only in publick for the nation, but privat also for our family with thee, and by continouing to be good and kind to us in many outward providences (besides thy and thy alone making us two bands) and inward Indulgences. Lord, deliver me from all breaches, violences, snares laid down or to be laid down against thy workmen that desire to be faithfull and constant to thy interest. Upon this the passage of Ezekiel 47:10-13, repeated in Revelation 12 [read 22]:2, cited by Mr Gilbert Hall on Sunday, anent the waters of the sanctuary growing from ancles to knees, from them to the loyns, from them to their chins, and the tree planted by the riverside, whose leafe for medicine, fruit for food, never-fading, made me cry to my experimented God, God the Lord of this cause and of my spirit, to make me see his providences and influences for perfecting and extending his covenanted work, and his imployments, assistances, and blessing to these ends and effects to grow, ascend, and fructify and multiply in and on me and mine as his barrowman, servants and instruments, acted and directed, spiritualized and sanctified, and enabled by all gifts, graces, and motions of his Spirit necessary or useful therunto, answerable to the growth and increase of these watters. Then should my soul and seed after me adore and bless him as the Lord God who keeps covenant and mercy, who heareth prayer and performeth his promises. *Adoro, supplico, credo*. By the way we

⁶¹ bracketed material from NLS; figure in both.

⁶² His mother was Elizabeth Craig, a daughter of Thomas Craig of Riccarton. In 1636 he purchased the property of Wariston, Currie, which was next to Craig's former estate, which had been sold in 1620 to Lord Fosterseat, his father-in-law, then passed on to Fosterseat's son Alexander Hay, brother of Helen, whom Archibald married, *Diary of Wariston, 1639*, 12.

sang Psalms 116, 101, 106, and at home I blessed God and prayed to him for my soul and seed and for his work and people with earnestnes, according to 1 Kings 8:57-61, quhich God grant, for Jesus Christ's sake. *Credo et videbo, credat semen meum et videbit*, the fruit of this second seal of God.

I believe and shall see it, my posterity shall [believe and] shall see it.

[John Baird], 'Anent Personal Covenanting'

[John Baird], 'Anent Personal Covenanting.
The Notes of some Sermons knit together'.

[p. 1] The consideration of much nationall covenanting without any fruit in men's conversatione, and that Christ hath said, we cannot bring forth fruit except we abide in him,¹ and the frequent doubt among folk whether they be in covenant with God or not, and the great concernement of the thing, both as it is another dutie and in regard of the fair advantages of it, all these things, together with the large testimoney some Christians give to the thing, doe move us to speak somewhat of personall and formall covenanting with God, which although at first it seemeth uncouth and strange, yet when it is dipped into, hardlie, I believe, shall the ingen[u]ous soull get it shifted.

There be severall mistakes about this thing which we call formall personall covenanting with God. Some doe not understand any formall transaction with God, but would still be at ane bargain which they know not what it is, nor know they what men dare adventure upon it. Because of their ignorance, the thing lookes so like presumption, and these erre, not knowing the scriptures and God's condescendence therin, and the dignitie that poore clay is admitted unto therin. \2\ Some understand somewhat of covenanting with God, but very litle, for they covenant with God for pardoning, strenthening, throwbearing, mercy, &c., but covenants not with him ~~him~~ for himself. And upon the other part, they covenant to him their dutie and services, but not themselves. All this doth speak ane servile relatione between God and the persone covenanting, such as is between master and servant. The one is to work, the other is to reward. But the covenant between God and man hath in it ane marriage relation, as is between man and wife, in which the parties bind² themselves over unto other. Servile fear must still be

¹ John 15:4.

² inserted above the line.

the attendance of the one, and must be the ryse of all the man's motions, of which ryse of duetie we find all Christians almost complaining. But what would confidence attend, is the other; and 'love casts out fear',³ as the scripture speakes, and becomes the ryse of dutie, it will best appear in its similitude. Is there not ane hudge difference between the transactione of ane handmaid and her master, covenanting her service to him, upon such [p. 2] considerations of such and such rewards (even although she lay the hope of her rewards more upon her master's faithfull promise then upon her own service)? I say, is there not ane hudge difference between that transactione with her thoughts about it, and the transactione that is between her and her master when he espouseth her to be his lawfull wife? Hath she not in this latter case another sort of confidence of all things needfull, and another sort of boldnes with him and another sort of affectionat obedience unto him? So is it surely in the case in hand. The mistake in this makes many live in bondage all their dayes through fear of death. \3\ Some doe understand that God doeth in the covenant offer *himself* [emphasis in orig. using parentheses] to men, and that he requires the giving up of *ourselves to him* in the bargaine, but do not engage consider that God engageth for both parts of the covenant, (to witt) both his pairt and our pairts. This makes them sparing, positively and formally, to say, 'Even so I take him', although they are materially and in substance doing the thing, yet darre not say soe least they break not [it], not⁴ considering that his name alone and not oures subscribes. The covenant (saith the Lord) is the subscriptione, but ther is not ane word of our name there, so he is ingadged for all, and we doe but fill up the blank which is in the bodie of the write (in ane manner) when we accept. The mistake heir makes many unwise children stay long in the breaking forth. Of children none of these come up to the main mean, both of establishment in the faith of God's goodwill and in the practise of his wayes. We shall for the better understanding of the thing in hand speak to it in this order: \1\ somewhat of the title of it; \2\ that personal covenanting is ane incumbent dutie; \3\ somewhat of preparatione unto it must be spoken to it; \4\ we shall speak to the thing itself, quhat it is, and how it should be gone about; \5\ in what cases we find it [p.3] must be practised; \6\ somequhat we shall speak to of the native consequences of personall covenanting; \7\ we shall speak to ane questione and ane objectione serving to clear folks in the thing.

As for the title, we call it personall formall covenanting with God. Personall \1\ as there is ane covenanting of the parties themselves, rather

³ 1 John 4:18.

⁴ above the line.

than what is theirs. \2\ As it is particular of ane individuall personall distinguished from nationall covenanting in which, although people doe particularly ingadge, yet they doe it in order to ane more common tye then this admitts. Yet we doe not deny but that [we] should covenant personally with God in nationall covenantings. Next we call it formall covenanting, distinguishing from materiall covenanting with God, in which, as we said, men in substance doe the thing, but are not so expresse, formall, and positive in the thing as is requisit. \2\ Distinguishing it from that transacione which is between God and infants when they are baptized and receive the initiatorie seall, this covenanting may in some respect be called virtuall. Lastly, we call it personall formall covenanting with God, as distinguishing it from that transacione quich passeth between God and the parents of infants engadging in the behalf of their children. For this covenanting we speak of is ane formall, legall, personall ratificatione, confirmatione, and acceptatione of the bargaine in the persons for whom the parents did engadge, to which, when parents put their children, they are liberat of the oath taken on for them in baptisme, and the children are put off their hand and in a manner *forisfamiliatos*.⁵

The 2nd thing is that⁶ to covenant with God personally and formally is ane incumbent dutie that appeareth thus: \1\ the covenant as it is held out to soules is ane marriage bargaine and beareth ane marriage relatione between God and soules in covenant with him. He is called the bridegroom and the people the bride; see all [p. 4] the book of the Canticles.⁷ Now, in all marriages there must be, and should be, ane mutuall, formall, positive, and personall acceptatione of the bargaine, and so as God sayes, 'I will be thy God and thou shalt be my people',⁸ men must accept and say 'Amen. Thou shalt be my God and I shall be thine'. Therefore this takeing of the covenant and closeing with God is called 'a giving' of the hand to him, 2 Chronicles 30:8. The word is there turned 'yeeld'. So then, all the scriptures which hold out

⁵ A Latin abbreviation, with the first component misspelled ('r' should be 'r'), while the final 't' is actually an abbreviated form, requiring a suitable case ending. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham (London, 1965), 197 lists *forisfamilio*: 'to free from dependence, endow (heir) with due portion (leg.)'. What appears in the MS is a past participial form, derived from *forisfamiliatus*, 'freed from familial dependence'. The same word appears in Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of his own Life and Times, 1632-1670* (Bannatyne Club, 1829), 213, anent a marriage in which the woman concerned lived in her father's house—'the woman was not forisfamiliated.'

⁶ above the line.

⁷ Canticles, or Song of Solomon, is read by many in the modern world as erotic love poetry. In earlier times it was interpreted by Christians as a figure for Christ's love for the church.

⁸ perhaps alluding to Exodus 6:7.

the covenant to be ane marriage between God and soules speak that men should formally and personally accept it. \2\ Promises are made unto them who 'take hold on the covenant', Isaiah 56:[3]4-7, which place speakes to these who take hold, strangers of the gentiles; good things are spoken to them who make covenant with God, Psalm 50:5. Therefore it is ane dutie, since promises are made to dutie. \3\ We find it to be ane aproven⁹ practise of many saints in scripture thus formally to accept the covenant, and positively to close with God as their Lord and God. Joss[h]ua accepts and closeth with the covenant for himself and all his house, Joss[h]ua 24:15. The people of Israell accepts for themselves, Joss[h]ua 24:16-18. Issraell avoucheth God to be their God, Deuteronomy 26:16 [17]. Doubtless they did somequhat there, testifying their actuall and formall acceptance. David sayes, God hath made ane covenant with him,¹⁰ and 2 Samuel 23:5, and this covenant hee clearly accepts personally and formally. Psalm 16:2 so declares that he hath so accepted it, and often we find somequhat of that kind renued in the exercises of the saints, Psalm 73:25, 28; Psalm 119:38, compared with Deuteronomy 28:55 [probably 45]. The disciples say to Christ, 'they have left all and followed him'.¹¹ \4\ Commands and many promises are held out to men on the suppositione that they have taken God to be their God, Exodus 20:2, &c. All the law is given upon this supposition, whereby he signifieth that except men accept the covenant and determine in that, they cannot [p. 5] keep any part of the law. As for promises, see Isaiah 41:8, 10, and frequently in scripture. \5\ God hath commanded men thus to accept and take hold hold of his covenant, Isaiah 44:5, 'One shall say, I am the Lord's', &c. Isaiah 45:24, 'Surely, in the Lord have I righteousnes'. Jeremiah 3:4,19, 'Will not thou from this time', &c. 'Thou shall call me, My father', &c. Zechariah 13:9, 'and they shall say, The Lord is my God'. Hosea 2:16 [3:3], 'Thou shalt abide ... and thou shalt not be for ane other man', &c. (that is to say), 'Thou shalt say, even so I take him, and so, even so, will I take thee'. \6\ Less then this formall and positive accepting of the covenant breads no peace [breeds]. The question still remans whether we be in covenant with God or not, and only this positive determinatione puts the matter out off controversie. Iff men doubt whether they be in covenant, let them put it out of doubt and covenant with God. \7\ No less then this doeth answer God's condescendance in that first and primary promise, I will be thy God and thou shall be mine, I say, nothing lesse than our formall acceptation of that offer

⁹ 'a' is prefixed above the line.

¹⁰ above the line.

¹¹ Mark 10:28, transposed from 1st and 2nd persons into 3rd person.

giveth ane meeting to God, or giveth anie glory to him due to his name. Till this be, that complaint may stand against the members of his church, 'He came to his own, but his owne recaved him not', John 1:11. \8\ Whosoever professe themselves dead to the law must be married to another husband; we are not dead to the law, 'for it is the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus which makes free from the law of sin and death', Romans 8:2. And if we be not dead to the law, our first husband, then it hath dominion over us, Romans 7:1. Therefore as men would declare themselves dead to the law, they must declare themselves married to Christ, Romans 7:4. \9\ We find God keeping a legall and formall way in the whole transacione about sinners. The Redeemer behoved to be an near kinsman; covenants between God and him are [sic] formally drawn up and all done in righteousness, discharges formally [p. 6] given, Christ justified, God declairing himself well pleased and therfor we should keep ane formall positive clear way in accepting that covenant, and legally and personally serve ourselves aires to that allowance as one thing as ready to be brangled in law, as anything else. \10\ Baptisme, and our parents' engadgement there—we are obliedged to accept the covenant as said is, else we doe nothing to answer the obligacione quhich that sacrament layeth on us, nor to free our parents of the oath in our name, yea in ane man[n]er we ly in an non-entrie to Christ's purchase and the whole offers of God till we personally, formally, and immediatly strike hands with God for ourselves. \11\ This way doth most secure us to duty, for till this be, we often take on us to dispose of ourselves, and God is not formally to doe for us as his owne, and Satan hath still some ground to assault upon till once we can say, 'We have given away ourselves 'and are not our owne', 1 Corinthians 6:17, 19-20. \12\ Iff we should not thus formally and personally covenant with God, many sad inconveniences will still attend our professione. As men are still strangers to God, to make acquaintance with him, because they never have determined anything between him and them, great fear possesseth the heart when God takes any new way with them, for they believe not that God can do nothing to their prejudice, but advantage, because they have not entered the marriage relatione, which sayes, 'no man hath at any time hated his own flesh; but he hath nourished and cherished it, even as the Lord doth the church', Ephesians 5:25, 29. We look not on all he saith and all he doth and all he is as ours because we have not formally closed the bargain with him and taken himself (and so consequently all that he is, and that is his) as ours. \13\ The ministers and ambassadors of Christ have warrand to woo¹² people to him

¹² editorial emendation: the MS has 'wood', obviously in error.

as [p. 7] as ane bride and chaste virgin,¹³ over whom he will rejoice as a bridegroom, and they darre not be answerable to woo the people under another notion. Therefore are ministers called the friends of the bridegroom and are said to espouse folks to him; and so if ministers presse less, they fail of their commission, and if people come not up to the formall and actuall consent to the marriage of the bridegroome they scarcelie may be called the seall of ministers' apostleship because they are short of the main thing at quhich ministers should drive, and that is, formally to break all covenants with other lovers, and be espoused to Jesus Christ. We may say many not¹⁴ dryving this length have left the people either espoused to themselves which Jo[shua] was careful to avoyde, or else have left them in ane case of widowhood, between the law with other lovers, and Jesus Christ, a halting between two opinions. And though meaning honestly, as glad to be¹⁵ the meanest servant of the master's house, Luke 13:19,¹⁶ yet stricken through with many sorrowes, 'and kepted all the dayes in bondage through fear of death', whom to deliver, we deny not Christ to have come, Hebrews 2:14, 15. ✕ All these things doe hold out personall and formall covenanting to be ane dutie incumbent, off quhich I believe tender consciences shall hardlie shift themselves, having with much slavish fear and as much fruitlesnes tryed otherwayes.

The third thing we shall speak to is somequhat preparatorie to the personall closeing of the covenant and here we should cleare up many things to ourselves and put ourselves in some fit posture for the busines, and \1\ we should clear up the thing to be ane dutie (as we have been saying) and once seeing a necessitie of doing the thing, else the soull will still delay and put off, \2\ we should clear up to ourselves the mercifull nature of God, able to do good to all sorts of men, in all states and conditions and to par[p. 8]don sins of all sorts, all maner of sin and blasphemie shall be forgiven, except one. So then God is able to doe our busines and so consequently we are not excluded. Whosoever will are invited to come and men most [must] well informe their heartes in this, else then will sad inconveniences follow. \3\ The scripture and the whole contrivement of the gospell doe bear God's registrate consent to the bargaine, so that we need no further evidence of his willingness to enter covenant with him. He invites all to come; he chydes for not coming; he threaten[s] these who come not; he commends men that come and venture most; he welcomes all that come; he never puts one away, yea, he obliged

¹³ 2 Corinthians 11:2.

¹⁴ probable reading; the first letter likely began as 'd', but was then over-written.

¹⁵ in margin.

¹⁶ presumably Luke 15:19, parable of the prodigal son.

him to shut out none that comes to him; he condemnes folk that come not, even because they come not, John 3[:19-20]. So he hath drawn and subscribed the whole writes, bearing blankes for anybody to put in or insert their name. Is the Lord working in all these things? Is he a lyar? All this, especially his commands to come unto him, his universall promises to all that come. But most of all that first and primary promise cast out to the church, 'I will be your God and ye shall be my people',¹⁷ doeth speak God's consent to this bargain and his willingnes to accept any who will, so that nothing is wanting to make ane compleat busines between God and ane soull but the soule's consent and inserting of its name in the blankes of its marriage write as accepting therof. This is necessarily pre-requered to the takeing of the covenant, else ther will be noe confidence. \4\ We must know that this accepting of the covenant makes it oures, allthough ther had never been anything prior appropriating it unto me. This is the receiving of him which priviledgeth to be 'the sons of God', John 1:12. 'Let men take hold on God's strength to¹⁸ make peace and they shall make peace', Isaiah 27 [:5]. \5\ Men must know that Jesus Christ is commissioned by the Father to fetch in all he can perswade by his gospell, and Christ taketh noe [p. 9] uncouth nor strange way to perswade men but by the gospell and the preaching of poor ministers who have power to make the agreement and draw the bargain between God and man to ane closure; and when ministers pray folk to be reconciled to God, it is as if God himself did bese[e]ch them, 2 Corinthians 5:19-20. \6\ Jesus Christ is qualified fully to perfect and bring through all whom he perswades by this gospell to accept off the offer, they are given to him, John 17[:12], and he engaged to make compt for them and to losse none of them, and that they shall want nothing that is good, and shall be presented blameless in that day.¹⁹ So that it is not left on us to be forthcoming or to cast away ourselves when we please, for then it were no better then the covenant of workes. May the wife run away when she will and is not the husband bound to keep her in ane beseeming way, and to mantane her according to hir ranke and his ranke in all respects? \7\ There being so much spoken about ane marriage bargaine with soulls, men should studie particularly to be acquaint with and to take up the state of their own soull. We find David in speaking termes with his soull quhen he mentioneth that covenant, Psalm 16:2. The place suppones his acquaintance with his soull, so that men should apply all the scripture speakes off to the man estranged from God and lay matters at his

¹⁷ Ezekiel 36:28.

¹⁸ first written as 'an' and then over-written.

¹⁹ 1 Corinthians 1:8.

own doore. \8\ Men should break their covenant with hell and death²⁰ as obstructive to their mercy and incapacitating them to make peace with God, between whom and Beliall ther is noe concord.²¹ And \9\ men must die to the law as their husband, by quhich they cannot expect safetie, men must quite²² all thoughts of righteousness that way, and so become ane widow. Now these things going before, let every man take heed,²³ 'lest, ane promise being left him off entring into his rest any should seeme to come short of it'; 'now they quhich believe doe enter [p. 10] into rest', Hebrews 4:1, 3.

The \4\ thing is, quhat is this personall covenanting and how it should be gone about? We say: it is in contemplation of God's admirable condescension to men in that great and primary promise and honorable offer, and of our necessitie to make use therof; to come before God and to say as followeth or the like:

O Lord, since thou hast discovered to me my lost condition and since ther is fullnes in thee to make me up for ever and since thou makes offer of thy self and of thy fullnes to any who will accept therof, warranding and commanding those who hear thy gospell and offer therin to accept of ~~and close~~ and close with the same as they desire to be saved and shall be answerable to thee, and since thou did particularly engage me by baptisme to covenant with thee: Now hear [sic] I am to renew and ratifie in my person what in baptisme I was bound to, and what my fathers by subjecting to thee and thy ordinances did virtually bind on me, thou, out of thy bountie according to the transactions between the Father and the Son, hast made the offer, I darre not disobey nor forsake my own mercy, but though I and my father's house be mean in Israell,²⁴ here in presence of God who will have me to call him 'My Father, and the guide of my youth'²⁵ and my husband after all my whoredomes,²⁶ and who is content to be for me, if I will be for him; I doe accept and consent unto the offer. Thou offers to be my God. Even so I take thee, even thyself, above all thou haste, to be my God, head, and husband, and with all thou art and all that may follow thee; as also since thou hast said I shall be thine, I accept and consent unto that part of the covenant also, as unto the former. Here in thy presence I quite my former lovers and am content to be divorced to them for ever. [p. 11] I betake myself to thee alone. Thou shall be the

²⁰ Isaiah 28:15.

²¹ 2 Corinthians 6:15.

²² i.e., quit; 'quite' is a common variant here and in Duncan, below.

²³ i.e., heed.

²⁴ 1 Samuel 9:21; Matthew 2:6.

²⁵ Jeremiah 3:4.

²⁶ cf. Hosea 2:7.

covering of the eyes to me.²⁷ I give myself and what is or shall be mine unto thee without reservation of anything and without reservation. Here I give the hand to thee, and takes instruments of stocks and stone, heaven and earth, that I, whatsoever I be, doe accept off, and close the bargaine, and covenant with thee. And thow whose name allone subscryved both parts of that covenant must make all the matter forthcomming. 'This is the day which God hath made; I will rejoyce and be glad in it'.²⁸ Praise everlastingly be to the Father whose device and invention this covenant wes who hath stooped so low; and glory be to the Sone who purchast the outletting of this love from the Father's bossome, and through whom allone this accesse is granted, and in whom I am honoured to be married unto God and united unto him; and glory be unto the Holy Spirit, by which I have been made to know my own lost estate and to understand the mistery of God's will in the covenant and by whom my soull hes been perswaded to venture on so great a busines. Now cordially and from my heart I acquiesce in my portioun and choise, henceforth resolving not to be my own but thine, and the care of what concernes me shall be on thee. Protesting according to the well ordered free everlasting covenant,²⁹ that faillings on my side shall not make void the bargain according to thy Word, and that I may take and give extracts of this marriage bargaine and covenant as often as shall be requisite. Pardon and accept thy servant, O Lord, in Jesus Christ.³⁰

— This is mentioned in few words in scripture, especially Psalm 16:2, 'O my soull, thou hast said to the Lord, Thou art my God [Lord]', in quihich few words we find many speciall requisits in this personall covenanting, which contribute much for [p. 12] clearing men how to goe about it. \1\ Itt should be very distinct and distinctly done—David knows very particularly and distinctly what he hath done and giveth ane account of it. This distinctnes beares knowledge of and about the thing. Therefore God adds knowledge to the covenant when he speaks of it, Jeremiah 24:7, Jeremiah 31:34, Hosea 2:20. \2\ It imports ane determination of the thing; it is not left in suspence or in the mist. Thou hast said³¹ \3\ Some expression of the thing: thou hast said, 'They shall say', Zechariah 13:9. Men should be distinct, positive, and

²⁷ Genesis 20:16.

²⁸ Psalm 118:24.

²⁹ see *WLW*, 31.

³⁰ His covenant made on 3 June 1682 is recorded in *Analecta*, i, 141–49. See also iii, 63 where Wodrow writes that Baird wrote 'a personall Covenant with God that he made for himself and his children, which Mistress Luke (Martha Miller) in the Gallogate told me she had, but I never saw it.'

³¹ This phrase ought to have been crossed out.

clear in this matter: \1\ because a man's whole interests are comprized in it; \2\ it is the thing in all the world quhich will be brought most in debate, and meet with the greatest contradiction; therefore men should be distinct in it, that they may foot a stand; \3\ God hath said and sworne that men should be distinct and positive in that matter to him as he is to them, 'Surelie, shall one say', Isaiah 45:24; 'Thou shall call me, My father', and³² Jeremiah 3:19. \2\ It should be orthodox; my soull hath said, 'Thou art my Lord'.³³

This imports: \1\ that men should close with God himself more then with all that is his, 'I will be for thee', Hosea 3[:3]; \2\ and closing with him as Lord, giving unto him absolute dominion over them. This is the resignatione of ourselves to him without reservatione, which is imported in that, 'I will be thy God';³⁴ \3\ a closing with God as our Lord, Thow art my Lord (that is) as our head and husband,³⁵ as Sarah called Abraham Lord,³⁶ and Abigaill called David so.³⁷ To close the covenant, so is very necessary, for: \1\ iff we close not with himself, we accept not his offer in that great primarie promise where he offers himself to be ours; \2\ if we close not with him as Lord, we derogate from him, and gives [p. 13] to him no meeting according to the second part of his offer, 'You shall be my people'; \3\ iff we close not with him as our Lord, we can never have union nor communion nor confidence; \3\ it should be done upon debate: 'Thou hast said, thou art my Lord, even thow among all lovers';³⁸ there is ane emphasis in the word 'thow'. Whilst many things are seeking to command me, I choose thee among them all. This doeing it as the result of ane debate imports \1\ ane calme and some quiet in the soull, doeing it in cold blood and with deliberatione; \2\ there should be ane argument put ane put[t]ing [sic] away of ane man's idolls, as and³⁹ Josshua did to Israell, Josshua 24:23, 24. The choise should be made *in presentia dominonum*; \3\ there should be ane argument of all the inconveniences quhich may follow that choise, as Christ held out to the man who offered 'to follow him whithersoever he went'.⁴⁰

³² intrusive.

³³ Psalm 16:2.

³⁴ Ezekiel 36:28.

³⁵ Ephesians 5:23.

³⁶ Genesis 18:12.

³⁷ 1 Samuel 25:24.

³⁸ Psalm 16:2 reads: 'O my soul, thou hast said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord: my goodness extendeth not to thee'. The final phrase is uncertain, due to corruption of the Hebrew text. It may be that Baird has supplied his own translation.

³⁹ 'as' is above the line; 'and' ought to have been crossed out.

⁴⁰ Matthew 8:19; Luke 9:57.

Thir things are like ane proclamation of marriage usuall among us or rather like that question quhich the pastor asketh in the time of solemnization of the marriage, 'Know you or any here any lawfull impediment why thir parties', &c. [1\] Now ther is great reason for this way of closeing the covenant, for else ther will be exceptions given in afterwards against the thing. \2\ Things done in ane haste or fit used to be rued againe. Many grippe the covenant in their straits, or in ane fit of common receavs and in ane haste, and rew the marriage againe.⁴¹ \3\ This doing with deliberatione keeps the matter a litle in suspence and so contributeth to clear up ane man's sinceritie in the thing. \4\ It should be done with boldnes and confidence,⁴² 'Thou haste said', &c. Thou avowedly hast spoken it as that quhich thou wilt stick by. Whatsoever Josshua objected, the people still [p. 14] avowed that the Lord should be their Lord, Joshua 24[:18]. This boldnes carrieth with it \1\ the faith of God's will for the doeing of the thing; \2\ the faith of acceptatione of my poor way of doeing the thing; men should believe he makes them welcome; \3\ the faith of God who is the partie bound for all will make the person who covenants forthcoming in all. There is great reason for this way of doeing it, for if this threefold act of faith be wanting, either \1\ the soull darre not adventure att all to determine the busines expressly, or \2\ if it adventure, it will doe it with ane hink⁴³ of heart and doubt, and that will make it still ane chattered⁴⁴ busines and often bring the deed in question, as ane sin, or \3\ servile fear in sundrie respects will still accom[p]any all the performances of the partie. This boldnes aryseth from ane twofold ground: \1\ a seen necessitie to doe the thing, flowing both from God's command and from the person's lost estate, if it take not that way; \2\ from the right taking up of Christ in the convenient pasture in the covenant both for God and us, as we shall hear, God hath made him stronge⁴⁵ for himself, Psalm 80[:15, 17]. \5\ It must be done holyly, the soull says it to the Lord over into God's bossome. This says \1\ that what is done of this busines should be done in some solemne addresse unto the Lord. Men indeed should make some speciall

⁴¹ There is more than one problem here, and more than one possible solution. First, a word may be missing between *common* and *receavs*. Second, the orthography for *common* is clear, but *receavs* could just as easily be *receats*, given the apparent coincidence of writing *v* and some occurrences of *t*. One suspects that the meaning has to do with something done along with others, i.e., being swept along with a crowd, with subsequent regret at having shown hasty judgement.

⁴² Over-writing may have obscured another word.

⁴³ reservation?

⁴⁴ tattered.

⁴⁵ The first attempt might have resulted in 'strange'; 'o' has been written over the 'a' or whatever lies beneath, and the final 'e' has not been deleted.

approach to him in more then ordinary prayer. \2\ Men should have much humility and abasement of spirit attending all that transactione, remembering that he is the Lord. Speak it as to the Lord, What am I or what is my father's house, 2 Samuel 7[:18]. 'You shall loath yourselves ... for your abominations', Ezekiel 36[:31], 'and never open your mouth any more', Ezekiel 16[:63]. And as men should have base thoughts of themselves, so high thoughts of him. 'You shall know that I am the Lord', [p. 15] 'according to thine own heart'.⁴⁶ 'Wherefore thou art great, O Lord God: and none like unto thee', &c., 2 Samuel 7:18-22. \3\ It sayes that the person covenanting should entertaine holy and spirituall thoughts of all that busines and be spirituall in the apprehension of it. There is great reason for this way of doeing of it for \1\ the creature is ready to misken itself and the rotten stock it came off. Homelynes often sp[o]jills nurture;⁴⁷ \2\ the nature is ready to take down God in his covenant and condescendings below himself, which is terrible \3\ because the busines is ane marriage and ther be many expressions of love and the communications therof as in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~⁴⁸ the Canticles, Isaiah 62:5, Zephaniah 3:17, which things are litle and will turn and turn all on the heart if not strongly guarded. It is called the 'holy covenant', Luke 1:72, and the sure mercies of it are called 'the holy things of David', Acts 13:34.⁴⁹ Remember you transact with ane Holy Spirit in a most spirituall thing. It were not amisse that in the time when one is about the busines ther were now and then a viewing of all the soul's deportment, confessions, and self-condemnings intermixed, ye[a], and ane submission to what he pleaseth to inflict for misdemeanours and still ane eyeing of Christ as advocat as well as bridegroom. It is not without cause that Joshua holds out hazard to the people in their forward resolutions to take the covenant, Josshua 24:18-20. \6\ It must be done cordially, my soull hath said, it must be done with the soull. This way of doeing it imports \1\ that the choyse is made with the edge and strength of the man with his very soull, as he is ane man concluded in the inmost cabinet of him. \2\ It imports hes [his] affectione, complacencie, and joy in the thing; he takes not God as some choose ane husband to please their friends,⁵⁰ whilst there heart is not to[p. 16]wards him. They are so well pleased

⁴⁶ The first phrase, 'you shall know ...' is a Biblical commonplace. For the second phrase, 1 Chronicles 17:19; Psalm 20:4.

⁴⁷ 'nurture' is a somewhat speculative reading of the MS.

⁴⁸ This is probably a repetition of the preceding line.

⁴⁹ AV has 'the sure mercies of David'. What appears in the text is actually a marginal note in AV, based on the Septuagint.

⁵⁰ cf. Katharine Collace, in *WLW*, 44.

with there goodly heretage⁵¹ and lott that they are brought to this, and what can David say more? 2 Samuel. \3\ It imports that all should be done cordially, from the heart, Josshua 24:14, in sinceritie and in truth. There is reason for this way of doeing of it, for \1\ this busines is to ane honest man all his desire and all his salvation; sie 2 Samuel 23[:5]. \2\ There should even be ane volay⁵² among the affections at such a marriage for the honour of the day. \3\ All is voyd if there be ane heart and a heart,⁵³ guile in the spirit. Now it is true a man's heart may deceive him, but God hath not left it so in the mist, as if there were no certainty in the thing. We shall for the present say these things for effauldnes⁵⁴ and sinceritie: \1\ Is ane man free of heart condemnings in the thing? doth not his conscience charge him with ane particular deceit? can he say he regards not any known iniquity and that he doth respect all known commands? Then surelie he shall not be ashamed and ought to have confidence before God, Psalm 66:18-19, Psalm 119:6, 1 John 3:21. \2\ If ane man offer himself to God's tryall, not darenaing to answer for his own heart, but is content that God search him and resignes himself over to him to be led in every right way and to be taken off every wrong way, nay surelie he is so effauld and sincere, Psalm 139:21-4. \3\ If ane man love searching truths and sermons and come to the light that he may be made manifest, that sayes he is of the light and sincere, else he would hate the light, John 3:20-1. These things may make out to ane man his sinceritie in some measure.

— But because these and other markes of honestie fall under [p. 17] a man's own cognition, therefore he is not put above question, retaineth some hink of heart till that Spirit by quhich we know the things that are freely given us of God, 1 Corinthians 2:12, be given to him in some measure that he may shine by a divine beame on ane man's faith or closeing with the covenant and discover it to be ane true closeing or on markes of honestie and discovering them to be the things meaned in scripture and requyred. But let folk be making out what certainly they can reach by markes till that Spirit shine. By all that is said of this personall covenanting we find it differenced \1\ from that tacite, virtual, passive covenanting with God, when rather the covenant takes hold on the partie, and this is when children receive the imitateing⁵⁵ seall of baptism or circumcision, they in ane manner covenant with God, Genesis 17[:10-11], Romans 4:11. \2\ It is differenced from that

⁵¹ Psalm 16:6; Jeremiah 3:19.

⁵² Presumably a 'volley', an outburst.

⁵³ Perhaps meaning a divided heart.

⁵⁴ single-hearted.

⁵⁵ initiating?

sort of covenanting by which folks takes hold on the first part of the covenant in appearance, but not of the second part of it. They take God to be their God but give not up themselves to be his people. This is the way of hypocrites and false professors in the church who call God their God, but doe not become his, wherefore they are discharged to take the covenant in their mouth, seeing they have instruction, Psalm 50:16-18; and \3\ it is differenced from that covenanting by which men gripe the second part of the covenant but not the first part of it. Such are they who make ane fashion of giving up themselves to God and are still vowing their service to God, but doe all in a legall way, not takeing God engaged to be their God, and so to make all forthcoming. Thes[e] turne the covenant over into a covenant of works and erre, not knowing the scriptures and the power of God. These may be zealous, 'but not according to knowledge ... [they] have not submitted themselves unto the righteousnes of God. For Christ', &c. Romans 10:2-5, 10. \4\ It is differenced from that part of the co[p. 18]venant, but take it only in their heads in contemplatione and with some common motion or feeling in the outmost of affections so that there may be some sorrow, some joy, some delight, but no heart change or any saving heart-purifying knowledge of God or the covenant. The consequence of which useth to be ordinar[il]y on[e] of these three: \1\ either the partie sitts down there, making that common work their sanctuary and securitie, and sitt ther till the tryall come, and then wither away not haveing root in themselves, Matthew 13:20-1, the stone remaineth still in their heartes; or \2\ they fall back again to their formall lewdnes from which they had escaped through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour, 2 Peter 2:20-22. Those rarely are ever recovered; or \3\ they utterly fall away to the hatred, dispyseing, and dispyting of the Lord who (in appearance[])] bought them,⁵⁶ and these are desperately gone, Hebrews 6:4-6 and Hebrews 10:26-9. All these covenantings may be without the grace of God. \5\ It is differenced from ane reall but partiall covenanting, whereby men take hold on a part of both parts of the covenant. Such are they who take hold of the covenant for many things as pardone, holines, throughbearing, heaven, &c., but take not hold on God himself in the first part of the covenant. And upon the other side, they doe covenant their services and endeavoures, but not themselves unto God. Surely these deall truly and honestly according to their knowledge, and it's like [they] have the root of the matter in them,⁵⁷ but doe not come up the

⁵⁶ 2 Peter 2:1.

⁵⁷ Job 19:28.

length of a marriage bargain in the covenant, in which the parties doe covenant themselves and consequently all that is theirs, 'such are who fear the Lord, and obey the voice of his servant', Isaiah 50:10, and many of our ignorant but honest professors not understanding the language of the covenant to be, 'I will be for thee and thou shall be for me', Hosea 3:3. \6\ It is differenced from ane reall, [p. 19] materiall covenanting only, by which folk doe understand parties to be covenanted to other and doe take hold on all the covenant-gripping God and all that wes hes [was his], giving up themselves and all that is theirs. But they doe it only materially, in substance and in their thought, but not expressly and formally, which makes it still to be questioned again. And doubtlesse Christ came to deliver such, though much in bondage through fear of death and misbelief, Hebrews 2[:15], yet these come not up to what the scripture calleth for in the doctrine of the covenant, the language of quhich is, 'thou shall say, thou shall call me, thou shall cry', &c. I say the covenanting we have in hand is none of these, but it is ane expresse, formall, actuall,⁵⁸ and personall closeing with God's offer. The person sayes, 'Thou shal be mine, and I shall be thine, as thou offers'. Here for obviating of mistakes they may be of two sorts who thus take the covenant: ane sort win not up to some of the forsaid qualifications, but doe the thing with great fear from conscience of dutie and inwardly pressing necessitie, not seeing another of it, saying, 'I must try it, I will goe in', which seemes to me to be contrare to the law, 'If I perish, I perish';⁵⁹ 'If I sit still here, I die',⁶⁰ as the lepers said. If I die, let me die at his door with some intended relatione to him. These by violence or strong hands grippe the covenant as the word used, Isaiah 56[:2?], importeth. Another sort take the covenant formally and expressly, but with more confidence and humble boldnes in the knowledge of the scriptures, beleeving the acceptation in Christ and it is to them the determination of the greatest contraversies between God and them. Off this second sort, some have a gale of joy attending their transaction with God and their sailes filled with the beams of divine favour, seallings of the Spirit, and 'love shed abroad in their heartes'.⁶¹ Others of them have in the transactione [p. 20] have not these speciall divine communications, but have ane honest, pure faith, grounded on the kynd nature of God, his willingnes to communicate himself, his promises, faithfullnes, and commands in scripture and experiences of saintes, relating to

⁵⁸ over-writing 'active'.

⁵⁹ Esther 4:16.

⁶⁰ 2 Kings 7:3-4.

⁶¹ Romans 5:5.

this thing, so that none may mistake, although the absolute Lord, bearing the expressions of his favour letten out to others. The \5\ thing we proposed to speak to wes, in what cases this covenanting is must [i.e., to be] practiced or to be used by us? I offer: \1\ Those who have this gospell are bound with all diligence to see their own hazard and to know his precious offer, and with haste 'to flee from the wrath to come',⁶² and so to take hold on the covenant and offer, as is said, and to ratifie what wes done in their baptisme. This lyeth on all, though few doe ever please the terms on which God offers himself; all the commands, invitations, and proclamations, in order to believing, doe hold out this much. \2\ Folk should take this covenant after great bakeslyding, even allthough they have done it before. So we find Israell doeing. And nationall covenants should be personall between every particular person and God, Joshua 23:22. \3\ When folk are to live among snares, then securing of their heart unto the Lord, they are to renew it. So Joshua 24. \4\ In forseen difficulties and evill times, Psalm 57:1, how doe the sa[i]ntes double out that covenant in hard times, that so they may not have their lodging to seek in a foull night. \5\ After ane sad desertione, when folks meet with God again, so Canticles 6:3. \6\ The solemne feastes and celebratione of his supper, that is ane feast of love and of nuptiall memorialls, and then we professe the renuing of it before men and angels. But no man can sett bounds here; every soull hath its own times. We wish it may not be [p. 21] either slighted or prophaned by too often or too seldome using it. The \6\ thing is the native consequences of personall covenanting. There be many things that should follow: \1\ ane admirable union among the parties, as husband and wife are no more two but one, so it is here, John 17:21, 23, Ephesians 5:30-2. Yea there is ane onenes of spirit, so 1 Corinthians 6:17, 'He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit'. That union, John 17, is ane deeper misterie then can be well comprehended. \2\ There is ane admirable communion between the parties. All that belongeth to either partie belongeth to the other, in so farr as can be usefull, so all things are said to be ours, as we are Christ's, 1 Corinthians 3:21-3. This is indeed ane large field, so hear: all the parts of the Word, all the natures of God, &c., are ours because his, and all that we have, life, means, wife, or children, name, heritage, &c., are⁶³ all his, as far as can be usefull because they are oures, the exercise of all his attributes is ours, as all our pith and power is his; yea, yea nothing that is his can be against us, or to our prejudice. All his paths, works, dispensations, yea paths of permission 'are mercy and truth', Psalm 25[:10].

⁶² Matthew 3:7; Luke 3:7.

⁶³ editorial emendation for 'and'.

And 'all things must work together for good', Romans 8[:28]. \3\ God can never any more hate the partie, as 'no man hath ever hated his own flesh', nor can the partie ever hate God and so fall into the sin against the Holy Ghost, Ephesians 5:29; yea not only doth he not hate, but is ane dutifull husband, doth cherish and nourish the partie in covenant with him, 1 John 5:18.⁶⁴ \4\ There is ane strange sympathie and fellowfeeling⁶⁵ between the parties; who toucheth them who are in covenant with God 'toucheth the apple of his eye', Zechariah 2:8; 'Precious in his sight is the death of his saints', Psalm 116:15; 'He is afflicted in all [p. 22] their afflictions', Isaiah 63:9; 'he is toucht with the feeling of our infirmities', Hebrews 4:15; so upon the other part the indignities done to him doe light upon them: 'the zeall of his house eates them up', Psalm 69:9. What is done to them is done to him, what is not done to them is not done to him, Matthew 10:40; Matthew 25:40, 45. If he be great and honourable, they care for no more, for they are made up that way; and if they be well, he careth for no more, Isai[a]h 52:5. He comes;⁶⁶ he hath nothing behind when his people are taken away and (the Lord liveth and requereth) is there all. \5\ Great homelines between the parties ffolloweth, as between husband and wife; he may not be as ane stranger, Jeremiah 14:8; and 'we are no more strangers', Ephesians 2:19. So we may freely and confidently make known our bosome to him and may speak to him as not having acquaintance to make in every addresse, and we may humbly inquire into his bosome and secrets, Genesis 18:23 and John 13:25, Jeremiah 12:1; see Isai[a]h 63:17. \6\ The partie covenanting is no more its own, nor may it live to itself or is it at its own disposeing. The wife swears subjection and obedience to her husband; we are said not to be our own; 'the married wife careth how to please her husband', 1 Corinthians 7:4, 34; and no idoll may have power to draw the heart, for that is spirituall adulterie; yea so fully is the person covenanting devoted to God, that it must leave all its kinred and hate⁶⁷ all that would court⁶⁸ with him; for Genesis 2:24, Luke 14:26. \7\ The partie covenanting may goe in to God with its transgression and lay the stresse of what troubleth that way on the covenant and confort itself from thence, even when its state is most broken, 2 Samuel 23, Psalm 65:3. \8\ All the outward concernments of the partie covenanting [p. 23] are put on God-their meat, cloathing, house, bed, fyre, or pennysilver

⁶⁴ His intent in citing this verse is unclear.

⁶⁵ This word appears in Henrietta Lindsay's journal; *WLW*, 234.

⁶⁶ conjectural reading.

⁶⁷ in the sense of abandon, renounce.

⁶⁸ probable reading.

when needed; the husband careth for these things, Matthew 6[:25]. And they should live and look out as being confident of what is needfull that way, 1 Peter 5:7. The partie covenanting most [must] doe nothing unbeseem[ing] one betrothed unto God. They must not be slaves to any of there natures, for they are lords over all these. They should rejoyce evermore; 'be careful for nothing';⁶⁹ simple [smile?] upon difficulties, because the husband is God blisled over all, and 'the health of their countenance', Isaiah 51:12, Psalm 42:11. \10\ The covenanting partie should put God to it, in faith, to make them every way forthcoming; will not he keep his wife in kirk and mercat, private and publick as beseemeth, and in doeing and suffering? Psalm 84:11, the 85:12. This is the seasonable fruite in Psalm 1:3, 11. The partie covenanting is constantlie with desire to wait for his second comming, that the marriage of the Lamb may be perfected and they fully united unto him, and the great *inferie infair*⁷⁰ may be in their father's house. The scripture speaketh abundantlie unto this.

The \7\ thing we proposed to speak of is a question, to witt, what is Christ's place in this transaction between God and men? The ground of the question is that sometyms the Lord sayes he will betroth us,⁷¹ and sometyms it is called the marriage of the king's sone,⁷² the kirk is called the Lamb's wife,⁷³ God is called whiles folk's husband,⁷⁴ and sometyms their father, sometyms the Lord is called our brother,⁷⁵ sometimes we are said to be espoused to him.⁷⁶ For the better understanding of this we shall premise these things: \1\ man wes once made strong for God, and put in some capacitie of transacting immediatly with God, without ane mediator. \2\ Man did break to God and so incapacitated himself for ever, for being ane [p. 24] competent partie for any immediat dealing with God. \3\ The Lord devised ane new covenant in which he purposed ane nearer relation to man then he had before. The relatione before wes of lord and vassall, but in the new covenant ther wes ane marriage relation intended, and the parties to give themselves over to other. \4\ Although this wes resolved in heaven, yet it wes impossible to be gotten done in ane immediat way without ane Mediatour, for man wes at ane infinit distance from God and can only be

⁶⁹ Philippians 4:4, 6.

⁷⁰ written above the line; 'infare', feast, entertainment, reception.

⁷¹ Hosea 2:19-20.

⁷² Matthew 22:2.

⁷³ Revelation 21:9.

⁷⁴ Hosea 2:2.

⁷⁵ Matthew 12:50.

⁷⁶ 2 Corinthians 11:2.

accepted in the beloved. \5\ The matter is now so fully done by Christ and supponed⁷⁷ by God, to be so plain and notour to every one, that many times it is held out in scripture as if the transactione between God and us were immediat without a mid partie. As for the second thing, what place Christ hath in the transactione between God and men we say: \1\ Jesus Christ is in the posture of two natures, God and man, that so he might be ane fitt mediatour between God and men, and ane fit trysting place for the parties to meet at. \2\ Christ is our representative, he being flesh of our flesh, and so he is God's debtour of whom the Lord may sufficiently pay himself. \3\ Christ is in the place of the spokesman, to goe between parties, yet so, as God himself spake through Christ to the lost partie, for their reconciliatione he spake through the vaill of Christ to men, 'God wes in Christ, reconciling the world to himself', 2 Corinthians 5[:19]. He wes not only in the humane nature, but God essentially wes in whole Christ, God and man, because he could not speak to man bot by ane mediatour and treshman.⁷⁸ \4\ Christ is in the place of immediat bridgroom, to whom folk are married, therefor it is called the marriage of the king's sone,⁷⁹ the elect are called the Lamb's wife,⁸⁰ and yet he is so our partie, as Gods also is our partie, but not so immediatly [p. 25] as the sone. We may say not only is Christ the place in which the parties meet to be betrothed together, but is the hand which the divine essence holds out to gripe us with when he sayes, I will be for thee, and we say, even so I take thee. Then Christ is the hand gripping and gripped on his part; but I say in Christ we are betrothed unto God who offers himself to be our God, that is, not as the second person only, but as he is in Christ, that is, in the second person, God and man, marrying the elect to himself. It is true we close with Christ, but 'in him we doe believe in God ... that our faith and hope might be in God', 1 Peter 1:21. God essentially is *terminus ultimus*.⁸¹ We are marryed then to God in Christ and it is not incongruous that we are called the Lamb's wife, because God can not communicate himself to sinners but in and through Christ, and we cannot apprehend nor have accesse unto or dealling with God but in Christ. \5\ Christ is put in the place of cautioner,⁸² taking burthen for us, the poore wife, whom God marrieth in him and so in effect, God, as he hath payed himself, becomes surety to

⁷⁷ supported.

⁷⁸ Not identified. One possible clue might be from 'trash', which refers to a person of low repute, which might in turn allude to the servant songs of Isaiah, e.g. 53:4-9.

⁷⁹ Matthew 22:2.

⁸⁰ Revelation 19:7, 21:9.

⁸¹ furthest limit; final goal.

⁸² conjectural expansion of abbreviation.

himself. So Christ binds for our good behaviour and to keep off[f] all deadly seed between the parties, and Christ is comptable in time coming. This holds in our life often—when we fail, God sayes, if thy children transgresse ‘I will not take my kindnes from them. . . . Once have I sworn to David’, he is my partie, I will take him for all he is comptable to me, and never failes to me, and therfor to cast off[f] his seed wer to lie to him.⁸³ \6\ Christ is in place of dispensator and steward of all the poor elect stand in need of or should have. As our near kinsman, he hath infestment⁸⁴ of all in heaven in our name, Ephesians 1:3, and he hath the outletting of all, as [p. 26] lyfe, strength, love, &c., by all quich it doth appear that Jesus Christ is in ane convenient station and place both for us and God, according to that word, ‘whom thou hast made strong for thyself’, Psalm 80:17. God in Christ covenanting with men is ane deep mistery to us: \1\ because of the unities of the Godhead, though there be 3 distinct persons, we doe take them up, ay, as sundrie things not remembering⁸⁵ what Christ said to the disciples, John 14[:9], when they sought ane sight of the Father, he answered, ‘have I been so long with you, and have ye not seen me?’⁸⁶ \2\ Diverse relations in scripture under quich God offers himself to sinners as maker, brother, Lord, head, king, and advocate, &c., but all runs to one end, to witt, to hold out the union and communion that should be between God and us. \3\ Our ignorance of God and the scripture makes it a misterie, yet where scripture speakes, we must believe, although we cannot get our feet to the ground.

The last thing we shall speak to is some few objections. I grant unbeleeving hearts may invent many, but in spite of them all, ‘They who know his name will put ther trust in him’, Psalm 9[:10].⁸⁷ I sall only mentione three quich are most ordinary. Objection 1. It is very unlike that ther should be a marriage relation between the great God of heaven and such a one as me, and I think it high presumption for me to designe such ane thing as to be one with me and to get himself to be mine. Answer 1. It is true, it is unlikely and ane admirable misterie, such as ‘angells desire to look into’,⁸⁸ and such a thing as shall keep our spirit (when in the fullest capacity and apprehension and conceptione) in admiration and fresh wondering through all eternitie, and it will make our [p. 27] song new continually and that covenant will throught

⁸³ Psalm 89:33–5.

⁸⁴ investiture with heritable property.

⁸⁵ ‘rememberedng’.

⁸⁶ AV has ‘known’ for ‘seen’. ‘Seen’ follows later in the verse, ‘he that hath seen me hath seen the Father’.

⁸⁷ changed from first to third person.

⁸⁸ 1 Peter 1:12.

time and eternitie deservedly be called the new covenant. But \2\ as we are not to think that we shall satisfyingly comprehend and fathom that misterie, so we must remember it is God's own invention and not ours, and we must not be wiser nor he, nor humbler then he wills us to be. These are the terms on quhich he proff[f]ers peace: I will be your God and ye shall be mine.⁸⁹ God hath said he will so betroth⁹⁰ poor folk, and all the scripture speakes of the covenant as a marriage relation: who then darre say the contrary? \3\ As God hath bound himself by his promise and oath to take us so, so hath he left his command registrate in scripture, obliedging us to take him so, and hath so determined the thing that it is not left arbitrarie to us to accept or not accept of that offer which indeede beareth ane gift, Isaiah 9[:6], great for us to receive, but not ane gift suitable to the hand that gave it, that no man should darre to refuse it.

Objection 2. I darre not thus enter the covenant with God because I know I will break the covenant. Answer. We will here speak to two things: \1\ that it is true the covenant is often broken on our part; \2\ that although it be so, yet the covenant is not made void nor broken off. As for the former, the scripture speakes of breaking the covenant. But here we should remember that every failling is not ane formall breach of the covenant (although in itself it deserves hell) for then there were no difference between the covenant of grace and the covenant of works. Every strippe⁹¹ disanulls not marriage, yea is not formally ane breach of marriage oath, [p. 28] so it is here especially since it is ane clause of this covenant that he 'will remember our iniquities no more', Hebrews 8[:12], and God betrothes us 'in faithfullnes', Hosea 2[:20]. But next, adultery doeth break ane marriage covenant, and so doeth idollatry this covenant. It is often charged on Israell ane surely spirituall idolatry, and our whooring of our hearts after idolls breakes the covenant, and estrangeth us from him; so Ezechiel 14:3-5. When we follow any other lover with delight we give our marriage love to another, and our delightfull use of things lawfull, quhen we are under the power of them, is actual adultery. And as a harlot we 'despise the oath by breaking the covenant', Ezekiel 16:35, 59. As for the second thing, that quhich breaks the covenant formally doth not break off or make void the covenant, therefore it must stand sure to the seed. 'Thou hast played the harlot ... yet turne unto me', Jeremiah 3:1-4. For

⁸⁹ Jeremiah 7:23.

⁹⁰ Hosea 2:19-20.

⁹¹ perhaps 'stripe', i.e., a blow.

quhich, consider: \1\ Jesus Christ hath barganed with God and principall⁹² partie, he cannot break the covenant, therfor it must stand sure to the seed although they break, Psalm 89[:28-35], If thy seed transgresse ... , 'but my kendnes will I not take from them', and the reason of it is given, to witt, 'once have I sworn to David and cannot lie to him'. \2\ Christ, beside his faithfulness in the bargane, he hath suffered and payed God for our unfaithfullnes in the bargaine and our breaks; 'he wes wounded for our transgressions', Isaiah 53[:5], and God 'found a ransome', Job 33[:24]. \3\ Temporall stroakes are threatened for our breaks, but withall God promiseth to hold the covenant, Psalm 89[:3, 28, 34]. \4\ Not only doth God betroth soulls to himself in righteousnes and judgement, [p. 29] but also in lovingkindnes and mercy and he will be faithfull in that mercifull betrothing, Hosea 2:19, 20. \5\ He, with quhom is no succession of time, sees quhat we shall be, and is ingadged to make us 'returne to our first husband', Hosea 2:6, 7. Even quhen we are whooreing away, he sees us comming back with mourning and supplicacione, Jeremiah 3:20, 21. \6\ We must avow unto God a cast by the common for so we are warranted to doe. A man will not take home the adulterous, but God will doe it, Jeremiah 3:1. Is this the manner or law of man? 2 Samuel [23:5], I let none abuse this so well-ordered a covenant, remembering that as by-looks may may [sic] lead to adultery,⁹³ so other bands then divorce should tye the ingen[u]ous wife. The covenant doth not ~~so~~leath allow of loosnes, although it ensureth us so to God that neither divills, sin, nor ourselves have power to overthrow us, and that because we are committed to the great shepherd⁹⁴ who is obliedged to reckon for us, as he himself acknowledgeth.

Objection 3. I have tryed that way of personall covenanting but finds no advantage therby. Answer. \1\ It may be there hath been some notable defect in your way of covenanting which you may examine by what wes said in that head; in which case ye may renew it. \2\ He cannot doe great things to us because of our misbelief; the suspitions and jealousies we have of him efter we have covenanted doe exceedingly marre and obstruct covenant communicationes; but, \3\ if all were impartially tryed, we should be forced to say he is not ane wildernes to us. I shall instance some things quhich have followed (although folks have not gotten their heart's desire): \1\ we find [p. 30] a byasse in our spirits, swaying us to himwards in our motiones and a

⁹² conjectural expansion of an abbreviation.

⁹³ Matthew 5:28.

⁹⁴ Hebrews 13:20.

principle keeping our *sprits* eye upon that one thing which is necessarie; it is still aloft in our choise how to be fo[u]nd in him and how to be forthcoming to him, which byasse and principle is one of the first love tokens we gett, and, it being the better part, shall never be taken from us. \2\ In the persute and enjoyment of all other lovers, we find ane emptines and some mightie defect which abundance of the cretur⁹⁵ nature cannot make up but himself would fill that emptie room in our heart, and quhen he cometh, the *natures* creatures⁹⁶ are *ean* not in ane capacitie to make more happy nor to adde any thing. This sayes that he hath run away with our love, and that he hath [put] saving principles in our heart; who is God but the Lord? Worship him, all ye Gods.⁹⁷ \3\ Are there not now and then wholsome commendations sent to the heart by wholesome challanges and instructions, quich God declares to be quickenings now and then when all seems to be gone, some dropings of mirrhe on the handles of ane close[d] doore quich 'moves the bowells for him', Canticles 5[:4-5], and these enlivenings are stonds⁹⁸ of marriage love left on the heart as wittnesses that our life is bound up in him? \5\ Although it be designed and farr advanced in the soull to cast off his yoak and to quite him for ever, that we never have power to dispose of ourselves whollie, that is, not being our own, and what a strange thing⁹⁹ is this, that we are made still to returne and hang on and never give it over. Is not that ane noble consequence of the covenant? \6\ We darre not say but now and then we are put to some straits and hazards, our hearts with some delight doe remember the covenant, and [p. 31] sayes, he hath made it, and it's all my desire and salvation;¹⁰⁰ though he make it not to grow, it is the most comfortable deed and yeeldeth most confidence in straits of anything that ever we did. \7\ Who will deny, if they have in any honestie made that covenant, but that God their husband giveth to them all necessaries as they stand in need-meat, cloathes, silver, throwbearing-and are not these great things? Would he have showed to thee all these great things if he had ane mind to kill thee?¹⁰¹ Doe not lie on God,¹⁰² but say of the Lord (and garre¹⁰³ the word 'doe'), he is thy refuge¹⁰⁴ and thou

⁹⁵ above the line.

⁹⁶ 'natures' has been altered to 'creatures', with 'creatur' written above the line to clarify.

⁹⁷ Psalm 97:7.

⁹⁸ 'stound', throb, pang, mood.

⁹⁹ above the line.

¹⁰⁰ 2 Samuel 23:5.

¹⁰¹ Judges 13:23.

¹⁰² Nothing in AV matches this, but he cites it (see parenthetical material following) as if it were from the Bible, suggesting his own rendering of the text, perhaps 1 John 5:10.

¹⁰³ 'gar' frequently means 'induce, coerce', but here 'notice'.

hast not closed with him in vaine. O precious covenant and precious parte of that covenant, what can we speake of it? Let folk goe to and taste and see¹⁰⁵ and lett the marriage triumphs and divine solemnities beseeming such betrothing—even the earnest and alespenny and prelude of the great infeire,¹⁰⁶ when the Lamb's wife shall be made ready¹⁰⁷ and be taken up to his and her father's house—make you sick of love,¹⁰⁸ that rejoicing over you with joy, resting in love, joying over you with singing, the musick of the marriage darken to you all that we can say of it, that you may give to it ane testimony beyond the queen of Sheba, since a greater then Solomon is here in the day of his espousalls.¹⁰⁹ Glory to him for ever and ever.

Finis. Per me.

July 25, 1677.

¹⁰⁴ Psalm 91:2.

¹⁰⁵ Psalm 34:8.

¹⁰⁶ 'infaire'; see above, p. 64, n. 70.

¹⁰⁷ Revelation 19:7

¹⁰⁸ Song 5:8.

¹⁰⁹ Song 3:11.

Personal Covenants

1. James Nasmyth

[2r] Master James Kirkton ane of the ministers of Edinburgh preaching upon thes words (Isaiah 55:3), 'And I will make ane everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.' He did hold out the duty of personall covenanting with God and did seriouslie exhort therto. Wherupon I this same night will engage myselfe to the Lord.

Att Edinburgh this tenth of June 1688 years, I undersubscrывer doe confess in the sight and presence of God the Father my creator, God the Sone my Redeemer, and God the Holy Ghost my sanctifier, that I was conceived in sine and brought forth in iniquitie, and that I have been ad[d]ing to my originall sine, actuall transgrationes of all sorts, and that dayly and every day since I had a being; and particularly I confess since I had the ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ knowledge of the use of riches, I have immoderatlie desyred [2v] them, grudged att the want of them, and have used fraudulent, sinfull and sinistrous means to gett them, and have trusted more to thes means then to the providence of the[e], my omnipotent God, though I have been trysted with many singular tokens of thy care and providence. I confess that since I wes capable of carnall thoughts, I have taken pleasure to entertaine them, and have been expressing them with my lipes, and joyning my self with delight to persones of profane lips, and taken more pleasure in their communication then in the discourses of the godlie, and from which unclean thoughts and speches I have proceeded to commit most brutall, vile, abominable and unchast actiones, unbecomeing any who profess or pretend to be a Christian. I confess that I have abused thy creatures and my own body with drunkenness and ryot— and that most frequentlie—and have taken pleasure in causing others committ the same sinnes. I confess that I have taken thy name in vaine and have profanned and blasphemed the same by cursing and swearing, and that customary, and have lied and dared often to attest thy blessed majestie to untruths and

pronounced many execrations and curses against my nighbour and my own soule wittinglie and willinglie. I confess I have broken thy holy Sabbaths by neglect of my duty both in publict and privat, such as careless and inattentive hearing and voiding of thy Word and letting my heart goe astray in the tyme therof, and in the tyme of prayer and praising, and gone superficialle and hypocritically about thes duties more to please men then the[e], my God, and that I have not stood in aw to committ any sine whither in heart, speech, or behaviour in thy day. I confess that I have been disobedient to my parents, unnaturall to my relationes, and ungrate to my benefactors, and invyous and greived att the good and happines of my freinds and nighbours and have [3r] calumniat and backbitten them and spoken maliciously evill of them, and spoken dispytfully of the godlie, and been unconcerned in ther sufferings; yea I have even joyced att them, and generallie I confess that I am averse to what is good and prone to what is evill, for all which, dear Lord, I deserve thy wrath heir and heirafter and wold surely have been partaker of it before this tyme, if thy sone Jesus (whom thou most mercifully out of thy compassion to lost man was pleased to send from thy bossome to shed his precious blood ignominiouslie upon the cross to satisfie thy divine justice) were not sitting att thy right hand to divert the same, by whose mediacione and intercession I beleeve I am spared. And seeing of thy mercy and for his merite I am spared, I solemnly vow and promise and swear that (by the gracious assistance of thy Spirit) I shall mourn for the abovementioned sins and shall endeavor to mortifie the same, and shall not venture to committ them habituallie or with pleasure and delight and without fear or dread of thy majestie as I have done formerlie, but shall be more watchfull over my thoughts, words, and actiones then I have been and shall studie a more nearness to thy selfe by performance of my dutyes in publict in my family and in secret, and that I shall adhere to thy truths revealed to me in thy Word, and endeavor to make my wife, childreen, and all under my charge know and obey the same. O Lord it is in thy strenth I must performe this, Lord strenthen and innable me and remove every hinderance and impediment that the devil or his instruments shall cast in my way and establish thou my heart by thy grace and keep it firm in this present resolutione of forsakeing sine and serveing the[e] and trusting in and relying upon thy omnipotency for all things which I or myne can stand in need of for tyme and aeternitie. And in [3v] testimony of this my covenant with my creator, Redeemer, and sanctifier I subscribe it with my hand. Lord, wryte thou it in my heart.

James Nasmyth

2. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik

Foedus Inter D.O.M. & J.C. 24 June 1692

Most glorious and blessed God, Father, Sone, and Holie Spirit: By nature (I do acknowledge) I am ane enemie to thy divyne Majestie, voyde of all grace and principells of good. My originall sin and my actuall transgressions (which I do confess and have spread down before thee as particularly as I could, and acknowledge this day, O Lord). These have utterly ruind and destroyed me, and will to all eternitie separat me, most justly, from thy glorious and blessed presence, unless thou wilt be intreated for thy sone the Lord Jesus Christ's sake to pardon the samen and to heall my soule. Altho' it was my great honore and mercie and so be born a member of thy visible church and airly to receive the seale of the covenant of grace in baptism, yeat I have mightily abused the mercie, and goodness, and longsuffering, and patience, and forbearance of my God, by ane ignorant, unbelieving, untender, godless, graceless, and profane lyfe and conversation in the world. Bot now seing thou hast, O Lord, out of thy infinite mercie (and in a gracious way, as I hope) discovered to me, the sinfulness of my heart and ways, the miserie of my state, and a blissted remedie for both in Jesus Christ, the sone of thy love, the physitian of my soule,¹ and the repairer of my breaches,² whom thou art pleased to offer to me freely, with that satisfieing releife thou hast provided by him upon condition that I will but accept thereof on thy own terms: Therefor, I, who am the greatest of all sinners, a poore sinfull worme, do by these presents declare that I do firmly believe that Jesus Christ who was crucified at Jerusalem was the sone of God and saviour of the elect world, and that there is no name under the sunn by which men can be saved,³ but by the name of Jesus, and I do this day, with all my soule and heart acquiescd in, pleasd, and admird, the Lord's wonderfull, and infinitely merciefull contryvance of man's salvation by him. As also I accept of the offers of the covenant of grace, on the same terms proposed in the Gosple, and I do particularly accept of thee, O eternall and ever blissted God, as my reconciled God in Christ the sone of thy love, and I accept the Lord Jesus Christ to be my Lord and Master, my king, my priest, my prophet, my husband, and righteousness, and wisdom, and sanctification, and redemption, my all in all.

¹ Jesus is never called, directly, a physician, though Mark 2:17 and parallels have Jesus saying: 'They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick'.

² Isaiah 58:12.

³ Acts 4:12.

And I make choise of him in all that he is, and all that may folow him, whither prosperous or adverse. I accept of this righteousness he hath purchased, and I do and will relye thereon and will make mention thereof, yea of itt only, for ever, and to build my hope of salvation upon that foundation allenary. ** As also I accept of thee, O Holy Spirit of God, God equal with the Father and with the Sone, as my teacher and monitor, as my reprover and supporter and advocat and comforter to teach me all things necessar for life and salvation, to bring all things into my remembrance, to work all the worke of God in me which is the work of my salvation to inable me to resist all sin and tentations thereto and to perform all comanded duties by thy secrett influences and by thy everlasting and almightie power. ** As I also I bind myself to the performance of all the duties commanded in the covenant of grace, and particularly of those whereanent my heart formerly hath been most sloathfull and careless to and to have a respect to all thy commands, particularly to those which make against the sins and errors and abominations of the tyme. And lykewyse I oblige myself to resist and fight against all the enemies of my salvation, and to forsake and abhor all the sins of my heart, of my lyfe and conversation, especially my predominant sins and habitual iniquities. And I do resigne my self and all that is myne intirely to thy divine majestie without all reservation whatsoever, consistent with my knowledge. And finally I do in the strenth of the Lord make this personall covenant with thy divyne majestie and do rescinde, disanull, and brok all former covenants, pactions, agreements, and transactions, made by me implicately, with hell and death for now and ever. All which I bind and oblige myself faithfully to perform, provyding (O Lord God of Hosts) thou wilt give me strenth and furniture, and out of thy infinite mercie will make all things forthcomming to me, both on thy pairt and myne, all thy absolute as well as conditionall promises. For without thee, O Lord, I can do nothing that's good and gracious. Provyding lykeways that thou wilt accept of the will and endeavore in place of perfection. And lastly provyding that all my sins and failing shall be covered with the righteousness of Jesus Christ, my blessed cautioner. And now, O blissed Lord, overcome my rebellious heart by thy distinguishing grace and show me a token for good, in giving me a heart of flesh, a spirit of faith and repentance, and all other graces of thy Holie Spirit with joy in believing and perseverance in well doing to the end, and bringing my neck under thy smooth yোক and my back under thy light and easie burden. Now glorie be unto thee, O Father of all mercies, who contryved such a salvation and who gave thy sone to accomplish and perfyte the samen. Glorie be to Christ Jesus who by his precious bloode did purchase and procure my peace and reconciliation with God with all the sweet and rich

fruits and consequences thereof. Glorie be to the Holy Ghost who did most sweetly and powerfully in gentleness and mercie, alarm and influence me (when I was destroying my self and others also) not only by convincing me of my sins and miserie bot also by discovering to me a compleit remedie in a crucified saviour and in determining my heart to close with, to love and accept him which is the desire of all nations and the glorious brydegrome of my soule, and teaching me this day how to covenant my selfe personally to the Lord and to obtain all the benefites of the covenant of grace and to secure to my self the favour and friendship of God forever, in and throw a mediator. And now, seeing I am henceforth no more to be my own but thyne, I do, O blisshed God, cast the care of my self and children, of thy church and people, and all that concerns us upon thy divyne majestie, as our head and Lord for ever and ever. O Lord, undertake for me, so, that whither in lyfe or death, in prosperitie or adversitie, thou may be my solace, my tower of defence, my exceeding great reward and portion for ever, protesting always that failings on my part (against which I shall guard, O Lord, throw thy assistance) shall not make voyd this my personall covenant (for so hast thou said) which I intend not, throw thy grace, to abuse: but so much the more shall studie to express my thankfulness by a holie and gospel-like conversation in the strenth of my Lord and my God. Thy consent to this covenant stands recorded in thy Word, which with thy Holie Spirit and thy embassaders and my necessities and severall dispensations of providence do all invite me to the closing of the bargane. I do therefore (as I am able by the help of thy Holy Spirit[]) with all humilitie, sinceritie, deliberation, distinctly and expressly, and heartily, and yeat boldly in the strenth of the Lord, accept of thy gracious offers of life and salvation of grace and of glorie throw thy Christ and upon thy own terms and will trust in the at all tymes. Marching throw the wilderness of this world, I'll lean on my beloved and follow the Lord Jesus Christ, my righteousness and my strength, the glorious captain of my salvation. I beg libertie to renew this my covenant as oft as need be is. And now, O Lord, as thou art faithfull, pardone all my sins for Christ sake, particularly what is amiss in this my personall covenant and accept of me as righteous in thy sight only for the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ my blisshed Redeemer, in whom only I desire and expect pardone and eternall glorie. And in testimonie of my sinceritie I have written and subscryved these presents at Elvingston, Friday the twentie-fourth day of June 1692.

3. William Gordon

[7] December 14, 1699

Having considered as I could, altho' not as I ought, my lost estate and condition by nature and my uncleanness and vileness by nature, all the powers of my soul being polluted by it and the bent of my inclination to sin, as also my innumerable transgressions of the first and second tables of the law⁴ and my inability to satisfy the justice of God for any of them, and thus God might most justly cast me out of his sight for ever for these my sins and transgressions; likewise, I taking to heart the gospell of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the terms of reconciliation there propos'd, to wit, that if after all my sins and iniquities that are past I will yet forsake my sinfull ways according to Isaiah 55:7, 'he will be mercifull to me'; and to confirm the truth of this he makes offer of himself thro' Christ Jesus to be my God, and that he will make most unworthy me a [8] child of his, and likewise that all which he requires of me he hath also promised to give the same;⁵ and as he requires that I should repent and turn—he hath promised that he would power⁶ out the spirit of supplication, Zechariah 12:10; and he requires that I should make a new heart; he also promises the same, Ezekiel 36:26. He requires I should keep his commandments. This I am willing to do thro' his grace, he making out that promise, Hebrews 8:10,⁷ and I am content if my heart do not deceive me that he make my heart willing to comply not only with his revealed will but also with his providential will with crosses and afflictions; for I profess that in nothing does the naughtiness of my heart appear so far, as I can percieve, in than in spurning of att the cross, it's lifted up under prosperity, cast down under adversity, and I think I could be content to witness—at least God is my witness—to have that promise made good unto me, that 'he will subdue all mine iniquities'⁸ and that sin shall 'not have dominion over me',⁹ and that he would make me faithfull to my engagement to him. I know that without his aid I can do nothing¹⁰ and that thro' his strength I am able to do all things;¹¹ that there is none that have more need of Christ in his kingly office than I,

⁴ i.e., both parts of the ten commandments.

⁵ *SP*, 209.

⁶ pour.

⁷ '... I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people'.

⁸ Micah 7:19.

⁹ Psalm 19:13.

¹⁰ John 15:5.

¹¹ Philippians 4:13.

and O that he would subdue me to himself [9] and rule me; ~~to him~~ for no sooner do difficult duties appear but by and by my heart rises against the same. The law speaks nothing but wrath; the gospell speaks mercy and makes offer of Christ Jesus. I likewise protest that failings on my part make not void the covenant and I do in his strength and thro' his grace promise to walk in some measure suitably ~~xxx~~ accepting of God to be my God and to give away myself to him to be his. I would be, as I think, content that he would make my heart to be for him and not for another and that he would make me to carry right in all the dispensations of his providence and dutys that he calls me to, and that he would make all things forthcoming for me, both on thy part and mine, seriously begging that my corruptions may be subdued and my neck brought under thy sweet yoke in all things, and particularly in submission to crosses. I do heartily acquiesce to the way of salvation thro' the new covenant standing recorded in many places of scripture, Revelation 22:17, Isaiah 55:1, John 6:37. I desire to give my heart to thee to be stamp'd with thy whole will; thou even engaged 'to work both to will and to do'¹² in me, and so I subscribe the same in thy presence.

William Gordon.

¹² Philippians 2:13.

John Welwood, 'Letters', 1675-1677

Letters written by Mr John Walwood while he was preaching up & downe Scotland, in the years 1675, 1676 & 1677

Letter 1st

To Mrs Elizabeth Collace

Kilrage, July 22, 1675

Mrs

I hear of your solitude, but it is well that the Lord is with you. If he were away, all the best company would not fill up his room. But he can fill up the room of all other comforts. Yet it is indeed no mean trial to be deprived of relations, but especially the godly. But if we look to the close of Heman's Psalm,¹ we'll find that, his complaint, besides many other sad ingredients in his trouble. It's to you no small matter of praise that not only 'he stayes his rough wind in the day of his east wind',² but mingles, yea overmasters, what is bitter in your cup with the consolations of his Spirit. The kindness of God is never so felt as when folk are brought into the wilderness, that is, into straits, when folk 'tast and see that he is good, and that they are blest that trust in him'.³ Creatures are but 'broken cisterns, that can hold no waters'.⁴ But he is 'the fountain of living waters'.⁵ And now, you are called away from the streams up to the well's head. Now is the season of living by faith in God. It's time now to consider that your Redeemer liveth,⁶ and is 'the same yesterday, today, and

¹ i.e., Psalm 88; see its introductory note for Heman. The allusion is to v.18, 'Lover and friend hast thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness'.

² Isaiah 27:8.

³ Psalm 34:8.

⁴ Jeremiah 2:13.

⁵ Jeremiah 17:13.

⁶ Job 19:25.

forever',⁷ and that he never leaves nor forsakes his people,⁸ but loves them unto the end.⁹ You must 'cast your burden upon the Lord, and he will sustain you'.¹⁰ 'Be of good courage, and he will strengthen your heart'.¹¹ Unbelief and security are the two most dangerous rocks that the people of God are ready to dash against, and blest are these that keep at a distance from both of them. O study this well, that 'the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, and hope in his mercy'.¹² To fear him, and not to have confidence in his mercy; to fear him, and not to study to walk tenderly—is an error on the left hand. But blessed are they that fear always.¹³ And Psalm 34:8, 'Blessed are they that trust in him', [1v] and trust in him at all times. The godly must not have the way to heaven smooth, and all strowed with roses. Nay, all must 'run with patience the race sett before' them,¹⁴ and endure hardness as good souldiers of Jesus Christ. But the comfort is, he will not tempt above what we are able,¹⁵ and we shall be 'more than conquerours through him that hath loved us'.¹⁶ And the afflictions 'are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us'.¹⁷

When I shall return, I know not; I expect it will not be so soon as once I hoped. Perhaps you put too much confidence in this, that I should tarry in the country, and now, Mrs Geddie¹⁸ is gone also, that creatures may appear what they are, waters that fail.¹⁹ 'For who is a God save the Lord? And who is a rock save our God?'²⁰ Although your friends are not near you, yet they are not dead; they mind you. And though they were dead, 'the Lord liveth, and (you may say), blessed be my rock, and let the God of my salvation be exalted'.²¹ And who knows, but 'he that scattred Israel may gather them' again shortly.²²

I rest your loving friend to serve you. John Walwood.

⁷ Hebrews 13:8.

⁸ Hebrews 13:5.

⁹ John 13:1.

¹⁰ Psalm 55:22.

¹¹ Psalm 31:24.

¹² Psalm 33:18.

¹³ Deuteronomy 14:23; Psalm 135:20.

¹⁴ Hebrews 12:1.

¹⁵ 1 Corinthians 10:13.

¹⁶ Romans 8:37.

¹⁷ Romans 8:18.

¹⁸ Unidentified; apparently not wife of John or mother of Emilie, noted below, n. 62, as the woman noted there was apparently alive at the time of her daughter's death in 1681.

¹⁹ Jeremiah 15:18.

²⁰ Psalm 18:31.

²¹ Psalm 18:46.

²² Jeremiah 31:10.

Letter 2nd

To Mr Thomas Hogg

*Killoch*²³

October 5th, 1675

Right Reverend

I think you are preparing strangely for some good days. For you have had a long heavy storme (my opinion I speak at random), you have a strong back, and you have as heavy a burden. You have gotten great manifestations, and you behooved to goe a long and driry journey upon that meat, and you have good days abiding you, and you have as humbling and bitter providences for them. But I'l[l] say this (at random too), ye have naturally a stout, strong spirit, and little will not bow it downe. But I believe I speake not this as if you knew it not. I write to others divinity, but I write little to you, because it were great folly. Yet I may be a fool in some things. He will not contend forever.²⁴ He will not tempt above what we are able.²⁵ Your courage hath been exercised in doing before this time, and now it is better tryed in enduring. Let me speak a little as a fool.²⁶ James [1:4] saith, 'Let patience have her perfect worke, that yee may be perfect, wanting nothing'. 'And blessed is the man that endureth temptations; when he is tryed, he shall receive the crowne of life'.²⁷ Peter [1 Peter 4:12-13] saith, when he is tried, 'think it not strange concerning the fiery trial as if some uncouth thing happned but rejoyce that ye are partakers of the [2r] sufferings of Christ'. I know it is one thing to say, another thing to doe.

There is another thing in your letter about not giving way to dampes. I have indeed been ruined with melancholly, and I knew it not till I came here. And I found sensibly in prayer with much of the dampes of my mind to evanish. But if ever I be rid of them, I know not. But sure I am, I give no way to them, for I have discovered what they are.²⁸ I find they have hurt my mind exceedingly, but I have been sometimes quickned with the hopes that he would fullfill my desire. I do expect, above what I see or ask or think. But I see it is best for me to be needy and to meet with several things to afflict me.

²³ in Fife; see above, p.15, conjecturing Kinloch.

²⁴ Isaiah 57:16.

²⁵ 1 Corinthians 10:13.

²⁶ 2 Corinthians 11:23.

²⁷ James 1:12.

²⁸ see Hugh Rose, *Meditations on Several Interesting Subjects* (Edinburgh, 1762), 158-9, cited in *WLW*, 31.

I am content of them, for sometimes I discern in some measure what the Lord is designing by them. And I find him, gently and wisely, piece and piece, moulding me to what he would have me, and piece and piece, granting my petition.

I remain, &c. J. W.

Letter 3d

To Mrs Elizabeth Collace

St Andrews

November 2, 1675

Mrs

You know it is his people's lot to be brought through fire and water, through contrary trials. But we have his promise, that he will be with us when we goe through the fire and water.²⁹ Wee may, to this day, set up a stone and call it Ebenezer, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us'.³⁰ It becomes us to trust in him at all times and for all things, and to poure out our hearts before him. For God is a refuge,³¹ and they that know him will put their trust in him, for he hath never 'forsaken them that seek him'.³² We cannot lippen³³ too much to him. Faith puts much honour on him, and only these that sin without a cause shall be ashamed, not these that desire in some measure to keep the ways of their God, and depart not wickedly from him. Faith must have works,³⁴ and we must not still be under sensible manifestations of his love. But when we are under darkness and have no light, we must trust in the name of the Lord, and stay ourselves upon our God,³⁵ and 'remember the days of old',³⁶ and 'the years of the right hand of the most High'.³⁷ We must not want jumbings;³⁸ our heart and our flesh must fail,³⁹ and our faith may fail. But our safety lyes in his keeping hold of us, and not in our keeping grip of him. 'And though we

²⁹ Psalm 66:12.

³⁰ 1 Samuel 7:12, 'Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us', hence 'stone of help'.

³¹ Psalm 62:8.

³² Psalm 9:10.

³³ rely, trust.

³⁴ James 2:17-18.

³⁵ Isaiah 50:10.

³⁶ Deuteronomy 32:7; Psalm 143:5.

³⁷ Psalm 77:10.

³⁸ agitations, confusions.

³⁹ Psalm 73:26.

believe not, yet he remaineth faithfull, and cannot deny himself.⁴⁰ Though we be many a time as beasts before him, yet he is continually with us. We must wrestle, but we shall be 'more than con[2v]querors through him that hath loved us'.⁴¹ But let us be patient, for we shall within a little enter into peace, and the day of our 'redemption draweth nigh'.⁴² The saints' seed-time is short. But O how long is their harvest? Our present afflictions 'are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us'.⁴³ I think all our duties may be summed up in these two only: believe continually, 'and watch evermore unto prayer'.⁴⁴

I am &c. J. W.

Postscript: I did a little mind you as you desire. 'You need not fear, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you a kingdom'.⁴⁵ You are in the hand of one that hath brought many sons into glory. Wee sometimes fear and are troubled, but we are in no hazard, for we are built upon the rock of ages,⁴⁶ and our anchor is fixed within the vail,⁴⁷ and the gates of hell may terrify us, but not prevail against us.⁴⁸

Letter 4th

To Mr Richard Cameron

Edinburgh

December 13, 1675

Brother

You have the honour to be persecuted for righteousness.⁴⁹ Have a care;⁵⁰ be

⁴⁰ 2 Timothy 2:13.

⁴¹ Romans 8:37.

⁴² Luke 21:28.

⁴³ Romans 8:18.

⁴⁴ 1 Peter 4:7.

⁴⁵ Luke 12:32.

⁴⁶ A familiar phrase in Scottish religious autobiographies, e.g. *The Memoirs of Walter Pringle of Greenknow*, in *SB*, i, 470, and *WLW*, 141, 263, 386, but not a biblical quotation. One does find 'rock' used frequently, sometimes in tandem with 'clefs', but generally in a negative sense of trying to evade God. But Exodus 33:21-2 reads, 'And the Lord said [to Moses], Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock: and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cliff of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by ...'. A. M. Toplady's famous and beloved hymn by the same name was first published in the *Gospel Magazine* in 1775. See J. Julian (ed.), *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, rev. edn. (London, 1915), 970-2.

⁴⁷ Hebrews 6:19.

⁴⁸ Matthew 16:18.

⁴⁹ Matthew 5:10.

⁵⁰ 1 Corinthians 12:25.

not lifted up,⁵¹ for there may be several trials before your hand. If you keep near him, all is well. You know, all that goe heavenward are wrestlers,⁵² and 'through many tribulations we must enter'.⁵³ All things are ebbing and flowing, but God is ay the same, and he alters folk's lot and makes them to have changes, that they may build all their hope and happiness on the rock of ages. Your heart will fail and your flesh will fail,⁵⁴ but your God will never fail you. He will be with you as long as you are with him.

[no salutation or signature]

Letter 5th

To Mr Richard Cameron

Killoch

October 5, 1675

Brother

I am glad (and ye may think it strange) that Satan and his instruments love you not; for it is a token that you are non of theirs. But O that you and I, and all that professteth his way, may be real and heart Christians. I am glad that the Lord is encouraging you, and that you have the love of his people. The Lord help you to walk humbly, watchfully, and thankfully with God. As for that worke, I wish that the Lord [3r] may continue it and increase it, and make you instrumental in your station therein. Be not high minded [haughty, proud], but fear, for there may be stormes before you. But if you be diffident of yourself and your own strength, and trust in him in whom is everlasting strength, keeping near him by faith, he will carry you through. As for the case of this country: John Balfour,⁵⁵ I bade him write to you. In a word, all this [things?] are almost as you left them shortly. Only there is more peace, except what Henry Murray⁵⁶ doth, who hath taken and fined some, but few that had any good, most part such as had long since run back to hear the curates.⁵⁷ There is no news. All, I think, will be quiet till the English parliament.⁵⁸ The

⁵¹ 1 Timothy 3:6.

⁵² Ephesians 6:12.

⁵³ Acts 14:22.

⁵⁴ Psalm 73:26.

⁵⁵ see above, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Henry Murray, sheriff-depute of Perth; *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 587.

⁵⁷ He refers to those people who attended services in parish churches staffed by episcopal clergy, and especially those intruded into parishes once held by now-deprived presbyterians.

⁵⁸ What he had in mind is not obvious. The English parliament, the so-called Long Parliament of the Restoration or the Cavalier Parliament (1661-79), had met on 13 April 1675 and was then

bishop⁵⁹ and chancellor⁶⁰ are great. The eyes of God, angels, Satan, the wicked, the godly, and of your own conscience are upon you. Your soul and the honour of God are at the stake. Therefor be watchfull.

Your father came to Faulkland the last week, and the clark caused take him and put him in prison, and Drum⁶¹ became caution for him, and he is to compear tomorrow. What will come of it, I cannot tell. He is in the Lord's hand. You will get word with the first occasion. The clark sent to him when he was in prison and offered to let him out if he would tell where John Geddie's registers⁶² lay (that is the reall cause, and so there is the more hope that they will let him goe). He answered that he would depone⁶³ upon oath that he knew not. The Lord will order as well. Folk must have their life mixt with sweet and bitter.

Present my humble respects to your lady. Tell her from me, it will be her joy and crowne in the day of Christ to own him and his people and his way, and to disown Satan and this abominable and apostat generation.

J. W.

Postscript: I have heard this night that your father is let pass free, and is gone this day to Edinburgh. He had many pleading for him and got him free. This day the letters of intercommuning are proclaimed at Coupar.

prorogued on 9 June. It convened again on 13 Oct. and was again prorogued, for 15 months, on 22 Nov. Neither meeting produced much of consequence. Parliament was fractious, and in the background Danby was jockeying to maintain his own influence while France was promising money to the king so as to allow for prorogation.

⁵⁹ James Sharp, archbishop of St Andrews, 1661-79.

⁶⁰ John Leslie, 7th earl and 1st duke of Rothes (1630-81). He was much in disfavour with Cromwell, and was for some years close to Charles II. He was made chancellor for life in 1667.

⁶¹ No clear identification. Drum Castle is a short distance SW of Aberdeen. But there is also a location known as the Drum in Liberton parish, now absorbed by Edinburgh, where the Lords Somerville dwelt.

⁶² Might these have been books with the names of other conventiclers and times and places of meetings? John Geddie of Falkland was up on charges of attending conventicles in 1674; *RPC*, 3rd ser., iv, 449. He was a servant of the Marquis of Atholl, then Stewart of Fife, and was father of the famed Emilia Geddie. See *Some Choice Sentences and Practices of Emilia Geddie, daughter to John Geddie of Hiltoun in Falkland, in the Sheriffdom of Fife, from her infancy, to her death on 2d of February 1681* (Edinburgh, 1741 [orig. 1717]); and see A. A. Bonar (ed.), *Emilia Geddie: A Child of the Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1855), introduction. There is a life of John Geddie in *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club* (Edinburgh, 1837), 325-51.

⁶³ declare.

Letter 6t[h]

Lesly

July 8th, 1676

I find it still a great difficulty to be clear of the Lord's call (in those things that are dubious) and many a time I take mine own way. Since I saw you, I have gotten another lesson about the life of faith, but fain an ill scholar. O but a Christian hath much worke while he is hereaway.⁶⁴ He hath sin, Satan, dissertion, afflictions, and plagues to debate withall. The Lord hath made the way for the most part rough to humble us, and to keep us in dependance upon him for throughbearing. [3v] But this is our comfort: the way is not long, and he will bring all his people to land, whether they believe or doubt. 'Of them thou gavest me I have lost non',⁶⁵ saith he. But faith is very needfull for our journey, for our righteousness and strength⁶⁶ lyes all in Christ. All our safety lyes in his care and love. He is the God that doth wonders, and though we be sinfull and unbelieving, yet his wayes not being like our wayes,⁶⁷ he will help us. But yet we have need of trials and afflictions to purge out our corruptions, and this hath been the lot of all his people in all ages.

No more but rests &c. J. W.

Letter 7th

Lesly

July 8, 1675 [1676?]

Sister.

Having oppurtunity and resolved to write a line to you, I am in ordinary health since I came over. I was a little tossed for a while, and much perplexed for want of sense. I would fain have been at this, to have all things according to my mind, that is, to have the light of his countenance⁶⁸ shining over upon me, and to have my hand above all mine enemies.⁶⁹ But when I was thus restless and not satisfyed with myself, I was taught 'to live by faith',⁷⁰ a profitable lesson for us and pleasing to God, but a lesson that we are very

⁶⁴ hither.

⁶⁵ John 18:9.

⁶⁶ Isaiah 45:24.

⁶⁷ Isaiah 55:8.

⁶⁸ Psalm 4:6, 44:3, 89:15, 90:8.

⁶⁹ 'mine enemies' is a common phrase in the Psalms.

⁷⁰ Habbakuk 2:4; Romans 1:17; Galatians 2:20, 3:11; Hebrews 10:38.

backward unto, for we will not believe except we see.⁷¹ The Lord is much displeased when we doubt of his love, especially since we have so many evidences of it, since he hath often manifested himself unto us, and wrought in our souls. Except he be smiling (this is our nature) we will not believe he loves us. If he would dandle⁷² us 20 years in his lap, and then hide himself, we would quickly grow jealous of his love. It is well-pleasing to him, profitable and comforting to ourselves, to presume of his love, to ventur to believe he loves us. He loves not to play his people a slip, and gar⁷³ them trow⁷⁴ he loves them, when there is no such thing. We may build much upon his Word and his worke in our souls, his kisses and manifestations. For Christ is no dissembler. I know nothing that should discourage a Christian. There is not one discouragement in all the Word of God, but many are his encouragements. But through our folly and unbelief we lose the comfort of them. —⁷⁵ Should guilt discourage us, 'since he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness [4r] of God through him?'⁷⁶ Christ saith to the Father, if the Christian oweth the[e] anything, put that upon my accompt. 'The blood of sprinkling speaks better things than that of Abel'.⁷⁷ — Should wrath discourage us? 'He hath redeemed us from the curse, being made a curse for us',⁷⁸ and 'there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus'.⁷⁹ — Should our darknes and ignorance discourage us? Though we be as beasts before him, yet he is continually with us and leads us like a flock. Our safety lyes not in our wisdom and leading, but in his. And what though we be foolish, our pilot is skillfull and carefull. — Doth a body of sin and death discourage us? Indeed we have reason to cry out, 'O wretched ones that we are!'⁸⁰ Who shall deliver us from it? For it deadneth us and deceiveth us, as little inclining to that which is good, but much to ill, and renders us backward to, and clogs us in, duty, and puts us out of frame⁸¹ for it. And if we say, we will be wise, yet it is far

⁷¹ John 4:48, 20:25.

⁷² Isaiah 66:12.

⁷³ compel.

⁷⁴ believe.

⁷⁵ in MS.

⁷⁶ 2 Corinthians 5:21.

⁷⁷ Hebrews 12:24.

⁷⁸ Galatians 3:13.

⁷⁹ Romans 8:1.

⁸⁰ Romans 7:24; conflated with 8:2, 'sin and death'.

⁸¹ Psalm 103:14, 'He knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust'. The term is common in contemporary literature, including the material found in this volume, referring to a psychological state. See, e.g., Robert Trail, *A Letter from a Father to his Children* (Edinburgh, 1722),

from us. Yet his grace is sufficient for us.⁸² Not grace within us, but grace without us is that whereupon our safety lyes. If he would but leave us to our selves but for a day, how far wrong would we run? But he hath given us this promise, that his grace shall be sufficient for us. It is by this grace that we stand. It's by that 'we are made more than conquerours'⁸³ in all the assaults and temptations that come from without, from Satan and from the world. It's he that keeps from temptations and delivers from evil.⁸⁴ Therefor we should not be discouraged by a body of sin,⁸⁵ and all enemies that joyn with it, but should 'be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might',⁸⁶ for he is with us as a might[y] One.⁸⁷ — Doth our little growth in grace and in the knowledge of Christ discourage us? Indeed that is our great complaint, our leanness, our leanness. It's fit that folk grow do[wn]wards in low thoughts of themselves, for he dwells with the humble.⁸⁸ And the more folk have of grace, the more they see of corruption; the more they have of faith, the more do they see of unbelieve. It's fit that folk have worke within them, to keep them watching and wresting. For, what an evil case find we ourselves in when we are out of worke. Besides, we many times make an idol of grace, and prize it more than the author of it, the Lord Jesus who may say unto us, Am not I more worth to you than never so much grace? The God of all grace⁸⁹ is ours. The fountain is ours; we are compleat in him, and he is a fit purs-master for us; it's fitter he have our treasure than we ourselves. We would have as much as would serve us for all our journey. This is still the aim of our hearts, and we would have a stock of grace within us, and so we needed not be beholden to Christ [4v] for continuall supply. We think it a poor life to live like beggars, and to be like minors that must have a tutor. It's because we think what is in our hand is surer, and many more easily win at it than what is in Christ's hand. But Adam had his stock in his own hand, and he soon played the bankrupt. If we had

30; the letter was written in 1665. '... for an equal, constant frame of spirit, that you may not be soon cast down, nor rashly frighted with every unexpected thing, and often put out of frame, and have so many ups and downs, like the legs of the lame ...'. James Nisbet wrote: 'Thus I continued a long time with a trembling agonized soul the temper and disposition of which was as far unframed and out of order as ever any rational creature ...'. NC, NIS, James Nisbet, 'Ichabod's Groans', 85. See also West, *Memoirs*, 45.

⁸² 2 Corinthians 12:9.

⁸³ Romans 8:37.

⁸⁴ Matthew 6:13; Luke 11:4.

⁸⁵ Romans 6:6.

⁸⁶ Ephesians 6:10.

⁸⁷ 'mighty One' appears at least 4 times in Isaiah.

⁸⁸ Isaiah 57:15.

⁸⁹ 1 Peter 5:10.

never so much grace, we would ruine ourselves if his grace were not dayly and momentarily keeping us. It is not our grace and worthiness that commends us to God, but the righteousness of Christ. We are obliged to God for the grace we get, not he to us. If he will keep us with little in hand, we ought to be content and not fall out with him because he will not fill oure purses with money, since we have access unto the treasure house.⁹⁰ — Doth disertation discourage us? Our world below is clear, but sometimes and there are many fogs and clouds in it. But all is fair above. Though to our sense his love changeth, yet 'with him is no variableness, nor shaddow of turning'.⁹¹ He loves as well when he hides his face as when he smiles, and he hath many wise and holy ends in all the afflictions we meet with. They are to ballast us. One would think that were unskillfull, [when] she saw folk casting in sand and earth into a ship, 'Why cast they in such stuff?' But it's necessare, for the ship would be blown over if it were not so. We would miscarry if we wanted a ballast of affliction. Have we not the experience of it? How ready are our hearts to grow light and unwatchfull in a fair day? Afflictions give us the experience of his power, love, wisdom, and faithfullness in his bearing us up under them, ordering them for our advantage, delivering us out of them. Also, they purge out our sins,⁹² and 'make us partakers of his holyness',⁹³ and keep us wakeing and watching. Our Lord will 'not leave us nor forsake us'.⁹⁴ We may be sure of victory. And, O what an inheritance we are predestinated unto! It becomes us ill to be unthankfull and discontent when the Lord hath shewed us that mercy, to teach and instruct with a strong hand, 'that we should not walk in the way' of the world.⁹⁵ He might have left us to run unto the same excess of riot with them, to forget God and our own soul altogether. Is not God our Father? Christ our husband? The Spirit our constant companion? Angels our attendants? And devil, wicked men, sin, death, hell all under our feet? The creation all working together for our good?⁹⁶ and heaven our home? Satan and our folly combining together make us to pore upon those things that may sadden us and keep us out of sight of our priviledges. Here is our duty: 'rejoycing in hope; patient in tribulation; continowing instant in prayer'.⁹⁷ As for publick things, I believe 'he who will come, shall

⁹⁰ 'treasure house' in Ezra 7:20; Nehemiah 10:38; Daniel 1:2.

⁹¹ James 1:17.

⁹² Psalm 79:9.

⁹³ Hebrews 12:10.

⁹⁴ 1Kings 8:57; Psalm 27:9; Hebrews 13:5.

⁹⁵ Isaiah 8:11.

⁹⁶ Romans 8:28.

⁹⁷ Romans 12:12.

come, and will not tarry'.⁹⁸ 'But who may abide the day of his coming? [5r] and who will stand when he appears?'⁹⁹ Happy soul that shall be found watching and keeping clean garments when he comes.¹⁰⁰ I believe the day is coming when 'the iniquity of Jacob [Israel] shall be sought ... and shall not be found: for he will pardon them whom he reserves'.¹⁰¹ Now, as for your particular, 'cast all your care on him; for he careth for you'.¹⁰² O but to trust in him honours him greatly. 'Acknowledge him in all your ways',¹⁰³ and do nothing to offend him. 'He is a shield to them that trust in him'.¹⁰⁴ Remember also, that 'it's good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth'.¹⁰⁵ Afflictions are the court-gate to heaven. Consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest you be weary and faint in your mind, for 'you have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin'.¹⁰⁶ Blessed is the man that endureth chastiments.¹⁰⁷ As for your carrying in that place, remember that, to 'be wise as serpents, and harmless as doves'.¹⁰⁸ Defile not your garments with the evil of the city, for it's hard to walk on burning coals, and not to be burnt with them.¹⁰⁹ O study to be amongst the 'few names in Sardis that have not defiled their garments'.¹¹⁰ Be humble, live near God, watch, and examin your walk continually. The Christian's life is a warfare;¹¹¹ he must not lay downe his armes.

I remain, your &c. J. W.

⁹⁸ Hebrews 10:37.

⁹⁹ Malachi 3:2.

¹⁰⁰ Revelation 3:4 and 16:15.

¹⁰¹ Jeremiah 50:20, from first person to third in final phrase.

¹⁰² 1 Peter 5:7.

¹⁰³ Proverbs 3:6.

¹⁰⁴ Proverbs 30:5.

¹⁰⁵ Lamentations 3:27.

¹⁰⁶ Hebrews 12:4.

¹⁰⁷ Hebrews 12:5-11.

¹⁰⁸ Matthew 10:16.

¹⁰⁹ Proverbs 6:28.

¹¹⁰ Revelation 3:4.

¹¹¹ 2 Corinthians 10:4 or 1 Timothy 1:18.

*Letter 8th**To Mrs Katharin Collace, or Mrs Ross*¹¹²

Mrs

I hear you have been at the gates of death,¹¹³ and besides have had afflictions from other airths. Many a time 'deep calleth upon deep' on his people; and 'all his waves and his billows goe over them. Yet he commands his lovingkindness to them in the daytime, and his song is with them in the night'.¹¹⁴ He chastneth and teacheth you out of his law, that he may give you rest from the days of evil. And he lifts you up from the gates of death, that he may declare all his praises in the gates of the daughter of Zion. I can never hit upon one person that wants their sore afflictions—I mean, of those that are serious. As for my own part, I have more bodily health than before, but I want not my inward clouds and enough of things that have made me weary of my life. But lately I have discovered the Lord's design in deserting me, vezt, that I might learn the life of faith, to which I find great backwardness. O but that challenge agrees well to me, 'O fool, and slow of heart to believe'.¹¹⁵ I find vast folly and ignorance, and a vast sloath as to believing. Faith puts a sweet foiling on present sufferings, and prophesies good for the future. [5v] I find my sad days that I have are meerly through unbelief. There is peace and joy in believing, and it also strengthens the soul and treads down our corruptions. It's a conquering thing, faith. I would fain lippen¹¹⁶ much good at the hand of God, and am content, if I could, to border upon presumption in my thought. The all of a Christian is faith. (I am so angry at the persecution in your country, that if it lay in my power to anger them I would travel as far as Murray.) To watch and believe are the two great works this day. O to be found so doing when he comes.¹¹⁷ I have enough adoe to know if there be any life in my hopes as to a speedy deliverance. But I had rather venture upon a beguile than be discouraged. And surely 'though it tarry, we may wait, ... for it will not tarry'.¹¹⁸

I rest &c., J. W.

¹¹² Katharine Collace, wife of John Ross. James Nimmo introduces her as 'that eminentie pious woman, Mistris Ross by her husband & Kathrin Colace by name'; *Narrative*, 26.

¹¹³ Psalm 9:13.

¹¹⁴ Psalm 42:7-8, somewhat altered.

¹¹⁵ Luke 24:25.

¹¹⁶ expect.

¹¹⁷ Luke 12:43.

¹¹⁸ Habakkuk 2:3.

Letter 9th

To Mrs Katharin Collace

Lesly

July 12, 1676

Mrs

I gote a little sense frequently for a while after I came south, but at length I met with a little more cloudy weather, and still I was pursuing after sense, untill the last week, that the Lord with an high hand taught me to 'live by faith'. He taught me twice before, but still I forgate the lesson, and it's like may yet forget it. He may justly say, 'O fool, and slow of heart to believe'.¹¹⁹ I had a dullness in, and intractableness unto all his lessons, but especially as to two. The one is being guided by his counsell; the other is living by faith.¹²⁰ As to the first, it's a vast difficultie; yea, if he help me not, an impossibility to get the will put in determenation unto, and made willing to follow his leading. O it is stubborn and headstrong, especially in smal and indifferent things. Also, there is such darkness in the understanding that it is hard to take up the mind of God. And it [is] hard, to[o], not to bring things in debate afterwards. It is hard to wait for his counsell¹²¹ and not be hurried. It's hard to take up his mind. It's hard, afterwards, not to call in question. I cannot say (except I would lie) I am not a great stranger to this bussiness, and it is a thing I have had sometimes sad tossings in. The second thing is the life of faith. It is a difficulty to believe what seems contrary to sense. Especially this is difficult to join over this objection, vizt, I cannot believe, for oftentimes we make faith the ground of our faith, and believe because we are helped to believe; whereas, 'if we believe not, he is faithfull [6r] and cannot deny himself'.¹²² It is a great bussiness to believe when there is not so much sense as to quicken faith, not so much as a breathing on faith. For I think the main difficulty lyeth in stirring up ourselves to lay hold on him and to row against wind and tide.¹²³ It is much to venture in the dark, and to threep¹²⁴ kindness on God; to reason downe unbeliefe and discouragement; and to take a good heart to ourselves (as the proverb is) or to be of good courage; to strive to presume (I mean that which Satan calls presuming); to strive (so to speak) to beguile ourselves and

¹¹⁹ Luke 24:25.

¹²⁰ Habakkuk 2:4; Romans 1:17; Galatians 2:20, 3:11; Hebrews 10:38.

¹²¹ Psalm 106:13.

¹²² 2 Timothy 2:13.

¹²³ Mark 6:48.

¹²⁴ importune.

to fancy ourselves in a fool's paradise. For our comfort lyes not in this, that things are well, but in this, that we think they are well. Our safety lyes in his faithfullness, but our comfort in our faith.¹²⁵

I'll give this example. There is a man in straits. A false knave promiseth him money at such a day. He supposes him to be an honest man, and so believes it, is at peace for the present, reaps as much comfort as if the man were faithfull, and the ground sure that he builds his comfort on. There is another in straits, and an honest man promiseth to supply him, but he doubteth whether he will do it or not, wants peace thereby. This is very true: except we believe, we shall not be established. We would ay be established by sense. But the Lord will not have us leaning upon that ebbing and flowing ground. We would see, and then believe, but we should labour to delude (as it were) ourselves, and believe that which we cannot see and feel. Satan makes the world believe that which they should not believe, and calls that faith which is indeed presumption, and he labours all he can to hinder the godly from believing what they ought to believe, and calls that presumption, which is indeed faith. I saw it last week, that there was much wisdom and duty in it for me to believe his love and to trust much in him, and to boast much in him, and all the day long, to construct well of all that he doth. I was troubled about backsliding,¹²⁶ but that trouble was removed. I saw well the reason why we are so tossed. It is because we pore still upon ourselves, and take our comforts from what is in us, which is but like Jonah's gourd,¹²⁷ whereas his people are compleat in him 'who is made wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption to us'.¹²⁸ Our safty and comfort lyes not in what is within us, but in what is without us: our wisdom for leading, or righteousness for acceptation, or strength for doing or suffering: all things are not in me, but without me. Christ is the covenanter with the Father¹²⁹ to be righteousness to render us accepted, and to be strength, to worke in me 'to will and to do',¹³⁰ and we are but bare consenters. He is the cautioner¹³¹ that hath taken upon him all the debt, and hath also bound himself to teach, rule, and defend us. I think these are two usefull positions for doubting folk: 1st, it's wisdom [6v] and duty to presume (so Satan calls faith); cast not away your confidence (which Satan calls presumption) which hath great recompence of reward.

¹²⁵ Matthew 9:22; Luke 8:48; Romans 1:12.

¹²⁶ used 13 times in Jeremiah.

¹²⁷ Jonah 4:6.

¹²⁸ 1 Corinthians 1:30.

¹²⁹ The second of the three covenants of federal theology.

¹³⁰ Philippians 2:13.

¹³¹ This use of a Scottish term for a guarantor was no novelty. See *SP*, 41.

2ndly, as our faith and apprehension of things vary, things do not vary in themselves. Sometimes we apprehend Christ to be ours, and all things going well. At other times we doubt, but God is ay the same. Christ the Redeemer still liveth.¹³² 'All things still worke together' for our good.¹³³ One that hath the vertigo thinks that things turn round, but it is not so. We have experience enough of this, that when we were as beasts before him, we knew not anything. Yet, even then he was with us. It's much to say, when he smites, that it's well and in love. There is a hoping against hope¹³⁴ (if I take it up right), a believing against faith, which is the flowre of believing. Its easy to believe when folk are helped to believe, but it's another thing to believe when there is no breathing on faith, then to stir up faith. 'Why art thou disquieted?'¹³⁵ (says he.) Trust in God. It's a great thing to believe against sense, but a greater to believe against faith.

Now, what I have written about faith, I wrote it to Jean; possibly she is bent upon sense. 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet believe'.¹³⁶ 'The Lord reigns; let the earth rejoyce'.¹³⁷ For anything I can see, faith and patience must be the life of the godly while they are hereaway, and I know not which of them is greatest. It's said, godliness with contentment is great gain, which imports, that, though folk be godly, if they want patience and contentment, they will have but a pityfull life of it. I have sometimes suspected our comfort to ly not in the getting our condition conformed to our hearts, but in conforming our hearts to our condition; not in forcing the will of God to our will, but in bending our will to his; not in its desireableness to sense or carnal reason, but in believing its desireableness according to the Word. Our will and understanding are two troublesome things. The one seldome takes up things right; the other seldome inclines to what is right. The one ordinarily speaks what is untruth; the other desires what is evil. For ought I can see, folk will never be perfect triumphant Christians untill they be in heaven.¹³⁸

I can write nothing but generalls because of the uncertainty of conveyance. Only, as to preaching, I am on the contrair extreme to frequency, for I have not at all preached these ten days, neither on the Lord's day nor on the weekday. I could be well satisfied if I could get liberty to preach but on the Lord's day and but once in the week days, but I am

¹³² Job 19:25.

¹³³ Romans 8:28.

¹³⁴ Romans 4:18.

¹³⁵ Psalm 42:5, 11; 43:5.

¹³⁶ John 20:29.

¹³⁷ Psalm 97:1.

¹³⁸ SP, 115.

strangely hindered these weeks bygone. What is the cause I cannot find out, whether it be in me, or if it be in the times, for we are all at peace here and, I think, pyning away for want either of persecution [7r] or deliverance. I have no doubt at all about a deliverance; I oft think it not far off, but then I think his comming will ruin all. For I think he delays only to try our faith, and the way of the comming will try it better. There will be little faith on the earth when he comes,¹³⁹ and yet, he will never be awhile the farder off that our faith be low. I am confident: 'He will turn again, and he will have compassion on us; he will subdue our iniquities; and cast our sins into the deept[h]s of the sea'. He will performe the truth and mercy which he hath sworn to our fathers.¹⁴⁰ I find it my greatest difficulty to believe when the enemie leaves off a little to persecute and we turn secure. But I doubt not, but 'he will come skipping over the mountains, and leaping over the hills',¹⁴¹ and nothing shall be able to stop him. I am confident that all that 31 chapter of Jeremiah shall be made out to the church in due time.¹⁴²

As for your troubles in that country, some dead, some imprisoned, and possibly not that livelyness that hath once been amongst you. It's fit his people be made low before he exalt them. It's fit they be put out of conceit of their own righteousness, that free grace may have the glory of the deliverance. We are deader, I think, hereaway, than ye were long since. But 'after two days he will revive us ... and we shall live in his sight'.¹⁴³ As for that ye write about, that I expressed my backwardness to goe north—I find never anything but a rational¹⁴⁴ backwardness. And for ought I know, I could submit to goe east, west, south, north, or anywhere, if the Lord called me. But I am sure I am called to be nowhere but where I am.

I rest &c. J.W.

Letter 10

To Mr Richard Cameron

Lesly

July 12, 1676

¹³⁹ Luke 18:8.

¹⁴⁰ Micah 7:19–20.

¹⁴¹ Song 2:8, 'leaping' and 'skipping' reversed.

¹⁴² v. 4, 'Again I will build thee'.

¹⁴³ Hosea 6:2.

¹⁴⁴ Presumably a judgement based on his own reason, without any sense of divine leading.

Brother

I am glad that the Lord helped you to be faithfull to him in that family you were in and that that enemy hath no evil to say of you, and that it is given to you not only to believe but to suffer for his name's sake.¹⁴⁵ The Lord hath been training you in the high court gate to heaven, which is through many tribulations. And when we have past one wave, we must look for another. Especially untill the Lord return unto the land, all his fellowes¹⁴⁶ may expect tossings, and only a little refreshing between hands. I know a little of it in my own experience, that the Christian's life is a warfare,¹⁴⁷ and 'he that standeth, hath need to take heed lest he fall'.¹⁴⁸ We had need to be still on our guard, for Satan goes still about like a roaring lion.¹⁴⁹ We have an ill heart [7v] within that is ready to faint in a foul day, and to miscarry when there is the least blink.¹⁵⁰ We had need often to sitt doune and to count the cost—and heaven will cost us no smal toil and na few crosses, and many ups and downs will wee meet with, 'ere we win there. And it's hard to say whether the downs be bitterer or the ups dangerouser. Sure I am, humility is excellent ballast for us in this sore voyage, and these that have much of this will miss many sore troubles that others met with. O, but it takes much to humble us, and it is not done all at once, but piece and piece. For though the Lord should keep us humble many a day, yet the very second that he lifts us up we are ready to miscarry. Happy soul that hopes and is encouraged in a storme, and fears, and is humble in a blink. O but it takes long time and much pains to teach us wisdom, for we are at first as a wild asse-colt.¹⁵¹

For my part, I may say, I am bruitisher than any man. I cannot win to learn anything of these three great lessons, vizt, humility, believing, and watchfullness. But in this we may comfort ourselves, all our springs are in him. The fountain is full. If we could come to find our own wants and by faith to draw out supplies from him, he is ay at our right hand, or else we would goe quite wrong, for we are ay destroying ourselves, and he is ay helping us.

Now, for what you speak about advice anent your tarrying or returning: I hope the Lord will guide you by his counsel. 'Acknowledge him in all your

¹⁴⁵ Acts 9:16.

¹⁴⁶ Might the original have read 'followers'?

¹⁴⁷ 1 Timothy 1:19.

¹⁴⁸ 1 Corinthians 10:11.

¹⁴⁹ 1 Peter 5:8.

¹⁵⁰ 'the least glimpse of difficulty'.

¹⁵¹ Job 11:12.

wayes, and he will direct your steps'.¹⁵² But I'll tell you in briefe what I think: except ye have hope of some convenient place in that country, I know no advantage you can have in tarrying in it, and not this. All is not gold that glitters. Your rather tarrying in Edinburgh, possibly you may get yourself licenced there.¹⁵³ I am not sure of it, but the Lord may bring such a thing to pass. We are all in great peace hereaway. But sure I am that they have taken the best and wisest course, that are 'taking unto them the whole armour of God, that they may be able to stand in the evil day'.¹⁵⁴ I believe he will come and will not tarry,¹⁵⁵ but I still think, 'who may abide the day of his comming?'¹⁵⁶ He will be a devouring fire when he comes.¹⁵⁷ The Lord be with you.

I rest &c. J.W.

Post Script: We must not seek great things for ourselves whiles Zion is in trouble. [8r]

Letter 11th

To Mr Richard Cameron

Brother

I know you will not want your own troubles in the place where you are. But the Lord will be with you while you are with him. He brings his people to the wilderness that he may speak kindly to them. It's fitt that he have the careing of our lot. And these things that seem bitter are ordinarily the most profitable. My desire is that the Lord may help you to be holy and harmless¹⁵⁸ in a crooked generation.¹⁵⁹ This would rejoyce the heart of your relations and Christian friends. This would convince and stay the mouthes of enemies that will be ready to mark any blip.¹⁶⁰ I know no way to attain this but to be much with God in secreet, and to watch and fear alwayes, and to be sensible of your own innability, the wickedness of our hearts, subtilties of Satan, and temptations of the world; to 'cast your burden upon the Lord',¹⁶¹ and cast what concerns you on him.

¹⁵² Proverbs 3:6.

¹⁵³ This might be related to the 1677 meeting in Edinburgh; see above, p. 19, n. 78.

¹⁵⁴ Ephesians 6:13.

¹⁵⁵ Hebrews 10:37.

¹⁵⁶ Malachi 3:2.

¹⁵⁷ Exodus 24:17; Isaiah 29:6, 30:27.

¹⁵⁸ Hebrews 7:26.

¹⁵⁹ Deuteronomy 32:5.

¹⁶⁰ blip, i.e., a sudden and small change, for the worse.

¹⁶¹ Psalm 55:22.

I hope I shall not forget you. The Lord be with you.
I rest &c. J.W.

Letter 12th
To Allan Cameron
Lesly
January 19, 1676

Sir

There is much peace for the present; what it will turn to, it is hard to conjecture. But surely the Lord hath thoughts touching our comming out of Egypt. He will shew us marvelous things, and that he will be favourable to this land, and bring back the captivity of Jacob, and turn from the fierceness of his anger. Only, how happy were they that could be prepared for his comming, for surely there is both mercy and judgement¹⁶² before our hand. There will be but a remnant that will have for their habitation the munition¹⁶³ of rocks. He will be a stronghold and a good hiding place for his people, and will know them to be his in the furnace of affliction. It is fitt to be puting on the whole armour of God, that we may stand in the evil day.¹⁶⁴ O to win near him, and to be bussy that we may get our accompts cleared against his comming, and by faith to get into our chambers. They that have his favour need not care 'though the earth be removed, and the hills cast into the midst of the sea'.¹⁶⁵ O to win to that blessed frame, 'to fear him and to hope in his mercy'.¹⁶⁶ It's no smal matter to be a Christian.

Remember me to your wife; I am sorry for her trouble. She should 'remember the days of old',¹⁶⁷ 'the years of the right hand of the most High'.¹⁶⁸ [8v] 'He hath turned to be as her enemy and to fight against her. But surely he will remember the days of old ... and say, Where is he that brought her up out of the sea ... ? where is he that put his Holy Spirit in her?'¹⁶⁹ Surely 'he will turn again, he will have compassion upon her; he will subdue her enemies;

¹⁶² Psalm 101:1.

¹⁶³ Here the word would signify 'fortification'. The word is not well written in comparison with its surroundings, and one may well wonder whether the scribe was somewhat baffled at what he or she saw in the original.

¹⁶⁴ Ephesians 6:13.

¹⁶⁵ Psalm 46:2.

¹⁶⁶ Psalm 33:18, 147:11.

¹⁶⁷ Deuteronomy 32:7; Psalm 143:5.

¹⁶⁸ Psalm 77:10.

¹⁶⁹ Isaiah 63:10-11, paraphrased.

and cast all her sins into the bottom of the sea'.¹⁷⁰ He will remember his covenant with her.¹⁷¹ He will take 'the cup of trembling' out of her hand.¹⁷² She should notice that Jeremiah 3:1[1]-13, there is hope concerning this thing in Israel. But who knows but her 'flesh may become again as the flesh of a child'.¹⁷³ She should not give way to melancholly and discouragement. She should well observe David's example, Psalm 32. Security is a great sin, and dispondency is a greater. I would ask her, where is the bill of her divorcement?¹⁷⁴ And to which of her creditors is it that he hath sold her? Is his hand shortned at all? Or hath he no power to deliver? He can divide a Red Sea.¹⁷⁵ What, wants he mercy or power? Is there no daysman¹⁷⁶ to lay his hand upon God and her, and to make peace? Is not Christ able to save her? Is not his blood of sufficient vertue? And is not she as free to him as any other? Or cannot he make her believe? Or will she not believe till she die? And why sits she still in dispondency? If she do so, she perisheth. The best use she can make in her condition is to believe and venture upon him. The Lord that fed you all your life long; the angel that delivered you out of all your troubles;¹⁷⁷ and he that hath shewed you great and sore troubles, strengthen you on every side. Your best way is to 'cast all your care upon him; for he careth for us'.¹⁷⁸ To trust in him puts much honour on him. 'Trust in the Lord (saith he), and be thou doing good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and have food, or be fed'.¹⁷⁹ Your family hath been sore tossed. You fall not under Moab's case, that 'had not been emptied from vessell to vessell, and were settled upon their lees'.¹⁸⁰ Only the great bussiness is to reap the peaceable fruits of righteousnes by chastisements.¹⁸¹ But sure I am, you at least for your part may say, that it is good for you that you have been afflicted.

I rest &c. J. W.

¹⁷⁰ Micah 7:19; Welwood has 'enemies' for 'iniquities'.

¹⁷¹ Luke 1:72, and several Hebrew antecedents.

¹⁷² Isaiah 51:22.

¹⁷³ 2 Kings 5:14.

¹⁷⁴ Deuteronomy 24:1, 3; Isaiah 50:1; Mark 10:4.

¹⁷⁵ Exodus 14:13-31.

¹⁷⁶ mediator.

¹⁷⁷ Daniel 3:28 and Acts 12:11.

¹⁷⁸ 1 Peter 5:7.

¹⁷⁹ Psalm 37:3.

¹⁸⁰ Jeremiah 48:11. The verse begins: 'Moab hath been at ease from his youth ...'.

¹⁸¹ Hebrews 12:11.

Letter 13th

To Mrs Ross or Mrs Kathrin Collace

Moonzie

July 25th, 1676

Mrs

I have written to many with you lately; were it not because of the occasion of the bearer I would not write at this time. And I intend only to write unto you and Mr Thomas Hog and Mr James Hogg,¹⁸² because I wrote not him last. There is one mistake in my letter, which I must correct. [9r] I wrote (and it was because of a word that was course [coarse]) that if it would anger the enemy¹⁸³ I would go as far as Murray (and Durie,¹⁸⁴ as Mr Richard [Cameron] tells me). And I find from what Mr Donald Monroe¹⁸⁵ writes, that he said I would go north. But I never said such a thing. If it had not been from some expresse like to that I had to you in my letter, which, no resolution to goe north, but only anger at the persecutors. But I leave this; my west-comming is of no concernment.

So, this also in your last, that I had rather deceive myselfe than be discouraged. We must not mistake the Lord's way of comming, thinking that he will come with observation. But that expression I had imports nothing but a cherishing of hope. For my part (tho' that be to little purpose) I no more doubt of his comming than ever I did. Indeed, as to times and wayes, that must be left to his wisdom. And for my part, though I think not that his comming will be with outward glory, yet I expect 'Israel shall dwell alone in safety',¹⁸⁶ and our church shall be 'clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners'.¹⁸⁷ And, as many carcasses have fallen in the wilderness, so we have cause to think that more will fall. Herein lyes our comfort, that the Lord reigns, even Zion's king.

I have been in sore dampes this while bypast, and not yet out of them. Satan labours to hold me in hot water, and hath again put out of my view the life of faith. I see we must fight and not lay downe our weapones untill we be over the threshold of heaven; especially at this day, none must be 'at ease in Zion'.¹⁸⁸ But this is the worst, when heart plagues prevail, sloath, deadness,

¹⁸² James Hog; see *WLW*, 39-40.

¹⁸³ see above, p. 90; letter 8, near end.

¹⁸⁴ in Scoonie Parish, Fife, home of the Lords Durie.

¹⁸⁵ unidentified.

¹⁸⁶ Deuteronomy 33:28.

¹⁸⁷ Song 6:10.

¹⁸⁸ Amos 6:1.

darkness. I have some further conviction of this, that by grace we must stand, and that our strength is not within us, but without us. I am exceedingly prest out of my own strength and righteousness. Sometimes I will be in great confusions and darkness. And I will tell you, they have done me some ill in forbidding me to preach, for I find when I desist, I am worse.¹⁸⁹ But I shall take as much of that counsell as makes for me, and no more. Yet I am ashamed that I should complain of anything, for I have ground to believe that all his wayes are mercy and truth to me.¹⁹⁰ He hath more than once taught me that he doth all things well,¹⁹¹ and so it shall be found in the end. And O but there is much sweetness in a full submission to his will. But there are many things that I cannot win over, as these things amongst others, viz. that I cannot win to growe in grace, but sometimes I think I goe backward and sink. Also, I win not to do good. I win not to 'walk circumspectly',¹⁹² to be dilligent,¹⁹³ &c. But what's the matter? All is well, and all will be well, and it's needfull that we be sorrowfull for a season, but O to learn that lesson, to be content in every condition.¹⁹⁴ I see sometimes a litle of my duty, but it goes out of my sight again. This is our comfort—'We can do all things through Christ that strengthens us'.¹⁹⁵ I can do as much as any man, and as little as any man.

As for your case in the north: that country eats up the inhabitants [9v] and I know not what to think of the sore pressures of the godly. I fear it speaks no good to the multitude, but as to the godly, the darker your night be, the nearer and more glorious shall your morning be. But woe to your lukewarme presbyterians in that country. For if the Lord design any good for that country, 'he will number such to the sword and they shall all bow downe to the slaughter'.¹⁹⁶ You are the most sorely broken people that I know anywhere. I know not what it means. I often think the land eats up the inhabitants. But you have had your consolations, and he hath taken great pains upon you, and he will glorify himself in you. It's like God hath been boasting of you to Satan, as he did of Job [1:8-12]. Satan hath (as it were) been laying a wager with the Lord, that if he would take away the hedge, and touch you to purpose, ye would murmur. But we have heard of the patience of Job, and

¹⁸⁹ Jeremiah 20:9.

¹⁹⁰ Psalm 25:10.

¹⁹¹ Mark 7:37.

¹⁹² Ephesians 5:15.

¹⁹³ 2 Peter 3:14.

¹⁹⁴ Philippians 4:11.

¹⁹⁵ Philippians 4:13, changed from singular.

¹⁹⁶ Isaiah 65:12.

see the end of the Lord. The Lord's voice is not in the whirlwind, nor in the storme.¹⁹⁷ His wayes are unsearchable and his judgements past finding out.¹⁹⁸ But O what a duty is it to live by faith, and to wait for him 'that hides his face from the house of Jacob'.¹⁹⁹ We are short-sighted, and we should not judge of God's wayes. For many a time he giveth no reason of his matters. O to win to believe that 'he doth all things well',²⁰⁰ and that in truth and in faithfullness he afflicts his people. If we could get our part done, God would not be wanting as to his part. O but Satan be cruel. He hath but a few in that country to debate with, and yet he, in his instruments, is so unmercifull. Who knows but Christ will pay him the peil²⁰¹ 'ere all be done, and tr[e]ad down his kingdom in that place.

The Lord be with you.

I rest yours, &c. J.W.

Letter 14th

To Katharin Collace

Boterhil

March 27, 1676

Mrs

I know not well what to make of your afflictions in that place. But for answer, I can find few of his people otherways handled. And this is the day wherein faith and patience must be exercised. We should not be children now; we must not be still carried in his bosome, but sett downe our feet to the ground and endure hardnes as good souldiers of Jesus Christ. Wee need not be casten downe, for our Lord is with us. Heaven is not²⁰² at the door, and 'all things worke for our good'.²⁰³ I want not my own weights to ballast me, but far greater are my encouragements. For I have been taught twice since I wrote to you [of] that life of faith and I have win a little to the exercise of it, which lifts me above all my miseries. And I complain less than all my neighbours almost. And I have hope to win to know these 'wayes of pleasentness' and these

¹⁹⁷ A puzzling statement by Welwood. Job refers twice to God speaking from the whirlwind; Job 38:1 and 40:6.

¹⁹⁸ Romans 11:33; see also Job 5:9.

¹⁹⁹ Isaiah 8:17.

²⁰⁰ Mark 7:37.

²⁰¹ i.e., peel, meaning 'the smallest vestige', or 'equal', giving a sense of paying him back to the ha'penny.

²⁰² now?

²⁰³ Romans 8:28.

'paths of peace'.²⁰⁴ I dare not say, but that I perceive [10r] the Lord is building me up, and I believe he will adorne me with my tabrets, and make me go forth in the dance.²⁰⁵

As for the kirk, that doth not trouble me, for her king is in her, and I cannot say I have anything to trouble me but my own simplicity.²⁰⁶ For I know God and Christ and heaven and death and all things are mine. I sett a stout heart²⁰⁷ to a stay bra—²⁰⁸ I strive to 'be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might',²⁰⁹ and to believe over the belly of unbelief of my own heart and Satan and sin and sense. I think I have win a great length in this and to much wisdom in it, that I presume as much as I can; I am as secure as I dow;²¹⁰ I comfort myself as I am able; I strive not to trouble my own house. Let Satan and sin and the world do that to me—I resolve they shall not get me to pity them. God hath allowed comfort enough upon us, if we had the wisdom to take it. But we weep while there is a well beside us; enlightned eyes might do much good. O to see²¹¹ and know the Lord Jesus, and to make use of him by faith. I see the summ of religion lyes in believing in him. O to learn well, today, that in the Lord, 'Surely have I righteousness and strength'.²¹²

As for the case of our folk hereaway: the righteous are still holding on their way, but there is one thing I am principally angry at in many, that they are not foolhardy as to the feare of enemies, and that they presume upon half enough. I have as much hopes as ever, only there is one thing blunts the edge of my desire. The Lord's reigning ruling, and time being too short, and heaven at hand, and the life of his people hereaway, being a fighting life, I care not much whether at this time he restore the kingdom to Israel. This blunts my desire, but my hope is still the same, and I am waiting till he come to build it up again and overturn the enemy. I know he will not have us to

²⁰⁴ Proverbs 3:17.

²⁰⁵ tabrets, or tambourines, instruments associated with mirth; Jeremiah 31:4.

²⁰⁶ Proverbs 1:22.

²⁰⁷ Isaiah 10:12.

²⁰⁸ 'Stout' has a negative value here, in the sense of recalcitrant. The Scots phrase is uncertain. 'Stay' has the sense of restraint or restrained; the final letter of 'bra—' is not consistent with other letter formation. One might speculate about 'brae', hence a steep-sided valley, or if the original reads 'band', the term might then refer to keeping a hat in place. In any event, the meaning is one of constraining the strong-willed.

²⁰⁹ Ephesians 6:10.

²¹⁰ Here, from context, 'dare', within the word's range of meanings.

²¹¹ A letter, possibly 'k', has been struck off the end of the word.

²¹² Isaiah 45:24.

know times and ways,²¹³ but I think 'he will not tarry'.²¹⁴ And he will come the lower way to his people, but the higher way is to his enemies. I have this to bless the Lord for, that he hath wonderfully preserved me as in a strong city²¹⁵ and I have this experience, that they that trust in him shall never be ashamed,²¹⁶ and he makes me to 'be like Mount Zion, that cannot be moved',²¹⁷ so that I live without fear in the midst of fears, and I am made to think little more of men and devils then they are. Only I lay my account with sufferings, and it is one of my great workes to win to be able to say, I am ready not only to be bound, but to dy for the name of the Lord Jesus. I have this great advantage in this country, that there is abundance of worke and variety of company, which is a great cure against melancholly. Yet company is sometimes wearisome to me, and I cannot learn to profit as I ought. I learned to set a price upon much worke and trial x²¹⁸ since I was in the north where I found myself hurried with the country, for that is true, Mr Hog says, a man's happiness lyeth in the doing the actions of a living man. I remember a good while agoe, Isobel Thomson was sick and I was minding her and strove for life, [10v] but could not. So there comes in at length a great balme upon my spirit, and then this, 'The Lord reigns; let the earth rejoyce'.²¹⁹ And then I prayed for nothing but left the ordering of all things to him who is infinite in goodness. But we must have a gate of senses, or else we will not get such a thing. Yet the faith that he lives and reigns should ever hold up our hearts. 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet believe'.²²⁰ When we are some million of ages in eternity and shall look back to this spot of time, and the light troubles we mett with in it, we'll see that it had been our wisdom to have been less concerned in them. Our seedtime is short, our harvest long, and had we been to endure some thousands of years' toil before we came to heaven, yet heaven should have been chape winn.²²¹ But blessed be he that hath made our winter short, and many sweet days in it, and our summer endless.

I rest &c. J. W.

²¹³ Acts 1:7.

²¹⁴ Hebrews 10:37.

²¹⁵ Isaiah 26:1.

²¹⁶ Psalm 25:2, 25:20, 31:1.

²¹⁷ Psalm 125:1.

²¹⁸ Inkblot; one letter, probably 's', has been obscured, and the scribe has simply started over.

²¹⁹ Psalm 97:1.

²²⁰ John 20:29.

²²¹ cheaply obtained.

Letter 15th

To Katharin Collace

Mrs

I am desired by James Pride²²² to thank you for your letters and to tell you he had great satisfaction in the death of both his children; for he hath another dead since I wrote to you, and sufficient ground of her well being. I remember he complained to me when the last was sick, that he was sorer afflicted for her than for the lad because that she was ignorant, and he had no ground (such as he desired) of her salvation. But this day he told me sweet things of her death. I have no time to write deliberately anything because some ministers are to meet tomorrow to keep a fast, and I have little enough time to prepare.

Sense is very rare to me now. And really, 'the comforter that should reli[e]ve the soul is sometimes away'.²²³ I'll sometimes be so heavy and clouded that my life is a burden to me, and can find no ease at all. And I assure you, if I had not been somewhat prepared for such things, I could not have born them. But he hath taught me to believe, tho' I have little learned it, and also to be content with his disposal. He is trying his people, I think, everywhere, to purpose. I find my bodily infirmity has great influence on my spirit. Yea, I cannot remember that ever my spirit was light when my body was distempered. O but he takes great pains to humble us and to let us know how feckless we are.

I rest yours to serve you. J. W. [11r]

Letter 16th

To a certain lady

Madam

You have gotten a fiery trial to fann your faith, the trial of which, being much more precious than that of gold, will be found, to praise and honour and glory, at the appearance of Christ, 1 Thessalonians 4:[1]5. Madam, to you indeed it is given not only to believe but also to suffer. And O what honour is

²²² *RPC*, 3rd ser., iv, 229, 450 has a James Pride of Nether Urquhart in trouble in 1674 and 1675 for conventicling in Fife. It may have been the same man, James Pride, weaver of Strathmiglo, who was, on 1 Aug. 1678 ordered banished to the plantations in the West Indies for failing to disclose the names of others who had attended conventicles with him; *RPC*, 3rd ser., v, 487. On 12 Dec. 1678 he was on the list of people to be taken to Leith for embarkation; vi, 76.

²²³ Lamentations 1:16.

that he puts upon you, to fight for him and to feel the assaults of Satan. If your sea be rough, your harbour will be the more calme and comfortable. If your pilgrimage be wearisom, your home will be the more sweet. And besides, tribulations and afflictions are like a storm, which, tho' it fear²²⁴ the passenger, yet it makes the ship to drive the more swiftly. Madam, you fall not under that, 'Woe to them that are at ease in Zion',²²⁵ but under that (if you compare it throughly with your own practice), Hebrews 11:24-7. You have let worldly honours, pleasures, and safety goe, and hazard the loss of riches, and mett with reproaches, afflictions, and threatnings, but he that is mighty and able to save is with you,²²⁶ and there is a 'recompence of reward'²²⁷ awaiting you.

Your second is faithfull and powerfull. You cannot trust too much in him; you cannot have too liberal thoughts of him. 'Greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world'.²²⁸ Therefor you are called to 'be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might'.²²⁹ For a strae²³⁰ is a spear to omnipotency, and he 'makes his strength perfect in weakness'.²³¹ 'Fear not ... for he will not fail you, nor forsake you'.²³² 'The eternal God is your refuge, and underneath are the everlasting armes: and he shall thrust out the enemy; and say, Destroy them'.²³³ Madam (as one says), in your sad dayes Christ laughs, and says, all will be well. Who, having such a noble captain, such a honourable cause, such a glorious crown, would not fight cheerfully? Heaven will pay the cost. Though we 'sow in tears',²³⁴ our seed time is a little bitter and very short. But our harvest, O how sweet and eternal! Who are these cloathed in long white robes?²³⁵ The answer is, these are they that have come out of great tribulation. Here is the faith and patience of the saints. Here are they that keep the testimony of Jesus. Faith is the principal wapone in this fight. And Christ

²²⁴ i.e. frighten.

²²⁵ Amos 6:1.

²²⁶ Isaiah 63:1.

²²⁷ Hebrews 2:2, 10:35, 11:26.

²²⁸ 1 John 4:4.

²²⁹ Ephesians 6:10.

²³⁰ 'strae' means straw or something of utter insignificance. 'Spear' is a greater challenge. It can mean to taper or rise to a point; but if associated with 'speer', it may be spurt or squirt; but, again, if a variant of 'speer/speir', it might be to inquire as a verb, or inquiry as a noun. Does Welwood mean that something as insignificant as a straw may be contrasted with divine omnipotency, i.e., the human in contrast with God?

²³¹ 2 Corinthians 12:9.

²³² Deuteronomy 31:6; see also 31:8; Joshua 1:5; and 1 Chronicles 28:20.

²³³ Deuteronomy 33:27.

²³⁴ Psalm 126:5.

²³⁵ Revelation 6:11.

prayed that Peter's faith might not fail him.²³⁶ And it was by faith that these worthies, Hebrews 11, acted so patiently and suffered so courageously and valiently. He is a shield to them that trust [11v] in him. This is our comfort, that he who loves us with a heighth and length and depth and breadth of love, that it's he who reigns and hath the ordering of affairs in heaven and in earth. We are not in the hands of men and devils, but in his hand. And we may be confident that he will do nothing but what is for our good and his glory. He sits at the helmn of this world, and all creatures are but carrying on his designs. Devills and wicked men are as bussy doing his worke as saints and angels, crosses as well as prosperity. He will give Satan power to cast some of his into prison, and they 'shall have tribulation ten days'. And all his people's worke is to be 'faithfull to the death, that they may get a crowne of life'.²³⁷ Surely no weapon formed against Zion shall prosper. And every tongue that riseth up against Jacob shall be condemned. Committing you to the good will of him that dwelt in the bush, and it was not consumed,²³⁸

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 17th

To a certain lady

Belgrum

April 3d, 1676

Madam

I received yours lately, by which and other letters, I hear how sore the godly in that country are put to it. There are few in any place of the nation but the trial hath in some measure reacht them. And though it be somewhat bitter when it comes home to our own experience, yet it hath been ordinary in most generations for his people to meet with fiery trialls. He saith (Hebrews 12[:4]), 'Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin'; and Hebrews 11, they suffered greater things by far than any of us in this generation have mett with. I see it is the Lord's way in carving out a lot of inward and outward difficulties; and to press his people sometimes above measure and beyond strength²³⁹ is not a thing that some of his people ever wan easily over, and yet non of them but wan over fully through these pressures and difficulties. Naked believing only can solve the riddle, as I suppose, for in

²³⁶ Luke 22:32.

²³⁷ Revelation 2:10.

²³⁸ Exodus 3:2-3.

²³⁹ 2 Corinthians 1:8.

some particular occurrences we may see some reason for the Lord's proceeding, yet in many things it may be said, 'we know not now, but we shall know it hereafter'.²⁴⁰ And, O but it's a great bussiness to believe when sense and carnal reason seems to give the promise the lie. By any search I make, I find the Lord is generally training up his people in that life of faith—a difficult and unwelcome worke to our hearts, [12r] but a profitable and God-glorifying exercise. I can find very few that have not their hands full, and for my own part, oftentimes my heart fails me, but I cannot say that God hath ever failed me. And I were injurious to him if I did not close with this: 'this God is our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death'.²⁴¹ 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed'.²⁴² And if there were much of this life of faith, it would in a great measure supply the want of sense. I think Christians should be much in encouraging and comforting themselves; for as they have many discouragements, and more than the rest of the world, so have they far greater encouragements. And blessed is that people whose God is the Lord,²⁴³ be their condition what it will. A Christian's life is made up of doing and suffering, and both are great tasks. But suffering is the far greater, and it is not an easy matter to be 'patient in tribulation',²⁴⁴ especially if the comforter that should reli[e]ve the soul be away. Yet it is many times his people's lot to meet with outward tribulation and inward dissertion together. And in such a cloudy day to believe is no mean bussiness.

But madam, I tell you one lesson that I gate shortly. I have been many times desireous of and expecting some other life than what I had, a life of sense and the manifestations of his countenance (which is rarer to me than it hath been), and I was not satisfied with my present condition. Soon might somewhat of the terrors of God fall on my spirit (and there is nothing unsupportable but these), and when I considered my unthankfulness, and how desireable my life (free of these) was,²⁴⁵ I thought that all other troubles are but flea bites in comparison of such a trouble. I never remember I put his majesty to such a trial as at that time. He being God and the hearer of prayer, I was immediaty challenged to live by faith, with contentment, meekness,

²⁴⁰ John 13:7, altered from second to first person.

²⁴¹ Psalm 48:14.

²⁴² John 20:29.

²⁴³ Psalm 33:12; AV has 'nation' for 'people', which has been imported from the second half of the verse.

²⁴⁴ Romans 12:12.

²⁴⁵ Material in parentheses is rather hard to read, and the concluding parenthesis, after 'was' in the MS, has been moved to its proper location.

and submission to his will, for 'he doth all things well',²⁴⁶ and is free, not only to give us mercies, but also to take them from us at his pleasure. I remember a story of a Roman²⁴⁷ that had written three books concerning the things that should befall Rome, and he offered them to the magistrats for a great soume. But they would not buy them at that rate, so he goes the next day and openly burns one of them. Again he makes an offer of the other two, at the price he required for all the three, and rebates nothing. They, thinking that strange and unreasonable, would not give it him. He burns the second also, and then offers the third requiring the full price, which they (seeing what he would do if they gave it him not) gave the full price for. Even so doth God with us. He'll pluck many mercies from us, and make us give to him for one that rent of praise which we refused or [12v] neglected to give for all. I have sometimes had some small reflections upon the people's murmuring in the wilderness, and their not believing (two evils here going together) that their unbelief was their greatest sin, and that they had great reason (so to speak), far greater than I could observe in my own case, to be discontent with their lot, and great seeming ground to misbelieve. So may he say many a time to us as to Jonah, 'Doest thou well to be angry?'²⁴⁸ Dost thou well to be discontent? Doest thou well to doubt? But 'he remembers we are dust, and knows our frame'.²⁴⁹ That's an uncouth command, 'let patience have its perfect worke'.²⁵⁰ I incline to crouch his will to mine, but surely (and I have sometimes gotten a glance of it) the best way is to conforme our will to his, and to believe what he doth is all done in wisdom, in love, and in faithfulness. 'He is of one mind, and who can turn him?'²⁵¹ He saith unto Job, 'He that reproveth God, let him

²⁴⁶ Mark 7:37.

²⁴⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 7 vols. (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1939-74), ii, 465. 'A certain woman who was not a native of the country came to the tyrant wishing to sell him nine books filled with Sibylline oracles; but when Tarquinius refused to purchase the books at the price she asked, she went away and burned three of them. And not long afterwards, bringing the remaining six books, she offered to sell them for the same price. But when they thought her a fool and mocked at her for asking the same price for the smaller number of books that she had been unable to get for even the larger number, she again went away and burned half of those that were left; then, bringing the remaining three books, she asked the same amount of money for these. Tarquinius, wondering at the woman's purpose, sent for the augurs and acquainting them with the matter, asked them what he should do. These, knowing by certain signs that he had rejected a god-sent blessing, and declaring it to be a great misfortune that he had not purchased all the books, directed him to pay the woman all the money she asked and to get the oracles that were left'.

²⁴⁸ Jonah 4:4.

²⁴⁹ Psalm 103:14, phrases reversed.

²⁵⁰ James 1:4.

²⁵¹ Job 23:13.

answer for it'.²⁵² O but the soul is blest that hath these two bitter roots, discontent and unbelief, mortified. But tho' I speak of these things I am really a stranger to them. I have sometimes thought I had learned somewhat, but I find I am still put back to the ABC of Christianity. I see he will have dust humbled, and this he is to sett upon that he'l rather cast his own glory in the dust as that man should not be laid low. He'l have this preached over and over again, that 'all flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flowr of the grass',²⁵³ 'that no flesh may glory in his presence',²⁵⁴ and that 'he that glorieth may glory in the Lord'.²⁵⁵ I think I see a dark glimmering of this. He takes a wiser way with his people than we would have him taking, for surely we would misguide all, for if we had our will, we would ay be triumphing, and then where would there be worke for faith and patience? And we would misken ourselves, and take this world for our rest. Who knows, but our will might not be our well? And who knows but his thoughts in what we meet with are thoughts of peace, and not of evil? Nay, sure it is so.

Madam: As for the condition of affairs with us, I can give you account of no new thing. The gospel hath little hinderence, only there are few ministers. The worke of conversion is not very rare, if more labourers were in exercise. The harvest seems to be indifferent great.²⁵⁶ There is something seems now immergent of a hot persecution, or rather universal stroke throughout the land 'ere the goppell gain much ground. As for the Lord's people, I think it will be with them as it is Isaiah 6 and last verse [6:13], when the Lord returns, they will be even like a Tyl [teil] tree, or an oak, whose substance is in it, when the leaves fall away.²⁵⁷ His people are 'lying among the pots', but when he returns he will make them 'like the wings of a dove'.²⁵⁸ Madam, [13v] as for Mr T R [Thomas Ross], it had been no great difficulty for him to have gotten his liberty, but he hath powerful enemies in the north. But the Lord will sett him at liberty when he sees fit, and he hath shewed him great kindness (as I hear some say to me). He is not in a prison, but in a chamber, which does prognosticat some good, and a pledge of what he [God] can do. The principal design being to have him and others far away from you, it makes our afflictions the greater. 'The Lord will bring the

²⁵² Job 40:2.

²⁵³ 1 Peter 1:24.

²⁵⁴ 1 Corinthians 1:29.

²⁵⁵ 2 Corinthians 10:17.

²⁵⁶ Matthew 9:37-8, Luke 10:2.

²⁵⁷ Isaiah 6:13, rather distorted.

²⁵⁸ Psalm 68:13.

counsel of the heathen to naught'.²⁵⁹ And when the enemies have gotten a little of their will, his people must have their time about. The Lord liveth, yea our Redeemer liveth,²⁶⁰ and that's enough. But his people's faith must be tried for all that.

I rest &c. J.W.

Letter 18th

To Elizabeth Collace

Mrs

I have been extreemly unweel since I came hither by spitting of blood. But now I have a little recovered. 'He woundeth, and his hands makes whole'.²⁶¹ I have often represented my case thus, as one still walking upon the brink of time, and a very little would put me over the brae. But this is certain, that we must flitt. But it's a great bussiness to be alwayes ready, and not to hold him at the door when he comes. The last threatning I found myself altogether unready, but could upon good grounds have said, 'Though my house be not so with God; yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant'.²⁶² But I was ~~was~~ not ready, as I desired, and I even thinks oftentimes yet that there is hazard of being found slumbering and sleeping, as even the wise virgines were.²⁶³ I think we have ever need to be preparing and getting matters cleared betwixt God and us, and that we may be found of him in 'peace and believing'²⁶⁴ in the Lord Jesus, who 'is a propitiation for our sins: and not only for ours, but for the sins of the whole world' elect.²⁶⁵ But I confess believing is a mystery. Weel it becomes us to trust in God as in a father, able and ready to help us. And when we distrust him, we distrust our best, nay our only friend. 'For though our father and mother should forsake us, yet the Lord will take us up'.²⁶⁶ This is it that makes us safe, for by faith in him we

²⁵⁹ Psalm 33:10.

²⁶⁰ Job 19:25.

²⁶¹ Job 5:18

²⁶² 2 Samuel 23:5.

²⁶³ Matthew 25:5.

²⁶⁴ Romans 15:13.

²⁶⁵ 1 John 2:2; note the addition of 'elect' so as not to bring into question the notion of a limited atonement, wherein Christ died only for the elect.

²⁶⁶ Psalm 27:10; and see Duncan, below, p. 217, n. 16. Mary Somervell cited the same Psalm, but from the metrical Psalter. See her *A Clear and Remarkable Display of the Condescension, Love and Faithfulness of God, in the Spiritual Experiences of Mary Somervell* (Glasgow, 1766), 9, citing *The Psalms of David in Metre. Newly translated ... Allowed by the Authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in Congregations and Families* (Edinburgh, 1699), 15. Amongst the

dwell within the city of refuge whether [whither] the avenger of blood cannot come.²⁶⁷

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 19th

To Elizabeth Collace

Laceston

April 12, 1676

Mrs²⁶⁸

Having this opportunity I resolved to write a line unto you. It's like you want not your own troubles, and I know non of his people but they have their share. I see we must expect no harbour untill we be at that great harbour, the rest that is prepared for the people of God. And they will not be much behind that win there. 'Blessed is that people whose God is the Lord',²⁶⁹ in whatever condition they be. O but the Christian's life is a strange misterious life, a 'life hid up with Christ in God.'²⁷⁰ 'as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; ... as chastned, but not killed; ... as having nothing yet possessing all things; as dying, and, behold we live'.²⁷¹ And it is only faith that can solve the riddle and read the mystery. 'For we walk by faith, and not by sight',²⁷² and 'if we had hope [in Christ] only in this life, were of all men most miserable'.²⁷³ It's a great bussiness to believe and not see.²⁷⁴ But it's a thing we must learn, yet our hearts are ready to say, 'It's a hard saying; who can hear it?'²⁷⁵ This should be a great comfort to all his people, that their 'Redeemer liveth',²⁷⁶ and that he takes care of them. And this is ground enough to quiet our hearts, but there are amongst other things two evil roots in our hearts, the root of unbelieve and the root of discontentment. We have no trust to give

Huguenots, Jean Rou, *Mémoires inédits et opuscules de Jean Rou*, ed. F. Waddington; 2 vols. (Paris, 1857), i, 16; and C. L. Chappell, ' "The Pains I took to save my/his Family": Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', *French Historical Studies*, 22 (1999), 22-23.

²⁶⁷ Numbers 35:12; Joshua 20:3.

²⁶⁸ difficult to decipher.

²⁶⁹ Psalm 33:12.

²⁷⁰ Colossians 3:3.

²⁷¹ 2 Corinthians 6:8-10, order changed.

²⁷² 2 Corinthian 5:7.

²⁷³ 1 Corinthians 15:19.

²⁷⁴ Mark 15:32; John 4:48, 6:30.

²⁷⁵ John 6:60.

²⁷⁶ Job 19:25.

God, and we are still dissatisfyed with his providence towards us, not considering that we are less than all his mercies, and that it's fitter he order things than we. But though I speak these things, I am as far in these faults I think as any. And O but they be blessed that have not evil rebellious hearts to complain off. But Christianity must be a difficult task, and we must be at much pains to learn it, and God at much pains to teach us, while we are in a militant state here on earth. O but we have great reason to be humble. I think we may still see more and more cause of humiliation, yet it is hard to lay our hearts low; they are knotty pieces of timber that take much hewing 'ere they can be brought to be what God would have them. We even need to put them in his hand, who can do things wonderfully without number.

No more, but rests your friend and servant. J. W.

Letter 20th

To Katharin Collace

May 17th, 1676

Mrs

These days bypast have been very more cloudy to me than usual, and I find it very general amongst the godly. What it prognosticks, or what is the cause, I cannot tell, for I have often said that, 'How long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart dayly?'²⁷⁷ I have been often searching why 'the comforter that should reli[e]ve my soul is so much gone?'²⁷⁸ But [I] have not to this day found it out. I see, indeed, this in the whole tract of his wayes. He will have dust humbled, and to know that 'all its glory is as the flour of the grass'.²⁷⁹ It is hard to win to the bottom of that empty and sinfull thing, self. I think he is also calling to the life of faith, and that is not a very easy and pleasent life to us. I think if I had not the days of old to look back to I would be in an ill case. But in all these mists, these highway marks lets me know where I am. But I suspect he is preparing for some storme, and it is reported of Luther that he was never to meet with any sore affliction but he was prepared for it by some sad thing upon his spirit. What other stormes will be I cannot tell, but the enemy threatnes enough. And for my part, I see my former signs, but I stick by the old rule and I see, though he think it fit to try our faith (and try it, I see he intends) to some purpose, and to let us see our

²⁷⁷ Psalm 13:2.

²⁷⁸ Lamentations 1:16.

²⁷⁹ 1 Peter 1:24, perhaps thinking also of James 1:10 and Psalm 103:14-15.

frailty, yet the vision shall speak;²⁸⁰ but 'when he comes shall he find faith on the earth?'²⁸¹

Now, as to what you write of your sickness and spiritual troubles, I think this, as one says of his love, so of his wisdom: there are many curtains to be drawn by when one has lived long and seen much of God, for we are shallow creatures, and clouds and thick darkness²⁸² are round about him, and he cannot be searcht out into perfection.²⁸³ 'He chargeth his angels with folly',²⁸⁴ and it is but a small part of him that we know untill we be in heaven; his wayes are all my[s]terious unto us. I find that my error more and more [is] that I would be wise. 'Patience must have her perfect worke',²⁸⁵ and in some more than in others. As the Lord hath a mind to perfyte them, he bestows consolations on them. You have gotten your large share of affliction, and have not wanted liberal outletting of consolations. And as to what you write in the end of your letter, which you say astonisheth you, I can say nothing as to it, except I knew something of it. But I understand now what Mr Thomas²⁸⁶ calls sleeping and wakeing. I am, and has been of a longtime, sleeping as to all things almost, only this is my comfort, that though I be [14v] ~~continually with me~~ ignorant, yet he is continually with me, and holds me by my right hand, as I have frequently found in experience. But there is now very little of that leading of his Spirit with me, for as to that, I am exceedingly sleeping, yet I have a little of it sometimes. I think we are in a great measure sleeping. I mean not as to security but as to having any profit amongst us, that so when he comes, we may not be the men that dream.²⁸⁷ The way of man is not in himself.²⁸⁸ It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.²⁸⁹ I hope our dead men shall live, and those that sit in the dust shall sing.²⁹⁰ Our sky will break, and if 'shaddows will flee away',²⁹¹ though it be needfull that his people be sorrowfull for a season 'through manifold temptations',²⁹² that the trial of their faith may be to his honour and glory.

²⁸⁰ Habakkuk 2:3.

²⁸¹ Luke 18:8.

²⁸² Deuteronomy 5:22.

²⁸³ Job 11:7.

²⁸⁴ Job 4:18.

²⁸⁵ James 1:4.

²⁸⁶ probably Thomas Hog.

²⁸⁷ Job 33:15.

²⁸⁸ a distillation of Biblical thought; cf. Psalm 37:23 and Proverbs 16:25.

²⁸⁹ Proverbs 3:6.

²⁹⁰ Isaiah 26:19.

²⁹¹ Song 2:17, 4:6, but Welwood substitutes 'sky' for 'day'.

²⁹² 1 Peter 1:6.

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 21st

To Elizabeth Collace

Laceston

May 30th, 1676

Mrs

I heard that ye had great troubles, and truly I can find very few that setts their face heavenward but they have their own heavy pressures. And such a lot is common to mankind, but especially the Lord's people, and more especially in a day of trial when the church of God is in trouble, for then non must look for great things. But every one, besides the publick burden, have their own particular load, that our faith and patience may be exercised, and happy [the] soul that is bettered by all its afflictions, that is, humbled and helped to put a good construction upon all that he doth. It is the Lord, let him do what seems good to him. And surely he will do nothing but what his people will be made in the end of the day to say, that it was wisely and graciously done, though it be difficult to say so for the present, that that [sic] I have been saying often, I say also: that faith suits well with this climate wherein we live, and well with this time. If a soul take not its comforts from God it will have sorrow enough. And I will not deny but God is yours, and if so, then 'all things are yours'.²⁹³ Indeed I confess, beside 'the trial of our faith',²⁹⁴ the Lord drives on several other designs in his afflicting of us. One main one is to let us see how feckless, unworthy, and vile we are. So this is our nature: we are ready to misken ourselves 'in a day of prosperity',²⁹⁵ and therefor it is better, though not sweet, to be in 'the house of mourning, than in the house of rejoycing'.²⁹⁶ He hath also his design to 'purge away our dross'.²⁹⁷ 'By this therefor shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged away; [15r] and all the fruit is to take away sin'.²⁹⁸ We may say, we destroy ourselves, for if there were no sin in us there should be no affliction. Indeed our hearts are ready to cast over the blame on him, but we may still have ground enough to heave²⁹⁹ our complaint upon ourselves and to

²⁹³ 1 Corinthians 3:21.

²⁹⁴ 1 Peter 1:7.

²⁹⁵ Ecclesiastes 7:14.

²⁹⁶ Ecclesiastes 7:2, 4, where 'rejoycing' is either 'feasting' or 'mirth'.

²⁹⁷ Isaiah 1:25.

²⁹⁸ Isaiah 27:9.

²⁹⁹ conjectural reading.

justify him and say, we are 'punished less than our iniquities deserve'.³⁰⁰ If we wanted³⁰¹ rods we would run exceedingly on in sin. Therefor he hedges up our way with thorns.³⁰² O to keep that blessed mean of fearing the Lord and hoping in his mercy. But we are ready to run upon extreams, either to 'turn the grace of God unto lascieuousness',³⁰³ or else to say, if our iniquities be upon us and we pyne away in them,³⁰⁴ how can we then live?

I will add no more, but rests &c. J. W.

Letter 22nd

To Katharin Collace

Pitlochie

June 6, 1676

Mrs

I heard of your affairs, how that 'deep calleth unto deep ... and many of his waves and billows pass over you'.³⁰⁵ I confess ignorance of the Lord's mind in so much afflicting his people in that place. Only in general, I think, we may upon good grounds judge that there is love and wisdom in all his wayes, though we cannot condescend upon the particulars wherein these appear. Possibly there are dreadfull days comming upon these lands, and therefor he is hitting sore upon his people that they may 'not be condemned with the world'.³⁰⁶ And it's like a smal remnant³⁰⁷ will be saved, and they must come 'through fire and water ... to a wealthy place'.³⁰⁸ He will have props and comforts taken away, that his people may 'stay themselves upon the Holy One of Israel'³⁰⁹ and comfort themselves in him. And some must toyl out the whole storm, but others must be received into the harbour because the storms were sore in their face, and their spirits not able to bear it. All his people have their trials inward or outward, or both, and he doth not much dandle³¹⁰ his people now, but will have 'patience to have its perfect worke'.³¹¹

³⁰⁰ Ezra 9:13.

³⁰¹ lacked.

³⁰² Proverbs 15:19.

³⁰³ Jude 4.

³⁰⁴ Leviticus 26:39; Ezekiel 24:23.

³⁰⁵ Psalm 42:7.

³⁰⁶ 1 Corinthians 11:32.

³⁰⁷ Isaiah 1:9, 16:14; Romans 9:27.

³⁰⁸ Psalm 66:12.

³⁰⁹ Isaiah 10:20.

³¹⁰ Isaiah 66:12.

³¹¹ James 1:4.

I wrote that I had received a letter from Mrs Geddie, wherein she tells she hes had a sore sickness that threatned her more with death than any heretofore, and strong temptations withall, but was supported by the scripture and met with much of the consolations of God. For my part, my par[ticu]lar case masters me, that I am little able to be much taken up with others. I know [15v] it's a shame to complain, and in complaints there are some secret reflections upon the Lord. But I may say (I thank myself for it) that it is not with me as in moneths past, when in some measure his candle shined upon my tabernacle.³¹² I have no doubtings nor piercing troubles. But the thing that ails me is this: I think I am backslidden from that watchfullness and dilligence that I have had. I cannot say I am win to an enlarged heart. I cannot say I am in an horrible pit, but I may say I am in miery clay,³¹³ nor can I run the way of his commandments but much of my time passes away in vanity.³¹⁴ I expected to have grown, but I rather sigh and goe backward, especially in my affections as to spiritual things. And sense much fails. And I have delighted more, and been more exercised in duty, and have had more sense and liberty therein. But now I feel as it were a tide going against me, so that I am convinced of my infirmity, shortcomming, and decay. I neither can [be] nor am so desireous to win to my feet. What is the Lord's design in it I cannot tell; I think I am sleeping as to that also. Sometimes I apprehend one thing, and some times another. I have some suspition that it is the prognostick of some storm comming. It's no small thing to grow. And I see it's easier to start to the way than to continue in it. I confess we have much need of ballast. It takes much to lay our spirits low, for when I look back and think what pains the Lord hath taken to humble me, I think it strange that I should not be very humble, yet I find whenever there is a temptation, pride will be stirring. Yet I see there is some, yea, exceeding much profit in my desertion and plagues. And I had gotten a smal glance of it before, though before that I could not believe it, tho' an angel had said it. And some times I think it may be his design to do me good, even in these things that seem most ruinating and desolating like. And this is my complaint, that I grow not more in the knowledge of God, and I many a time complain that my days are spent in vanity, but he sees it fitt (maybe) that we grow downward before we bring forth fruit upward. I have had sometimes hopes of getting the desires of my

³¹² Job 18:6.

³¹³ Psalm 40:2.

³¹⁴ Job 7:16.

heart as to these things, but now of a long time I have couched³¹⁵ under the burden, hopeless, thinking I behooved to goe to heaven with all my wants and plagues, little profiting and little profitable, yet lately my hopes have been a little quickned that I might possibly get my desires fullfilled. 'It is good for a man to bear the yoake in his youth'.³¹⁶ I am much indifferent as to the lengthening out of my life, only I would be well prepared for death. I think I am in some good measure prepared, but I would be better prepared yet. I have still the same hopes of seeing the deliverance [16r] of this church, and when I examine the grounds, I see them to be such as may bear some good weight. But if I be dissappointed it would not stagger me nor much trouble me neither. But I do not think I shall be dissappointed though the frailty of my body threatned it, for I find the strength of it much impaired. But lately I had some hopes that it might be recovered, but I find it very faintly, and rather to have an experience of his power, if he had any more worke for me, than any desire of long life. Yet I am suspicious that if I saw death, I might cry.³¹⁷ Spare me untill, &c.³¹⁸ I am sure it would be so if we listen to Satan, yet I have such evidence of an interest as he never got shaken yet and, I trust in the Lord, never will. And my confidence does not impar but growes. We have met with an unexpected lengthning out of our leace hereaway, for we are expecting Atholl's troops these six weeks every day.³¹⁹ And it was upon good grounds expected that they would be very furious, and that we should have drunk as deep in the cup of oppression as the west did. But they are not yet come, and what hes stopt them we know not. The Lord shews his power exceedingly in bridling enemies, for hardly I think an angel would have been believed if he had said that we should have had peace untill this day comes. And on the other hand, when we look not but that we will have some sore threatning after that, whether particularly or upon the church, or some sore general judgement, I cannot tell. But O to be ready. I have sett downe before some fruitless complaints, and it's like, if they were not downe already I would have them out, for they are mine infirmity, though

³¹⁵ cause to crouch, lie prostrate.

³¹⁶ Lamentations 3:27.

³¹⁷ Psalm 107:18-19.

³¹⁸ Psalm 39:13.

³¹⁹ John Murray, 2nd earl and 1st marquess of Atholl (1635?-1703), was a royalist and in 1670 became captain of the King's Guard. It was reported that when he was sent out against conventiclers he collected £1900 sterling in just one week. In 1678 he joined the Highland Host, but caused himself some trouble when he wrote a letter in favour of mitigation of the severe treatment being meted out.

it is my not putting faith in exercise, which I have been often commanded and taught to do. But I would still be at sense.

I rest &c., J. W.

Letter 23d

To Katharin Collace

Lesly

July 22, 1676

Mrs

I long to see my acquaintance in Northumberland, and hes had several calls by letters to it. And I hear that there is a great door, and effectual[ly] opened in that country, both upon the Scots and English Borders. I do not notice impulses, but I have been sometimes at the breaking away out of Fife, thinking that the change of places would alter perhaps my spiritual [16v] condition, which truly is not that which sometime it hath been; yea, and I scarce remember that ever it was such. I am sorry at your trouble in that country, but I have so much adoe with my own spiritual case that I can take no burden of others, though I know I ought to believe, and not to be troubled.³⁰⁰ Yet when desperation, sloth, hardness, and the absence of the Comforter burden a soul, neither can one believe, neither will believing do the bussiness. But I shall add no more of this. It's fit we be tryed and humbled, and it's fit we have fiery trials. But when I goe to search out the cause, I cannot find it, unless this be it, that I am called to somewhat that I have no heart to. And this hes made me resolve to take a start away from the place where I now sojourn, to some other corner. For I perceive that when for a little, the last week, I went out of thir bounds where I use to be, my case altered a little. I cannot find any cause of my spiritual decay and indisposition but that foresaid. But I am so slothfull and love ease and know places [pleasures?] so well. And Satan so jumbles me about my call away that it is a great difficultie for me to goe from one corner of the a shire to another. I do indeed sigh and go backward. But I hope the time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord is not far off.

I rest your loving friend to serve you. J. W.

Letter 24th

To Elizabeth Collace

³⁰⁰ John 14:1.

Mrs

I had neither paper nor time, as Mr Richard can tell you, but having the opportunity, I chused rather to write briefly than not at all. Ye were expecting trials when I saw you last, 'but he is continually with his people: and holds them by the right hand',³²¹ and hes promised 'never to leave nor forsake us'.³²² O how great ground of comfort have we? How many priviledges? There are great promises sweetning every difficultie we can be in, and all founded upon the faithfullness of him with whom 'it is impossible to lie'.³²³ We can be in no straits, but there is a promise placed by our master to answer us. 1. Are we in thirst, and longing to be satisfied? Then there is a well out of which we may with joy draw waters,³²⁴ till we be satisfied to the full. 2ly. Is it guilt that troubles us? Then we have a promise: I will be gracious to your iniquities,³²⁵ &c. 3ly. Is it our unworth[i]ness? Then I'll love you freely. 4ly, Is it the curse and wrath? Then, he 'hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us'.³²⁶ 5ly. Is it death? Then, 'O death, where is thy sting?'³²⁷ [17r] 6ly. Is it continuall sinning? Then, 'He ever liveth to make intercession for us'.³²⁸ 7ly. Is it unbelief? Then, though we believe not, he is faithfull and cannot deny himself. 8ly. Is it heart plagues and indisposition? Then, though our hearts and flesh fail us, yet he is our portion.³²⁹ 9ly. Is it afflictions? Then, 'The Lord knoweth the days of the righteous [upright]', that they are short, 'and his inheritance' is heaven, which 'remains for ay',³³⁰ and he shall shortly be possessed of it. 10ly. Is it the provision of temporal things? Then, he feedeth the ravens and cloatheth the lillies; then certainly he will see to us.³³¹ 11ly. Is it light and direction? Then, he leadeth 'the blind by a way that they know not'.³³² 'He, even, it is that comforteth us: why should we fear or be affrayed?'³³³

O for much of the exercise of faith! Unbelief is the overthrow of our

³²¹ Psalm 73:23.

³²² Hebrews 13:5.

³²³ Hebrews 6:18.

³²⁴ Isaiah 12:3.

³²⁵ perhaps Hosea 14:2.

³²⁶ Galatians 3:13.

³²⁷ 1 Corinthians 15:55.

³²⁸ Hebrews 7:25.

³²⁹ Psalm 73:26.

³³⁰ Psalm 37:18.

³³¹ Luke 12:22-30.

³³² Isaiah 42:16.

³³³ Isaiah 51:12.

comforts and dishonours God. We have infinite love, mercy, power, faithfullness, nay justice also for us, according to that, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believes in Jesus Christ. Now justice acquitts us, having condemned Christ. Justice, the law, death, hell, devills, the world, sin, conscience, God, man, and angels, have no more to say against us.³³⁴ Christ hath answered all. 'He is near (saith Christ) that justifieth'.³³⁵ We see Isaiah 6,³³⁶ 'It is God that justifieth'.³³⁷

I rest your loving friend, J. W.

Letter 25th

To Katharin Collace

Edinburgh

August 10, 1676

Mrs

I have had an inclination this good while to leave Fife, but could not get clearness about it. But at length I was determined both by providence and also by the Lord's clearing up his mind to me. The providence is this: the troopers and souldiers comming to Fife, and a wicked man having secretly entraped a minister. And I suppose they had spies to find me out, for the prelates and curates in Fife have a great ill will at me. And all friends were counselling me to retire for a while because the troopers have been riding up and downe the country, and I am well known in it because of my long abode therein. I intend southward towards the border at first, but I know not how long I shall tarry. I intend to goe from place to place as providence orders and my health will serve. Satan hath now gotten up his head for a little, and the huge expected storme hath lighted. But for my part, I was a little revived frae once it came, and it hath not in the least come unexpected. Neither have I any desire that it should have fallen out otherwayes, for the cup of his enemies [17v] must be filled up, and his people's cup of affliction must also be filled. And I am persuaded that this will hasten the deliverance. They have for a while put out all day field meetings out of Fife, and stopped a growing worke. For in some places the gospel was getting footing where it could not win in before. But I suppose they are only damming up the gospel, that it may burst out the more powerfully afterwards. For my part, this their assault doth not in

³³⁴ Romans 8:31-9.

³³⁵ Isaiah 50:8.

³³⁶ Welwood's intent here is obscure.

³³⁷ Romans 8:33.

the least stagger me nor trouble me, though they be desperately inclined and breath[e] out persecution. Yet they have taken non yet, nor done any thing, but only the fear of them hes put away the meetings, and we have many experiences of the Lord's bridling of enemies, and he is as able to bridle thir, as those heretofore. And if his people must endure tribulation, why not?, that that be obeyed, 'be ye faithfull unto the death, that ye may get a crowne of life'.³³⁸ O that his people may be kepted straight and curagious now. The Lord hath been very gracious and stopt the ov'rcomming of these men untill we had gotten a long time in conventicling which sounded as far as London, and untill we gotte the sacraments amongst us, and 4 house fasts, and two field fasts. And I think the gospel will thrive all the better, that there goe a persecution before, for if it continowed long, folk would loath it. What they are doing in other places of the land I know not, but I think if there be a straitning in Fife, there is for that enlargement for other places. I have a new experience of the love of God in his protection of me, for though they have taken a minister and have been searching, yet I have gotten safely over. We had some fears in the passage because of two souldiers in the boat that we suspected to be spies. But I escaped them, whatever they were, by stopping [sic] first out of the boat, and they could not win out for a while. I hear there is like to be a storme in Northumberland, there being a meeting appointed between the prelates of Glasgow, Durham, and others.

I rest — Yours &c. J. W.

Letter 26

To Katharin Collace

Hatton

August 29, 1676

Mrs

I received yours after I was in Northumberland, to which I had clearness to goe, but I know not well wherefore. But now I know a part of my errand for I have found an oppurtunity, which I had not found if I had tarryed but a little, and it was carried over great difficulties, and the Lord was [18r] in a singular measure present. Now a little after I came thither I fell to spit blood and was sicker and fainter nor ever heretofore. Mrs Geddie (as she told me then) thought I should have dyed, and indeed death stared me in the face 24 hours. You see then how I could have endured a journey to

³³⁸ Revelation 2:10.

the north, since the third part of it hath brought me near the grave. As for what you speake off in your changing of your resolution as to comming to Fife, I wish you may do whatever is for your good. I think there is many times a mistake in us as to what the Lord calls us to. And I find something of this, that the Lord will sail³³⁹ upon folk's petitions, and yet it doth not import that he will grant them. For my part, whether ever ye will see the south, or I the north, I cannot tell. It sufficeth if we see this, that³⁴⁰ 'all things worke together for good' to us.³⁴¹ When I was allarmed with death, though I saw ground to fear it, yet I thought it was at some distance. But I found not myself throughly prepared for it, as I desired. And I lay somewhat under the conviction of this, that I was not *dilligenter* in health as I ought to have been, and was at some resolution of more dilligence, and yet many a time I have been thinking thus—if death came, I'le say I was just such as I was, and could win to be no better. 'It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy'.³⁴² I bless the Lord that of late I have win to somewhat of that, that I would have been at, vizt. somewhat of his countenance. But still, when he hides his face, I am troubled, but no ways so far as to doubt of my interest. I suppose we must not still be triumphing till we triumph for all together up above with our Lord. I see this: I am a mass of wants, ignorance, unbelief, sloath, &c., but compleat in him. This storme hes driven many out of Scotland and mad[e] preaching rarer. But I think it is best that folk hunger and then be fed. And I never think we are nearer a delivery than when all things are going wrong as to outward appearance. I find the people in this country ruined with too much peace and such a long lease of the gospel, and I see in these days we do not thrive unless we have persecution. And I must say, I fear there will be a greater purge in order to a new church, and he will leave a poor afflicted people, and they shall call on his name. But I find every where a remnant who have not defiled their garments, but are watching and tender, yet these are very few in comparison of the rest of professors. I wish I may not be found amongst these that are secure, for I think I be under a continual conviction of shortcomming in dilligence, both as to my own case and the case of the church. And it's but now and then that I get any desireable access, and often under darkness, and cannot win to thrive. I want not ballast, both from my outward body and the

³³⁹ to ride with them, to hear them?

³⁴⁰ The copyist appears to have written 'thall'.

³⁴¹ Romans 8:28.

³⁴² Romans 9:16, GB.

body of death, but thanks be [18v] to God for Jesus Christ, who was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. After I had written the last letter to you from Edinburgh, I found greater evidence that these souldiers that came over with me in the boat had a design to take me, for they enquired at one that was with me whether [whither] I was gone. I see his providence ruleth in all things. I hear there is a great desire after preaching both in the Merse and Teviotdale. But how they look I cannot tell, for I have no acquaintance thereaway.

[I must tell you that comparison instituted between hearing of curates and fornication hath been violently tossed hereaway among many persons. I thank your great folk for it. I should not study revenge, but now as I have occasion I shall speak as much to their disadvantage and hurt their name more than they can do mine, and not ly on them neither, for they have made that comparison ring a thousand miles' circuit, I think. But if any enquire at me about them, I shall answer what I think, and that is not very much good. They and some others have sent flat untruths south. But I shall tell nothing but truths of them. I'll be necessitate to deciphre them for my own vindication, for they are misrepresented in the south. And if their name be their idol, I shall be little tender of idols. They have put me to it,³⁴³ and hitherto I have been sparing³⁴⁴ of them. But now that this is casten up that such a man cryed out, I shall make them know that such they are, for they have subtilly laboured to make me odious, they are now and then in several places asking, what is such a man in the north? Now I have known what to answer.]³⁴⁵

I rest yours &c. J. W.

Letter 27

To Elizabeth Collace

Hatton

November 13, 1676

Mrs

I know not well how it is with you. It may be, as to preaching, it is quit[e] contrare to that abundance you met with in Edinburgh. The Lord will have his people's condition to be full of changes, that they may place all their confidence and comforts in him who is unchangeable, for

³⁴³ 2 Corinthians 12:11.

³⁴⁴ Pauline language; see 2 Corinthians 1:23 and 13:2.

³⁴⁵ This paragraph is enclosed in heavy black brackets. It is not clear whether they were added at the time of copying, nor whether they bear some special significance.

both as to our outward and inward condition we have alterations. But he is our strength and our portion.³⁴⁶ O but that's a great word, 'Fear not, [Abram]: I am thy sheild, and thy exceeding great reward'.³⁴⁷ They are not much to[o] mean that have a God to trust in. [19r] For he is that friend who is born for adversity,³⁴⁸ and we have all the reason in the world to trust in him, and it is our sin and our misery both not to do it. As for myself, I am weak as to my bodily condition and have been spitting blood a second time. But I am much bound to his kindness, for he hath, since I came hereaway, manifested not a little of himself, yea, somewhat more than heretofore. But I cannot say I walk suitably to such mercies. I may say he is the Lord and changeth not, and therefor we are not consumed. This is the thing I would be at (and I see a little of it in him), vizt., to win to much believing on the Lord Jesus, and feeding upon him by faith, and 'casting all my care over upon him',³⁴⁹ and to make it my worke to glorify him. For I see that man will never win to serve him like a servant until he once look by faith as his own God. A man will never serve him freely till once he cast all his burdens upon him,³⁵⁰ for until then a man hath his own bussiness to do and cannot so freely serve the Lord. In a word, I think a man will never so freely seek the Lord's glory untill he find his own salvation. We must remember our life here is a fight, and therefor we must be content to have several difficulties. Our hearts would be at quiet and ease, but we will not win at it hereaway. Let this suffice us: he will never leave us nor forsake us.³⁵¹ He will be with us when we walk 'through the fire and the water, and at length will bring us to a wealthy place'.³⁵² O how blest a place is that. Remember me to the godly in that towne, that I am acquainted with.

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 28

To Katharin Collace

Northumberland

December 3, 1676

³⁴⁶ Psalm 73:26.

³⁴⁷ Genesis 15:1.

³⁴⁸ Proverbs 17:17.

³⁴⁹ 1 Peter 5:7, changed from second person.

³⁵⁰ Psalm 55:22.

³⁵¹ 1 Kings 8:57; Psalm 27:9; Hebrews 13:5.

³⁵² Psalm 66:12.

Mrs

Lately there is an order come from court to suppress the meetings in this country, which was never win at before. What this will turn to, we do not know, but things hereaway look drumly-like,³⁵³ for there is much security. And this account hes nothing (to count off) alarmed this country. Now, this hes been more troublesome at this time than heretofore, for this country hath been a shelter to the ministrie in this time of hot persecution. And as for the Merse, things were looking well and people comming out abundantly, and very desireous off, and much affected with preaching. But the sheriff prepared 60 horse against us, [upon] which we, hearing of the night before, desisted. But he hath summoned many hundreds in that country and was very severe. What it will turn to, we cannot tell. But it is a pity to see a good worke crushed in the bud so sore. But he is the only wise God.³⁵⁴ As for Tiviotdale, [19v] there was a right notable work there. But the sheriff first came out against the meetings, and then we sundered. For all that the worke went on, and the number of hearers dayly increased. But the last Lord's day, they sent out of Edinburgh 12 troops, and the people got notice of their comming. But some that were watching out of the meeting discovered them and so gave allarme to the people. About 10 horse went out to the troops, and he that went on their head told the troopers that they were come out, not to offend, but defend. The troopers commanded them to dismiss the meeting. They said, they would not till they were gone. The captaine offered to pistol the chief man. The people answered, if they stirred any there, there should not a man of them goe off the ground. So at length the troopers were forced to goe their way. Now we are expecting that this will be ill looked upon by the council, and that country sore persecuted. It's like the cup must pass round, but it is not persecution that I think so fearfull. But popery is upon a fearfull growth, and things look as tending to a bloody catastrophe. Our sin and security calls for some sore judgements. 'But the Lord is good, he is a strong hold in the day of trouble'; he knoweth them that trust in him'.³⁵⁵ I know not how it is with others, but for my own part, I am far from what such a time calls for, and I have this truly to say, hardly ever less prepared for what seems to be threatned than now. But I'le leave my complaint upon myself. I have not learned so much of that life of faith as not to be troubled when he hides his face.³⁵⁶ But I am affraied to be found

³⁵³ gloomy.

³⁵⁴ 1 Timothy 1:17; Jude 25.

³⁵⁵ Nahum 1:7.

³⁵⁶ Psalm 30:7, 104:29.

sleeping when the bridegroom commeth,³⁵⁷ and it is even like he is not very far off.

And I find several of these thoughts; but I find one Thomas Paton³⁵⁸ having expectation of great desolations, for he and I had a long discourse lately, wherein he told me his thoughts, and also his grounds. He thinks there will be a very glorious delivery in Scotland, so as 'the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun...as seven days',³⁵⁹ and that the Christians and ministers that shall be then shall surpass now these by far. But he thinks England will be overrun with popery and laid desolate by forraigners, and that the worke of God shall be so low in our land that few or non will have the faith that it will ever arise. And then, when all are hopeless, it will suddainly and gloriously rise in our land. And he thinks these things are at the door. Now what he says of a delivery, I have some ground to think the same, but as for the rest I have nothing to say against them. It's very like that things may be so. He says, he wonders how the [20r] ministers will be hid, the storme will be so great. I fo[u]nd, I have nought to say to the contrare, but that there may be such sad days, because things look very like it. And I would fain be prepared for these days, but nothing goes well with me, but believing all will be well. And I see no discouraging thing as yet as to his people. Only indeed, we have sins to lament over. Verily it shall be well with the righteous.³⁶⁰ Thomas Paton says he'l go and see you (may be) when once the good days. And it's not unlikely but I may see you then also. I care not what flesh, yea what devils, can doe. We have a place within the vail,³⁶¹ whether [whither] the forerunner is for us entred. Only, wo[e] to a body of death. I would think that man happy enough, whatever he met with, that could keep himself in the love of God.

The Lord be with you.

I rest yours &c. J. W.

Letter 29

To Katharin Collace

Hatton

December 25, 1676

³⁵⁷ Conflating the bridegroom coming in Matthew 25:10, and the sleeping servants in the parable of the travelling master, Mark 13:36; see also 14:37.

³⁵⁸ *RPC*, 3rd ser., vii, 217, lists a Thomas Paton of Old Kirk, Cambusnethan, as one of those still at large and being hunted on account of their presence at Bothwell Bridge.

³⁵⁹ Isaiah 30:26.

³⁶⁰ Psalm 58:11.

³⁶¹ Hebrews 6:19.

Mrs

I have been stormsted here this good while, though I cannot say I have improven this rest and vacancy as I might have done. It's a difficult bussiness to profit. I have never given over the hopes of it, being holden with convictions of shortcommings, and not knowing how to win up to my duty. But what? I remember your answer to the angry complaints that I made against some amongst you. But truely I never minded it more, only some circumstances concurring with the tossings of that bussiness vext me a little, but I resented it no more than while I was writing. This storme hath quieted many things. It hath a little quieted the persecution here, and it fell but just that day the souldiers came out to Tiviotdale, and so made a truce (which truely I was glad off) for on the 9th of this moneth, 60 horse and 100 foot (some say they made their testaments before they came out, expecting nothing but war) on the Lord's day the 10th of this instant, they marcht all out to their usual places of meetings, but found non. The storme had quasht that. Then they went to Jedburgh, and there kept a strong guard for fear of being cutt off, not considering the kings of Israel are mercifull kings. Some that were chief conventiclors fled their houses. What they have done since I have not heard, the storm having hindred all their courses. We hear they are troubling the meetings more and more at London. I am sorry for what ye write of your [20v] ministers, their being in hazard of being apprehended. But the Lord hes many wayes to divert enemies, and to prevent his people's fears, and to bring meat out of the eater.³⁶²

I see by your letters ye have a mixt cup, neither all honny, nor all gall. The Lord tempts not above what his people are able,³⁶³ and they must not want ballast, especially in such a time as this, wherein he hath a mind to have a poor afflicted people call upon his name.³⁶⁴ And surely they that shall partake of the hastning consolations of Zion must be well prepared for them. For me, I cannot win to that preparation that I see to be needfull against these days that are comming. And I think myself far unworthy to be amongst that company that shall be thought worthy to see, eye to eye,³⁶⁵ 'when the Lord builds up Zion'.³⁶⁶ Yet I have strong thoughts of it. I am sometimes wondering at his condescendency. 'But he will purify his people, but not with silver; he will

³⁶² Judges 14:14.

³⁶³ 1 Corinthians 10:13.

³⁶⁴ Zephaniah 3:12.

³⁶⁵ Isaiah 52:8.

³⁶⁶ Psalm 102:16.

chuse them in the furnace of affliction'.³⁶⁷ I am not thinking to tarry long hereaway, but I have not yet a call to goe back again. But it has been weell for me that I have come here, upon many accounts, and amongst others I have gotten time to rest and time to compose myself. Yet I am farr from what I would be, though I cannot deny but I have found something. But sometimes I am affraied I have also lost something. But all my springs are in him, and he is able and will supply all my wants, which are many. I think I am less in exercising faith that I was heretofore, and more exercised about sin and shortcomings, more led to the exercise of humiliation, and sometimes I am half suspecting I should be more cheerfull and rejoyce more in the Lord. But 'the way of a man is not in himself'.³⁶⁸ Who knows, but 'he that hath scattered Jacob will also gather him' again.³⁶⁹ It rings yet in my mind, that of Micah [2:12], 'I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee: I will surely gather the remnant of Israel; I will put them together ' When ye want worke, mind us, for few of us (many a time) can mind ourselves or others, but it is a shame to tell it. I have time enough, if I had a heart to improve it—but ofttest I stick in the harbour, for the wind is contrary. Sometimes I think I am like these that stick upon a sand bed. But, however, we shall win through. By the way, we must have ballast.

Rests yours &c. J. W.

Letter 30

To Elizabeth Collace

Hatton

December 25, 1676

Mrs

I am sorry at your desolations in that country where you are, but the Lord hath his own wise ends. For I trust he is suffering you to hunger, and then [21r] to feed you, and that he may prove you and try you, and do you good in your latter end. He can fatten his people by wants. I hope the Lord hath a mind to return (and I hope it's not long to it, though we cannot limit him to times) and give his 'people a feast of fat things ... of wine upon the lees, well refined',³⁷⁰ though it's not unlikely but there may be yet some shaking providences to try and prepare his people, and happy they that shall obtain

³⁶⁷ Isaiah 48:10, from first person.

³⁶⁸ Jeremiah 10:23.

³⁶⁹ Jeremiah 31:10. Welwood has substituted Jacob for Israel; see v. 11.

³⁷⁰ Isaiah 25:6.

favour of him to win through the storme and waves to that sweet haven that he will bring his tossed church unto. We must have our troubles and trials as long as Zion is afflicted, and these that share in her tossings may expect also to share in her consolations. The truth is, the le[a]st lot of his people hereaway hath been troublesome, and their way more strawed³⁷¹ with thornes than with roses. But non of his people ever stuck by the way, they came all safe to land, though many a time they have been sadly tossed hereaway. And have we not abundance of experiences of his love and care towards us, so that we may say, wee will not fear through even through the valley and shadow of death, for he is with us.³⁷² Only happy they that win through with clean garments³⁷³ and do not backslide nor sit up by the way. For we have so much corruption within us and such experience of our own weakness that there is much ground to fear alwayes, and not to be like the sleeping virgins,³⁷⁴ but be upon our watchtower.³⁷⁵ O it's a great bussiness to be a growing, thriving Christian, and to 'walk circumspectly...redeeming the time'.³⁷⁶ Truly we can put little confidence in ourselves, our own strength, or ability. But yet we have that good word, 'My grace is sufficient for thee'.³⁷⁷ And if we had not that to look to, we might have sad thoughts. But he has us ever by our right hand, even when we cannot get gripping upon him. 'We shall be more than conquerours through him that loved us'.³⁷⁸ But for all that, we must resolve upon ups and downes and trials while we are hereaway. 'And patience must have its perfect worke'.³⁷⁹ Now I think it's a great duty this day to be looking out for a storme and arming ourselves against it. That is one main thing I would be at, but I come little speed.

The Lord be with you.

I rest your loving friend to serve you. J. W.

³⁷¹ strewn.

³⁷² Psalm 23:4.

³⁷³ Revelation 3:4 and 16:15.

³⁷⁴ Matthew 25:5.

³⁷⁵ Isaiah 21:6, 8.

³⁷⁶ Ephesians 5:15-16.

³⁷⁷ 2 Corinthians 12:9.

³⁷⁸ Romans 8:37.

³⁷⁹ James 1:4.

*Letter 31**To Elizabeth Collace**January 25, 1677*

Mrs

I heard from you by one in your towne. And I am sorry to hear that you are so destitute of the publick ordinances, but the Lord is wise, who can bring sweetness out of the eater.³⁸⁰ These are days wherein Zion and her children must be in trouble. And non of us must think³⁸¹ to be exeemed³⁸² from it. And I doubt nothing of it, but 'he will make Jerusalem a rejoycing, and her people a joy'.³⁸³ Though it's not unlikely, ye[a] it's almost certain that the storme will blow far harder yet than ever, and the church will be given over for dead: but 'in the mount of the Lord, I shall be seen'.³⁸⁴ We have need to be well buckled, and as I have often said, there is nothing so needfull as faith in this stormy time. I see this, yet I am exceedingly short of living by faith.

I rest &c. J. W.

*Letter 32**To Kat[h]arine Collace**January 25, 1677*

Mrs

There is more universal persecution than heretofore. The Lord (as I think) intends to bring his people very low before the deliverance. How low they shall be brought I cannot guess, but there are differences and breaches amongst us that speaks sad days to be comming, and I fear the Lord will leave few to see the glory that shall fill the land.³⁸⁵ I mean, few old Christians and few ministers, though I have still thoughts of the day of our redemption drawing near. As far as I can see, for all the persecution, the enemy gains nothing, but looseth much. And I see nothing that looks so sad as the evils of his people's dreadfull divisions, for the anger of the Lord hath divided us, both ministers and Christians, and this assures me of a sharper storme than hath ever yet come. And of the fewness of these that shall be saved, and even these few

³⁸⁰ Judges 14:14.³⁸¹ Conjectural, as the 'k' is formed rather irregularly, like 't'.³⁸² exempted.³⁸³ Isaiah 65:18, from first person.³⁸⁴ Genesis 22:14, alternate reading.³⁸⁵ Ezekiel 26:20.

will be saved as with fire. It is three Sabbaths since I came from Hatton, and comming through the Merse and East Louthian I was refreshed to see that notwithstanding all [22r] the persecution, the people are ever drawn more and more from the curats in the Merse. The curates gave up a list of 3500, all which (or few excepted) were fyned and forced to pay their fynes. If I had time I would tell you of their rigour, but guess at it by this: they took from some poor things 20 pence, and 10 pence from others, blankets, coal sacks from others, and yet the people came out abundantly to the meetings. I came in by James Baraam's, and he was sore broken. The chief cause was somewhat that he saw last week of a dreery storme comming. I cannot tell what to say about your case, especially the hazard of your ministers. For if Mr Thomas Hogg come into their hands, there is no probability that ever he shall be liberate while prelacy stands. The Lord reigns; I can say no more. One thing I am glad off, your country looks better than heretofore, persecution being nothing to lukewarmness and compliance. Sense is a rarity to me.

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 33

To Mr Richard Cameron

Edinburgh

July 26, 1677

Brother,

I do not love the place to which ye are gone. I suppose there is nothing of religion there away. But I trust the Lord hes sent you thither for your good, and it may be for some others' good. You are far from the vexation of your family, and it may be he hath taken you to the wilderness that he may speak kindly unto you. And for ought I can conjecture, there are and also like to be more troublesome days with us. And who knows but that may be a hiding place to you for a while, wherfor I would not have you to weary for a while, though you have not the converse you would desire, for it is the day of Jacob's trouble (though he shall be delivered out of it),³⁶⁶ and every one must look to have their share in it. O but if we could win to it, there is need of great preparation against what is comming, 'for the day is coming that shall burn as an oven'.³⁶⁷ And it will be a hard bussiness to be hid in the day of the Lord's wrath. I fear few eschape, and these that shall, 'shall be saved by fire'.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Jeremiah 30:7.

³⁶⁷ Malachi 4:1.

³⁶⁸ 1 Corinthians 3:15.

'We must all beare in indignation of the Lord, for we have sinned against him'.³⁸⁹ [22v] And the Lord will have all flesh humbled and laid low. Truly I think ye are at no disadvantage to be in a retired condition at this day. Neither be troubled for want of worke, for if you be spared to see the good that he shall do for his people, you shall have worke enough. And he, it may be, is preparing you for it. You know in your experience that it hath been good for you that you have been afflicted. And if things had gone as you would have had them going, we would never have done well. It's hard indeed to submit to his disposal, and to judge it fitter that he carve out our lot, than that we ourselves do it. But he will order it, whether we chuse or refuse. He is of one mind, and who can turn him? I have of late had less sense and less of the light of his countenance³⁹⁰ than heretofore. I see we'l get more ballast than sail, and it is a day wherein he will have his people low, for there is a sad day of wrath comming. And he will have his people drink the brim of the cup. Now the Lord be with you and worke 'all his good pleasure'³⁹¹ in you.

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 34

To Mr Thomas Hogg

Clidsdale

February 10, 1677

Right Revd & D. Sr.³⁹²

I, hearing of your hazard of being taken every day, would fain have written to you, particularly from Edinburgh, but was confused and had not time. But I can say nothing unto you. I wish I were so instructed of God and so prepared for suffering as you are. But I am but of yesterday and know nothing. But you have many experiences of doing and suffering for his name's sake, and have obtained mercy not to faint or stay aside. The God that hath led you all your lifetime, the angel that delivered you out of all your troubles, I believe he will be (as he hath been) with you in six troubles and in seven,³⁹³ 'and they shall not come near you, and in the floods of great

³⁸⁹ Micah 7:9.

³⁹⁰ Psalm 4:6, and elsewhere.

³⁹¹ 2 Thessalonians 1:11.

³⁹² i.e., Right Reverend and Dear Sir

³⁹³ Job 5:19.

waters',³⁹⁴ 'and they shall not overflow you'.³⁹⁵ 'For he is your hiding place. He shall keep you from trouble. He shall compass you about with songs of deliverance'.³⁹⁶ For though your case may be troublesome to us and hazardous, we not knowing but that you [23r] may be apprehended 'ere this come to your hand; yet I am quieted in this confidence, that he that hath been with you from the womb and from the breasts³⁹⁷ will not leave you, but will comfort you and increase and raise you up on every side,³⁹⁸ till he hath letten you see great and sore trouble. This is the day wherein our Zion is crying, traveling in birth, and pained to be delivered.³⁹⁹ And the red dragon⁴⁰⁰ is waiting to devour the child. This is the day of the beginning (as I suppose) of Jacob's great trouble, whereunto non is like; but he shall be delivered out of it.⁴⁰¹ And I think thir throws shall hasten Zion's delivery.

I rest your &c. J. W.

Letter 35

To Elizabeth Collace

Monkland

February 10, 1677

Mrs

Hearing you are afflicted much by the taking of your friend Bray,⁴⁰² I thought fit to write to you to comfort you against that, if I could. But I trust you are instructed of the Lord to see in some measure through such a dark-like providence, his Word being a light to let us in to try and to solve these things that are riddles to sense and carnal reason. For if 'whom the Lord loveth he chastneth',⁴⁰³ far more, whom he loveth, to them it is given not only to believe but to suffer for his name's sake,⁴⁰⁴ and it hath fallen out so in all generations that the sufferings of Zion have done neither her nor

³⁹⁴ Psalm 32:6.

³⁹⁵ Isaiah 43:2.

³⁹⁶ Psalm 32:7, persons changed.

³⁹⁷ Psalm 22:9.

³⁹⁸ Psalm 71:21.

³⁹⁹ Micah 4:10.

⁴⁰⁰ Revelation 12:3.

⁴⁰¹ Jeremiah 30:7.

⁴⁰² James Fraser of Brae, a famous presbyterian stalwart from Ross-shire, was subject to letters of intercommuning on 6 Aug. 1675 and imprisoned on the Bass Rock from Jan. 1677 until July 1679.

⁴⁰³ Hebrews 12:6.

⁴⁰⁴ Acts 9:16.

her children hurt, and the darkest night of the church hath resolved in the brightest and sweetest day. It will be much 'ere all be done fore his people to exercise faith and patience. But we must ever comfort ourselves both as to our own case and the church, believing that all the saints and all his enemies are in his hands. And 'all power in heaven and earth is given'⁴⁶⁵ unto him who cannot forget Zion, whom 'he hath engraven on the palms of his hands'.⁴⁶⁶ And though to sense he seems to be walking contrary to her, yet faith will say, fear not, he is with her. And though she pass through fire and water, she shall come to a wealthy place.⁴⁶⁷ When we are up above, we will smile at [23v] our childishness and mistakes. And I think we may at this day see the posting fast towards the deliverance of his people, and the wheels of his providence run more faster now than heretofore. O let us believe, both as to our own and Zion's case, that even when clouds and thick darkness are about him,⁴⁶⁸ yet the language of all is mercy and truth to us. For we may see it in his Word and also in our own experience, that what hes looked to us as most hard and sad and dark hes afterward had a joyfull upshot. I doubt not in the least but it shall so fall out in these days, both as to the publick and private afflictions of his people, his tossed church shall come to a blessed shoar, and that 'ere long, and more than that, all his people 'ere long shall be above sin and sorrow and compleatly blessed for evermore. And non of us shall split or be lost by the way, but be better guided through than we could ask or think.

The Lord be with you.

I rest &c. J. W.

Letter 36

To Mistres Ross

Monkland

April 16, 1677

Mrs

There are so many new emergents every day that folk do not know what to think. Only this, 'The Lord reigns; let the earth rejoice';⁴⁶⁹ and 'Let the

⁴⁶⁵ Matthew 28:18.

⁴⁶⁶ Isaiah 49:16, from first person.

⁴⁶⁷ Psalm 66:12.

⁴⁶⁸ Psalm 18:11.

⁴⁶⁹ Psalm 97:1.

children of Zion be joyfull in their King'.⁴¹⁰ O for that pretious thing faith, to believe that all things worke together for good to them that love God. And that 'since God is for us, who can be against us?' And that 'it is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth us?' And that in all these sad things we shall be 'more than conquerours'. And that nothing 'shall separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus'.⁴¹¹

When you came last, you mist one fair day, and only met with the storme. And so I think it shall be now, for this is like the beginning of the enemies hour and power of darkness, and these are my thoughts, that Zion's deliverance is hastning, and therefore she must be in pangs. Neither is the persecution so sad-like as our frame, and the Lord's anger manifested thereby. But surely after the Lord hath wounded, he will heal. After he hath broken downe he will build up. 'After two days he will revive us; and the third day will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight'.⁴¹² That which [24r] is heaviest to me is the badness of my frame, that though I see great necessity of liveness and dilligence, and sympathie with the tossed mother church and the suffering worthies, there is less of this with me than ever, which makes me wonder with my self, what will be the end of such a frame? But enough of this. There is a necessity of exercising faith over all the mountains and objections that are in our way. There is a necessity of believing or sinking. All his promises are faithfull, and if we had faith, we have comfort enough, even in the cloudiest day, and the believer might have a song in the night.⁴¹³ I cannot tell what to say of it, but I think I am so very much unconcerned in all things that I hear. It is no small thing that will affect me; yea, when I give way to sorrow, I am all disquieted. But if I can believe, I am well; yet Satan hes a thousand wayes to keep me from believing. I intend to see you if I fall not into the enemies hands. I think it is very like I must also drink of the cup that is going round, for it is like non will be shut up or lost. But non of these things move me. If I could win to such a condition as suites these times—but it is not so with me. We must put forth that noble act of faith, to wait for him 'that hides his face from the house of Jacob, and look for him',⁴¹⁴ an act that we are very backward to, desiring to live by sense, and not believing unless we see.⁴¹⁵ O but outward affliction and inward defection makes a very heavy load. But O

⁴¹⁰ Psalm 149:2.

⁴¹¹ a selection from Romans 8:31-9.

⁴¹² Hosea 6:2.

⁴¹³ Psalm 42:8.

⁴¹⁴ Isaiah 8:17.

⁴¹⁵ John 6:30.

to learn that, to encourage ourselves in the Lord, and to encourage one another. For I fear that in these days it may fall out that friends may communicate griefs and not joyes one to another. 'But if we faint in the day of adversity, our strength is smal'⁴¹⁶ and the Lord hes a mind to try the faith and strength of his people throughly, and Satan is seeking to have them that he may winnow them as wheat.⁴¹⁷ But the Lord Jesus hes prayed for us, that our faith fail us not.⁴¹⁸ He is our strength and righteousness,⁴¹⁹ and are we not strong enough then, and cleare enough from all guilt? 'Every nation will walk in the name of their God, and we will also walk in the name of the Lord our God from henceforth and for ever'.⁴²⁰ We are encompassed with 'a cloud of wittnesses'; yea, we have the Lord Jesus treading the path of afflictions before us. Therefore 'let us run with patience the race that is sett before us'.⁴²¹ And though 'our heart and our flesh fail, yet he is the strength of our heart, and our portion for ever'.⁴²² O to win to this, not to forget the Lord our maker that hath stretched out the heavens and laid the [24v] foundations of the earth, and engraven Zion and his people, every one of them, upon the palm of his hand.⁴²³ Well, let us 'be of good courage, and he will strengthen our heart',⁴²⁴ and he will perfyte what concernes us. His mercy still lasts and he will not forsake the worke of his hands.⁴²⁵ He hath hitherto helped,⁴²⁶ and there is no doubt but he will be with his people when they 'go through the fire and the water'.⁴²⁷ And all 'the sufferings of this present time are not to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us';⁴²⁸ yea, I verilly think, 'As one whom his mother comforteth, so shall his people be comforted in Jerusalem',⁴²⁹ and that 'ere long.

I rest &c. J. W.

⁴¹⁶ Proverbs 24:10.

⁴¹⁷ Luke 22:31.

⁴¹⁸ Luke 22:32; persons shifted from 1st and 2nd to 3rd and 1st.

⁴¹⁹ Isaiah 45:24.

⁴²⁰ Micah 4:5.

⁴²¹ Hebrews 12:1.

⁴²² Psalm 73:26.

⁴²³ Isaiah 49:14, 16.

⁴²⁴ Psalm 31:24.

⁴²⁵ Isaiah 64:8.

⁴²⁶ 1 Samuel 7:12.

⁴²⁷ Psalm 66:12.

⁴²⁸ Romans 8:18.

⁴²⁹ Isaiah 66:13.

*Letter 37**To Mistress Ross**Annandale**August 4, 1677*

Mrs

I have little thing now to write but that I find the Lord still gracious in guiding me by his counsel, sometimes comforting and sometimes casting downe and sometimes casting in some ballast. For though we would desire to have nothing but sunshine, he who is infinitely wise knows better what is fitt for us than we do. I was for a long time vexed with fear of being backsliden, but now I win whiles to somewhat of assurance that my wayes please him, though not so as I would. 'He knows our frame, and remembering we are dust',⁴³⁰ [and] is content of the poor widow's mite.⁴³¹ And we often conceive him to be a hard master, but he is far from that. I find this country full of ignorance and security and as little religion in it as in any place where I have been, yea, very hard to be drawn to any meetings. I know not what the Lord intends, yet I intend to give one trial and see what may be done hereaway. 'But it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth'.⁴³² Yet I think if I were to be forever hereaway I would even tyre of this state of life if God do not call to it: it is not only tasteless but bitter, and any life wherein the soul hath his presence and knows it is accepted of him is sweet. I think I might both do more good and get more if I were right. [25r] O it's difficult to be what we ought to be; difficult to get Enoch's testimony—he 'walked with God'.⁴³³ We had a field meeting in this country yesterday, the finest that was ever in it, and there were more people than we expected. There is some hopes that preaching may win in hereaway, though people be exceeding ignorant and rude. As for myself, I have summer days and winter days and nights. Unbelief is my chiefest enimie, yet I am well if I withstand it. I know you have your own ballast, and there is need of it. 'As is the man, so is his strength'.⁴³⁴ I know also, that whether you sensibly feel it or not, you are continually with him, and 'he holds you by your right hand'.⁴³⁵ And that he is yours: 'Fear not; for I am with you: be not dismayed; for I am thy God',⁴³⁶ &c.

⁴³⁰ Psalm 103:14.⁴³¹ Mark 12:42; Luke 21:2.⁴³² Romans 9:16.⁴³³ Genesis 5:24.⁴³⁴ Judges 8:21.⁴³⁵ Psalm 73:23; changes of persons.⁴³⁶ Isaiah 41:10.

O but faith is a noble but difficult thing; lovely faith quieting and rejoicing the soul. You have done for God; now you are also suffering. Both are difficult when God is away. But yet, he will have his people find somewhat of their own strength, that they may know who is to them 'righteousness and strength'.⁴³⁷ Happy they that get it constantly believed. For my part, I get little of it done, seeking too much often a righteousness of my own,⁴³⁸ and not dung out of my own strength. The Lord be with you to strengthen and carry you honestly through.

I rest &c. J. W.

Postscript: Since I wrote this, I am told that the curate, my father's successor,⁴³⁹ sent letters to several gentlemen to stir them up against us. And they mett yesterday, resolving to have come upon us, but the waters hindred them. So, what more will be gotten done in this country I know not, there are so many rude and wicked people in it.

Letter 38

To Mistress Ross

Galloway

September 8, 1677

Mrs

I hear of much persecution in Fife, Stirling, &c. The cup that this country drank must go about. Only I wish that as his people's sufferings grow, so also their strength and encouragement may grow. It is small matter [25v] whether our sufferings be small and our assistance also small, or both be great together. I cannot desire you to write to me, because I know not how I will get it, only I wish, since there is more need than heretofore, that we may get more faith, and me of a 'spirit of grace and supplications'⁴⁴⁰ to mind one another, and to mind the case of the church that is more tossed with winds and waves than heretofore. Yet I think, if we could win to faith we would see no ground of discouragement. In all the afflictions of his people, Christ is afflicted. Did he not choose to suffer, 'and then to enter into his glory?'⁴⁴¹ I doubt not, though our night be dark and likely to grow darker, and though our distempers

⁴³⁷ Isaiah 45:24.

⁴³⁸ Ezekiel 33:1-3; Romans 10:3; Philippians 3:9.

⁴³⁹ From *FES*, ii, 223, it is not clear who this might have been.

⁴⁴⁰ Zechariah 12:10.

⁴⁴¹ Luke 24:26.

prognosticat a gleet⁴⁴² and sore purge in this wilderness, yet the church shall say, that 'for a small moment', in a little wrath, 'he hath forsaken, but with everlasting mercy he will gather her'.⁴⁴³ I have been 5 Lord's days in Annandale, not without opposition; yea many oppositions and many allarms, but the Lord protected me, and gave more than might recompence the pains and toil. I would resolve (if the Lord will) to draw peice and piece towards Edinburgh, but if I get my design, it will be a while 'ere I be there because I purpose to see many places by the way. Though the enemy hes been bussy this lang time, yet we see the Lord makes that end to the advantage of his people and worke. For all the south borders, and many other places besides have of late come out to hear. O strange! and truely it is most strange that these places, that there was no access to before, are most desireous of preaching. It concerns us much to learn the exercise of faith at this day. I profess I think I am still as far from religion as ever, and it appears still the greater mystery to me. I think I shall still be poor and full of wants and shortcomings too. I am hitt at here also by reports from Edinburgh as being guilty of Arminianisme.⁴⁴⁴ But I have vindicated myself. The spirit of division (fomented amongst us) makes me to have sadder thoughts than all the persecution. Yet I am so selfish that if I could win to that temper, 'when reviled, not to revile again',⁴⁴⁵ I would not be much troubled.

Farewell. J. W.

Finis.

⁴⁴² i.e., 'gleet', a secretion or discharge.

⁴⁴³ Isaiah 54:7, changed from 1st person.

⁴⁴⁴ An easy form of theological abuse, probably attempting to paint him as a free-willer. This is not, of course, a sound appeal to Arminius who was rather more complex in his thought, but a somewhat colloquial use. Welwood put a lot of emphasis on human response and not much on election, hence the basis of the charge. James Fraser of Brae was likewise suspected.

⁴⁴⁵ 1 Peter 2:23.

Mr Gabriel Semple, 'Life', c.1685

I was born about the year '31 or '32 at Cathcart, my father's house, who was laird of it, a man of great natural parts, active about his worldly estate, affected the court, and had some special respects from [180v] King Charles the First, who by the same expected to raise his family.¹ Yet he had somewhat of the worship of God in his family. My mother was a daughter of the house of Haltoun in Lothian, a well-disposed person that gave herself much to prayer and reading of practical divinity and taught me first to pray and gave me many exhortations to seek God when she was upon her deathbed; and her mother likewise was esteemed a religious person, a daughter of Lauderdale's family. When I was very young I eat poisoned berries that were growing about the rock on which the place stood; and when I was upon the breasts, my nurse told me, I had a running [sore] in my arm out of which came a deal putrid matter, which, if it had not come away, it had cut my days short.

When I was learning to read at the school of Renfrew, the schollars were playing in the churchyard and lifting up a slyde in it, and I was lifting with them and so earnestly that my tongue was [181r] betwixt my teeth, and some stronger than I lifting at that side where I was and with such force that my teeth cutted my tongue thro' to a lack that I could not speak, the marks of which I had always. This was another great preservation.

In the '46, I went to Hamilton school (the plague being in Glasgow) where I escaped another danger of drowning in Clyde, riding before an aged and gross gentlewoman. The water being great, and I being young and weak, she gripped so to me, that I had almost gone off the horse by her shaking of me upon the horse, and I not having the strength to sit steadfastly she made me go from side to side that it was a wonder we fell not both in the water.²

¹ Perhaps expecting higher office or elevation to an earldom.

² I take this to mean that the two were on one horse, the boy in the front. The woman became anxious about entering the water and began to agitate, threatening to turn them both off into the river.

There was one Lord's day that Hamilton wanted sermon, and I was wandering in the orchard with the gardner's son, a young lad like myself, and coming near where an horse was feeding, the horse struck at us and hit the gardner's son in the loyn that made him fall, of which he [181v] was lame all his days. This was another preservation, even while I was provocking the Lord by wandering on his day when I should have gone to some neighbour parish to hear the Word.

While I was at the school of Hamilton in the '48, the duke's Engadgment fell out, quhich I then observed to be carryed on with a great deal of forwardness in that place, being the duke's palace, so all the town, the school, and master were for it, yea, my landlord where I tabled, so that my inclinations ran that way also. Only the minister Mr Nasmyth³ appeared against it in his sermons, and one day he spoke so much against it, the duke being in the church and sitting opposite to the pulpit—he used to rise at the blessing and upon the minister's bowing the duke bowed again, but that day he sat still and frowned on the minister. The minister said nothing, but let the elders tarry for session. I never observed the duke before, but a reverend hearer of [182r] the Word and his Bible open before him. The minister was very observant of the duke and the duke kind with him, so that I have seen them riding together their two selves, and taking the air; and at the burial of the minister's wife, the duke was in deep mourning in a long black cloak and went to her grave.

Before the duke went for England, the ministers of Glasgow came to Hamilton to wait upon him, Mr Ramsay,⁴ Mr Gillespie,⁵ and others. I got into the hall where they waited upon the duke and heard their conference. The ministers vindicate themselves in not concurring with and encouraging that Engadgment, and exhorted him that the work of reformation might not suffer by it, and that as he had befriended that interest, so he would. His reply was, Let them not prosper if they had any design to wrong that reformation, and so in their publick declaration for that Engadgment, called [for] the return of the Scots

³ James Nasmyth (c.1614-74) graduated MA from Edinburgh in 1636. He was minister at Dalmellington, presbytery of Ayr, from 1641 to 1645, presented by King Charles I. He was chaplain to Lord Montgomery's regiment in 1645, and then in 1647 to Major-General Holburn's regiment. He was transferred to the Second Charge, Hamilton, in 1645, then to the First Charge in c.1649. He joined the Protesters in 1651. He was imprisoned in 1660 and then deprived in 1662; indulged at Glasford in 1672. *FES*, iii, 31, 254, 259, 262.

⁴ Robert Ramsey (c.1598-1651) graduated from Glasgow in 1618, taught in Irvine, was minister at Dundonald, presbytery of Ayr, in 1625, went to Blackfriars, Glasgow, in 1640, to St Mungo's in 1647, was university rector in 1648 and principal in 1651. *FES*, vii, 394-5.

⁵ see above, p. 6.

Army [182v] the third time in prosecution of the [Solemn] League and Covenant. There was such zeal among ministers against that Engadgment that [I?] heard Mr James Hamilton,⁶ minister of Cambusnethan (afterward a bishop) preach against it and said, If religion were secured, they would not be against it, but that they feared if the king prevailed. They were satisfied that the king should be set at liberty and kepted in freedome, safety, and honour, according to the agreement which was made with the English, when he came in to them.

When the duke went to his horse for England, Mr Nasmyth waited on him at the palace and was speaking with him as he came alongst to his horse. I drew near. I did not hear what the minister said to him, but I heard the duke answer, They were seeking but the blood of their enemies. There was a general dissatisfaction amongst the ministers with that Engadgment, and a spirit of prediction amongst many beyond ordinary [183r] against the same. I had always a respect to the ministers, particularly Mr Nasmyth, who was a man of considerable [space with +⁷] and a great preacher; for since I was a child, I had a respect to that tribe, and could never incline to another employment myself.

I had also some remembrance of Montrose's time, after Kilsyth the fight [15 August 1645], and was bred to favour that way, my father being a courtier and my mother had a great respect to the king, and my eldest brother was with Montrose at Philiphaugh [13 September 1645]. His father had sent him to court to London, where he was confirmed in that way. He was a young gentleman of great parts and learning, and was expected to have been highly advanced if Montrose had prevailed. But within a short time after he fell in a deep consumption, whereof he dyed. But before his death, he took a great remorse for his malignancy and following that way, and testified the same to all his acquaintance that came to [183v] visit him in his sickness. Many of the chief nobility, as the marquiss of Argyle⁸ and the chancelour,⁹ can tell who came to visit him, and the chief of the ministry; and he encouraged them in their adhering to the work of reformation, and dyed in that faith and of the good assurance of the pardon of his sin thro' Jesus Christ, who he said spake more to him than all the ministers did. This change on him made some change on his parents. His father had such a respect for him that he brought his body from

⁶ John Hamilton was born c.1636; his maternal grandfather was James, Lord Balmerino. He graduated MA from St Andrews in 1653. He was minister at Cramond in 1663 and South Leith a couple of months later that year. He moved to the Tolbooth parish in Edinburgh in 1681 and was consecrated bishop of Dunkeld in 1686. *FES*, vii, 340.

⁷ This figure may represent lost or indecipherable material in the autograph.

⁸ Archibald Campbell (1598-1661), 8th earl and 1st marquis of Argyll.

⁹ John Campbell (1598-1663), 1st earl of Loudon.

Edinburgh where he dyed to his own burial place in the west at Cathcart. This change of my brother gave a great tash¹⁰ to the malignants because of the eminency of his quality and the great esteem he had amongst all that knew him.

In the '49, I went to the college at Glasgow, the Humanity class, in which year the League and Covenant was renewed, and Mr Patrick Gillespie tendered it in the common hall of the colledge when his church was repairing and the people of that [184r] quarter repaired there. And when they were called to stand up to take the covenant and to hold up their hands to swear it, they all stood up and I saw several with tears hold up their hands.¹¹ I was so sensible of myself, and insensible of what they were doing, that I sat, being somewhat afraid of so solemn an oath.

While I was at the college, the English army came to Glasgow, and King Charles was at Stirling with an army. Many of the army came to the church. General Cromwel came himself with his Lieutenant-General Lambert. They came into the outer church in the afternoon, very gravely and reverently, and were set down in a seat opposite to the pulpit. I saw them all the time and they sat very reverently. I heard Mr Durham¹² who was then the king's chaplain. He preached on his ordinary text, Song 1, last verse [1:17]. I remember in his prayer, he prayed for the king, and prayed to make him so good, that he might stop the mouths of all [184v] his enemies. The week after, Cromwell the general called for the ministers of Glasgow and desired conference of them and told them, they were satisfied that the gospel was so truly preached by them, but they were not satisfied with some things they spoke reflecting upon them, and at the conference he fell upon the invasion of Scotland by them. And after debating *hinc inde*,¹³ Mr James Guthry¹⁴ and Mr Patrick Gillespie were ordained by the rest to sustain the dispute, which they

¹⁰ stain, blemish; cf. French 'tache'.

¹¹ This corresponds with the emotional outpourings of 1638. *SP*, 288-9.

¹² James Durham (1622-58) graduated from St Andrews and then resorted to the gentlemanly life. But he was converted, and began to exhort while a captain during the wars. David Dickson urged him to enter the ministry and after study at the University of Glasgow he was licensed in 1647 and began his work in Glasgow churches later that year. He attempted to mediate between the rival factions the church had fallen into, but failed. He published widely; the reference here is to *The Dying Man's Testament to the Church of Scotland or The Blessedness of the Death of those who Died in the Lord*. *FES*, iii, 456-7.

¹³ hither and thither; this way and that way.

¹⁴ James Guthrie (c.1612-1661) taught at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. He went to Lauder in 1642, and visited Charles I in 1646. In 1650 he went to Stirling. He excommunicated General Middleton from the pulpit. In 1651 he was deposed for supporting the Protestation, and helped to form another church allied with Cromwell. He was arrested in August 1660 and executed for treason on 1 June 1661. *FES*, iv, 318-9.

did against the general and several of his officers. It was objected by the ministers that that invasion of theirs was contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant. Some of the officers replied, the parliament of England had dissolved that covenant betwixt the nations. Mr Robert Baillie,¹⁵ being one of the ministers concerned, answered and told his Excellence that he had the honour to be one of the ministers from Scotland at London where that covenant was agreed to and the [185r] question was proposed, who should be the partys covenanting? It was answered by some, who but the two parliaments? It was objected against that, that the parliaments might be corrupted thro' the prevalency of the enemies of reformation and then that dissolved the covenant [who then might dissolve]. Then it was proposed, the body of the nation. The same answer was given, that they might be corrupted. At last it was resolved on that that covenant should be betwixt every individual Englishman and Scotsman, and so long as there was one true English and one true Scotsman that covenant was to stand. This account gave Mr Bailly to the meeting. I was not present there, but this I had of them was that Cromwel himself spake most and best, and at last he exhorted the ministers to be sober in pulpits and wait to see what God would do. Some time after that he marched away with his army from Glasgow. They report that it was whispered in the army [185v] that the ministers had the better in the dispute, which made them remove so speedily.

While I was at the collidge, the differences fell in in church and state about taking in the malignants to places of trust in state and in the army who were excluded by some former acts. The necessity of this was alledged to drive out the English from Scotland, to which the commission of the church consented upon their repentance, against which resolution of taking in these malignants many worthy ministers and gentlemen and some of all ranks protested as of dangerous consequence to the work of reformation, and judged their profession of repentance not to be sincere, but dissembling to be advanced to places of trust, as it proved afterward of many. The Protesting party said they might have a modelled army sufficient without them. And some of that party were satisfied that all should fight against their enemies and lay down all their arms when they had [186r] done, but if faithful,¹⁶ if they

¹⁵ Robert Baillie (1599-1662) was minister of Kilwinning, presbytery of Irvine, and from 1642 professor of divinity at Glasgow, his alma mater. He was a cautious covenanter at first, but then lent his energy and intelligence to the movement both in Scotland and as one of the Scots in attendance on the Westminster Assembly. He published widely, writing a number of polemical treatises, and his *Letters and Journals* are an indispensable source for the early covenanting period. See F. N. McCoy, *Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation* (Berkeley, 1974).

¹⁶ 'if faithful': each word has above it + , and above the intervening space is 'n'.

prevailed against their enemies, if they continued in places and powers, in respect they might carry their malignant and prelatical designs, which they had been doing before. There was another difference of a party called Remonstrators. Many ministers in the west and gentlemen subscribed the same, and gave it into the state before the king's coronation, quherin they signified the danger of admitting of the king to his regal power until he had given greater evidences of his good affection to the work of reformation and his sincerity in taking the covenant.

Att this time, these debates filled the land and the universitys, as ours at Glasgow, and every one disputed for that side that their parents were of. I was that sensible of my ignorance in the debates, they being debated among so many learned and godly ministers, that I could do little but hear. All the thing I was most capable to judge was their purging and planting of churches with [186v] well qualified men of piety and parts. I observed these on the Protesting side were most single in the matter. As for instance in the presbytery of Paslay, where all favoured the Protesting side, except one, yet they admitted of two godly young men who were not of their sentiments to churches, the like I never heard nor knew of the other side.

These differences were a sad tryal and temptation to the church and occasioned many sad animosities and alienations in affection both amongst ministers and people, and abstracted greatly the power of godlynes and edification amongst all and did beget much prejudice and envy and emulation, that many looked more at their own image in others than the image of God in them, and accordingly rejected them, which always falls in in differences amongst the godly. Mr Robert Blair¹⁷ and Mr Durham took much pains to get these differences removed and both partys reconciled. They brought them some length but not up full and compleat length; whereupon Mr Durham [187r] would have them to agree to sit down together in so far, but could not prevail. Whereupon some synods and presbyteries did agree amongst themselves to sit together that had separated, as the synod of Glasgow, to wit, that these differences should not obstruct the planting vacant churches with young men if they were otherwyse qualified, and what sentences were past against any, as deposition, suspension, should not obstruct their ministerial priviledge in the church. Afterward Mr Patrick Gillespie was chosen moderator of the synod, who had been censured by the assembly or commission for his

¹⁷ Robert Blair (1593-1666) was born in Irvine, studied in Glasgow, and ministered in Ireland until silenced in 1634. He was part of a failed migration to New England in 1635. Returning to Scotland, he was appointed minister of St Andrews in 1639. He was deprived in 1661.

protestation against the acts and constitution of the assembly,¹⁸ but there was no general reconciliation and the English that had the government took the advantage of these differences, rather to hold them up than remove them, for General Monk seemed to favour the Protesters and the president of the council Broghill the other side. [187v] But after King Charles in the '60 returned from his exile, then their eyes were open to see the evil of division, that the work of reformation was in great hazzard. Whereupon Mr James Guthry sent or went to the chief of the other side and desired that all their differences might be forgot, and that they might join together in an address to the king to preserve the work of reformation and to adhere to the covenant, but they refused. In the second place, he proposed that they might address separate. This was also refused. In the third place he proposed that they should address alone, and that the Protesters should forbear; this was also refused. Then he last proposed that the Protesters should address, which they offering to do at Edinburgh were interrupted and put in the castle. This is observable: if Mr Guthry and those of his way had been as forward for joining, it might have prevented the bishops coming in upon Scotland, which may [188r] be a lesson for all in all times to come. Mr Guthry was a great man and steadfast to his principles, and much concerned about the publick matters of the church.

When I was a student in divinity, I was at a meeting of the Protesters where it was proposed and debated the renewing the League and Covenant and to leave the king's interest out of it. This motion came from Mr James Guthry, and it had been communicate before to the ministers of that persuasion to advise about the same, with the well-affected of the parishes, and at this meeting they were to make their report, but all of them there did agree in their report that they thought it not expedient at that time to be concerned in such matters. Whereupon I heard Mr Patrick Gillespy say after the king's return: 'What case would we have been in if that motion had been followed?' The greatest and the best of men may mistake [188v] duty in the circumstances of it especially. This former relation I had from Mr Alexander Moncrief¹⁹ who was prisoner with Mr Guthry in the castle.

¹⁸ D. Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644-1651* (Edinburgh, 2003 [orig. 1977]), 170-2.

¹⁹ Alexander Moncrief (1613-1688), graduate of the University of Edinburgh in 1635, minister at Scoonie, presbytery of Kirkcaldy, in 1643. He was a Prottester and a church commissioner during Cromwell's occupation, but went to prison because he prayed for the king, against public policy. Imprisoned again on 23 August 1660 for meeting to memorialise the king. Subsequently he was confined to his parish and then was banned from ministry on 12 July 1661. He was in trouble for conventicling 16 July 1674. *FES*, v, 117.

I was called to the ministry in the '57. The year before, I went to Drumfries to see an aunt there, the Lady Prigarie. Some of that presbytery knew me when I was a student in divinity at Glasgow, where Mr John Young²⁰ was professor, who had been my regent before, a learned man but not fit for that place. He was brought in by the English and Mr Gillespie's interest, but Mr Durham had been chosen before, but his modesty was so great that he shunned it. I never knew anything in Mr Gillespie's management that was more unworthy than bringing in Mr Young and not pursuing the call to Mr Durham, which I think Mr Gillespie was sensible of afterward, for he complied early with prelacy and kept his place, and was [189r] named a bishop before his death, for he lived but a short time after prelacy was settled.

When I was called to the ministry, I had ane call to a parish in the presbytery of Dumfrice, where I passed my tryalls first. Then I had another to the parish of Cathcart, where I was born. Both were unanimous, which straitned me the more; wherefore I retired to Torbolton in the west to Mr John Guthrie,²¹ a fellow student at the colledge, that I might ~~more~~ abstractedly and more consider of both. At last, upon consideration of both and advising some ministers, I was most clear to accept of the charge in Galloway, in the presbytery of Drumfries, for these reasons: (1) that it was a place were I was a greater stranger; (2) that it was a place that had been little laboured upon by those that had been there before, for my predecessor was deposed for insufficiency, and Cathcart had been well provided with worthy men, particularly Mr John Carstairs,²² [189v] an eminent minister that was from there transported to Glasgow. A third reason that I thought, if the Lord kepted me honest, I might be more useful in the presbytery and synod than at Cathcart where the presbytery of Glasgow and the synod there were universally worthy men, and the Protesting party and those that favoured them was the prevailing party. Albeit I was little concerned in these

²⁰ John Young was born in 1624. In 1652 he became professor of divinity at Glasgow. He conformed at the Restoration and was elected bishop of Argyll in 1665, but died before he could be consecrated. *FES*, vii, 399.

²¹ John Guthrie (c.1632-1669) graduated MA, Glasgow, in 1652. He went to Torbolton, presbytery of Ayr, in 1658, and was deprived in 1662. In 1667 he was pardoned for his participation in the Pentland Rising. *FES*, iii, 75.

²² John Carstairs (1623-1686) graduated MA from St Andrews in 1641. He was ordained to Cathcart, presbytery of Glasgow, in 1647, and then went to Glasgow in 1650. He barely survived the battle of Dunbar in September 1651. He was a moderate in the partisan church conflict of the 1650s. He was deprived and imprisoned in 1662. He went to Ireland briefly in 1664 and survived Rullion Green to be indemnified in 1667. He went to Holland and refused an invitation to become a minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam. He returned to Scotland and lived privately in Edinburgh. *FES*, iii, 460-1.

differences, nor had I occasion all the five years I sat in presbytery and synod in Drumfries to be concerned; for they were moderate men in these differences and concerned themselves more about purging and planting their churches, which was more effectually done and with less opposition than it was done where the differences took greater place and was less obstructed, and the Reverend Mr Henderson,²³ minister of Dumfries, was a happy instrument in this, being a person of singular moderation and prudence.

Before I was called to the [190r] ministry, I made it my sincere desire to the Lord that if ever I was called to a charge it might be where my ministry might have greatest success and where I might have satisfaction in my lot. There were severall outward advantages I might have had at Cathcart before the other place, Kirkpatrick Durham, the one being eleven miles from presbytery and synod, the other but two miles and a very compact parish, whereas Kirkpatrick Durham was seven or eight miles in length.

That which commended that countrey to me was not only that they were harmonious, the ministers among themselves, but there was a society of good people in Drumfries that kept constant fellowship amongst themselves, to quhich I joined when I had occasion to be there, as I was often at presbyteries, as some other ministers did. They were a serious people of a tender and circumspect walk and had kept [190v] meetings of a long time, both men and women, and that not only by the encouragement of the ministry, but the holy care and walk of an aged woman in that place, Marion McBurny, who was so blessed an instrument in that place that for fifty years meetings were kept up there every week. In all my acquaintance I never knew a more eminent private Christian, and many times considered her walk and way and could not discern which of the graces shined most eminently in her. The Lord gave me satisfaction in my lot in that countrey, and I hope some success in my ministry according to what I singly desired of the Lord.

When a student I had frequent occasions to be at communions in that country, much countenanced of God, at none more than at Carsphairn, where my friend Mr Semple²⁴ was minister. He always employed the most

²³ Hugh Henderson graduated MA from Edinburgh in 1632. He ministered in Carsphairn (1638), then Dalry (1639), both in the presbytery of Dalry. He spent time in Ireland in 1643 at the appointment of the general assembly. He moved to Dumfries in 1648 and was a commissioner for admitting ministers in 1654. He was deprived in 1662. *FES*, ii, 264, 400, 407.

²⁴ John Semple, the formidable minister of Carsphairn in 1646. *FES*, ii, 400. Patrick Walker stated that he died at the age of 72, but could not even recount how long he was at Carsphairn. His account is a catena of popular stories, including a number about his ability to predict and his scorn for social precedence. *Some Remarkable Passages*, 3-22.

lively ministers he could have in Galloway or Dumfrice presbyteries, but none was more [191r] countenanced than himself, especially at the breaking up of the action before the tables, in laying their sin before them, and calling them to humiliation for the same, and then in praying, confessing sin, and engaging anew to the Lord to be his and to walk in his way, at which there used to be a great consternation and elevation of spirit in the congregation. He gave the sacrament twice every year and as he had the choice of ministers, so the choice of the people in Galloway and Nidsdale ordinarily repaired there, even 20, 30 miles off. He was no schollar nor bred at universitys or Latin schools. He had as much of an apostolick gift of preaching and in a thundring way as I knew any of the ministry.

While he was in Ireland, he was precentor to one of the worthy ministers there—I have forgot whether it was Mr Livingston,²⁵ Mr Blair, or Mr Cunningham.²⁶ He was singing a psalm before the minister that was to preach came in. He thought he tarried long, and he had [191v] an impulse to speak something to the psalm he was singing and (as he told me himself) he was carryed out with great liberty. These worthys considering that there was some speciality in this, and was²⁷ in him, took some private tryal of him, and being satisfied of his edifying gift, gave him license to exercise the same in private houses and familys. And having obtained this liberty he went thro' the country and was much followed, so that they filled the whole house and sometimes barns and was an happy instrument in the converting many souls to God; for that country was then much desolate for want of faithful men. He had something of the gift of prophesying and praedicting things to come, as he did the death of Duke Hamiltoun that year of the Engadgment, likewyse that the ministers going from Ireland to New England,²⁸ Mr Livingston, Mr Blair, &c., should never go, albeit they were shipped for that effect; likewyse the burning of the ~~Castle~~ place of Kenmuir.²⁹

He left Ireland and came to Kirkcudbright where he passed his tryalls for the ministry, [192r] and got his commonhead in English.³⁰ He was called to

²⁵ John Livingston (c.1600-1672) was an outstanding covenanting minister. His last charge before being exiled at the Restoration was at Ancrum, in the borders. He died in Rotterdam in 1672. His autobiography, followed by other materials, may be found in *SB*, i, 127-97.

²⁶ Robert Cunningham, minister at Holywood in Ireland from 1615 until deposition in 1636. He died at Irvine in 1637. *FES*, vii, 528.

²⁷ + above 'was'.

²⁸ Added from the margin. See *SP*, 34, 37-8.

²⁹ during the Cromwellian occupation. *Ordnance Gazeteer*, iv, 351.

³⁰ typically passed in Latin.

the ministry at Carsfairn, a new-created church and parish. The first time I heard him there or anywhere, he fell upon the ministers of Scotland, inveighing against them, and said many of them should not die in their beds. I asked him at night what he meant by that. He said, he would have said something on the Saturday before the communion, when there was fear of rain; he forbade to fear, for he had it from the Lord there should be none till that work was over; so it was, and they should not die in their ministry. This was several years before King Charles returned to England.

After this return, there was a great change upon these nations for a profane breach out in all immoralities, and even these that were sober and blameless turn'd lax and loose in their conversation whereby to commend themselves to that revolution, for not only was the power of godlyness hated but even the very form of the same, and the very name of a presbyterian despised; so [192v] that the true covenanted Christians and presbyterians were but a small part of the kingdom for so great was the defection and damp upon all ranks that the most worthy was under the same. However, there was some minting at duty as by these laid in the castle for offering to supplicate the king to adhere to the Covenant he had taken, and the synod of Dumfries sent three ministers to wait at Edinburgh about the sitting of the first parliament to join with other ministers that must be there for the good of the interest. I went to Edinburgh before the other[s] had come to town and spoke with some ministers there, particularly with Mr Douglas³¹ who was much concerned. But I found him to have a share of that damp which was upon many. I told him it was thought fittest to address the parliament before they made acts against the reformation. He answered me they would not suffer them to act against the same. Not long after they passed the Rescissory Act and established prelacy, and surprised honest men [193r] much. This did much trouble him. Another day I went to visit him and spake of the same purpose about an address. He said they would fall upon leading men (albeit he was a man of an excellent spirit and bold for the interest). This answer made me the more sober in pressing, that I, being a young man and little known, was in less hazzard, and to have the more compassion and tenderness to eminent men in a day of tryal who are exposed

³¹ Robert Douglas was a near relation of the family of the earls of Morton. He graduated MA from the University of Edinburgh in 1614 and became a chaplain amongst the Scots soldiers associated with Gustavus Adolphus IV. He went to Kirkcaldy in 1628 and to Edinburgh in 1639. He was a Scottish commissioner to the Westminster Assembly. He was prominent among the Resolutiioners and preached the coronation sermon for Charles II. He refused the bishopric of Edinburgh, and criticised Sharp for accepting the primacy. He was deprived in 1662 and was indulged in Pencaitland, presbytery of Haddington, in 1669. He died in 1674. *FES*, i, 385-6.

to the greater hazzard. So this act passing for prelacy made it more hazzardful to make an address.

After this they raised the synods and would not suffer them to sit. The earl of Rothes raised the synod of Fife. I heard Mr James Wood³² would have debated the case with my Lord, and he said, let them call whom of the episcopal clergy they pleased, he should go to London, and a rope about his neck, and if he did not prove the divine right of presbytery, he [193v] should be content to be hanged in the rope. My Lord Rothes said he would dispute the case. The synod of Dumfries, before they were raised, were upon an act that if any conformed to prelacy, that *ipso facto* he was deposed.

After this the Act of Glasgow³³ came out, wherein all were commanded from their churches that did not conform and to remove out of the bounds of the presbytery against [1 November.]³⁴

This put ministers sore to it, quhat to do, debating the magistrate's power of [over] their bodies. I remember I had my own thoughts about it, and this I fell upon to show the people, some Lord's days before the time of removal, that I was by them called to be their minister, and now authority commanded me to depart them. But if they would call and invite me to tarry with them and take their hazzard with me, I was to run my hazzard. After they came from church, some of them said among [194r] themselves, I had made them a fair offer, but they never came any of them to desire me to tarry with them. Then I was free to go, and went to a gentleman's house, well-affected to Corsock,³⁵ which was more commodious for the parish I left than the kirk was to them, for it lay towards the middle of the parish, and nothing but a small water betwixt the parish and Corsock, for it was without the bounds of the

³² James Wood (1609–64) studied at St Andrews and as a regent was convinced of the error of his episcopalianism and Arminianism due to Alexander Henderson and David Calderwood. He served as a minister and university professor in St Andrews and was among those who treated with Charles II at The Hague. He was a Resolutioner, and at the Restoration was deprived. *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. N. M. de S. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1993), 891–2.

³³ An act of privy council issued on 1 Oct. 1662, in Glasgow. It stipulated that further to an act of parliament, any minister admitted since 1649 without presentation by the lawful patron (patronage had been terminated in 1649), was now expelled from the ministry and ordered to remove his residence from the bounds of the presbytery in which he served. Any services conducted by such came under the category of conventicles and were subject to all the pertinent liabilities. *RPC*, 3rd ser., i, 269–70.

³⁴ Supplied from the act.

³⁵ A reference to John Neilson of Corsock, a rebel in 1666, executed on 14 Dec. He appears in Turner, *Memoirs*, 149, 154. See also 'Grivances and Sufferings of the Paroch of Parktoun, particularly of the family of Corsock under prelacy', in NLS, Wodrow MSS, Octavo xxix, 225r–234r.

presbytery of Dumfries, and in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright. Mr John Welsh³⁶ came and took up house there upon the gentleman's invitation and mine, and with him I tabled the time I tarried. Upon the Lord's day first after our settling there, in respect of the danger of adventuring to preach, I thought myself obliged to try the first hazzard, and that Mr Welsh should forbear, and so I preached to such as came to hear, which filled a little hall. The next Lord's day after, the house would not hold them, but they stood in the closs and so I preached to them. The [194v] third Lord's day the closs would not contain them, so they went to the garden, and then that place was not convenient. The multitude was great for many places, so that we took the open fields near the house. Mr Welsh forbare all this time.³⁷

After this, they made an act that two should not be in one place, whereupon I thought to remove and leave the house to Mr Welsh that had a family and I none. And so I went from parish to parish. In my removing out of the country I went to the west where I was born. In this Mr Welsh fell to the work of preaching and continued in it with great applause and success in many places untill Bothwel [Bridge],³⁸ and then went to London where he dyed much lamented. While he was in his parish at Irongray, he had the greatest success in his ministry of any in our country, and took singular ways for that effect, and was of a sweet disposition.

When I went to the west to my brother's house, I was somewhat perplexed what to do in continuing to preach upon such hazard, both upon the account of my own insufficiency and unsuitableness for such a great undertaking in so holy a work, and also because of the singularity of it then; whereupon I set some time apart to seek God for some days, and to engage myself in personal covenant with God, which was the first of that sort that I made, begging light and determination from the Lord what to do in the matter, which paper I have yet. Then I went to Galloway again

³⁶ John Welsh of Irongray (c.1624-81), son of Josias Welsh, minister of Templepatrick, Co. Antrim; grandson of John Welsh, minister of Ayr who was exiled after keeping the 1605 general assembly in Aberdeen; a great-grandson of John Knox. He graduated MA, Glasgow, in 1647 and was admitted to the parish of Kirkpatrick-Irongray, presbytery of Dumfries, in 1653. He was deprived at the Restoration and became a field preacher and a fugitive, and in 1671 went to Northumberland for a time. He returned to Scotland, but after the engagements of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge in 1679 he retreated to London, where he died. *FES*, ii, 287.

³⁷ *FES*, ii, 287 has Welsh the first field preacher, but this passage would place Semple before him. Adam, son of the field preacher John Blackadder, stated that his father 'with Mr. John Welsh and Mr Gabriel Semple were amongst the first that vented their lives to preach in the fields in Galloway and Nidsdale &c.' NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto boxv, Adam Blackadder, 'A true narration of the sufferings of Mr John Blackader and his family from anno 1662 to 1689', 232v.

³⁸ Battle of Bothwell Bridge, 22 June 1679.

and was resolved to follow that duty, be the event what it might. And so I joined with Mr Welsh in field preaching, and others preached in their houses.

I forgot that when I left the manse of Kirkpatrick, I wanted not some small hopes I might return there again. And so I wrote a paper about my leaving that place and what text I preached on that day [195v] before, and who withdrew, and put it in an hole of the couple³⁹ where it could not be seen. And after the change, the first time I entred the manse, with several of the leaders and in their sight, put in the hole a penknife, and brought out the paper in their view, and read much of it to them, the which paper I brought to my wife. It was not torn but the ink weared reddish and the paper a little moist, but well it could [be] read.

The great debate fell in about hearing the curates, which was both amongst ministers and people, whether lawful or not. Many satisfied themselves with the general notion of it in *thesi*, but did not consider it in *hypothesi*.⁴⁰ But others considered it was so to be understood in all its circumstances, so that it became like the circumcision among the Jews, to shun the cross. Some were of one mind, some of another. I asked a worthy and reverend minister, Mr Alexander Jameson,⁴¹ minister of Govan, who went one day to hear the incumbent of Eastwood,⁴² whether [196r] or not it was *conscientia reluctante et dubitante*.⁴³ He *in terminis* confessed it was, and I believe heard little more.

Now the case being stated, whether or not a person solemnly engaged in covenant personally to maintain presbytery and to oppose prelacy with his might, not having given sufficient testimonies and other lawful means to perform the duties sworn to in the [National] Covenant, and to oppose prelacy in the judicatories civil and ecclesiastick, so that every one is left to personal performance of these duties, and being commanded by that authority that overturned the work of reformation contrair to the Covenant, upon their commanding all to forsake the presbyterians and to countenance and adhere to the abjured prelatists, especially while they had the benefit of having their own faithful ministers preach, though with hazzard and suffering persecution:

³⁹ rafters.

⁴⁰ in general ... in particular.

⁴¹ Alexander Jameson taught at St Leonard's College, St Andrews, before going to Govan in 1659, in which year he was also first elected dean of faculty at the University of Glasgow. He was a zealous Protester and was deprived in 1662; he refused the Indulgence in 1672. In 1674 he was charged with conventicling. He died in 1675. *FES*, iii, 411-12.

⁴² Perhaps Robert Hume, minister of Eastwood 1664-79. *FES*, iii, 134.

⁴³ 'with a reluctant and wavering conscience'.

whether or not it was more duty and more expedient to refuse to build that Jericho again,⁴⁴ but to cleave to presbyterian ministers, especially while [196v] these teachers that were imposed upon the people without their call, being men of corrupt lives and principles, wholly devoted to hold up arbitrary government in the state and to extirpate the work of reformation that it should never revive again, especially considering that hearing was as a test of their conformity to prelacy, so taken to be, and whether or not the engadging so solemnly in the Covenant was concert⁴⁵ for such a time as that. If any say, it is lawful in these circumstances, then I say that opinion teaches the enemies of reformation an easy way to overturn the best reformation [that] ever was, and that which lies [to] them dearest in the procuring of it, that an act of a corrupt parliament with a blast of a trumpet might overturn all that precious and costly reformation. This would be like Sanballat's foxes,⁴⁶ that by so small means would destroy all. This was the case, and many observed it so, and had great peace in their life and death. Many that went the length of hearing would not baptise with them, and [197r] several that did baptise thro' fear, it was observed some sudden accident befell these children; quhich made others hold off them. Such was the sad defection and sad fear seased upon many, that the Covenant was much forgotten and forsaken by all sorts.

I remember I heard that great man Mr Guthry that suffered said to a minister, Mr Nichol Blaikie,⁴⁷ while they were looking from the prison upon the marquiss of Argyle going to the place of his execution,⁴⁸ 'Where is that article of the Covenant observed, That which is done to one shall be looked on as done to all?' A godly poor tradesman said to me, speaking of these sufferings, that 'All should shew them, if ye sought men's lives, take all', but that spirit was not to be found then. Mr George Hutchison⁴⁹ waited on the

⁴⁴ A standard presbyterian metaphor; see D. G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986), ch. 6.

⁴⁵ + above concert.

⁴⁶ Nehemiah 4:3.

⁴⁷ Nicholas Blaikie was a 1652 graduate of the University of Edinburgh and tutored in the house of James Guthrie. He became minister of Roberton, presbytery of Lanark, in 1660 and was deprived in 1662. Thereafter he became a conventicler, and went to London c.1666. In 1684 he became minister at Founders' Hall, London, then returned to Roberton in 1690. He died in London in 1698 where he was succeeded by Robert Fleming *secundus*. *FES*, iii, 323; vii, 489; William Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1832), 129-33.

⁴⁸ Edinburgh, 27 May 1661.

⁴⁹ George Hutchison (1615-74) studied at Edinburgh and in 1642 went to Colmonell, Ayrshire, then to Edinburgh in 1649. He joined the Protestors. He was with Argyll at his execution, was deprived in 1662, and was indulged at Irvine in 1669. *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 419.

marquiss upon the scaffold; Mr Carstairs waited on his lady. When Mr Hutchison came in to her after his death, he was well and he had never such a plump shower of influence at any communion he had seen as there was there. He said he was so supported [197v] himself that he could have holden every arm of him to the executioner. The good lady took Mr Hutchison in her arms and said that was worth a thousand of her husband, that the Lord manifested himself at his death. Mr Carstairs told me this himself.

Mr Guthry dyed in great composedness and even all the time he was imprisoned; only after he came first into it, he sat down with the rest on a chair, and laid his hand on his face, and stooped with his head a considerable time. And when he lifted up his head he said, 'O it is no small thing to die a violent death'. After that they could never see him more concerned than other prisoners. Mr [John] Semplé told me this passage. I have heard also quhen he took the Covenant, the first man he met after was the hangman; from that time, he took an impression he would suffer for it.⁵⁰ Mr James Blair,⁵¹ minister of Cathcart, told me a singular passage about him, after Mr Guthry's death. He thought in his dream he came and said, 'Tell my daughter Sophia not to lament for me, for I have great respect where I am; I am no more called Mr Guthry, but Antipas, my [198r] faithful martyr'. Mr Blair said, he knew not that he had a daughter called Sophia.

As he was a zealous minister, so a great Christian of a tender walk. I heard he differed with his colleague Mr Rule⁵² at a session on the Lord's day after sermon, about some matter of discipline [at] which Mr Guthry was offended, that he carryed so. And Mr Rule conveying him to his house, after session, Mr Rule lifted his hat when they parted, as he used to do. Mr Guthry did not lift his again to him, which troubled Mr Rule much. So Mr Guthry went to enter his house, and he began to reflect on his own carriage to Mr Rule in that incivility, and so he came soon away to Mr Rule's house, though it was at the other end of the town. Mr Rule, wondering what the matter might be,

⁵⁰ This sentence inserted from the margin.

⁵¹ James Blair graduated MA from Glasgow in 1651, and went to Cathcart, in the presbytery of Glasgow, in 1656. He was deprived in 1662 and was charged the year following with conventicling. *FES*, iii, 381.

⁵² Robert Rule (1623-1703), brother of Gilbert, the famous principal of the University of Edinburgh. He graduated from that university in 1644, went to Tannadice, presbytery of Forfar, in 1651, and then was admitted by the Protesters to the second charge, Stirling, in 1655. However, he lacked the support of synod and though he remained until 1660 he was never able to have the benefice. He went to Kirkcaldy but was deprived in 1663. He was in trouble in 1672 for holding conventicles and later that year went to Ireland. He returned to Kirkcaldy in 1688 and went to Stirling in 1693. *FES*, iv, 320.

Mr Guthry said to him, 'Brother, I durst not enter my closet untill I came to acknowledge my fault, that it was my humour prevailed with me'—so grave a man and antient, [198v] his confession to so young a man and so speedily after, shew his victory over his passion and humour.

The debate about hearing the curates was everywhere, but those that were most impartial and single in the case choosed the most denied side, to forbear to hear, but for mutual encouragement to keep themselves in a body for doing and suffering as they might be called to. Notwithstanding of these debates and differences among presbyterians, yet they did not allow it to be stated as a ground of separation from one another; neither did the ministers who preached upon their hazzard bring any of the people who brought their children to be baptised by them to any publick confession for their hearing the curates, but were rather willing to deliver them from that tentation of compliance, and to keep them from further compliance did admit of them to that benefit. And thereupon the curates pursued and persecuted them for baptising without them, and so they left them altogether, and followed after the ordinance [199r] from their own ministers, who were hotly pursed by citations to appear before the council and afterward by the souldiers for apprehending to bring them to suffering.

I remember one night I was in Galloway, and dreaming that I thought one came to me and desired me to put on the gown and coat my Lord Waristoun was hanged in, which I think I refused. This was brought to my mind when I was brought in a prisoner to the Canongate Tolbooth. Mr Cargil,⁵³ a worthy minister, was hanged that day, and the goodman of the Tolbooth offered me his gown he left there for the prisoners. This I refused, being unwilling to carry upon my body the remembrance of the death of that worthy man, the impression whereof was sufficiently upon my mind without that object. This I do not relate as laying any great stress upon dreams, neither ought they to be altogether slighted, but observed some times and improved to edification. I remember another time long after [199v] this, and after the death of my first wife, I was under a special temptation and I thought in my dream that she descended from above and came to me. I went to salute her. I misbehaved toward her, and she went

⁵³ Donald [sometimes Daniel] Cargill (c.1619–1681) was ordained in 1655 and entered the ministry in Glasgow. At the Restoration he was banished beyond the Tay. He became a field preacher and was irreconcilable toward the Indulgences. He was wounded at Bothwell Bridge, but escaped and joined Richard Cameron. He had a hand in the Queensferry Paper and the Sanquhar Declaration. In Sept. 1680, at Torwood, he excommunicated King Charles II, York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell. He was finally captured on 12 Sept. and hanged on 27 July 1681.

away frowning from me, and ascended upward again. This I took for a suitable rebuke to my temptation from the Lord, and could never forget it. She was a choice person and I looked upon such a companion as one of the choicest mercys and favours from the Lord.

The souldiers drave the ministers out of Galloway and Nithsdale where the meetings were most frequent, so many of them came privately to Edinburgh and lurked there and preached more privatly, at which time souldiers did sadly distress the countrey where the meetings had been and these that went not to church by fining, imprisoning, driving of all their cattle, which did much exasperate the people, so that some of them were bussy to traffique thro' their own countrey and the west and other places for some appearance for their own relief and deliverance [200r] from that persecution. Several, both gentlemen and ministers, did regrate the same, and after going to and fro for advice and assistance and consulting about the same and seeking the Lord therein, some were for appearing in an hostile way and some not; and so it was put off from one time to another.

At last I was advised by some friends to go privately into Galloway, or the borders of it, to be informed of their case and what they designed to do, and to report at Edinburgh. I went accordingly and met with several of their leading men who were longing for an opportunity of appearing together for their defence. I told them it was not rashly to be done, but well advised with others in other places. So we went to the west and elsewhere for counsell in the matter, and to come back within ten days.

In the meantime excellent Murrief,⁵⁴ a laird in Galloway, the greatest Christian that I knew in his station, going to Edinburgh, came to me where I was privatly. I desired him to [200v] tarry for the next meeting, and told him when and where it was, which he did, so we, going to the place of meeting at the time appointed, and being met together, they told us that Barscobe⁵⁵ and some others of the people were fallen foul with some of the souldiers quartered

⁵⁴ William Maxwell (younger) of Monreith. A. S. Morton, *Galloway and the Covenanters, or, the struggle for religious liberty in the south-west of Scotland* (Paisley, 1914), 272-7; *RPC*, 3rd ser., ii, 230, 345, 348, 484, 485, 4932, 530; 'Memoir of Mrs Goodall', in *SB*, ii, 489-90; Turner, *Memoirs*, 147, 155, 163. *History*, ii, 73-5; on pp. 116-17, Wodrow relates an amusing story about Maxwell's escape from his pursuers, hiding in a meal tub in the middle of a tavern. He was the father of the first baronet Maxwell of Monreith, and died in 1670 in Ireland; see below, p. 162. The son's second wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Thomas Hay, first baronet of Park, a family which was deeply involved in covenanting in Moray, and into whose family was married Thomas Hog, a famous presbyterian minister. See *Complete Baronetage*, ed. G. E. Cockayne, 6 vols. (Exeter, 1900-1909), iv, 311.

⁵⁵ John MacLellan of Barscobe. See J. Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland 1660-1681* (Edinburgh, 1980), 66; Law, *Memorials*, 222.

in the country and had hurt some and secured several of them. The report of which going to other places of the country, the people did the like with their souldiers.

The first occasion of this outfall, as I learned, was that they were offering to torture at the first some honest men that did not comply with them, and Barscobe said soberly to them, 'Why do ye use the honest man so?' and looked about a little, whereupon some of the souldiers offered to them violence. Upon which a woman cryed to Barscobe, 'Turn, what are ye doing?' And when he looked and saw what they were doing against them, he drew a pistol wherein there was only tobacco stopples, and shot at one of them, at which the souldier fell, but I do not remember that he was [201r] killed. So it began and they secured the rest there and elsewhere. Murrief and I were grieved with this accident and knew not what advice to give them in the case. Some knew not what to say, but the most forward said there had been talking enough upon that affair, that it was fit to take that opportunity to appear; which, if they did not, Sir James Turner⁵⁶ that was at Dumfries would come with all his men to destroy the cuntry, and that it was best to prevent that by marching to Drumfries and securing of him.

I was truly Laban⁵⁷ in the case, but I told, if they were so resolved, I should go straight to the west to acquaint friends there, which I did, riding all night to get some there. So they went for Drumfries and choosed one Mr Gray⁵⁸ for their head, and they came and took Sir James Turner prisoner and set him on a low beast, without his best rayment, and carryed him thro' the town in a despicable manner, where the providence of God was to be seen of that sudden change. There [201v] he had been reigning like a king, and lifted up in pride with insolency and cruelty over the poor people. And so they carryed him alongst with them to the west. He told

⁵⁶ Sir James Turner (1616-86), a professional soldier of wide experience, and vilified as one of those who oppressed the covenanters of the SW.

⁵⁷ Laban, see Genesis 24, 29, 30. The story is not easily deciphered, and Semple's reference to it is obscure, but perhaps he thought of 24:50, where Laban said: 'The thing proceedeth from the Lord: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good'.

⁵⁸ This episode is described in Turner, *Memoirs*, 146-89. 'Captain' Gray is noted on pp. 149 and 153: 'I had often enquired what this Captaine Gray was, and by what authoritie he did command these gentlemen he had never seene before; bot I was answerd by them all, that they knew no more of him, but that he called himselfe Captaine Gray, and that he had brought ane order with him, to them all to obey him'. A James Gray was killed at Airdsmoss in July 1680, alongside Richard Cameron and others. Wodrow wrote that 'he was a youth of good parts, high courage, and pious from his infancy; at that time he was swallowed up of his zeal for, and sympathy with the truths and people of God ...', *History*, iii, 220.

them, if that rising was general, they would carry it. If it were but in that corner, they could not do it.

The Old Register, Primerose,⁵⁹ I heard, said that that party that had been so favourable as to spare Sir James Turner, they would not do the bussiness, they had not a spirit. And a worthy knowing minister spake to the same purpose to me after the defeat. I replied to him, 'They had a spirit for that for which they were raised up, to give an honest testimony to the Lord and his oppressed work and people, which had not been given before.' Neither did the king and court know the case of the country and the temper of the people, for they were made to believe that if a few gentlemen were kept in security, and a few ministers, he would have perfect peace. So that appearance with the meetings that follows [202r] occasioned their relaxation and liberty, quhich was given by the Indulgence. This was observable of that rising, that several did encourage it in discoursing and seemed to be frank for it, yet drew back when it came to be made effectual. And if these gentlemen and ministers in the west had risen when they were there that came from Galloway, it might have done the bussiness. For to speak *humanitus*, after the manner of men, five hundred more men might have obtained a victory, there was such a general dissatisfaction with alteration of the church government and the persecution it occasioned. They had many thousand well-wishers at Pentland⁶⁰ that if they had thought they could have carried it with their assistance would have been there. And so the commissioner then observed that if they had prevailed but a little, they would have gotten many thousands to join with them. Yea, a great man I heard said to that purpose, who proved a great adversary afterward, when he became greater. [202v] I came off the field with Barscobe, a gentleman of great courage for the cause, albeit not much could be said for his religion, as of others who were there. But to speak of the generality of them, they were a party as well affected and as single for the interest for so many as has appeared before, and gave as proof in all these that suffered at Edinburgh. There they obtained the victory they lost at Pentland, and overcame by the blood of their testimony, and thereafter prelacy was more and more contemned, and the presbyterian interest more and more favoured by all except these whose interest it was to hold it up, or those that

⁵⁹ Sir Archibald Primrose of Chester (1616-79), Lord Carrington of the Court of Session. He succeeded his father as Lord Clerk Register, and was generally an important figure in Scottish government under Charles II. When he lost his post as Lord Clerk Register in 1676, he was consoled with the office of Justice-General.

⁶⁰ The Pentland Rising, culminating in the battle at Rullion Green, 28 November 1666, in which the covenanting army of the south west fared badly.

were greatly malignant; so from that time forth, the house of David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul weaker and weaker, and the spirit of life entred into both slain prophets and people in preaching in the open fields in great companies in many places of the west, and so the court saw it fit to give them some Indulgence to hear their own ministers. [203r]

I remember I heard the old earl of Crawford⁶¹ asking a worthy minister how it came they got liberty for ministers of their own way in the west and not in Fife, and as others heard Mr Wylie⁶² answer, 'Because peaceable'. He was pleased to say, 'If that be the matter, we can easily help it'; and so they set up meetings also in Fife, and got their share.

As for these Indulgences, worthy ministers that were for them thought it a favour that persecution was restrained, and they might have the gospel without fear, hoping that more and more enlargement would come to honest men, and thereupon did accept of the same, albeit it was some design at court to divide presbyterians among themselves and thereby to weaken that party. So I heard that it was offered to Mr Douglas,⁶³ minister of Edinburgh, that the publick Resolutioners should be only indulged. He generously replied that they had not differences, and except they had it without [203v] distinction of partys, they would not accept and the Protesters should be indulged before he was.

At this liberty the prelatical party raged, and so they straitned the door by bringing in rules and directions how to behave in their ministry, not only to make division, but to hinder and discourage others from accepting. Therefore some more zealous than knowing and considerate did aggravate the acceptance of the Indulgence to a great height and ground of separation, and so wrought their enemy's work for them better then they could do it for themselves, and so that division proved fatal at Bothwel, whereby they had a fair game and opportunity to have defeated all their enemies and brought prelacy down to the dust. It is observable, there was this difference in the two appearances: Pentland had harmony, love, and sympathy, wanting nothing but

⁶¹ John Lindsay, 1st earl of Lindsay and 17th earl of Crawford (1596-1678), a leader of the covenanting party, but a moderate and opposed to Argyll. He was in favour at the Restoration but had to resign his offices, including Lord High Treasurer, in 1663 because of his presbyterian enthusiasm and refusal to take the Declaration against the covenants. He lived his final fifteen years in retirement.

⁶² Thomas Wylie graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1638 and went to Borgue, presbytery of Kirkcudbright, in 1642, and in 1646 to Mauchline, presbytery of Ayr. He was a Protester in 1651, and in 1655 went to Kirkcudbright. He was deprived in 1662, in 1669 went to Ireland, and was indulged at Fenwick, presbytery of Irvine, in 1672. He died in 1676. *FES*, iii, 94-5.

⁶³ see above, p. 150, n. 31.

men and arms; Bothwel had both, and wanted harmony, but plagued with division. [204r]

I was not at Bothwel. I was fully satisfied that Robert Hamilton⁶⁴ and those that followed his way would either command all, or else they would mutiny, which did discourage me and others in going there. It is true, some said afterwards to me, that I might have been useful in their reconciliation. But some worthy ministers, as Mr Welsh and Mr David Hume,⁶⁵ with many gentlemen and countrey-men, took great pains to no purpose. I answered the person that spake to me (which was Mr John Dick,⁶⁶ who suffered afterwards, a young man of fine parts and of a resolute spirit, as he gave proof at his death, with that courage and confidence he dyed, both as to his own interest and the interest of Christ in the land,[] my answer to him was, 'When division turns to be a plague, the Lord only can cure it, ordinary means will not'; and so that division was. But not only was [I] discouraged [204v] upon this account, but also upon the account of my health and frailty, for I was at a great distance from them at Oldhamstocks with my nephew Blackcastle.⁶⁷ But it was the opinion of some of us, as to these differences, they might have been managed better upon both sides, for they should have conferred among themselves before there had been any resolved acceptance of that liberty. These that had been in different sentiments about hearing or not hearing the episcopal incumbents, yea, even some that were concerned in Pentland and Bothwel, might have concerted measures amicable [sic] to have prevented all differences. I know it was the opinion of Mr Patrick Gillespie, who was a considering person in these matters, that there should have been pleaded for a general liberty to all, and he told me himself that he proposed it at a meeting with some ministers, [205r] that those that were indulged already should offer to part with their Indulgence, if all got it not. He said Mr James Nasmyth was

⁶⁴ Sir Robert Hamilton (1650–1701) was the son of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston, and himself became second baronet of Preston. Though his father was a committed royalist, the son became a radical presbyterian in the mid 1670s and was at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. Both Burnet and Wodrow thought him a coward, and as a military man had no competence at all. He fled to the Netherlands and while there was instrumental in James Renwick's ordination.

⁶⁵ David Hume graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1646 and was admitted to Coldingham, presbytery of Chirnside, in 1658. He was deprived in 1662. He held house meetings in Edinburgh and was fined. He was in further trouble in the 1670s. He was opposed to the Indulgences and lined up with the field preachers in 1679, though not one of the more radical. He went to Holland after Bothwell Bridge and returned to Edinburgh where he died in 1687. *FES*, ii, 37. Part of his religious narrative has survived; NLS, Wodrow MSS, Octavo xv, no. 4, 23r–110v.

⁶⁶ 'student-martyr of 5th March 1684', J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1908–13), ii, 296.

⁶⁷ see above, p. 24. Blackcastle lived at Oldhamstocks, in East Haddingtonshire.

one of the meeting and did approve it. I will not determine that case, but much should be done and condescended to prevent differences and to remove them when they break in as a flood. They might have agreed with some harmony either to accept of terms from the rulers and either by a general liberty or partial, and to keep a good understanding amongst them in the same; so as that the parishes indulged might have been as their garrisons, and the field meetings as their field companies, having one common interest and driving one common end, and their enemies defeated in their intended divisions.

A year after Pentland I went to Ireland with worthy Murrief and Sundaywell, two as serious, tender, and publick-spirited [205v] Christians as I have known. Murrief died there of a timpany.⁶⁸ I was with him at Dublin where he first took his distemper, and in the north quhere he came to Benbard, where Mr Archibald Hamilton⁶⁹ lived; there he dyed. I asked him as to his case. He was comforted in me and by the Lord as to the salvation of his soul. I likewyse asked him concerning his being there, what he thought of that. He said several times, it was his [God's] glory, his glory that he was concerned [with] there. The ministers and professors in Ireland were very kind to the exiled from Scotland. Then I went to the border of England where I had been hid after my escape from Pentland, being recommended to some acquaintance of a most worthy gentlewoman, Mrs Kier of Weels, who kept me so close in her house that few in the family knew of me.

While I was in the border, I made some adventure to preach as some other [206r] ministers from Scotland did afterwards. The first adventure I made before I went for Ireland was at Hazzleridge where an honest-hearted man lived, Harry Hale of Haughhead,⁷⁰ being detained there because of the persecution in Scotland. There we had the sacrament where Dr Rule⁷¹ was,

⁶⁸ tumor.

⁶⁹ Archibald Hamilton (1619-95) graduated from Glasgow in 1637 and went to Sorbie, presbytery of Wigtown, in 1643, and to Wigtown in 1654. He was deprived in 1662. Thereafter he went to Ireland and became minister of Bangor in 1672. He returned to Wigtown in 1689. *FES*, ii, 383; vii, 530.

⁷⁰ Almost certainly Harry Hall of Haughead who was a fugitive on account of his presence at Bothwell Bridge. He was with Donald Cargill at Queensferry on 30 June 1680, and was mortally wounded in the *fracas*. *RPC*, 3rd ser., vi, 259, 481, 557.

⁷¹ Gilbert Rule (c.1629-1701), an eminent presbyterian of moderate persuasion. He taught as regent at Glasgow and then became sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen. He was perpetual curate of St Michael's, Alnwick, in 1656 and was ejected in 1662. He went to Fife and then fled to the Continent, and graduated MD at Leyden. He was a minister and a physician at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1679. In that year he was indulged in East Lothian, but went to the Bass Rock for an

and Mr Wrestle,⁷² minister of Berwick. There were not many there, but some select persons from the country amongst whom was Justice Ogle,⁷³ a grave Christian gentleman, and the people of the village. It was observed at that occasion several in that village were brought in to the Lord, that had not the least profession of religion before, and continued in the same.

After that, the meetings increased about Ford⁷⁴ and the Borders, so that preaching was in the open fields, yea, we possessed the church of Ford for some years and gave the sacrament publickly there to great assemblies from [206v] Scotland, especially that some came 20, 30 miles afoot, that the church, tho' very large, could not contain them near the one half. This was wonderful protection from the Lord which wanted not its signal fruits. To his praise be it thought and heard of, that which in the providence of God helped to this peace was the curate [who] was a simple body and melancholly, and the gentleman that belong[ed] to that place was no enemy to these occasions for it was to the outward advantage of his town. But that which was most of all, that place and those borders were looked upon to be ignorant, barbarous, and debauched with all sort of wickedness, that none thought it worthy their consideration to look after them, thinking that they could not be brought in to any reformation; yet in the Lord's infinite mercy, the preaching to these borderers had more fruit than in many places that were more [207r] civilized and laboured upon, that the success of the gospel is hoped to be found as in other places.

After this my worthy yokefellow died. That was a passage of change not only on my family but the corner for the persecution there, so that the preaching of the gospel was not only hindered, but it was not such a shelter to the persecuted from Scotland as it had been. The Lord himself saw it fit to bring that tryal in their way; and I was forced to leave that place, it being both uneasy and more uncomfortable to me that I wanted my companion. She was of great deserving and a great sympathiser with my lot, and a nursing mother⁷⁵ to the persecuted that came from Scotland, and had a honourable burial. The

illegal baptism. He was released on account of illness and went back to Berwick. He ministered in Dublin, was called to Greyfriar's, Edinburgh, in 1688, and in 1690 also became principal of the university. *FES*, i, 39-40; vii, 457, 504.

⁷² Nicholas Wrestle, minister from 1653, later ejected. *FES*, vii, 457.

⁷³ Another minister in the area was Luke Ogle (1610-96). He was of prominent Northumbrian stock. He was deprived from an English parish after the return of Charles II. He participated in conventicles on both sides of the border. He was indulged at Langton, presbytery of Duns, in 1679. In 1687 he returned to Berwick. *FES*, vii, 457; ii, 21-2; *Memoirs of Mrs William Veitch &c.*, 135-6n.

⁷⁴ in Northumberland, SW of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

⁷⁵ Isaiah 49:23.

generality of the gentry of Merse and Teviotdale were there and from other places⁷⁶ and carrying to Adam⁷⁷ in Scotland where her sister Lady Thirlestane was buried before. [207v]

After the death of my worthy wife I went to Scotland and preached here and there as other ministers did as was observed before. Then, at last, I was taken out of my sickbed at Old Hassocks, my nephew Blackcastle's house, who had invited me there, he, finding me sick of the ague in another friend's house, a chamberland to the earl of Tweddale [sic] at Beltane. Against my mind somewhat I went, and on the Lord's Day in the morning in summer I was apprehended by Sir James Riven⁷⁸ with a party of horse coming from Edinburgh where his family was at the time. He intreated me to retire to a hiding hole in the house, but by no means would I consent, for I had some fits before; and with much pains and attendance it pleased the Lord to recover me, so I persuaded myself I would die there alone, so I choosed rather to die another way. For they were certified I was in the house and would suddenly depart from it. [208r] I at first confessed who I was they were seeking. And some said they would cure me of my trembling, and indeed I never had such a fit after that, but continued in ease, [not] sweating with such sickness as before. The commander of the party was prevailed with not to carry me away untill he had orders from Edinburgh for that effect. So on Tuesday at night, orders came to bring me to the Canongate Tolbooth. Not being able to ride alone, I rode behind a nephew, William Semple, unto Haddington, where the good Lady Stevenson⁷⁹ sent me a colasse which helped me much. As I entred the prison door I prayed in my heart to the Lord to sanctify that prison to me. I met with kindness in it from the goodman of it who had a respect for some of my relations.

The next day after I came, the duke of York's parliament + .⁸⁰ I was brought⁸¹ down to the hall where I had opportunity to see the riding of it. I looked steadfastly on the duke, also [208v] commissioner, and as he was

⁷⁶ four words introduced from the margin.

⁷⁷ According to the *Ordnance Gazetteer*, Adam is Aldham (Haldam) on the east coast between North Berwick and Dunbar ½ miles south of Tantallon Castle.

⁷⁸ i.e., Ruthven; unidentified.

⁷⁹ There is a laird of Stevenson in *RPC*, 3rd ser., iv, 209, 239; vi, 513. In the first two references it was noted that conventicles were being held in his 'gimell house', although this does not prove his own personal involvement in the matter, i.e., it might have been with his wife's encouragement and permission.

⁸⁰ The parliament was held in 1681, with the duke of York as the king's high commissioner. It was notorious for its Test Act, leading to further deprivations of ministers and the condemnation (and ultimate execution) of Argyll for treason. *Source Book*, iii, 185-9.

⁸¹ + above the words; perhaps 'began', 'met', 'convened', etc.

passing by, I observed fire (as it were) sparkle from his eyes (as ever I did from any man's eyes). At the time of the parliament⁸² I was advised to be silent, and after it rose, the duke, being so well satisfied with what passed there was in a better humor, and a supplication being presented in my behalf to the council for liberty from prison because of my sickness, it was granted upon surety to appear when called, under the penalty of five thousand pound sterling.

Within a few weeks after I was called for + instigate thereto by the advocate and clerks to make money of me, which they were disappointed of, who alledged my supplication was forged and not mine. I appeared before a committee of the council procured by the late Lord Maitland,⁸³ who was my great friend. The committee was such as he thought would be most favourable to me, as they proved. Bishop Paterson⁸⁴ came to it also, but my Lord Maitland prevailed with him to withdraw [209r] to prevent any scruple I might have in appearing, or his straitening of me with pinching questions. The bishop was so well natured as to withdraw. The depute-clerk Stevenson⁸⁵ read my supplication and expressed some words which were not in it, calling Bothwel [Bridge] a desperate rebellion, thinking thereby to make me disown my supplication. I suffered him to read it out to the end, and then required a sight of it, to see if they had put these words in it, and I saw they were not. So I told my lords, I owned that supplication which was in my hand to be mine, and restored it again, and prayed for the spirit of grace and government to his majesty and the inferior magistrates and rulers, and so was dismissed for the time.

This in the providence of God did disappoint this great project against me, to get me to pursue again. They did not require my renewing my bond, which ought in law and reason to have been free. But within a few weeks again they called for me, making some [209v] alledgiances⁸⁶ against me to bring me back to prison, or make me fly for it. I advised my friends, who advised me not to appear again. So I left the countrey, and went for England, into Lancashire and Yorkshire and Cumberland where I was not known, and

⁸² The punctuation here is uncertain, but I think this phrase best separated from the preceding matter and associated with the warning to silence.

⁸³ Richard Maitland, 4th earl of Lauderdale (1682), son of Charles, 3rd earl, and nephew of the famous John, 2nd earl and 1st duke. He turned out to be a Jacobite but his lack of sympathy for popery caused his alienation from the exiled court. He died in Paris in 1695. *DNB*.

⁸⁴ John Paterson (1632-1708) was a son of the bishop of Ross. He studied at King's College and St Andrews; was minister in Edinburgh; consecrated to the see of Galloway in 1675; transferred to Edinburgh in 1679 and to Glasgow in 1687; deposed in 1689. *FES*, vii, 324.

⁸⁵ Hew (or Hugh) Stevenson, 'sometime underclerk of the privy council'; *RPC*, 3rd ser., x, 45.

⁸⁶ allegations?

lived till the death of King Charles.⁶⁷ I found the honest people in those places where I sojourned kind and discreet and conversed with them in their private meetings, of which they were very observant in sundry places.

A little before the death of the king I dreamed I saw a long man sleeping in the firmament, which was very clear and the stars shining and instantly he fell down to the ground. Then I looked to the firmament, and all things remained clear thereafter.

Finis.

[space left as for date] Sepr 25th 1727

Carefully collated [space left as for date] Janry 1728.

⁶⁷ 6 Feb. 1685.

Quintin Dick, 'A Brief Account', c.1688

By Quintin Dick in Dalmellingtoun.

A Brief account of some signall passages of God's good providence and mercies towards him through severall turnes of his life.

[200r] About the eight or ninth years of my age, I remember I was sore troubled with bodily sickness, but of which it pleased the Lord to recover me, and within a short space again when I was at schools to visite me with that loathsome and painfull disease of the cruels (called the King's Evil), under

¹ Scrofula (from L. *scrofa*, breeding sow), known historically as the King's Evil and as the 'cruels' (from the French *écrouelles*), is today referred to as cervical tuberculous lymphadenitis, caused by the tubercle bacillus, a collective name for a group of *Mycobacteria*. Thus it is a form of tuberculosis, typically occurring in childhood, which produces a chronic enlargement of the lymphatic glands. *Stedman's Medical Dictionary*, 26th edn. (Baltimore, 1995), 1587; article on tuberculosis in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edn. (Chicago, 1997), xii, 24. Kings of the Stuart and Bourbon dynasties touched sufferers in order to cure them, hence the name 'King's Evil'. In Britain such practice terminated with the advent of the House of Hanover. R. Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity* (New York, 1997), 282. See John Browne, *Adenochoiradologia: or, An Anatomick-Chirurgical Treatise of Glandules & Strumaes, or Kings Evil Swellings. Together with the royal gift of healing* (London, 1684). The frontispiece of this book is entitled 'The royal gift of healing', and shows King Charles II seated in front of a tapestry bearing the royal coat of arms, with someone kneeling in front of him, and the king laying his hands on the invalid's head, while another touches the kneeling individual with gold and others pray. The postures are rather similar to a confirmation ceremony. Numerous people stand about, with others apparently coming forward for treatment. The third part (each separately paginated) of Browne's work is entitled *Charisma Basilicon, or, the Royal Gift of Healing Strumaes, or King's Evil*. Browne, a royal surgeon, wrote: 'And as this is a gift or grace bestowed on Christians, given to them by the Holy Spirit for the cure of one or many diseases, and this by imposition of their hands on them, and prayers, and gold put over their necks, is a great gift beyond all dispute, and next to a miracle done by any of the former apostles', 12-13. The latter part of the book includes testimonies to healing.

For France, see André du Laurens, *Toutes les Oeuvres* (Paris, 1613), 'Discours des Escrouelles', where the first book bears the title: 'Le premier traité de la vertu admirable de guarir les escrouelles par le seul attouchement, concédée divinement aux seuls Roys de France Très-Chrestiens'. Like Browne a royal physician, he described the king touching, signing with the cross,

which I was continued untill it came to the eighteen[th] or nin[e]teenth years of my age; ab[o]ut which time I was put to Irving² for cure under the hand of one James Frank, an English chirurgian, where I had the occasion now and then to hear upon the Sabbath and other times one Mr Hugh McKaill³ minister of that town, by whose ministrie together with the ministry of Mr Nesmith,⁴ who was minister in the place quhere I was borne. I was allarmed to take to heart whither I was to go when death should arriest me, which I apprehended was very near, being keepest still as it were upon the borders of it by one pressing sicknesse after another. So death being so near me as I apprehended, and that word having taken hold upon me that after death I was to come to judgement, and finding that notwithstanding I was kept free [fra, from] scandalous outbreakings to the world[s] view, yet that the spane [span] of all these vile abominations was in my heart and nature, and that for these motions of sins and swarmings of abominations that occupayed head and heart, I should or [ere] long be brought to judgement upon these considerations: the spirit of bondage and fear wakened upon me at such a measure that eating or sleeping or other worldly recreations could not ease me, upon the which I betook me to devotions of reading, hearing, and praying, conferring, and austere and strick lieving, thereby thinking to stop the mouth of the law of God and my own conscience which continually tormented me upon the account of my corruptions unsubdued and unmortified, although kept in and smothered partlie for fear of being brought to shame in the world, partlie to procure some ease to my reeling conscience, and partly for fear of hell's fire that was immediatly after death to arreist me. Being thus tortured with the reelings of corruptions within and the law of God and my own conscience, and that their was no releife free my devotions and austere leiving, aither for mortifying of lusts within or bringing me unto peace, I was at last brought to that last blessed point of flying to Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of [200v] lost sinners for good and all, and to betake myselfe to his blood and wounds alone both for righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. And

and saying, 'Le Roy te touche, & Dieu te guarit', 3r. There is an engraving of Henry IV of France touching to cure the afflicted in R. Mousnier, *L'assassinat d'Henri IV* (Paris, 1964), illustrations, no. 23.

Alexander Shields wrote in his journal for August 1688 that 'I was told, by ane eye witness, of a horse in or about the foot of Annandale, that cured the King's evil by licking the sore, unto which many country people resort from all quarters.' *Analecta*, i, 179.

² Irvine, in Ayr.

³ Hew McKell or MacKail was minister of Percietown, pres. of Irvine, in 1633, went to Irvine in 1642, and to Trinity, Edinburgh in 1649. He died in 1660. *FES*, i, 126-7; iii, 90, 99.

⁴ see above, p. 141, n. 3.

although I had often read fra the Word of God and heard that their was no justification be the works of the law but only by the merits of Jesus Christ, yet the trade which I kept up was still atroging [sic] with devotions for peace and seeking of rest in them. But blessed be my God and guide who made all peace and rest to forsake me untill he made it to rune in the channell. I cannot with my pen word the way how he first gave me to believe, altho' I could condescend both upon the time and place where he did it, and whereunto all that the law could say, unto all that conscience could say, unto all that memory or light going back throw the sins of my youth could say, unto all that divels could say or sug[g]est, I was counselled and taught and made to oppen the blood and wounds of Jesus Christ who died at Jerusalem and now appears in the presence of God for me and others of his chosen: in that channell of flying to Jesus Christ and closing with him in the covenant and promises, I found my peace to flow like a river. I hope their is none will mistake me as though I were decrying the use of means, when I say I could find no peace in the way of devotions, such as reading, hearing, preaching, and strick living. No, no these are commendable duties and the school quherin sinners are brought to Christ, and the worke and exercise unto which he sendeth them back againe qu[hence] they are come. But the only channell quherin his people's peace flows is the channell of believing. O quhen he gives to believe (for faith is the gift of God) and when he gives the lost sinner leave to oppone his blood and death to all the challenges that divels and sin, the law, and conscience can raise, their does the weir[i]ed come to rest, their comes a fill of all joy and peace through believing, their does the spirit of bondage⁵ and fear go, and the spirit of adoption take place, and in this channel does mortification rune kindly. O folks may be much in duties and keep up long in them, and go a great length in morallity, but if the constraining love of Jesus X be not the fountane and rise of these duties, all these will prove but morning clouds and early dew.⁶ Abyding in X and Christ in the believer is the near and sure cut to reall mortification.

Having given this short and confused hint of my first acquaintance with Jesus Christ I presume in the nixt place to give a short account of some signall passages of God's care and faithfulness towards me, relating to these times quherin he trysted me, and some dispensations quherwith his followers met in these times.

Many passages of God's goodness and faithfulness I might mention towards

⁵ Romans 8:15.

⁶ Hosea 6:4; 13:3.

[201r] me, if I should fall upon the often and many self-destroyings and breaches I have made upon my case, even quhen he made 'my mountain to stand strong',⁷ and the helps and hailings and soul restorings he has suited unto all these self-undoings, and the often drawings out of the mirie clay (quhere I had mired myselfe) and 'setting my feet upon a rock';⁸ as also his bringing of a poor miserable wretch from uncouth and loathsome diseases to enjoy a long track of time in a clear, sound, healthie bodie without so much as the ordinarie stiches and cramps which is incident to nature.

The many turnes of his grace in these being fare above me to remember and enumerat, I am, as I said before, for a witnes unto the faithfulness of my God, to hold with some few passages relating chiefly to the times I lived in and did concern the professors in Scotland and his troubled church there.

[1st passage of providence.]

The first that I shall mention was in the latter end of the year 1666, which was called the year of Pentland, quhen a considerable number of the subjects, fearfullie oppressed both in conscience and outward liberties, did for reliefe of these oppressions take armes and go to the fields against these forces who oppressed them. These oppressed subjects at the will of our sovereign and wise God being brocken before their oppressors and many killed, many tortured, many gibbeted, and their heads and hands poled, and a fit opportunity to put their cruelty against all innocent non-conformists to execution offered, and the king solis[i]ted to put the whole land to a test, particularly the west country quhere that insurrection began. I and everyone were possessed that it would be the least that all of us could give to subscribe that paper called the Declaration.⁹ This coming to my hearing, and finding that their could be no evasion without [read 'with'] a good conscience, and that one of two was inevitable: either to tr[e]ad upon conscience and light, or otherwise to fall in the hands of cruel souldiers. Whereupon on[e] night upon my bed meditating, terror, and sleep and rest forsaking me about midnight in the wintertime, I arose from my bed and went to God by prayer with all my fears, quherafter a full liberty to present to him (whose name alone is a strong tower¹⁰ unto which his people rune and are safe) all my fears, doubts,

⁷ Psalm 30:7.

⁸ Psalm 40:2.

⁹ 'the Declaration concerning the Covenant', in *RPC*, 3rd ser., ii, 212, an earlier repudiation offered again to some rebels as a means of clearing themselves in the eyes of the authorities. It was used in the categorising of prisoners in July 1667; *ibid.*, 307-8. See also Buckroyd, *Church and State*, 53-4.

¹⁰ Judges 9:51; Psalm 61:3.

restlessness and overwhelms: that word was dropped unto me, 'Say not, a confederacie ... neither fear thou their fear ... but sanctifie the Lord of Hosts in my heart; let him be thy fear, and let him be thy dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary.'¹¹ Quherupon, not knowing quhat place that scripture was in I went to the Bible quher I soon found it, and was so settled and fixed upon that promise and uthers fra the Word, that full of peace and ease and quiet of minde I went to bed again and fell upon such a sound sleep that my wife could hardly make me awoke at ten a'clock in the morning and so being strengthened in my minde by that word against all manner of compliyanse, and heartned to lay out so far[r]e as I could for the succour and releife of these poor wanderers, who was declared to be refused all supplie under the pain of death, I found that word so fare verified in¹² [201v] the event that although we were contenuallie exposed to the quartering of these souldiers in whose heart and hand it was to destroy, and with whom I was necessitate to converse in respect my house was alwise designed for the quarter of some of their chiefe officers upon their transient [sic] march towards Galloway; yet that word, 'Say not, a confederacie', speaking loudly unto me, comply not, cede not, 'and I shall be for a sanctuary', I found it clearly fulfilled in the event by the muzelling up of these souldiers from harming me or mine, that I must say the Word of the Lord is 'as silver tryed in the furnace, purified seven times';¹³ 'the fear of men causeth a snare: but he that puts his trust in the Lord shall be satisfied [AV, safe]'.¹⁴

[2d passage of providence.]

The nixt passage relating to the times which I shall instance fell out in the year 1678 called the year of the Hieland Host, quhen the westrene shires were by act of counsell given up to be harrassed and plundered by these savages for no other cause but because some few in these westerne places did at some times go to the publick worshipe of God in these meettings of his people called conventikles. The first generall randivouzie being at Stirveling [Stirling], and from thence to Glasgow, the news coming that all alongs in their march they wested [wasted] and harrassed the cuntrey, especially the persons and houses of all such as desired to serve God and keep a good conscience, and that their was no safety for any person who did refuse their bond, a test which the very

¹¹ Isaiah 8:12-14.

¹² Here and elsewhere there is a doubling of the last word on one page, the first word on the next, i.e., 'in/in'.

¹³ Psalm 12:6.

¹⁴ Proverbs 29:25.

enemies themselves seemed to nauseate. And with all expedition hasting for the town of Aire, that shire being designed to be made exemplarie to all Scotland, I confesse quhen I considered the persons employed in that affaire, the commissions they had fra the counsell who should have been the fathers and pro[te]ctors of the poor and oppressed, the methods that they followed to put their commission in execution, and the highland command under which that host marched, it was very terrible both to me and many others. I need not mention in quhat a formidable dresse (where ther was non to oppose) they came from Glasgow through the cuntry to Aire, with their cannon, their ammonition, their iron shakles and fetters, from there issuing furth their companys for ilk parish be itselfe to keep such and such peremptory times, and in the meantime, sending sending [sic] the highlanders in swarms through the cuntry their to ly,¹⁵ plunder, and pillage, and await orders for more havock against all who should seem to scruple quatever should be injoynd them. In this sad chock quher all refuge failed I begane to thinke it hie time to make hast[e] to the rock of ages,¹⁶ who is a present help in time of trouble,¹⁷ and has promised that quhen his people go through the fire he will be with them, and through the waters they shall not overflow them,¹⁸ so going to God and geting full libertie to present all my fears to him, and the oppressions and uther inhumane creulties that threatned the cuntry, some sentances of that Psalme 27 was droped unto me. Quherupon taking the Bible and going [202r] to that place of scripture from beginning of that Psalm unto the end thereof I found every verse to speake aither safety or direction to my soul, and by the last verse thereof commanded to be of good courage and to wait on the Lord, and redoubled again—'Wait, I say, on the Lord.'¹⁹ My heart being heirby strengthened to trust in the Lord and on his Word rely, I did with a quiet and fearless minde await untill my time of the tryell come. So upon a Sabbath night, about daylight going, two of Cait[h]nes Raigment as quarter masters before the rest alighted at my door, the very first house in al the parish at which any of them tucted. They presented a letter for a quarter to fourteen hundred men. I told them I was no publick person nor never had any charge in the place. They replied, I was one of three in the parish to whom they were directed, and they would go no further than my house. I tolde them it was the Sabbath day, and a time unfit for casting of quarters, but

¹⁵ i.e., to be billeted in private homes.

¹⁶ see above, p. 82, n. 46.

¹⁷ Psalm 46:1.

¹⁸ Isaiah 43:2.

¹⁹ Psalm 27:14.

upon the morrow so soon as ever they pleased I should endeavour to convey the other two persons to whom they were direct and obtemper their desire. They were content and went peaceable to their beds, after they had sup[p]ed, and arose be 4 a'clock on the Munday morning. To be short, the fourteen hundred men boundit only about nine hundred, of which I got twentie for my share. The morrow thereafter our neighbour parish got a share of these nine hundred men so that our nixt night's quarters was not so throng. Within three days thereafter the turne comes of our parish to delivere up their armes to one Captain Campbell of Lochdochart,²⁰ at which I had no scruple, although I had no armes, being twice disarmed before at command of the counsel. This day of disarming passing, and having presented myself amongst the rest of the parish and declared I had no armes, I thought it would be my peace to expose my house and to shift the company of such, whose language I understood not and whose company I could not well digest. So after I had stayed with them some three or four days and provyded for the removall and secret conveyance of such things out of my house as I thought fit; and [I] prepared three servants to attend the house and ansvere the guests so fare and so long as they could.²¹

3th passage [of providence].

I shall in the nixt place briefly mention a case which befell the professors in Scotland and me as one of these. In the year 1678 the king by convention of estates of Scotland did impose upon the subjects a cess²² to be payed and by the act of convention did signifie the reasons for which he imposed that cess; and amongst other reasons for imposing it, [the council] give furth one for levying and keeping up of forces to suppress these meetings called conventicles. This act, with this qualification, being published at the mercat cross of Edinburgh, did beget in many a reluctance to give obedience,²³ and amongst others having made [202v] it my worke in my place and station for a witnes unto the intrest of my Lord and master Jesus Christ, to keep at a distance with all manner of sinfull compliance or accession to the overthrow

²⁰ Sir Alexander Campbell of Lochdochart, younger son of Robert, third baronet of Glenurchy. G. H. Johnston, *The Heraldry of the Campbells* (Inverary, 1977), 56.

²¹ Wodrow corrects the faulty grammar of this final sentence: 'and after I had provided for the removal and secret conveyance of such things out of my house as I thought fit, and prepared three servants to attend the house, and sanswer the guests so far and so long as they could, after three or four days' stay I went off, and shifted the best way I could, for some weeks.' *History*, ii, 428.

²² cess, a tax or assessment; see below, n. 26.

²³ See [Alexander Shields], *A Hind let Loose, or An Historical Representation of the Testimonies, of the Church of Scotland* (n.p., 1687), 697-742, Head vii, 'The sufferings of many, for refusing to pay the wicked exactions of the cess, locality, fynes &c. vindicated'.

of his worke and worshipe in Scotland, I judged it much of my concerne how to cary in the forsaid case, especiallie qlls [quhiles] by the holy and soverigne dispensation of God for his own holy and wise ends he had made it the sad lot of the honest ministers and professors in Scotland at that time to be under a spirit of division and rent, at that measure that although all of them was forbearing witnes unto one and the same cause and intrest of their Lord and Master, yet ye should not have had almost two of them that could agree in one and the same method and way of entring that witnes. In this hour of darkness being much alone both for protection and direction, for protection that I might be kept fra any measure of denying of Christ or giving ground to persecutors to thinke or say that I had contributed anything for the overthrow of Christ's worke, and for direction that I should not be found to stave off my trouble upon any grounds but such as might be clearly warranted fra the Word of God. And after a full libertie to pour out my heart to God in this dark case, I was brought to weigh that as my paying of it might by some be interpret a scandal and a sinful acquiescence in the magistrat's sinfull command; so upon the other hand my refusing to pay it would be the greater scandal being found to clash against a known command of God of giving 'to all their deu: tribute to whom tribute is deu; custome to whom custome.'²⁴ And knowing that Christ Jesus for that same very end to evite offence did both pay custome himself, and commanded his followers to pay it,²⁵ I could see no way to refuse payment of that cess except I had clashed with that comand of paying tribut unto Cesar. So to evite the scandal of compliance upon the on[e] hand, and disobedience to magestrates in the matter of customs on the other hand, I was by the good hand of God brought to give in with that cess unto the collector of the shire of Aire quher I live a protestation against the magestrat's sinfull qualification of his commands and a full adherence unto these meetings of God's people called conventicles, quhich in the act he had declared to overthrow, as my poor protestation in itself does more fully bear. This poor and simple protestation being a paper be itself and subscrivit with my hand²⁶ I shall no further mention, only this I must say, I

²⁴ Romans 13:7.

²⁵ Mark 12:13-17.

²⁶ See NLS, Wodrow MSS, Quarto xxxvi, no. 12, 46v-47r, 'A protestation given in to William Hunter collector for the shirefdom of Aire, be Quintine Dyk in Damellington at his entrie to the payment of the assesment imposed by the convention of estates of Scotland in the year 1678.' In slightly modernized form it reads: 'The king's majesty be a convention of estates of the kingdom of Scotland having in the year 1678 imposed upon the subjects ane assesment to be payed in fyve yeers tyme next ensewing the forsaid yere, and in the act of the said convention having declared and published at the mercat crosse of Edinburgh that one of the reasons for the assesment imposed

had no sooner don it than I was immediatly trysted with very sharp censurs fra many hands and amongst many uthers this was one, that my protestation was only done to evite sufferings and could be no weight,²⁷ being *protestatio contra facta*, as they called it. But being truly perswaded that it is the magestrate's right to impose and exact cess and customs, I could have no clearness to start my sufferings in opposition unto so express a command of God, and for the magestrats's sinfull qualification having so openly declared and protested [203r] against it, I conceive the censure of doing to evite suffering is altogether groundless, seeing the enemy has it subscribed under my hand and before witnesses, a resolute adherance to that which they say they tend to overthrow,

is the suppressing of field conventicles, called be the lords of counsell, seditious meetings and randevowes of rebellion: whereupon taking to serious consideration how to behave without offence in this matter, and finding that in this act however is a designe either under colour of obedience in paying of assessments (which is confessed be all to be the just right of authority both to impose and exact) to bring the payers of it under a compliance with, and accession unto, the suppressing of the worship of God in the exercise of preaching, receiving of the sacraments, and other parts thereof, or otherwise to rander the recusants odious as persons seditious, factious, and disaffected to lawfull authority: betwixt these extreames I was pressed in mynd to give in this rude and simple protestation, that as upon the one hand I desire in obedience to God's command to give unto magistrats customes, assessments and other dewes quhen imposed by authority, thereby to evite the scandal of rebellious disloyalty; so upon the other hand I desire to beare my wites unto all the ordinances of Jesus Christ and obey part of his commanded worship, although nicknamed the randevouzie of rebellion, and therefore labouring to keep a conscience void of offense towards God and towards man, as upon the one hand I pay my proportion of that assessment to avoid the scandal of rebellion and disloyalty, so upon the other hand I doe heirby protest that my payment of this assessment be not looked upon be any greit or small, as any compliance with that dreidfull curse of suppressing the preaching of God's Word nor other parts of his worship either in house or upon the fields, quhere God in his providence shall offer the opportunity and that it be not reckoned a contributing at the least myte for persecuting or suppressing of the preached gossell of Christ, or minsters thereof, for I do heirby declare my adherance unto all the parts of God's worship of his institution, and particularly thes of preaching, hearing, and receiving of the sacraments amongst the gatherings of God's people in houses or upon the fields, having the clear copy thereof fra the Word of God, [and] example of Christ Jesus his followers. And in wites thereof I have written and subscribed thir presents with my hand at Dalmellington the twenty-six daye of March 1679 yeirs, befor thir witnesses.' For John Dickson's views on paying the cess, *Mr John Diceson's Warning to the Professors of the Gospel in the Shire of Fife*, 9-10: 'O cruel-hearted professor, whose bowels are more barbarous than the ostriche, how can thy conscience serve thee to take thy money, earned with the sweat of thy brows, for the livelyhood of thy poor wife and little-ones, and give the same to thy mortal enemies, to buy weapons to shed out the bowels of thy wife and little-ones the next day? O unnatural monster!' And see also John Howie, *A Collection of very valuable Sermons* (Glasgow, 1780), 121-2; appended to Michael Shields, *Faithful Contendings Displayed* (Glasgow, 1780).

²⁷ See Robert McWard, 'A Testimony against paying of Cess to an unjust and unlawful Government or wicked Rulers. In a Letter to a Friend', in McWard, *A Collection of Tracts* (Dalry, 1805), 215-88.

for if he minde to persecute upon the grounds of owning conventicles he has a fair and a full ground exhibited against me from my subscribed adherance, but if he intend to state my sufferings upon that ground of refusing to pay tribute or cess to the magistrate, I have no clearness to expose myselfe or give him ground to found my sufferings upon such a refusall. And quher my subtile adversary seeks grounds to state my trouble upon my opposition to any of the commands of God (of quhich tribute and custome is one), I absolutly hold it dewty to own these commands by paying of that Cesar custome,²⁸ and to obviate his subtillies by a clear protestation against his sinful qualifications. So quatever hes or shall be the censure of friend or foe, this I shall say to the praise and glory of my God and guide, I have fra him meet with much comfort, peace of minde, and rest in my conscience: 'Thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsell, and afterward receive me to glory.'²⁹

4th passage [of providence].

Another cast of the goodness of [God] towards me I shall mention. One night in August 1681, being in a dream in my sleep grievously oppressed by having the church and people of God presented unto me (as I apprehended) under crule oppressions and sore tryalls which puts me to grievous groans in my sleep, I was in that same dream immediatly intertaind with a vision³⁰ of my head that (as I apprehended) all the room I was into, was hung with the rich promises quhich God has contracted in his Word for his people's strenghtning and support in times of trouble and these promisses displayed like a banner or hangings of green colour to such a measure of satisfaction and complacencie upon my minde that all my fears and griefs were swallowed up in joyes and delights in God and in his covenant, so that I awoke with an overset of delight. It being morning I arose immediatly fra my bed and had no sooner got on my cloaths quhen that profane act of parliament, August [31], 1681 [Act anent Religion and the Test] with that horred Test [Act] in the end of it,³¹ comes in by a certaine persone to my house, which having read and considered in its full extent, it put a great damp and consternation upon my spirit. It being morning I went to secret [prayer] as my use was, and in secret having an ordinar³² in the Bible upon quhich I used to take a turne, it fell that

²⁸ Mark 12:13-17, and parallels.

²⁹ Psalm 73:23-4.

³⁰ A not uncommon phenomenon in the time, in effect, *seeing* the Bible.

³¹ APS, viii (1670-1686), 243-5; *Source Book*, iii, 186-9.

³² A pattern for reading the Bible in some orderly manner, perhaps taken in part from what was

day to be the 146 Psalme, which, quhen I had read and considered how providentially that scripture was trysted to be the subject of my meditation immediatly after the sight of so sad news. I found that my dream in the night was resolved in a real[i]tie quhen I was awoke. For I do hereby declare that quatever ruins, harrassings, blood, benishment, or vastation was threatned be that act against all innocent recussants, who never knew quhat it was to put their trust in princes, their was much more joy, consolation, strengthening, and fortitude [203v] pouered furth fra that Psalm unto all such who take the God of Jacob for their help and whose hope is in the Lord their God.

5th cast of providence.

Our Lord, 'who has his fire in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem'³³ for holy and wise ends (known unto himself), making the troubles and tryalls of his people in Scotland still to grow and to come to a greater h[e]ight did in the year 1682, the beginning of it, permite the adversary to present a course of conformity to prelacy through the whole land. In order to which on[e] Major White³⁴ for Kyle and Cuninghame is auzherized to accomplish that worke. I shall not say that his instruction and commission fra the counsell was, nor shall I judge whither he exceeded his commission or not, because I knew it not. But the methods he followed with the poor people for effectuating of that worke was by listing of the names of the whole people in parishes both men and women who were masters of families and that upon his summons making them compear before their courts and first by oath to clear themselves whither they heard their ordinar (to wit, their curat) deuly, quhat conventicles in houses or field they had been at since Bothwell,³⁵ and such like, and according to their confession and pretendit guilt they were fined. And nixt they were put to give bond that in time coming that they should be regular by keeping their paroch churches and abandoning all conventicles and disorderly meetings and vagrant preachers (as they were called) in time coming. These who

being preached upon in services, but not apparently in the form of an authorized and printed lectionary. See G. D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Cambridge, 1937), 154, 196.

³³ Isaiah 31:9.

³⁴ Major Andrew White, commander of the forces in Lanarkshire and who in 1682 was given a commission of justiciary in Ayrshire; also made deputy-governor of the Castle of Edinburgh. *RPC*, 3rd ser., vii, 497, 570. [Alexander Shields], *A Short Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, past and present, of the Presbyterians in Scotland: particularly of those of them called by nickname Cameronians* (n.p., 1690), 30, records him in a list of 'the greatest persecuters and oppressors by finings and other exactions'. He allegedly lifted more than £2,500 Scots.

³⁵ Bothwell Bridge, 22 June 1679.

bandet were more gently fyned and kept in prison untill they payed; these who refused to bond were deeply fyned; these who did not compear and neither swore nor bandet were declared fugitive and exposed to utter ruine. So this Major White, being terrible in his methods through other places before he came to Air and begetting a great affrightment and consternation amongst us in Kyle, did put every man to his serious thoughts how with a good conscience to evite his dint. I do confess the course he took was very narrowly exact, and his methods of imprisoning, quartering, and declaring fugitive was very formidable ('the fear of man causeth a snare'³⁶), but it is lamentable to think how the west of Scotland (a place on[c]e famous for the gospell and profession of it) did faint and yeild to come under such illegall and horried obligations and bonds, and in word to comply with all the points of conformitie to prelacy. Yet, blessed be the Lord, their is in every paroch some few whom God has as yet kepted free of yeilding to aither oath or bond who stands witnes for the work of God in Scotland in opposition to that accursed intrest of prelacy. As for myself, amongst the many and innumerable rest of the Lord my God his goodness and providence towards me (which, alace, I neither observe, remember, or enumerat), I desire to leave this upon record, that although the paroch quherto I was both borne and bred was most sever[e]ly set upon and a most exact list of all the names of the parishoners, yet the Lord so ordered that my name was never so much as heard of untill Whit[e]'s commission and cruelty was quyte gone and over. It is like this may by some be looked upon as a cast of chance or fortune, or that it has been [204r] brought about by the means of money or moyen, or by some other wittie or prudent deport; but I do hereby solemnly declare I had no adress to one or other (except a small pennie of money quhich I gave to one person quhich I knew did me no help in this affair, he being nothing concerned and so out of his power to doe), and therefore I do ascribe my safety and hyding in this great chock to that God who willed me to call upon him in the day of trouble, and did promise and has performed that he should delivere.

6th cast of providence.

The most pusling case that ever offered me was that case of conformity to prelacy so strongly urged in the year 1684. The troubles of Scotland still growing and coming more closely up to ilk man's door, the prisons were thronged at that rait that the prisoners would have chosen [(if it had been their choise) the most shameful and painfull of deaths rather than a prison,

* Proverbs 29:25.

partly because the prisoners were turned so noisome with thronging and want of accomodation, partly because of some evill company that were casten in amongst them, by whom they were obstructed in their devotions, partly because they were abandoned be neighbours and friends who had found a clearness to comply with these things for quhich the imprisoned were exposed to these miseries and considering ther was no evasion but that on[e] of two was to be chosen: either to comply with prelacye, and so give up with the worke of reformation in the Kirk of Scotland, or otherwise to resolve upon a prison with all the miseries therof. These extreams, with the consequences that attended either of them, being seriously looked upon and pondered, did indeed bring me to such a chock of grief that I may truely say, the troubles of my heart were enlarged, for considering the many circumstances that concurred to render my case comfortless, how upon the one hand if I had refused obedience to the law establishing conformity, it laboured of alledged schisme and seperation fra the church, of affected vanity, singularity and pride of bigottrie, opinion, and wilfull wedding to a party of contempt of authority and the laws, and so of being justly exposed to utter ruin and vastation. If I should conforme it staired me in the face that backslyding, appostacy, and abandoning of the intrest of Jesus Christ should be my charge, and that I should be guilty of rebuilding again quhat in my place and station I was both called unto and had covenanted to destroy, and in a word to be guilty of abandoning an ordinance of Jesus Christ and allowing in its place a human invention. Their was also many other things that added to the darkening of my case and hightening of my grief anent it, such as the grievous devisions that was fallen in amongst the presbyterian party about their various methods of standing for that intrest (although all of them as to the main wes for it), some of them for no preaching or discharge of their worke without the king's allowance and protection, some of them for following of their calling conforme to their commission fra Jesus Christ upon any hazard, some of them defending of themselves be armes in the discharge of their ministeriall calling altho' without aither government or orderly way of mantinance for war, and at last a party (who indeed I cannot call presbyterians, their principles and practises being so unlike unto it) who by their practise and declarations stated themselves against all and every one who would not come their length of declyning the [204v] king's majestie and his authoritie, who now reigns, and in a word against all magestracy and government that would not jump with their modell, and fall down right upon all both magistrat, minister, and professor that would not come to their new modell of government civil and ecclesiastick, quhich alace! some of that partie (instigat by the divel, I may say) to the dishonour of the presbyterian cause, has put in practise by horried

bloodsheds and other inhumane and vile actions.³⁷ But that which put a draham more of gall and wormwood in my own private cup and rendred the case ~~the more~~ more comfortless and discouraging as to myselfe was that some of my own relations—two nephews, my younger and elder brother sons—had fallen in with that wild partie who contrarie to any example of God's people aither in sacred write or humane history does travel in armes like robbers and torries [tories, horse thieves] through the cuntrey to the dishonor and shame of nonconformists's cause to which these persons falsly pretends. The devil heirby indeavouring to represent all recusants to conformity as men of such wild and uncouth principells as these ravellers are, and so utterly darking the glory of any testimony aither has been or can be given be them, and bring them to utter ruine under that false representation of men of these wild principles and practises; I say amongst uther sad ingredient in my own private case, this of these relations mentioned did add to the bitterness therof, and indeed did so confound me that I cannot but with a blush owne the cause of the non-conformest, yet being conscious to myself that directly or indirectly I never had nor has any manner of accession to the principles or practises of these wild men.³⁸ And knowing that the divel is aloft in Scotland by on[e] engine or other utterly to ruine the presbyterian cause and work of reformation in that land, and that in my place and station I am called to bear my witnes for it—but alace, quhen I yet further reflect upon these grievous things falling out in that land once so famous for the gospel, and now how the body of the kingdome openly and avowedly has fallen off to prelacy, some by declarations, others by tests and bonds for that intrest, and almost all, both minister and professor, having found the light and clearnes to owne prelatists as their lawfull ministers and receive the ordinances at their hands, I say againe all these things weighed and considered has rendred the case so darke and comfortless that, as I said before, it is the most pusling deficultie that ever in my day offered me, how to acqyute with a safe conscience. But now, being necessitate to declare myselfe and make choise, either openly and avowedly to comply or otherwise submite to the penalties made against noncompliance, aither to own prelatists for the lawfull ministers of the Kirk of Scotland or otherwise give a reasone why I cannot own them for such, I shall for satisfaction unto all such as shall enquire in the grounds of my nonconformity, in all humility and the fear of God without any reflection intended against any who has had the light, peace, and freedom to comply (amongst whom I grant

³⁷ The Cameronians. He undoubtedly had foremost in his mind the assassination of Archbishop James Sharp on 3 May 1679.

³⁸ *History*, iv, 130.

are the greatest number and that both of the most learned and godly ministers and professors in Scotland), give these reasons following. But in respect of the woful mistakes, the unhappines, and difficulties of our times has rendred the [205r] professors of the presbyterian perswasion into, I must creave leave in the first place to declare my judgement anent that precious ordinance of magestracy and civil government:

I own and avow magestracy as God's ordinance appointed in his world. And particularly I own King Charles II as my lawfull king and sole monarch of these realms, acknowledging all lawfull obedience and subjection to him in the Lord and in disclaming all and quhatsoever attempts against his royall person and all lybells and declarations as savouring of contempt of his authorities.³⁹ But in the next place I must in all humility and with deu reverence to authority say that I cannot give the active obedience required be act of parliament anent owning and receiving of prelatieall preachers as the lawfull ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, and that because I stand under an obligation before God and the world to bear my witnes for presbytrie in opposition to prelacy. And in respect I can by no distinction reconcile hearing and receiving of the ordinances at the hands of sworne and avowed prelatists with the allegence I owe before God for presbyterie I cannot, without violenting of light, hear or own prelatists as the lawfull ministers of the Church of Scotland, and my reasons are: [1st,] Our Lord Jesus Christ, the supream and only head and lawgiver in his church, did appoint in the person of his apostles a perpetuall ministrie in his church, the sume of whose charge is both severally and joyntie to take head, to oversee, and feed the church of God, and the chief part and duty of such office is to preach and teach, and consequently reprove, rebuk, exhort, remit, and retaine, bind and lo[o]se, in which things the heads both of doctrine and discipline with their immediate power and warrand fra Jesus Christ are clearly held out, independent upon any civil power on earth and to be exercised by a parity amongst themselves, our Lord Jesus Christ fra his own mouth peremptorly prohibiting all lordly domination amongst them which accordingly his faithfull apostels and ministers practised during their time in the world and by their example left it so unto the world's end; and 2dly, this church government, being a trust committed unto the ministers of Christ, also well as the preaching of the Word and so an ordinance of Jesus Christ, is no more to be abandoned and yeilded nor [any] other of the truth of God. 3dly, presbytrie fra Scotland's first delyverie fra the tyranny of Rome has been the deu right of that nation and

³⁹ likewise Katharine Collace; see *WLW*, 87, n.212.

has therin been exercised be the sent ministers of Christ by a parity amongst themselves and recognosed to be so be [by] the king and his laws, except some intrusions that prelacy has unjustly made upon that right. 4ly, prelacy was brought a judicall tryall by the sol[e]mne church judicatories of this kingdome, and upon tryall found to be a human invention voyd of any warrand fra God's Word and accordingly sentanced and casten out of this church and therafter ratified be act of parliament. 5ly, the whole kingdome in full perswasion of presbytries, and prelacy's tירrany and usurpation became solemnly sworne for the mantinance of the one and extirpation of the other ilk man in his place and calling, now I say under these circumstances I can by no means reconceal the compliance required by law with the alledgance I owe before God and man for presbyterie. [205v]

Stenhvye [Stonehaven], March 1686.

By Quintin Dick, a brief account of the goodnes and faithfulness of God towards him in his supportings, guidings, comfortings and strengthenings in the day of his distres.

As the Lord in his great mercy and goodness towards me did order my lot to be borne in a nation and contemporat with a time and age quherin I was made an ear and eye witness of such a spring tide of the gospell as might have compared with any of the nations about, both for puerity, power, and plentie of gospel ordinances in doctrine, worshiپe, and government, quherin (to the glory of his grace be it spoken) I had my share according to my measure both for comfort and edification, so it pleased the Lord in his holy sovereign dispensation to continue my days and time untill with my eyes and ears I heard and saw the ebbing of that glorious tyde and a quite overclouding of these precious ordinances; yea, the presbyterian cause brought to such a period, that not one minister of that persuasion could be seen or heard to administer any of these ordinances in October and November 1684, either in private or publick within all Scotland, presbytrie and the professors thereof being thus overthrown and prelacy violently introduct in its place. Our rullers in prosecution of that worke proceeds fra on[e] degree to another against all who were suspected in the le[a]st to favour the presbyterian cause, untill they came to the pressing of bonds and oaths, direct abandoning and openly disclaiming, allowning, or c[o]untinancing the ordinances of Jesus Christ amongst the hands of any presbyterian minister (called vagrant preachers) and by oath and handwrite an absolute acquiescence in prelacy and subjection to the laws and acts of parliament made in favours of it and not only to deny all charity, favour, and releif towards our old ministers if any should dare to

preach or pray; but also ilk man in his place and station to search for, pursue, and apprehend them and all others professing to favour that way untill they were utterly extinguished. The heretors, wadsetters, burgesses, fewers [feuars] of all ranks of the shire of Air (being the shire quherin I had my abode and being) being be order of his majestie's counsel conveyened before three of the lords, viz. the earle of Marre,⁴⁰ the Lord Livingston,⁴¹ and Lieutenant Generall Drumon[d],⁴² who were comissionat be the king for that end, after long struglings within myself, and my deare wife who strongly counselled me not to appear but retire myself and flie—yet at last fearing that gife I should reteine and flie, [it] might be [looked] upon as contempt of authoritie and [I] might possiblie be counted guilty of crimes quherof I was free or suspected of those wicked principals, which some of these flying persons had vented in their writings or to have accession to their inhumane and practices—these and many other things rolling in my thoughts, I adventured to appear amongst the rest of the shire being willed be the Lords of Justiciary to subscribe the bond of regularity (as it was called), I modestly refused to take it, quherupon amongst others I was committed prisoner to the Tolbooth of Air in October 1684, quherof I received, amongst others my fellow prisoners, an indytement (as it was called) [206r] or a lybell containing a heap of crymes. I was upon the morrow thereafter convined before the lords and found guilty of three crym[e]s: viz. converse with the rebles, refusing to depone upon the treasonable positions, and refusing to take and swear the Oath of Alledgence. Upon quhich I was condemned to pay a thousand pound[s] Sterling and my person banished to the plantations of America,⁴³ and in order quherunto, my goods partly seased and my person secured in the most noisom[e] holes in all that Tolbooth. Now the thing that I would be at in this short account is [to] bear my witnes to the goodness of my God, and to his faithfulness, in supporting and releiving according to his Word, and although it be but a very smattring and confused note that I can give in, and can at best but end in a nonplus that he is exalted above all blessing and praise, yet this I am

⁴⁰ Charles Erskine, 5th earl of Mar, commanded a regiment, and on 12 February 1685 was admitted to the privy council. *RPC*, 3rd ser., x, 139.

⁴¹ George Livingstone, 3rd earl of Linlithgow, appointed Lord Justice-General in 1684. *Scots Peerage*, v, 447-9.

⁴² William Drummond of Cromlix, 4th Lord Maderty, was a professional soldier, serving the Czar until his return to Scotland under Charles II whom he had earlier served. It was probably he who brought the thumbscrew to Scotland. He became Lieutenant-General of the Forces in Scotland on 7 October 1685, succeeding Dalryell, then in January 1686 became also a lord of the treasury. *Scots Peerage*, viii, 219-22.

⁴³ 5 February 1685. See *RPC*, 3rd ser., x, 129.

perswaded, that the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ is a thing no way to be ashamed of or declyned, but rather to be gloried in. For gif I could but remember how at my first appearance before these Lords of Justiciary at Air I was guided modestly to refuse to bond or swear in things thwarting with my light and with the commandments of my God and without grudge or fear to hear and receive so hard a sentence, and how in the most noysome and stinking hools and prisons of that Tolbooth, quher we were made guests one very cold night with thieves and murder[er]s, and how notwithstanding of age and weakness of body made strong and supported against the cold and noisome stink of these prisons, and the malefactors in the thieves' hools brought reverently and chearfully to joyne with us in the praises and adoration of our God, and in a word our noysome prisons (quhere we had no roume to stand for straitness nor place to ly for excrements) made a sanctuarie through the uplifted countenance and presence [of] a greacious God, may we not upon these considerations, and many moe quhich at that chock we were trysted with, glory in the crosse of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory in tribulation also which leads from patience to experiance and frea experiance to hope and fra hope to 'the love of God shed abroad in the heart'⁴⁴—may we not say that he is a present help in time of trouble?⁴⁵ 'That he is near unto all them that call upon him'?⁴⁶ May we not say that although he has not promised to keep his people out of trouble, yet he is also good as his word in being with them in it? May we not say (to the glory of his name), 'persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed'?⁴⁷ Need we be surprised quhen fra his royall Word and frea his his [sic] own mouth he has clearly forewarned us that in this world we shall have tribulation, but has also surely promised and verified his Word that in him we shall have peace? O the rewards promised by the God of truth to the overcomer, and secured to the overcomer and secured to them by their advocate and intercessor, altho' it be but be [by] faith and hope, is a hundred fold beyond all which the actuall fruition of this world's sensuality can yeild.

From the Munday at night, until the Saturday about seven a'clock at night, being tossed before the Lords of Justiciary, and fra hoole to hoole in the Tolbooth but—blessed be the Lord—strongly supported and comforted be 'the God of all comfort',⁴⁸ we was brought fra the blackhouse about six or

⁴⁴ Romans 5:5.

⁴⁵ Psalm 46:1.

⁴⁶ Psalm 145:18.

⁴⁷ 2 Corinthians 4:9.

⁴⁸ 2 Corinthians 1:3.

seven [206v] or seven [sic] a'clock at night and laid in the court of gaurd amongst the sojours untill the Sabbath morning quher we had no rest nor sleep at all untill we were horsed [sic] be the breaking of the day and by a gaurd of horsmen brought to Glasgow and fra thence the nixt night to Linlithgow and be three of clock at the afternoon secured in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. It is not to be forgotten without a remark, that fra Air to Edinburgh, the Lord moved the hearts of our gaurd to suffer us to take lodgings for our own money in Glasgow and Linlithgow, quherby we were greatly refreshed after our marchings and tossings at Air. 'Surely the wreath of men shall praise thee: the rema[i]nder [of] wreath shall thou restraine.'⁴⁹

But before I leave the town of Air, it cannot be amisse to take a look of the sentance which was put upon me, and the ground upon which it did proceed. The sentance verbatim as it yet stands in record is as follows:

Quintin Dick in Dalmellingtoun being found guilty of converse with the rebels, of refusing to depone upon the treasonable positions and refusing to take and swear the oath of allegiance, is fyned in a thousand pound Sterling and banished the plantations of America.⁵⁰

The grounds ye see upon quhich this sentance proceeded is for converse with the rebels. Whither this be a crime in law or not I cannot tell, for I am not seen in the laws, but sure I am, there was no person condescended upon with whom I did converse, but only of myselfe an ingenious confession that after I had withstood so far as in me lay that bussines of Bothwell by my counsell and advice to the contrair⁵¹ and was free of all accession directly or indirectly unto it before they were brocken and redacted to extream miseries and distress, I did releive the flying [fleeing] persons with meat and drink and did commiserat their sad condition. Now I humbly conceive that law will allow that the persons with whom I converse should have been named, and also that the circumstances of my converse should have been considered before they had proceeded to so severe a sentance. I likewise presume that such converse was comprehendet in some of his majestie's indytments and

⁴⁹ Psalm 76:10.

⁵⁰ *History*, iv, 129.

⁵¹ 12 November 1684: 'Quintene Dick, also prisoner from the Lords at Air, depones he knows nothing of the said paper and that he disownes and abhores the same in all the articles therof; declares that the rysing at Bothwelbridge was a sin and a rebellion, but will not say that all rysing in armes against the king is rebellion and unlawful; depons *nihil novit* as to meetings of assemblies in the country.' *RPC*, 3rd ser., x, 334. In his life of Alexander Peden, Patrick Walker associated 'Quintin Dicks' with others who fell into 'the defections, and way of wounding of that interest' in 1685. Was Dick not radicalised sufficiently? Patrick Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant*, 2 vols., ed. D. H. Fleming (London, 1901), i, 101.

that the acts of parliament quherupon the pretended crymes is founded was conceived allendarlie [only] against the popish lords who had privatly practised with the king of Spain for bringin[g] in of poperie again within this land;⁵² and that it was never the intention of our worthie patreots who made that law to bring the leiges in a *premonire*⁵³ for acts of charity and releife towards the miserable and distressed. But however the law be interperat or racked be lawiers to reach their glossings, I am nothing ashamed of the charge, since my Lord and master Jesus Christ has so clearly commanded the law of charity, hospitality, and releife towards all men, and especially towards good men.⁵⁴ 'It is God that justified [sic; justifieth]. Who is he that condemne[n]t?'⁵⁵ As for the nixt pretended ground of my sentence, (to wit) the treasonable possitions, my answeare was that I never mantained any [such] position [207r] in my life. Being altogether ignorant of logick and the termes of an argument, but the lawfulness of self-defence in case of oppression fra the hands of magestrats and of entring in leagues and covenants without consent of the king being heads contraverted by the best of lawers and divens [divines] and as yet unagreed anent any solid conclusion, I hope the lords would excuse me not to determine in it, and to say that I knew not whither it was right or wrong. But since the sentance against me for refusing to swear positivly, that it is unlawful for subjects either to use self-defence or yet to enter in ligues and covenants without the king's consent, I am also little ashamed of that charge since my refusing to swear proceeded fra the fear of God and the taking of his name in vain by an oath, quherby I should have condemned not only the practises of our worthie ancestors, but also the practises of other famous people and nations about us.⁵⁶ As for the third pretended ground of my sentance, viz. refusing to take and swear the oath of allegiance, it is founded upon no law, for the certification against recussants of that oath is nothing like the sentance pronounced against me for refusing of it, it is answered, it says nothing to the case, my sentance being done long before that law was made, and for my alegance towards the king I did at that time and and yet continous stedfast in that perswasion I owned and yet does own his majestie for my lawful soveraigne and all in authoritie under him, but to own a supremacy in him in all causes and by sol[e]mne oath and to defend him in that supremacy, I durst

⁵² APS, iv (1593-1625), p. 17 (21 July 1593); pp. 56-61 (8 June 1594). G. Donaldson, *James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1978 [1965]), 189-90.

⁵³ *praemunire*, an offence by way of diminishing the royal authority; jocularly, a scrape.

⁵⁴ Matthew 10:40-42; 25:31-46.

⁵⁵ Romans 8:33-4.

⁵⁶ SP, 244-57, 303-5.

not do it, especially considering how the acts of parliament has expanded that supremacy and extended it, for I am still in the perswasion that the church of Christ has a government concerning ecclesiastick matters independent upon any monarchy in the world, and that their are some causes which does no way come under the king's recognizance.⁵⁷ Now I am also little ashamed of my sentance upon refusing to swear that oath, since I have disclaimed all seditious and disloyall principells and practises and does yet with all my heart disclame them, having made it my constant studie to give all reverence, obedience, and respect unto lawful authoritie as God's great ordinance, but only scruples to swear by the great name of God that the king is supream and has a negative vote in all causes and to defend him in that right as I shall answere to God. My nixt strait being at Edinburgh before the counsell (a court very formidable to dispised persons) I was with severall others my fellow prisoners brought down fra the Tolbooth to the street direct before the gate therof, quher by a gaurd of sojors we was keeped on the open stret for a long time and their gazed upon be great crowds of people, at which very instant of time, that word was brought fresh to my remembrance, 'I was as a wonder unto many; but thou art my strong refuge.'⁵⁸ Thus by that gaurd brought to the counsel house, and after severall tossings brought before the lords, at which very nick of time our subtile adversary the divel had [207v] so far prevailed with a party of these wild people who gives out themselves for the only zelots of the covenant and presbyterian cause to broach a profane pamphlet called 'The Appologeticall Declaration',⁵⁹ quherin they declyned the king's authoritie redicously allowing him no more of honour nor the name of Charles Stewart, declyned all in authoritie under him, and declared a ware against him and the killing of all the forces that belonged to him, fixing the very time they would begine their assassinations. This horried pamphlet coming to the counsel's hand at that very nick of time we were to be examined before them did us a great deal of hurt, and exasperate the counsel against all recussants quhatsoever and gave them grounds to vex the prisoners with more and more thorny questions, so quhen my turne came being called before the lords, it was asked gife I owned that declaration. I answered that I utterly disowned it and all

⁵⁷ This is the doctrine of the two kingdoms, church and state, where each has its own area of jurisdiction and while each supports the other, neither transgresses upon the other's turf. While it means that the state does not tell the church what to do, it does not intend a religiously pluralistic society, for the church does exercise a real jurisdiction in spiritual matters, and in the absence of reform on the part of individuals after such discipline, the state steps in to apply civil coercion. *SP*, 259-60.

⁵⁸ Psalm 71:7.

⁵⁹ *History*, iv, 148-9; abridged in *Source Book*, iii, 181-2.

accession therunto. Being again told be the lords that that declaration did propose the covenant and the presbyterian cause as the standert quhich they would defend and the grounds upon quhich they founded their quarrell; therefore [they] asked me gif I would own such a challenge as that. I answered that I was so far fra owning of that paper that I looked upon the authors of it as the greatest enemys the covenant or presbyterians' cause had. But the lords being displeasid with that answeire told me that I was ambigu[o]us and that they preceived by my answeire I had a kindness to the covenant and the presbyterian cause, at quhich I stood quit[e] sillent in respect they lay no question towards me. Then being urged to give a positive answeire to the question, whither or not it was lawful upon the account of the covenant the presbyterian cause or any other cause quhatsomever to take armes against the king, I answered that these was the treasonable positions upon quhich I was questioned at Air, and that I had already answered that selfe-defence and entering in covenants without consent of the king was a head contraverted by the wisest of lawers and divins and that they were not as yet come to an solid conclusion anent it, and therefore I hope their Lordships would allowe me to say I knew not whither it was right or wrong. I was uted with severall other questions of less moment and was strongly supported and helped by a gracious God without aither fear or dash so to word my answers that the whole counsel stood convinced their was no sound grounds for the sentance under which I stood. Upon quhich, quhen I reflect with quhat peace of conscience I was returned to my prison, and how my God had appeared for me a shield, my glory, and the ~~xxx~~ lifter up of my head, I laid me down and slept. I awaked for the Lord sustained me and in stead of being weakned or fainted in these tossings was put further in resolution 'not to be affraied of ten thousands of people, though they should set themselves against me round about.'⁶⁰ Let me therefore say unto the glory and praise of our Lord Jesus [208r] Christ, that is deeply concerned in the poorest, the vilest, and wratchedest of his followers in giving the mouth and wisdome which he promised which their very accusers cannot gainsay or resist⁶¹ any manner of way but by doing violence to their own light. I shall not mention anymore of my appearance at Edinburgh; only in the generall I must say that thereafter being three severall times brought before the counsel and there offered upon taking the Test with the [Oath of] Allegance to be restored to my liberties, but being instructed by a strong hand to keep my ground, and not to say a confederacie upon such termes, I truely found it verified (to the praise of his faithfulness) that he was a

⁶⁰ Psalm 3:6.

⁶¹ Luke 21:15.

sanctuary according to his word, and through all the times of my abode at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh was not only with often and sweet outlettings of the felt favour of a gracious and reconceiled God, but also with many other strength[n]ing dispensations such as the fellowshipe of my beloved wife fra whom I was suddenly seperat at Air and with the company of many worthie gentlement [sic] with whom (notwithstanding of the great crowd and noise of the prison) I had some very refreshing and comfortable reteirments both morning and evening. As the sufferings of Christ grew upon us, so our consolations also abounded by Christ, but our tryells growing to a greater h[e]ight I was in May 1685 about three hours before suneset brought out of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and their with others of my fellow prisoners railed in the Land [Lawn?] Market and keepeed by a strong gaurd, by which we were conveyed to the Nether Bow and there delivered to another gaurd of Douglas Raigment, by whom, with many others of the Tolbooth of Cannongate and Leith, we were brought to Leith and there shut up in a court of gaurd so closs that by no means I could get speaking to my wife. Frea whence we were immediatly brought to the shore and cruel[l]y shut up by the sojors in a bark and hurried offshore without getting once leave to see or speak to our d[e]arest relations; and about the breaking of the day was landet at Bruntisland and there upwards of eleven score crowded in two rouses of that Tolbooth quher through the multitud of prisoners and the straitness of the rouses our miseries seemed only to be but beginning, yea I most say, it is to [be] wondred how such a multitude could subsist for two days and two nights considering they were not only denyed of necessarys for their easments, but almost denyed of aither meat and drink for their money. I shall not say it procedit fra the want of simpathy of that town, but frea [sic] their fears and consternation they were seased with beholding the uncivilities of our gaurd and keepers. Our going off at Leith being about sunesetting on the Munday, upon Tuesday be six a'clock in the morning the Lord Gosford⁶² arrives at Bruntisland with a commission fra the counsell to examine again all the prisoners, and to bring back again to Edinburgh such of them as would take the Oath of Allegance with the prerogatives. Which oath their was about the number of 40 of the prisoners that took [208v] it, and so was returned back to Edenburgh, the rest having no freedom for it, though some of them did alwise franklie and ingenously acknowledge the king's majestie for their lawful soveraigne and the authorities of all such as was authorized by him. But nothing could satisfie but the actual swearing and subscryving the allegances

⁶² MS appears to have Lord Gosfind, but read Lord Gosford, Major John Wedderburn.

and prerogatives,⁶³ so after our tossings in that streat and ugly prison I amongst the rest was upon Munday morning brought to the open street of Bruntisland quher about the number of 40 of the strongest men of the prisoners were tyed with ropes and so be the militia of Fife⁶⁴ set on our journey. I confess at Bruntisland grief was like to overwhelme my minde, quhil I thought on my parting with my wife without so much as once leave to speak unto her and take leave of her, so that partly through grief of mind and want of rest and sleepe all other man[n]er of accomodation, quhen I was brought to the street of Bruntisland I found a rumatisme or g[o]ut to oppress the one of my legs quherupon I assayed to have had a horse for my own money, but no help could be found, so I resolved to commite my way alone unto that God who never failed me nor forsock in the day of strait, a 'strong habetation' for the poor and the oppressed 'quherunto they may continually resort';⁶⁵ and withal to essay to go on foot so far as I could, and then to give it over and let them dispose upon as they thought fite. But I had not traveled a mile of[the] way off the town quhen my pain left me and I found myselfe perfectly sound both in lime [limb] and lith and came to my lodging at night with the strongest of the company. It was after nine a'clock at night before we came to our quarter, a small village in Fiffe, called Fr[e]uchie where the best of our fair [fare] was barlie bread and new ale. Now quhen I reflect upon these two melancholious nights we had at Bruntisland [Burntisland], upon the griefs, dispondences, and faintings of the minde which arose upon the thoughts of being so violently and suddenly thrust fra my dear wife, whose face I was in doubt ever to see againe, and upon the fibelnes [feebleness] of my body for so long a journey, amongst the hands of such strangers, and how the Lord upon a far look frea the ends of the earth did (beyond quhat he had promised or I could expect) releive my minde of grief and my fible legs of pain, may I not say, and that with delectation, 'I will cry unto God most high; unto the God that performeth all things for me. He shall send from heaven, and save me from the reproach of him that would swallow me up.'⁶⁶ 'My soul, wait thou only upon the Lord; for my expectation is from him. He only is my rock and my

⁶³ 20 May 1685. 'Report by Gosfoord from Bruntisleand anent the prisoners In presence of John Wederburne, the severall prisoners eftermentioned being called and examind conforme to ane order of the Privat Committee there caises is as follows: ... Edinburgh Tolbouth. ... Quintan Dick banished; will not take the oath of alleadgience but with his own limitations.' *RPC*, 3rd ser., xi, 289.

⁶⁴ *RPC*, 3rd ser., xi, 291-2.

⁶⁵ Psalm 71:3.

⁶⁶ Psalm 57:2-3.

salvation: he is my defence; I shall not be moved.⁶⁷ May I not say, 'My heart and my flesh faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for [209r] ever.'⁶⁸ 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall rune, and not be faint; they shall walk, and not be weary.'⁶⁹ 'My heart trusteth in him, and I am helped: therfor my heart greatly rejoyces; and with my song will I praise him.'⁷⁰

At Fruchie we was be the sune rising brought out againe to the fields and set on our journey untill we came to Dundie waterside, the south side of the river of Tay streight foregainst Dundie, and their was cruded towards nine score prisoners in three rooms of a change house in respect the tyde did not offer at that time. But the tyde making about the break of day we were brought to the boats and landed at Dundie about the sune rising and there committed to the Tolbooth quher in a large roome we were permitted to stay untill about eliven a'clock and for our money had excellent white bread and ale, by which we were mghtily refreshed, so betwixt eliven and twelve a'clock, we were brought to a moore about a mile benorth Dundie quher we were suffered to ly untill the militia of Angusshire (who had now received us off the hand of Fiffeshire) had put themselves in a posture to set us forward quhen they were ordered. We were commanded to march man-be-man betwixt two sojors untill we came to Forfar and in that Tolbooth was cruded [crowded] so throng that we had much adoe one to ease another with rest by sitting on the floor. We had in that town good bread and drink for our money, by which we was greatly refreshed. Upon the morrow morning, being Saturday morning, we were set on our journey, and at Brichan was rested about an hour upon the fields and the toun ordered to bring us some meats and drink for our money, and therafter was hurried on untill we came to a ston[e] bridge of four or five arches, with a part upon the one of the ends therof, upon quhich we were quartered all the night [(without eat or drink or any other accomodation but the cold stons of a high brid[g]e); although it was short, yet it was very cold and windie and much oppressed us with the dust of so high a bridge blo[w]ing still in our eyes, but it pleased the Lord (who ordreth all things by his providence) to move our gaurd to set us forward on our journey betwixt three and four upon the Lord's day in the morning and betwixt five and six a'clock at night we were arrived at Dunottere quher eight score seven persons were altogether shut closs in a long vault, and ther

⁶⁷ Psalm 62:5-6.

⁶⁸ Psalm 73:26.

⁶⁹ Isaiah 40:31; 'faint' and 'weary' reversed from AV.

⁷⁰ Psalm 28:7.

continued untill Tuesday at quhich time their was 42 of the prisoners taken out of that long vault and secured in another lesser vault, and about 20 days thereafter ther was 12 persons of us taken out of the little vault and secured in a high chamber with an iron gate.

About the midle of July the earle of Marschell⁷¹ and earles [sic] of Kintore⁷² arrived at Dunnottar with commission fra the counsel to examine againe all the prisoners upon their oppinions and principales and accordingly to report again to the counsell. The qu[e]stions proposed were whither or not we owned the king who now ringeth [reigneth] for our lawful soveraigne his authoritie and those in authoritie under him, whither or not we would pray for the king, whither or not we owned the 'Apologeticall Declaration', whither or not we would take and swear the Oath of Allegance⁷³ with the prerogatives, whither or not we would by oath assent that is [sic; it] was unlawful upon pretence of the covenant or [209v] any other pretence quhatsoever to rise in armes against the king; unto all quhich questions I for my own part give them all satisfacione except as to the Oath of Allegance and prerogatives having just exceptions against some things therin contained, and the case of defensive armes, which I could not be oath determine into, being all contraverted be great and good men of contrary perswasions. So although they stood convinced their, was no just crime either as to opinions or practise that I could be charged with, yet they were pleased to represent to the counsel in no good character in respect I would not take oath upon these two last heades. The counsel about a moneth thereafter determines to send for all the prisoners fra Dunottar to Leith and thereafter a new tryall to dispose upon them, as the last which could be expected fra the Counsel. But it pleased God to lay a stop in my way for any apperance before them at that nick of time, and so be consequence delivered me fra going

⁷¹ George Keith, eighth earl Marischal, served in the French army and then served Charles II. In 1675 the duke of York made him a gift of Admiralty from the North Esk to the Spey. *Scots Peerage*, vi, 60.

⁷² John Keith was a son of William, sixth earl of Marischal, who saved the Scottish regalia from Cromwell at Dunnottar Castle. He was made earl of Kintore in 1677, and in December 1684 was made treasurer-depute. *Scots Peerage*, v, 240.

⁷³ 'I — for testificacione of my faithfull obedience to my most gracious and redowbted soveraigne, Charles, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., affirme, testifie and declare by this my solemne oath, that I acknowledge my said soveraigne only suprem governour of this kingdome over all persones and in all causes, and that no foraigne prince, power, state or persone, civill or ecclesiastik, hath any jurisdictione, power or superiority of the same; and therfor I doe utterly renunce and forsake all foraigne power, jurisdictione and authorities, and shall at my power defend, assist and mantean his majestie's jurisdictione forsaid against all deidly, and shall never declyne his majestie's power and jurisdictione, as I shall answer to God.' *RPC*, 3rd ser., i, 4.

off with these ships unto the plantations of America.⁷⁴

The way by which the Lord brought about my deliverance for that appearance was as follows. After that I had continued with the rest of my fellow prisoners in these strong vaults of Dunotter fra the 24th of May until the beginning of September or therby,⁷⁵ and constantly expecting the ships quhich was to transport us fra our native contrey, my wife, about the beginning of August, comes fra Edinburgh to Dunnotter who through severall difficulties we had access to see on[e] another, and as upon the on[e] hand her coming was very refreshfull and comfortable unto me (although it was but for an hour or two in severall daye's time), so upon the other hand quhen we thought of being separat at so vast a distance quherin all humane appearance their could be very small hopes of ever seeing one another againe, we were upon those thoughts both of us oppressed with dolor and grief. 'But God who comforteth those that are cast doune',⁷⁶ leading us into his sacred Word and there clearly discovering that our blessed head and hope the Lord Jesus Christ had from his own mouth forewarned his followers that it might fall in their lot to be put to the forsaking of their dearest relations upon the account of cleaving unto his commandments,⁷⁷ quherupon resolving at the yondermost of hazard, to stire⁷⁸ our course by the compas[s]e of those holy oracles, the rules prescribed by our blessed Lord, and to be denyed to all that selfe could expect, we joyntly resolves to pour out our hearts unto him and roll over our griefs and burthings upon our God who had promised to sustaine and was alwise deeply concerned in the oppressions of the poor and sighings of the needy, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will delivere thee, and thou shalt

⁷⁴ 'That same year [1685], of the prisoners in Dinotter with others were taken away by Pidochie, to New gersie [Jersey] 100, whereof 24 were women.' Shields, *Short Memorial*, 34. On the voyage itself, *History*, iv, 331-4. See above, pp. 16-17, 25.

⁷⁵ This timing makes Dick one of the unnamed recipients of 'A Letter from Mr Alexander Peden [a field preacher] to the prisoners in Dunnottar Castle, in the month of July 1685, being above eight score, being six score and two men, and forty-six women, all driven into one vault.' Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. Fleming, i, 110-114. 'Dear friends, I long to hear how you spend your time, and how the grace of God grows in your hearts: I know ye and others of the Lord's people, by reason of the present trial, have got up a fashion of complaining upon Christ; but I defy you to speak an ill word of him, unless you wrong him; speak as you can, and spare not; only I request you, let your expressions of Christ be suitable to your experience of him' See also the description in Shields, *A Hind let Loose*, 201-2. The imprisonment was the occasion of a letter from Shields, also. See *A Letter concerning the due Boundaries of Christian Fellowship...written to the Prisoners for Conscience, in Dunnottar-Castle, who then were many, in Summer 1685* (n.p. 1726).

⁷⁶ 2 Corinthians 7:6.

⁷⁷ Luke 9:59-62; 14:26.

⁷⁸ steer.

glorifie me,⁷⁹ is a trueth experienced be his followers in many hundred of instances. I very well remember that I presumed with my blessed Lord so fare, as that (if it might consist with his good will and pleasure and his holy and wise ends) to frustrat the sentance quhich stood against me so fare as to continue me in my native cuntrey and in the fellowshipe of my dear wife, in quhich sute,⁸⁰ although I had no particular promise for it and so no solide grounds to limite the holy one of Israel in such a thinge, yet he was graciously pleased to hear my cry and to answer [210r] me in that particular beyond all which I could either aske or thinke, for the counsel resolving to send for the prisoners back againe fra Dunnottar to Leith and thereafter a new tryall who would [accept] off their termes and who not, to shipe them for the plantations of America, it pleased God (who ruleth ever by his power) some four or five days before the partie came to remove us from thence to Leith, to lay me close upon my bed be a strong fiver and flux, so that the governor of the partie would not medle with me at all, but gave me over and left me on the sherrif's hands as a dead man. But it pleased the Lord within a moneth's time thereafter to restore me and my wife both of us to our health againe (for both of us the one after the other was seased with a strong fiver) and be the sherrif's permission was allowed to go fra the Castle Dunnottar to a little toun a mile benorth, it called Stenhive,⁸¹ and ther, upon cautione and bond not to remove from thence untill the counsel's will were known concerning me. So at the town of Stenhive my wife and I had our own private house, quher with peace and complacencie sing over the salvation of our God, who, in the very termes we had smattered out our desires to him, had heard our cry and indulged us to the very sentements of our own minds, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped.'⁸²

But now at last the Lord releived me of all these noysome prisons, and also frustrat that most grievous part of the sentance that stood against me (to wit, seperation fra my wife be banishment to America); it remains that for a further witnes unto his mercy and gracious dealling towards us I should give a brief account how we was further enlarged and at last the whole of all that severe sentance totallie brought to nought. As for the restraint I lay under to abide at Stonhive, the sheriff of the shire of the M[e]arns who was our keeper in Dunnottar Castle⁸³ unto whom I had found bond to abide still at Stonehive

⁷⁹ Psalm 50:15.

⁸⁰ suit.

⁸¹ Stonehaven, about 15 miles south of Aberdeen.

⁸² 1 Samuel 7:12.

⁸³ George Keith of Whiteridge. *History*, iv, 324.

untill the counsell's will should be had anent me, was pleased in the middle of Aprill 1686 to motion unto me that he would allow me to goe to Edinburgh upon surety to returne his prisoner quhen he called for me, and in the meantime to put in to the counsell for my own further enlargement. This motion I readily embraced; and finding Hew Cunninghame, merchant in Edinburgh, cautioner to the sheriff for returne upon his call, my wife and I comes to Edinburgh in the letter end of Aprill. Immediatly [29 April] the first parliament of King James the Seventh falls in be the earle of Murray his commissioner,⁶⁴ the great worke quherof was the repeall of the penal laws.⁶⁵ And to accomplish that with the greater facility, the king and counsell cam to abait⁶⁶ and relieve much of their severity towards dissenters. This calme and abatement of their [w]hole and violent dealling made me take the confidence first to apply to Generall Drummon[d] for a pass to goe home to my own cuntry. But instead of giving me any safe conduct to return, he brought me before a quorum of the [210v] of the counsell quher I was re-[e]xamined upon the grounds for quhich at first I was made a prisoner, but being helped of the Lord to answer modestly and rationally to everything I was questioned upon, and yet still to keep my ground and never to yeild a hair's breadth of truth, the Lord Castelhill,⁶⁷ who was praeses at the time to that quorum, told me that in respect the counsell was not frequently conveened at that time, they could not say anythinge to me anent my safe returne to my own cuntry, but willed me to come the nixt Tuesday quhen the counsell would be well conveened; and upon taking of the Oath of Alleganc without any other oath or engagement quhatsoever I might readily have a pass to go. The counsell presently riseth and dissolves at that time, and the very nixt day I went both to the Generall Drumon[d] and the Lord Castelhill and begged of them they would excuse me for coming to the counsell upon Tuesday for I had no freedom to take that Oath of Allegance, ther being somquhat in it

⁶⁴ Alexander Stewart, fifth earl of Moray. He was Lord Justice-General in 1675, commissioner of Treasury in 1678, and Extraordinary Lord of Session and Secretary of State in 1680. *Scots Peerage*, vi, 322.

⁶⁵ At the opening of parliament a royal letter was read. It noted the loyalty of 'others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholick Religion who have with the hazard of their lives and fortunes been alwayes assistant to the crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named. Them Wee doe heartily recommend to your care to the end that as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peacable behaviour, soe by your assistance they may the protectione of our lawes, and that security under our government which others of our subjects have, not suffering them to lye under obligations which their religion can not admitt of.' *APS*, viii (1670-1686), 580; *Source Book*, iii, 193.

⁶⁶ abate.

⁶⁷ Sir John Lockhart, Lord Castlehill, a privy councillor. *RPC*, 3rd ser., x, p. xxviii.

which I could not understand, and quher I could not understand I durst not swear. Both of them admitted of my excuse for coming to the counsell, but withall told me that it would obstruct my returne to my own cuntry. So this was the last I had before the counsell. Now, quhen all had failed me as to any further enlargement, my wife and I concluded to take our own private chamber at Edinburgh and there to have our recourse to God allone, who never failed us nor forsooke us.

So having continued a full year and some moneths, their fell still in our road a further relenting of severities towards dissenters and at last an ample indemnity for the persons of all recusants quhatsoever except four persons allenny [allanely; only], whereupon we took the confidence to come home to our own house⁸⁸ quhich all the time of our absence was set apart for a court of gaurd to the king's forces at all times quhen they were in the bounds. At length in the beginning of winter 1688 ar[r]ives in England that renowned prince of Orange, quhich quite turned the shane [scene] and give confidence to the oppressed to look out and to appear in the open streets amongst all their nighbours, both friend and foe.

⁸⁸ 'He recovered in some time, and was overlooked, and got safe home to his own house, and lived some years to reflect with pleasure, and record the Lord's wonderful steps of kindness to him, and his goodness under, and after all those sore troubles he underwent.' *History*, iv, 331.

Adam Blackadder, 'A True Narration', c.1703

Adam Blackadder, 'A true narration of the sufferings of Mr John Blackader and his family from anno 1662 to 1703'

[224 r] In the year 1662 when more than 300 presbyterian ministers were blown out of their churches and charges by a paper proclamation, a lash upon them all who so tamely forsook their flocks over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, which afterward they did acknowledge, ¹ a party of the King's Live-guard of horse, then called 'blew-benders', came from Dumfries to Troqueer where my father Mr John Blackader was minister to search for and apprehend him, but found him not, for what reason I know not, whether because he stayed beyond the set day orderd for him to transport himself and numerous family of small children ten miles from his parosh church, or because he was of the number of those who refus'd to observe the 29^t of May, the day of K[ing] C[harles] the 2d's restauration. So soon as the above party enterd the closs and came into my father's house with cursing, swearing, and damning, we that were the children were frightned out of our little wits, and run upstairs, and I among them, who, when I heard them all roaring in the room below like so many breathing devills, I had the childish curiosity to get down upon my belly and peep through a hole of the floor above them to see what for monsters of creatures they were, and it seems they were monsters indeed for cruelty, for one of them, perceiving what I was doing, immediatly draws his sword, and thurst it up with all his force where I was peeping, so that the mark of the point of his sword was scarce one inch from the hole, tho' no thanks to the murdering ruffian, who design'd to run it up through my eye. Immediatly after this my mother was forc'd to pack up bag and baggatch with herself and family to the parosh of Glencairn 10 miles from Troqueer. We who were the children were put into badger's creels, where

¹ This section, to the end of the paragraph, is in A. Crichton, *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader* (Edinburgh, 1823), 106-7.

one of us cry'd out, coming through the brig-end of Dumfries, 'I'm banish't, I'm banish't.' One hapen'd to ask, 'Who has banish'd you, my bairn?' [I] answerd, 'The byte-sheeps has banish'd me.'

In Anno 1664, or 5, when we were in Glencairn in Barmdenoch, a house belonging to Craddarroch, Major Turnour² had been in Galloway laing it all waste by fying, aprehending, imprisoning, dry-quartering, dryving their cattle, horse, cowes, sheep and all in whole droves to publick mercats; and he and Sir William Ballentine³ tying poor countrymen neck and heels, and particularly one for 24 hours till his ribs broke, and fixing fired matches, betwixt their fingers,⁴ and all this for refusing to hear the detastable abjured curats, and vile informers against their godly neighbours. [224 v]⁵ About this time the above Turner sent a party of sogers from Galloway to search for and apprehend my father, who haply had gone to Edinburgh with my mother a day or two before, I suppose to seek about where we might live in safety. So early did the storm of persecution begin to rise and rage and that rid [red] dragon bestire himself after the sweet restauration by his imps and agents, acted and agitated by him. The above part of rascaly ruffians besett our house round, about 2 a'clock in the morning, then gave the cry, 'Damn'd Whigs, open doors,' upon which we all got up young and old (except my sister) with the nurse, the child at her breast, now Colonel Blackader, deputy governor of the Castle of Stirling.⁶ When they came in the fire was near gone out. They roared out again, 'Light a candle immediatly, and on with a fire quickly, or else we'l cast nurse and bairn and all in the fire, and make a bra bleeze.' When the candle was lighted they drew out their swords and went to the stools and chairs and clove them down to make the fire withall, and they made me hold the candle to them, trembling all alongs and fearing every moment to be thrown quick into the fire. Then they went to search the house for my father, running their swords down throu the beds and bedcloth[e]s, and amongst the rest they came where my sister Mrs Young [Elizabeth] was, then a child, and as yet fast asleep, and with their swords, stab'd down throu the bed where she was lying, crying, 'Come out you rebell dog.' Then they went and threw down all his books from the press upon the floor, and caused poor me hold

² see above, p. 158, n. 56.

³ Sir William Bellenden was a vicious persecutor in Galloway; *History*, ii, 64, 65, 88, 104. His notoriety was such that he was hauled before the privy council, fined and banished. *RPC*, 3rd ser., ii, 507.

⁴ as at Dunnottar Castle; see *History*, iv, 325 and John Erskine of Carnock, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687*, ed. Walter MacLeod (SHS, 1893), 153-4.

⁵ To the end of the next paragraph is found in Crichton, *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader*, 130-3.

⁶ A. Crichton, *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader* (Edinburgh, 1824).

the candle all this while till they had examined his books, and all they thought whiggish (as they termed it) —and brave judges were they—they put into a great horse creel and took away. Then they order'd one of their fellow ruffians to climb up to the hen baalks [sic; baulks] where the cocks and hens were, and as they came to one threw about its neck and then down to the floor with it, and so on till they destroyed them all. Then went to the meat ambry, and took out what was there. Then to the meal and beaf barrels and left little or nothing there.

All this I was an eyewitness to, trembling and shivering for cold, having nothing but my short shirt upon me. So soon as I was relieved of my office, I begins to think, if possible, of making my escape rather than to be burnt quick, as I thought and they threatn'd, goes towards the door, where was a centry on every side standing with his sword drawn. I aproached nearer and nearer by small degrees making as if I were playing myself, at last gets out; then making still as if I were playing, till I came to the gate of the closs, then with all the little speed I had, (looking behind me now and then to see if they were pursuing after me) run the length of half a mile in a dark night [225 r] and naked to the shirt, to a neighbouring toune called the Brig-end of Menniayve [Moniave], where, thinking to creep into some house to save my life, I found all the doors fast shut, the people sleeping. Upon which I went to the cross of the toune, and got up to the upmost step of it, and there I set me doun, and fell fast asleep till the morning. Betwixt 5 and 6 a door opens, and an old woman comes out, and seeing a whyte thing upon the cross, comes near it, and when she found it was a little boy she cryes out, 'Jesus save us! What art thou?' With that I awaked and answeard her, 'I'me Mr Jo[h]n Bl[ackadder's] son.' 'O my poor bairn, what brought thee here?' I answears, 'There's a handt⁷ of fearfull men with red coats has burnt all our house, my breether and sister and all the family.' 'O poor thing,' says she, 'come in and ly down in my warm bed.' Which I did, and was the sweetest bed that ever I met with.

Immediatly after this our family behov'd all to scatter and disperse (the 2d persecution we met with), one neighbour laird in the parosh taking one child, another, another. I remember I was sent to a place about a mile off called the Peeltoun, who afterwards likeways were quit[e] ruin'd and all taken from them, the poor mother begging only one lamb for meat to the bairns, but could not get it. The meat they were not able to eat, they destroy'd, threw doun the butter kirns, and hashing doun the cheese with their swords amongst

⁷ handte, a considerable quantity.

the horse feet. This was seen by all the neighbours about, and yet our Scots episcopalians, or demi-papists, our Jacobite athiests, our bapitised pagans whom God hath quite given up to beleive a lie, they are so strangely infatuated and hardned to a prodigy so as they will not, nay they cannot, it's not in their power to suffer themselves to beleive their own eyes, their own ears and other sences, what they themselves see, hear, and feel a hundred times over and over again. I say we need not wonder that such miserable miscreants ridicule such passages above related for damn'd lyes, according to their way of speaking. The hundreds of themselves yet alive know a thousand passages more and worse than the above particulars to be matters of fact, which (as we say) will not deny for them. And it is one of the vile sins of Scotland, besides a thousand pitties, that these sufferings of our mother church shoud be so buried in oblivion, and thousands even of professors so indifferent about them so as to have them handed down to posterity. [225 v]

⁸Anno 1674. In the moneth of November, and the first year of my aprentiship to Patrick Thomson, merchant in Stirling,⁹ there were 46 of its inhabitants, merchants and others, all denounced to the horn and proclaimed his majestie's rebels, for refusing to take the black bond (as it was then called) and for being at conventicles—and me the poor aprentice amongst the midst of them.¹⁰ All the rest fled out of town in disguise, most of them in bonnets and highlands plaids. I would have been for running too, but my master discharged me to leave the chop [shop]; for said he, 'They will not have the confidence to take up the like of you, a silly young lad.' However, a few dayes thereafter I was gript by 2 messingers early in the morning, who, for haste, would not suffer me to ty up my stockings, or put about my cravat, but hurried me away to Provest Russell's lodging, a violent persecutor and an ignorant wretch. The first word he spoke to me (puting on his breeches), 'Is not this a bra' wark, sirr, that we man be troubled with the like o you?' My answer was, 'You have got a bra' prise, my Lord, that has catcht a poor prentice.' He replys, 'We canne help it, sirr, we must obey the king's lawes.' 'Kings lawes, my Lord,' says I, 'there's no such law under the sun' (for I had heard that by that band all heretors wer bound for their tenets and masters for their servants and not the servants for themselves). 'No such lawes, sirr,' says our sweet provest, 'you leed like a knave and a graitour as you are. So, sirr, you come not here to disput the matter. Away with him, away with him to prison,' says he to the messengers who secur'd me in the Tolbuth within iron

⁸ Crichton, *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader*, 328-38 (up to '... went for Edinburgh.')

⁹ *WLW*, 214n.

¹⁰ *RPC*, 3rd ser., iv, 148.

gates, where I lay about 5 weeks and where I was never merrier in all my life, with 10 or 12 more of my fellow prisoners for the same alledged crimes.

While I was in prison, the earl of Argyl's 2 daughters-in-law,¹¹ Lady Sophia and Lady Hendreta, and Lady Jean his own daughter, did me the honour and came to see me, where I remember Lady Sophia stood up upon a bench and arraigned before her the provost of Stirling, then sentenced and condemned him to be hanged for keeping me in prison, which highly intraged the poor fool provost, tho' it was but an harmless frolick, that it seems he complained to the [privy] council of it, for which the good earle was like to be brought to much trouble about it.

While I was in prison, the magistrates were sending out every other day a number of the rascaly sogers and a messenger alongs with them, who went scouting about the toun like their old master the devil, seeking whom they could apprehend.¹² All they catched one night was a poor [226r] man about 80 years of age, who had been sick for 20 years, and going out to buy a little meal for him and his wife, in the road was apprehended and brought in and made one of my fellow prisoners. When first I saw him, I did realy think he could scarcely live till the morrow. We asked him if he was denounced amonst the rest. 'I know not,' sayes he, 'but I got papers castin at my door, now and then, and when they got me, they bid me subscribe a paper, I know not what it meant, or what they were saying. But when they began to explain the band to me, "Yea, yea," quoth I, "by the strength of Christ I'le never do that.'" They took another young lad and forced the poor ignorant creature to hold up his hands and made him swear by God himself and as he shall answear to God at the great day that he should never go to a conventicle or hear a presbyterian minister while he lived.

Instances of such matcheless villaines ought not to be buried or forgot by us.

Well, I behoved to ly in prison till my brother Doctor [William] Blackader¹³ caused draw up a petition to the council, upon which they ordered me to be set at liberty, as being illegally imprisoned. The doctor comes to Stirling and presents the order the provost who calls their toun councill. They agreed to refuse that order, tho' it was subscribed by the chancelor, the provost pouding his soul that I should never come out, and the toun treasurer swore that I should ly til I rotted in prison. All this, I

¹¹ i.e., step-daughters, although Sophia did become a daughter-in-law also, marrying the earl's son Charles.

¹² allusion to 1 Peter 5:8.

¹³ *WLW*, 385.

suppose, was from the hatred they bore to my father, whereupon my brother road back express to Edinburgh and gave in a 2d petition, giving account of their refusal. When the chancellor¹⁴ heard of it, he called the provost a senceless ass for his pains and immediatly ishoued out letters of horning against the provost, and whole magistrates to set the pris'ner at liberty within 24 hours under the pains of making them all prisoners with me. My brother posted out the second time taking alongs with him a messenger from Edinburgh to execute the letters and had provided privady 2 or 3 rat¹⁵ of musqueteers in Lithgow's Regiment to grip them all at the expiring of the 24 hours. Those letters put them all in a rage, being so affronted that they delayed it as long as they could, till pretty late in the evening before the prefixed time, that the provost sent on[e] of his bailiffs with the toun's clerk to the prison and calls for me. The baily sayes, 'Adam, the Lord provost is pleas'd to grant you your liberty.' I smiles in his face, and sayes to him, 'I believe, Sir Baily, it's a forced put (knowing what was passing), but I'm in no haste, nor so wearied of either my prison or honest fellow prisoners. I'll even stay till I sup with my bretheren and give them my foy¹⁶ before I go.'¹⁷ Upon which the baily was dirt feared least I should have stayed all night till the expiring of the 24 hours. [226v] Immediatly [he] took a sixpence out of his pocket and sayes to me, 'Well, Adam, I take instruments in the clerk's hand that you are free to go whenever you will.'

This is a short account of the gentle sufferings of a young prisoner and of the unseasonable conduct and cruelty of the magistrates of those times, not to trouble you with my being apprehended twice afterwards and imprisoned one time in Fife, another time taken to the castle of Blackness, where they told me I was to be put into a dungeon full of padoks¹⁸ and toads, where I could not get up my head. I was apprehended the night before at Boristoun¹⁹ of where my father had been preaching and baltized 26 children. They made my worthy old father climb hedges and dykes from one yeard to another in the dark night, till he got up the hill where there was a barne in which he lay down all night.

I give you only one short passage more of myself, when I came from Stockholm in Swedland²⁰ with my young Sweds wife (about the end of '84,

¹⁴ John Leslie, 7th earl & 1st duke of Rothes.

¹⁵ a file or a company of soldiers.

¹⁶ a farewell feast or entertainment.

¹⁷ Was he conscious of acting out Acts 16:37, Paul and Silas in the gaol in Philippi?

¹⁸ paddock, or puddock, i.e., frog.

¹⁹ Boroughstounness, i.e., Bo'ness.

²⁰ J. Berg and B. Lagercrantz, *Sots in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1962), 54.

when the devil and all was broke loose in Scotland) who before marriage was perswaded by my means as a poor unworthy instrument to abandon her Lutheran principles and turn Calvinist, as they term Reformed Protestants. She did this privately in presence of the Holland's envoys' minister, yet it seems it got vent in the city. Then I was necessitate to take her to the Dutch ambasadour's lodging for protection of her life, it being death by act of parliament in Swedland for a native Swed[e] to turn either papist or Calvinist.²¹ His excellency was glade of the opportunity, and said to me he would protect her against all the powers of Swedland. She was about his house for a month, till the account of her turning was crushed by my friends as a rediculouse story and our friendship made up again with her mother who was a bigotted Lutheran, that she swore she would cut her own child's throat the first time she did see her, calling her a damned and a castaway, that there was no hope of mercy for her. You must observe that the Dens [Danes] and

²¹ Lutheran Sweden's policy toward other Protestantisms vacillated between the stringent and the lax, and varied between activist clergy and pragmatic government, but severity was sufficiently rooted for the country to be known as a Lutheran 'Spain of the North'. At an ecclesiastical synod held at Uppsala, March 1593, the Augsburg Confession was adopted, to the exclusion of all other expressions of Christianity. H. Schück, 'Sweden's Early Parliamentary Institutions from the Thirteenth Century to 1611', in M. Metcalf (ed.), *The Riksdag: A History of the Swedish Parliament* (Stockholm, 1987), 52. This arrangement was confirmed by the Form of Government of 1634, while the Formula of Concord was adopted in 1663 as an official statement of the belief of the Church of Sweden. Blackadder's comment may be true, and in fact there had been a narrowing of clerical sentiment, but it was also true that foreigners of divergent Christianities were permitted to reside in the country. 'The Scots community in Stockholm in 1661 presented an address of thanks to the crown for the liberal toleration they enjoyed; and though there might be complaints in the Estate of Clergy at the prevalence of Calvinist heresy, their debates do not suggest that the government made much effort to do anything about it. ... By the 1680s alarm had so far subsided that Charles XI's Church Law could permit the holding of Calvinist services in private houses, provided they took place behind locked doors.' D. Döring, 'Samuel Pufendorf and Toleration', in J. C. Laursen and C. J. Nederman (eds.), *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration before the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia, 1998), 182-3; M. Roberts, 'The Swedish Church', in M. Roberts (ed.), *Sweden's Age of Greatness, 1632-1718* (London, 1973), 146-7. But this comment does not reflect the whole of the matter. Calvinism was regarded with the same warmth as Catholicism, and the offspring of both were to be educated as Lutherans, or suffer loss of the privileges pertaining to Swedish subjects. It should also be noted that this optimistic picture falls just a few years after an edict of 25 June 1655 which had banned all non-Lutheran religious exercises in the country—and just before a string of anti-Calvinist royal ordinances in 1662, 1663, 1667, 1672. Finally, there were the ecclesiastical laws of Charles XI (1687), which came just after Blackadder's adventure: 'If any Swedish subject change his religion, he shall be banished the kingdom, and lose all right of inheritance both for himself and for his descendents.' There is, however, nothing about the death penalty in these laws, as presented by J. Williams, *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Northern Governments*, 2 vols. (London, 1777), 625-6. See also C. Nordmann, *Grandeur et Liberté de la Suède, 1660-1792* (Paris, 1971), 114-16, 119.

Sweds Lutherans are far more biggoted by far than those in Germany, &c. Not long after our marriage it begun to take vent again by her not going to the sacrament, it being the constant instance there that every new married couple goes to the sacrament the first Sunday after marriage. And being one day being challenged by her mother about this, I behoved, with all the speed and secrecy I could, with her to fly for it, tuo Sweds girls rowing us in a small boat in a dark cold winter night from Stockholm bridge down the river 30 miles among rocks to a place they call the Dollars, where providentially there was a Scots ship ready to sail. But the wind turned against us from Monday till next Sunday, in which time I and my young spouse, about 15 years of age, durst not venter to ly aboard of the ship all night, but went ashoar [227r] every night and lay in the woods among the bours (country bodies) in constant fears of a party being sent down to search for us. Upon Saturday, I sayes to her, 'My dear, I hope they have forgot us. We'll venter to ly aboard the ship this night,' which we did. Sondag morning about 8 a'clock, the skipper lying in one side of the cabin, my wife and I on the other, a seaman comes to him and tells him that their was a boat coming towards them. The skipper jumps out of his bed, goes to the deck, then comes straight back to me and sayes, 'Mr. Bl[ackadder], what shall we do? Here is a big boat with men in her coming up to us. Will we have time, sayes I, to get up and put on our cloaths and hide ourselves?' 'No,' sayes he. 'They are hard upon us.' Then sayes I, 'Let the boy thro[w] her clo[a]ths and mine in old sail cloaths and fold the bed covering over our heads,' which was immediatly done. We lay like tuo trig sparrowe in ane even made-up bed, but in a terrible fright. By this time I hears the skipper hollow [hallo] the boat. 'From whence your boat?' 'From Stockholm.' 'What's your bussiness? Is there one myne Heere Blackader aboard?' The skipper answers, 'I know the gentlman very well, that in token I was with him ashoar last night and drank his foy for he told he was bound for Stralsound.' 'It's all one,' said they. 'We must search the ship for him.' My wife and I hearing all this, you may be sure every word went to our hearts like a dagger. 'Why not?' sayes the skipper. 'Hand a rope there, and let the gentlmen come aboard.' Aboard they came, searched all above decks, the forecastle, cook-room, and then betwixt decks, and could not find nothing. At last they came unto the cabin, lookt first towards the skipper's bed, where they see the cloths all shuffled down to the bed foot and nothing there, then lookt towards mine where they see (as they thought) an even new made-up bed, and never offered to touch it (a most remarkable providence never to be forgotten by me). Then they searched the bread room, chests, and all the corners of the cabine. At last, quhen they could find nothing, they made an apology to the skipper for any seeming rudeness, but told him they

had order for quhat they did, and were taking their leave of the skipper. 'No,' sayes he. 'Gentlemen, since you are come so far, you shall not go till you take a dram of the botle. 'Tis a cold morning,' which, when I heard, I could have seen the skipper hanged, for he should have taken them up to the deck, I having a custome of haughting,²² and so was afraid every minute of betraying myself; besides we were almost smothered for want of breath. They sits all down round the cabin table, and on the chest just at our bedside, the bed quite open; where one did sit (a Scots man) whose voice I knew and was immediately intimatly acquaint with him. He had been in Stockholm from a boy and turned [227v] Lutheran, and you know, renagadoes are always the worst of men. He was the first that spake. 'Mons. Blackader,' said he, 'has been trading here for 8 or 9 years and we cannot say but he has behaved himself very honestly and discreetly like a gentman, till now. Of late he has perverted one of our young frowes and ruined her, to all intents and purposes.' Sayes the skipper, 'I'me not concerned. If the gentman were here he would answear for himself.' After their dram, they went all away and were scarce out of sight till providentially the wind turns fair for us, and a pretty gale. The skipper comes to our bedside and sayes, 'Mr Blackader, what shall we do now? There's a fair wind.' It being Sunday—you must know he was a very strick pious young man—sayes I, 'That's an impertinent question. You see, this is a matter of life and death. Read but the 4th command. This is a work of necessity and mercy, to save a life, and probably two lives,' for I laid my account they would have hanged me for perverting her. The skipper condescends, goes up, and orders his men to weigh anchor. Meanwhile my wife and I were putting on our cloathes, and by that time we were ready and goes to the deck, the fore-sheet was let loose, and the ship a-sail with a brisk gale. I takes off my hat, thanks God, looks up the river, and crys, 'Adieu Stockholm, forever.'

We were near a moneth at sea, wherin I cannot omit one passage. About 30 leagues from the sound our ship run upon another Scots ship sailing with us in the open seas, where our bow sprit run quite throu its cabine and made such a hideous noise with its crick-cracking, that their men cry'd out to us, 'O save our lives, for Christ's sake save our lives.' My poor spouse, who had never come out of her bed the whole voyage, hearing the noise and outcry, arose and run up to the deck in her bare smoke [smock] where I was, and thinking we were all a-sinking, took me fast in her arms and cryed out, 'O Blackader (this was her ordinar designation she gave me). O if I were a-shore

²² 'hauch', to cough, with particular reference to clearing the throat of phlegm.

again, to repent well of my sins, I have not repented well yet,' as thinking, poor creature, that she had begun her repentance, but had not finished it. However, by the mercy of God we got loose of one another, came home to Scotland, and did cast anchor at Dumbar.

Now the one passage more about myself, after this pleasant digression, was this. So soon as the people in Dumbar observes us cast anchor, we sees a boat coming to us, where was the baily and toun clerk, who came aboard and asked the skipper if he had got any passengers aboard. He answered, he had none but a young gentman and his wife. 'We must see them,' say they. We were called up to the deck. 'From whence came you, sir?' Answer, 'From Stockholm in Swedland.' 'What's your occupation?' 'A marchand.' 'What's your name, sir?' 'You [228r] are very positive in your questions,' said I. 'My name is Blackader.' Then they were the more inquisitive, thinking they had got a prise. 'What! Are you any relation to Mr. Blackader in the Bass²³ there?' 'Yes, sir. I am not ashamed to own my relation to him. I am a son of his.' This was, it seems, crime enough. 'Aha!' says the baily. 'Then by my faith you'r[e] right enough. You must come both ashoar to prison, til you give account of yourselves to the government.' 'Ou,' said I. 'Gentlemen, let me come ashoar first and do a fault before you punish me upon Scots ground.' 'It's all one,' says he. 'This is the council's orders.' And so it was, then, to secure and examin all stranger passengers, till they give account of themselves. Well, ashoar we comes in order to go to prison, but good providence, that never failed me, ordered it so, that one Baily Fa, who had been intimately acquaint with my father, gave bail for my appearing before the privy council when called, which they took and he kept me in ~~xx~~ ^{their} his house for a fortnight. The town was full of sogers, going about the country like madmen. My poor young spouse, begining to learn the language and being frightned with daily stories about the then bloody persecution, came to me one day and said, 'O Blackader, let us go back again to Swedland, for I hear they'r hanging everybody, they will hang you too.' This was cold comfort at the first landing in a strange land. We went from that to the Bass, where my worthy Father was lying prisoner, and had been there for some years. When [we] were again going away (my father convoying us to the gate) the governor bid me halt a

²³ 'The Bass was a base cold unwholsom prison, all their rooms ordinarily full of smoke like to suffocat and choak them, so as my father and the other prisoners were necessitat many a tyme to thrust head and shoulders out at windows to recover breath; and were oblidged to drink the tupeny ale of the govemour's brewing, not worth a halpenny a pint. And severall tymes sorely put to it for want of victualls, by reason of stormy weather for ten or twelve dayes together, the boats not daring to venture to come to them.' Attached to 227r.

little. He had somewhat to say to me 'ere I went away. 'What's the matter?' sayes I. 'You must hold up your hand and swear.' 'Ou,' sayes I, 'who empoured you to be a judge, and to impose oaths?' 'I have my orders,' sayes he. My father (a bold man) overhearing him, said, 'I profess, governor, you are impertinent, sir, to trouble the young man with anything of that nature,' to which the governor answered, 'I profess Mr Blackader, sir, I'll comitt both you and him close prisoners if I hear any more of your talk.' 'Content,' sayes my father, and then says to me, 'Come along with me, sir'. I thought with myself, 'I beg your pardon, father, as long as I can do better'. Then I begin to argue the matter with the governor by telling him I was an utter stranger as to affaires in Scotland, and knew little or nothing about what was passing, which calmed him a little, and at last sayes, 'Well, sir, I will not trouble you at this time, but I assure you,' sayes he, 'I have such orders, and perhaps you will find 'ere you come the length of Edinburgh that every sargeant and corporal has orders to stop and challenge any man upon the road.' So I thanked him, and came off, and went for Edinburgh where the very next day my poor wife was witness to the execution of the Honourable Gerviswood.²⁴ It was observed of her, that all along, [228v] till the late happy revolution, she could never endure to see tuo sorts of creatures, and that was a curat and a soger. When they came by her on the streets her ordinar saying was, 'Fy! filthy beast,' hearing that it was the perjurd prelates and their naughty creature curats who were the principall causers and promoters of persecution. She liv'd till she had born me 13 or 14 children, then took a decay and died.

Here I cannot omitt tuo or three passages, they being so remarkable and edifying.²⁵ The first was (and a very odd one): some weeks before she died, she said to me, 'O my dear! What shall I tell you? Have not I been wrestling under a very sad discouraging providence this while by past, which you know nothing of?' Then her tears kept her from going further. 'What was that my dear?' said I. She replied, 'About a month ago, as I was going to pray to God in secret, and falling down upon my knees (before I could get one word spoken), I thought I heard a voice as it had been audibly whispering in mine ear, saying, "What hast thou to do to pray? God has forsaken thee, he has cast thee off, he has rejected thee."' 'My dearest,' said I, 'thou and I both knows that Satan has been a lyar as well as a murderer from the beginning,²⁶ and assure thyself, this was nothing else but one of his temptations to fright thee

²⁴ see above, p. 25.

²⁵ Nearly half a line of writing has been crossed out. It appears to read: '[?] this troubled me always since.'

²⁶ John 8:44.

from thy duty, a base false and impudent suggestion of the grand enemy of our salvation.' She replied, 'I would fain believe it is so as you say, but O! you will not believe how much this has frightned and discouraged me.' Behold how long a time the fire did burn within her before she made her case known even to her own husband. I'me perswaded, my dearest was never a hypocrite, being alwayes very sensible of her weakness; nay, on the contrare, I know that the abounding hypocricy in Scotland proved not only stumbling but very hurtfull to her, who was a stranger amongst them and knew not quhat to make of them, which many times put her to a stand what to think of serious religion. Now all this while I knew not what to determine as to her state and case, tho' I was very hopfull that all should turn at length to a good account which was gloriously made out to a demonstration of the Spirit. I humbly think that the way I managed her, especially in this critical season, was directed by speciall providence, for what was I to take it upon me to make her uneasy, by entring upon the least debate with her, by asking her questions about her state, or marks of an interest in C[h]rist,²⁷ thereby endangering the further breaking of an already bru[i]sed reed and quenching of a smoaking flax.²⁸ I durst not do that which a gracious God has promised he will never do, Isaiah 42:3. Nay, I was shy in sending for certain searching ministers, fearing the consequences thereof (though such are most proper for the secure age we live in), but did give way to the Spirit's silent workings and breathings in her soul, and afforded her all the encouragements I could, only interlacing them now and then with a gentle caution, for I understood her case required a very gentle and skillfull hand (which I do not pretend to have). I know our dearest Lord, he carrieth his lambs in his bosom, and gently leads those that are with young, Isaiah 40:11. Thus [229r] she continued struggling betwixt hope and fear (the latter prevailing till within 2 dayes before she died, when about 6 in the morning, I being in bed with her [O happy hour ever to be remembered, and shall never be forgotten by me her poor unworthy distrest relict]), she turned herself a litle to me, tho' weake in body, and said, 'My dear!' 'What sayest thou, my dearest?' said I. 'Stay!' 'What's the matter, my dear?' I replyd. 'Whist! I think he's coming.' Then pausing a litle, immediatly she broke out in a surprizing rapture of joy. 'O he's come! He's now come! He's come all in a suddain.' And from that time till 6 at night, till her remaining spirits and strength were near exhausted, she was swallowed up in the praises of Christ and of free grace.²⁹ This remarkable surprize of mercy brought that sweet

²⁷ *WLW*, 32.

²⁸ Isaiah 42:3.

²⁹ *WLW*, 32.

scripture into my mind, in a most lively and sensible manner applicable to her, Song 2:8, 'The voice of my beloved! Behold he cometh,' &c. I often entreated her, 'O my dearest, wilt thou see if thou can get some little rest? For God requires no more of thee than what thy weak and weary body is able to bear,' for I perceived she over-strained herself. 'Well, my dear,' said she, 'I shall do so,' and then made as if she were about to take some rest. But (sweet lamb), it would not do, for she soon broke out again in upon the comendation of Christ and his love. This, I must say, did both increase my joy and griefe at once, observing she had thus spent her strength, that she was able to hold out no longer. One, finding her in such a heavenly frame, said to her: 'Dear mistress, since you are so sensible that God has graciously heard you in everything that concerns yourself, this is the time that you should e'en be putting up requests and petitions likeways for the church and people of God.' Immediately she replyd: 'Indeed I have been minding that. It has been heavy upon my heart, and particularly, I have been praying for the poor ministers (as she expressed it) that are coming to this assembly [Edinburgh, 10-22 March 1703],³⁰ that God would let none come there, but such as are resolved to stand up for Christ and his interests. Some time thereafter she had much about the same words, but with this addition, that none of them might venter to give the ark of God the least wrong tuch.³¹ And with that she looked broad in my face, and said, 'My dear, it is some done, but not so soon mended.' At another time, quhen I was weeping and bursting out in tears by her, she gave me a short nod, and said, 'Have a care, my dear, that you offend not God by that carriage. You should know better things.' 'Ah, my dear lamb,' said I. 'I must say, I dow not think³² of parting with thee. I would fain hope that God would yet spare thee to be a further comfort to thy poor afflicted husband.' She presently replyd, 'My dear, no more of that. That's not well said. It's a terrour to me to think of coming back to the world again, for I'me affrayd I should but offend God more, and provoke him again to leave me.' She was frequently heard to cry out, 'Sweet Christ, and hast thou e'en come to me? to

³⁰ *Acts of the General Assembly*, 316-24. Most probably her concerns revolved around the actions of some episcopal clergy who 'transgress your [Queen Anne's] laws by preaching, though not qualified to your Majesty's Government—by despising sentences of deprivation by the Privy Council, and deposition by Church judicatories—by invading settled churches—by intruding into vacant churches—and by irregular baptizings and clandestine marriages, and several other gross abuses', 321.

³¹ 'Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error'. 2 Samuel 6:6-7.

³² 'I do not have the strength to think ...'

the like of me? Thou migh[t]est have just left me to die in ignorance in Swedland, quhere I came from.' And alwayes quhen she named 'sweet Christ,' she was observed to utter it with such a sweet smelling countenance as exprest with vehemency of affection and ardency of love, backt with admiration. Yet notwithstanding of all this, [229v] she was often assaulted by Satan, quhom she, by the strength of grace, as often baffled and repelled, never having the least cloud upon her spirit from the blessed morning abovementioned, even to the last minute of her life. One time, quhen we thought she was falling into some rest, she was heard to say, 'Be gon[e], filthy thief, wicked wretch. Quhat has thou to do with me? Thou kens that I'me none of thine. I've given myself away to Christ. He is mine and I am his.' At another time she said, 'Ay! there he's coming again. I cannot be quitt of him. Lord rebuke thee!' And then again about 4 hours before her death, she said to me, 'My dear, quhat's that he's saying to me now, think you? What is that he's saying, my dearest? He is bid[d]ing me cutt it in tuo. Quhat means he by that?' 'My dear,' said I, 'he sees now that thou has given thy heart wholly away to Christ, and since he can do no better, he would fain have thee divide it, and give him but the one half of it.' 'And thinks he so?' sayes she. 'Nay, he is all mistaken, he shall not get the least bitt of it.' That night she died, she enquired often, 'Where is my dead cloths? Are they not come to the mid-room yet?' as thinking we durst not venter to bring them into her presence; then said to those about her, 'See that ye take a good care of me this night, and look well to me, for I hope you shall not be long troubled about me, and it's like I may slip away quietly, and you not know it.' Which indeed had very near fallen out as she said, for about 3 in the morning, being Thursday the 12 of March 1703, she called for a drink, sat up upon the bed, and took the cup in her own hand; but putting it to her head (ah Lord!), her hands fell a trembling and the drink would not go down; then she calmly laid her self down again. I, turning her on her right side, and said to her, 'Now my dearest, see if thou can but get a little rest.' She answeard (but very softly), 'Well my dear,' then put her hand under her cheek and lay very still for a minute, quhen the maid coming again quietly to the bed, with the candle in her hand and looking intently upon her, said, 'Sir, indeed I think she's gone,' upon which I jumpt out from beside her, and fell down upon my knees naked by the bedside, quher she gaave only one little quiver with her lips and in the same posture she had lien herself down, with her hand under her cheek, without the least strugle, I may well say, my dearest comfort on the earth, fell asleep in Jesus, in the arms of her own sweet Christ, who you see has all allong handled her most tenderly, even to her last. Dear soul, after her many sufferings and dangers by sea and land, and expecting some shelter and

sanctuary in Scotland, how often was she frightened and tossed even there by pretended reformers, a bloody persecuting episcopal party who rather deserve the name of halfe papists than reforming Protestants, most of them owning and mentaining Arminianisme and the cursed doctrine of free-will (I can give it no better name), for in a word it flys directly in the face of a whole Trinity, that which there can be nothing more audaciously blasphemouse. I speak this with the greater abhorrence, it being the stronghold, that with great difficulty, throu the blessing of God, I got my dearest, now in glory, beat from, because in her younger years bred up in that and other dangerous principls.

I think this sweet and remarkable relation and testimony, tho' it is and has been a long digression, deserves to be recorded in letters [230r] of gold. My brother the colonel and my sister were comfortable relations to her, and much upon her heart many a time, as she was heard to bless God that ever she saw Scotland, quher the gospell is purely preached, so likeways she blessed God that ever she came into my father's family. I blessed the Lord on the other hand that ever he was pleased to reckon unworthy me worthy to be but a remote instrument in bringing her (another Ruth) under the wings of the God of Scotland, so as I may truly say of her as Boaz to Ruth, chap. 2:12, 'The Lord has recompensed thy work (all thy fatigue, toil and wanderings these near 18 years bygone), and a full reward is now given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thow camst to trust.' The first child he gave us was got in Stockholm, born in Edinburgh, and died in London, quhen not 2 years of age; such was our pilgrim life in those unhappy dayes.³³ The first presbyterian minister she heard in Scotland was the Reverend and worthy Mr James Rymer,³⁴ a searching preacher, and for whom she had always thereafter a dear respect, for many times she has told me she would never forget his words, and hoped she had got that day that which would stick to her so long as she lived. But before the sermon was over the city guard came upon them and made such a madd noise, the poor people fleeing here and there, some out at windows upon the sklait, &c, my poor stranger (and with child) was in

³³ from a small piece of paper glued to the margin.

³⁴ Probably James Rymer (d. 1697), once a regent at St Andrews, minister at Forgan, Fife, in 1687, and at St Andrews, 1689. *FES*, v, 204, 234. *History*, iii, 173, 196 notes such a man before the privy council. *RPC*, 3rd ser., vi, 326, for 'alleged harbouring of some of the murtherers of the late archbishop of St Andrews' (but later released from his bond); then in 1680 he is among several cited for keeping 'irregular meetings in several places in Fife'; vi, 494. Thomas Kincaid wrote for 30 December 1688: 'I went to Magdalen's Chapell all day where forenoon I heard Mr Rymer.' 'Diary of an Edinburgh Medical Student [Thomas Kincaid], 1687-8', NLS, MS 32.7.7, p. 221; not included in the published edition of this document, 'An Edinburgh Diary, 1687-1688', in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 27 (Edinburgh, 1949), 111-54.

a most fearfull plight, thinking really it had been a begun massacre, never being witness to such fury and madness before.³⁵

Now Reverend Sir [Robert Wodrow?], tho' this may seem not to fall in so patly to your present purpose, yet I think the passages here related (and nothing but truth), are so remarkable, that they deserve a room in your history, and you see the poor tossed stranger and farrainer has once and again tasted of the same bitter cup and has had the honour to be a sharer of the persecutions of the then wrestling church of Scotland.³⁶

³⁵ end of insertion.

³⁶ There follows: 'A true account of the apprehending, examination, and imprisonment (in the Bass, a formidable rock in the sea and firth, 20 miles from Edinburgh) of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr John Blackader minister of the gospel at Troqueer by Dumfries, where he remained from anno 1681 to 1686, and there he died, we may say a true and faithfull martyre for Christ's cause and interests, after many years wrestlings and wanderings, being often hunted after and searched for in town and country by a restless malignant crew of bloody enemies, meerly for his faithfull adhering unto and contending for the gloriouse and covenanted work of reformation, for preaching in houses and fields as he had access, quher he was observed to have been a remarkable instrument in the hand of God to awaken and alarum stupid, ignorant sinners, to rouse up secure professors, and to comfort the casten do[uj]n, and the real conversion of not a few. A true Boanerges.

The account is as follows: ' [some of the material which follows is included in Crichton, *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackader*, 273-328].

**Henry Duncan, 'The Most
Memorable Passages', c.1710**

[97v] The most memorable passages of the life of Mr Henrie Duncan, late minister of the gospel at Dunsyre

Written with his own hand.¹

[98r] The most memorable passages of the life of M. H. D. containing many instances of the divine goodness of holy, wise, and powerful providence towards a sinner, the most unworthy and undeserving of the least of God's mercies. Begun to be extracted out of my diary this 19th of May, 1708.

Having nothing to pretend to in myself but what is matter of deepest humiliation with respect to all the stages of my life past does clear me in my own conscience from suspicion of vain glory in leaving under my own hand the following account of God's ways towards me. And I obtain my whole end in so doing when helped to adore the all-wise and infinitely gracious God to me; or if this record may but provoke any one soul to be conversant in the books of divine providence to their edification and the glory of the blessed Trinity in unity [].²

1663. I was born in Glasgow in the year 1663 upon the fifteenth of March being the Sabbath morning, and because at this time the prelate with his underlings were fixed and established in the city as the effect of the first parliament of the unhappy, ungrate, and unfaithful Charles the Second, my religious parents caused carry me the s[econ]d Sabbath morning to the church of Bothwell where I was baptised by old Mr Mathew McKell, a pious and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, at this time not yet outed.³

¹ i.e., the original, but this is not that autograph as the entire document is in the same hand, including the record of Duncan's death.

² There is no punctuation at the end of the line, and there follows a space sufficient for two lines to be inserted, suggesting that the thought was not finished as intended.

³ Matthew McKail (McKell) was deposed from his ministry and confined to the parish in 1662; *FES*, iii, 230-1. His son Hugh was executed in 1666 in the wake of Rullion Green.

My parents were none of the meanest citizens, being well-descended, liberally educated, and eminently pious and faithful even to suffering in their outward means upon the account of their persuasion and principles which were solidly presbyterian. So, alluding to the Apostle Paul—— [Philippians 3:5]⁴, his being ane Hebrew of the Hebrews, I was born, baptised, and educated a presbyterian of the presbyterians. My father did early dedicate for me a Holy Bible by inscribing my name thereupon and the year of my birth.

My mother being unfruitful in the breasts, which occasioned the seeking after ane alien nurse, it fell out so in providence that after I had been tryed upon the breasts of seven or eight nurses successively which were changed one after another by the influence of best advisers, the last nurse fell out to be the worst,⁵ which gave occasion to a skilled midwife to predict that one of two diseases could not fail in human probability to overtake me, the alternative of which indeed fell out. And this gives me opportunity to divide the stages of my life in these five —— following.⁶ 1st, betwixt my birth and the seventeenth year of my age in the latter part of which period, viz. the last seven years, I was exercised sorely and little better than bedrid. The 2nd, betwixt the beginning of my seventeenth year commencing my recovery and containing my time at the grammar school and colledge untill I was twenty-two years of age complet. The 3d, commencing from the 22nd of my age untill my married state the 27 of my age past. The 4th, containing and commensing from my marriage to my being ordained a minister. The fifth from the beginning of my ministry to the date of thir presents, and wearing out in five and more years now expires of great weakness and valetudinarieness.

I might have been called in some respect Benoni⁷ because my mother brought me forth in sorrow about the time of the ark of God being taken

⁴ The copy of the document leaves a space here—presumably left in the original, and presumably for the sake of introducing the Biblical reference.

⁵ Cf. Lady Seafield: 'When she brought forth her first born son, she being of a thin body, was prevailed with to geve him to be nursed by ane other woman, who proving a very bad nurs, occasioned much sickness in the chyld, which brought him to the gattes of death, for which the mother had a deep remors, and in rembranc of her fault in this, fasted evry Satterday, the day on which she was first struck with this anguish and having met with the same affliction in the second chylde for which she was touched with the like trouble, she resolved afterwards to nurss her own cheldren, which accordingly she essayed in the next child, her present eldest daughter, but after two months suckling her, she became so weak that she was forced to geve it over'. NAS, CH 12/20/11, p. 4 of document, or 27r of the manuscript book, which contains other items.

⁶ in MS.

⁷ 'And it came to pass, as her [Rachel's] soul was in departing, (for she died) that she called his name Benoni ['son of my sorrow']: but his father called him Benjamin ['son of the right hand']; Genesis 35:18.

captive,⁸ presbytry overthrowen, episcopacy prelacy established and which fell out to be also about the beginning of other sorrows and misfortunes to my parents.

I was piously educated in my childhood and trained to prayer, reading, and getting by heart parcels of the holy scriptures and of some other pious and practical books with my catechism. I was trained to the outward exercises of religion before I could have either any spiritual or rational uptaking or inward sense of the things themselves, notwithstanding custom and parental awe and fear, not without some mixture of a confused and awfull apprehension of a God, a heaven and hell, made me pharisaically punctual and critical in observance of these duties. Upon reflection hereupon I conceive of a most necessary duty in parents thus early to train their children in God's commandments. Tho' they have not the actual understanding thereof because *quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*,⁹ which is sensed by our Scottish proverb, 'Hame young, learn fair', but much more accurately by the divine proverb of the wise man, Proverbs 22:6, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it'.

1668. I observe myself to have been guilty of actual sin from the age of six years and to have been sensi[98v]ble of the inward motions of sin and to have sinned without imitation and example meerly by the influence of inward natural corruption, which serves to confound papists, Quakers, and others that deny the power and guilt of original sin and assert that we learn to sin actually by imitation only.

I was entred to the grammar betwixt seven and eight years of age, and continued at it till I was nine years expired, all which time from my birth I was in flourishing health and grew in stature abundantly with my years, had a great memory and competent engine¹⁰ for letters. Notwithstanding, I was several times at the gate of death by ordinary diseases and once, in eminent danger of dying by water in Clyde at the Bridge of Glasgow, was wonderfully preserved by a woman running into me and quickly snatching a grip of me, having lost feet and going down the stream.

1672. About the ninth year of my age my body brake out in many running sores in my feet, legs, hands, and other places, reckoned to be

⁸ 1 Samuel 4:11.

⁹ 'Long will the cask retain the odour with which when new it has once been tinged'. Horace, *The Epistles*, trans. W. F. Masom (London, [1905?]), 8 (L. 1, Ep. 2). This sentence is also cited on the title page of [James Clark], *Lucubratiuncula Poetica de moribus rite instituendis* (Edinburgh, 1700), a work for young students.

¹⁰ ingenuity.

or to be like the King's Evil.¹¹ These continued from worse to worse till I was sixteen years expired. The running of these wounds, which were thirteen in number and from some of which issued many bones of corrupted joints at my cute toe,¹² side of my foot and finger, together with four artificial issues in each leg and arm, one for the space of four years, brought me so low in body that tho' I had not been both cripple and lame by the wounds, I was unable to walk under this weakness and bedrid condition. I was held about seven years in all which time beside my habitual weakness and great subjectness to cholicke and other pieces of tenderness, I was ordinarily once in a fortnight or thereby exceedingly tortured with the rediviving of my wounds which used to close and undercut and for the space of twenty-four hours to hold me waking day and night in great agonie and torture unto outcrying. In the midst of thir years a tumor struck also into one of mine eyes and of which I was blind some weeks and unable so much as to indure the glance of a candle or any light passing transiently by me without ane outcry. Severe and torturing were the cures by smarting powders, straiking with rough leaves thorter,¹³ and other things, beside incision and cupping glasses upon my neck. However, it pleased the Lord to make these sharp means effectual to restore my sight, reduce mine eye which broke and ran out leaving only a continual mark or male upon the under edge of the sight thereof untill this day which doth not prejudice¹⁴ my sight.

In this stage of my life all necessary advice of the best skilled were taken for my recovery, but nothing prevails, the Lord designing to reserve to himself the honour of my recovery by his visible gracious providence after all outward means had failed.

Two things in the Lord's good providence concurred to keep me in life beyond all human expectation: first, the intermissions before insinuated of my pains; and secondly, the laborious and expensive care of my affectionnate mother. I may add a third, the pious and faithful prayers of both parents.

As my affliction and years grew, so I grew more and more awed to duty, but from what principle, whether of early grace, or of education, and from the stress of affliction forcing more prayers, especially in my worst ~~xxxxx~~ fits, I am uncertain because of considerations to be spokene of afterwards.

I am sure of this—I prayed alwise twice a day at least and for most part with tears and fervour either spiritual or natural, and made vows to God often that if he would deliver me and bring me to health I should

¹¹ see above, p. 167, n. 1.

¹² smallest toe?

¹³ across.

¹⁴ prejudice.

improve the same to his glory. In these I was very positive.

1679. In the year 1679, in the winter before my mother's death, which was in the March following, being the 56 year of her age, I began to recover a little. From her death, which was the first weighty cross of my life, instead of being overwhelmed and cast back by the accession of that cross which made my frail life desperate-like when bereaved of such a tenderhearted parent, it pleased God to recover me more and more and quickly so as I was able to attend the grammar school again where I began my Latine of new after seven years' intermission. Behold the seasonable and wonderfully surprizing providence of God making my delivery more conspicuously to shew forth his power and goodness by bringing it forth after the decease of my mother who had been so great an instrument and necessary to my living and thro' bearing under God.

Having entered to the Latine I took it quickly up and was advanced a class after the first half year, and two compleat years more finished my course of first, second, and third parts with such success as I was able to turne themes into heroick or any other sorts of the ordinary verses. All this while I had tolerable health and could attend the school, tho' my sores were not perfectly cured and I still halted ill in walking.

1681. At Michaelmass 1681 I entred to my Greek in the colledge¹⁵ wherein I made good progress but might have made much more if I had not then begun to be diverted with ordinary games of youth and other idle recreations in which I spent or rather mispent much precious time and this was the beginning of my worst years of morals and in which my affliction was begun to be forgot. In this year I neglected ill to take the opportunity of learning the French language from my father who was exact therein and sometimes then and before moved it to me, but slothfulness hindered me.

1682. November 1682 my pious, learned, and reverend father, aged seventy-one years, dyed to my great loss [99r] in all respects while I was entering upon the Logicks so as I lose the advantage of his help and fellowship in my philosophy. Now may I say with the Psalmist [27:10],¹⁶ 'When father and mother both had forsaken me, the Lord did take me up'. Now have I another proof of his most gracious and seasonable goodness and providence, for while hitherto I was but still weak in body and halted

¹⁵ *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its Foundation till 1727*, 4 vols. (Maitland Club, 1854), iii, 139, 277, 278. He is listed as a member of the 'quartae classis' on 6 March 1682; as bursar of philosophy from Glasgow, in the second class, on 10 Oct. 1683; and as a town bursar of theology on 8 Aug. 1686.

¹⁶ MS leaves a space where I have entered the text. The citation is the AV, slightly emended, including transposition to the past tense. See above, p. 110.

ill, after his death I became perfectly wel and healthy and to walk straight. Now the Lord himself bears me up as on eagle's wings after he had deprived me of both my natural and kindly supporters. Now am I solitary as a sparrow upon the house top alone. My father's house having left me before, I leave it and few or none have I to do for me. As one affliction leaves me another finds me, viz. these who were many ways bound to serve me and see to me do treat me unkindly, robbing me and withholding from me mine own. Notwithstanding, the Lord bore me wonderfully throw my learning, altho' I have not yet begun to pay my vows made to the Lord in the days of my affliction. The Lord took care of me tho' I laid litle of my care or burden upon him. He heaped up mercies upon me who was still [going] thro' the course of the colledge but heaping up sin, continuing as I began to spend much time in games of one sort and another and in the converse of none of the choisest companions, which plaid me as Solomon's idolatrous wives¹⁷ plaid to him. Tho' I always studied for honour's sake to be master of my lessons of philosophy and held up a rank and credit and profited therein, yet I am very sensible upon reflection how much I lost which I might easily have gained, and cost me some more pains afterwards. My life at the colledge was the pleasantest time to sense that ever I had, but it was the sad season and seedtime of evil morals, which, sown in the ground of ane evil heart brought forth plentifully, alas, after the likeness both of the seed and the soil.

Having at the colledge frequented company promiscuously without a prudent and religious choise of companions and company, my being latitudinarian in company, wrought near unto, thro' progress of time, to make me latitudinarian somewhat both in principles and practise to the great danger of my soul. But God who is rich in mercy held the rainges¹⁸ in his own hand so as I got not full head.

1684. In Aprile 1684 I absolve¹⁹ my course of philosophy, yet not so shaken in my principles as to take my degrees, which priviledge was then burdened with the Test which I never took, tho' some calumniously alledged it and that upon a very critical occasion.

Now I am at my own shift for a living, anything that was left me of my father being exhausted by my education and the mismanagement of trustees.

My first peregrination is Whitsunday thereafter to Lothian, where I served a worthy knight the space of a year in teaching his children and the children of some other friends belonging to the family where I had as full a burden as if I had the charge of a publick school thro' the variety of the

¹⁷ 1 Kings 11:1-8.

¹⁸ reins.

¹⁹ complete.

lessons that the respective ages and sexes of the children required teaching, some of them English, others of them in all the parts of Latine and all of them arithmetick and to write, and read write. In the meantime there was a tested²⁰ chaplain in the family. Nor was I by my lower office and encouragement lower obliged to that conformity even as I was alwise stiffly resolved against it, else I might have had greater outward encouragement.

I am to note here that I had an utter averseness to a publick school or the charge of teaching children, inclining rather to be a piece of a lawyer, yet the Lord right early wisely crosses my inclination and brings me under the yoke I was so much averse unto, as I found upon after reflection that this was good for mee according to God's Word, Lamentations, ch. 3.²¹ So the Lord inabled me to be consciencious in the discharge of my duty with full approbation of the family who courted me much to stay and would have increased my sallary, yet I obstinately refused and changed for the worse. My vacant hours for most part in this place were ill spent.

The fellowship of this prelatick chaplain, tho' a smart man in learning indeed and unstained in morals, yet being high episcopalian was like to be insnaring unto me to the prejudice of my presbyterian principles for I was as yet but ill read in the controversy.

1684. This summer I rambled idly up and down like a bird seeking a nest, and [to] be sure my company that I haunted was more insnaring than edyfying, to say no worse of it. About Lambas I go for Glasgow and, the obligation of the Test being surceased,²² I took my degrees. There I spent the following winter, and read pretty closely some systems of divinity and practical pieces and revised my philosophy.

1686. My next peregrination is to the west country farm Carnict²³ where I spent a year in teaching a publick school, and where I was very misfortunate in every respect but especially in spending my interveening hours from my charge, and sometimes neglecting my charge in lax and unsavoury company, reading little or nothing but my charge, except a system of divinity which I indeavoured to be master of. Any divinity I read at that time was not so much with an immediate eye to the ministry to which in its present set neither my heart nor education was reconciled, as for private edification to qualify me in some proportion to my letters above the vulgar to speak of religion. Yet before I departed hence, thro' corrupt fellowship, the corruption of my heart was fair to draw me over

²⁰ One who had taken the Test, 1681.

²¹ probably Lamentations 3:27, 'It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.'

²² The word, after some revision by the writer, appears like 'surceaseding' which I take to be as 'surceased'.

²³ probable reading.

contrary to my education and otherways light and inclination, if I had been better bidden²⁴ [99v] and allured with the tentation of some more honour and more liberal livelyhood. But a wise, holy, and good God prevents my corruption, makes me weary of the place, and thence I come away at Whitsunday 1687.

This place was indeed to me a wilderness of some outward straits, but which is worse, a wilderness of many sinful complied-with tentations and provocations against the Lord in acts of idleness and sensuality. Yet it was a time also of noted and subscribed vows to God; as also my life in Lothian was but badly performed in both places. In this stage I mett with two merciful bodily preservations, one by land in night travel, another by sea, in both which God's goodness was infinitely obliged to, but nothing to my own watchfulness.

Unto this day from my entring to the colledge, among other vanities I read dream books and palmistry for too much atheistical noticement, as I reckon it; to cherish this Satan as an enemy never suffered me to want a dream and God in his justice to want a providence which I thought adapted to, &c.

1687. Whitsunday 1687 I ingage to be an underteacher in a grammar school in a burroughstown where I discharged my publick duty in a good measure but was little careful of my private life and too, too conversible as to my company, so that I found, to my sad experience, the compliment of the apostle's word—'Evil communication corrupts good manners'.²⁵ At that post I served year and one half, the first part of it very idly, untill such time untill a young gentleman of eminent learning and who afterwards in good providence became my brother-in-law by my marrying his sister came to the town, with whom I drew up close in dayly converse in all parts of learning which was greatly to my advantage. And now I affect no company by my charge but his. Now idleness is charmed, evil company much abandoned by this good providence of God. I became much master of my thoughts and given to useful meditation. I was helped and moved to the study and exercise of meditation and reflection, much as by his fellowship whose learning obliged me in honour and credit to exercise my mind under the pain of being [a] blockhead, so by reading of the honoured and most learned Mr Boil²⁶ his *Occasional Reflections* which prompted me to make some smal attempts, whereof the following reflection is one:

As I was walking in a morning I fall in between two long ranks of

²⁴ Last word on page, obscured by discoloration.

²⁵ 1 Corinthians 15:33.

²⁶ Robert Boyle (1627-91) the scientist. See his *Occasional Reflections upon several Subjects* (London, 1665; 2nd edn. 1669).

trees. The rank toward the left hand were tall, big, and stately, the rank towards the right wee, low, but very straight and pretty firs, but upon that side that lay nearest the great tall trees they were much born down naked and then in branches, tho' upon the far side they were more bushie and well clothed. As the natural reason of the nakedness of the firs &c., as I conceived, was the great trees overshadowing them and intercepting from them the influences both of sun and rain from above and drawing from them by their great roots the sap and moisture below. So for the morality of it I conceive the condition of the great wicked and the poor and godly to be emblemized thereby. The wicked and powerful of the world overtop and bear down the meaner and more religious sort; they study alone to be great upon the poverty, ruins, and nakedness of others; they inhance greedily to themselves and intercept from others all the world, good, and benefit that they can; again, tho' the great and wicked of the world rob and denyde the poor and the godly that live below them and as it were below their feet, of these things that are within their reach and nearest them, yet these poor and feckless ones have a remote side and far better part lying at a distance from them which the great and wicked cannot reach. For however obnoxious the bodies and outward estate of the poor and mean of the world be to the violence and rapine of the great and wicked ones, yet the souls and eternal interest of these are perfectly secured from harm. Nor do the godly flourish the less this way that they are depressed and born down outwardly, for the firs shoot furth so much the more pleasantly and liberally on the remote side, as they are born down on the near side to the wicked. Finally, tho' nature hath planted both these ranks of trees and men in equal soil, yet she seems to design to them different ends. For while the low firs are alwise green the tall stately trees do cast their leaves.

While I was wearying of this post because it had much toil and attendance and little outward advantage, it falls out in a suprizing and unexpected providence that a magistrate commissionate from a chief burgh of a shire comes to the place where I live with a call to an experienced and of late honourably posted schollar to be schoolmaster in that burgh which was not contemptible as to encouragements, but he having been posted lately and of a considerable time in one of the most honourable families of the nation aspired higher and that with rational prospect and being ripe in parts, and so refused the post, recommending me to that commissionate magistrate with whom incontinent I went along and was received schoolmaster in the place and clerk to the session and shortly after clerk to the presbytry. From thence I transported in the moneth of December 1688. My better days hence do commence.

I am now in a post capable to maintain a family thro' the Lord's blessing and I begin to be resolute upon a married estate and to take

myself up more and more from vain and idle company that I may²⁷ adorn my publick calling and follow after that which is good unto edifying. Now the Lord begins to work ane outward reformation, at least upon me in many things. I reject the fooler[i]es of looking to dreams and dream books, as also of palm reading and that upon a sol[i]d conviction of ane atheistical curiosity in them, and the good effects thereof soon follows, [100r] that whereas before I was constantly haunted with dreams, never wanting a dream, yea and an interpretation also as I thought, now I am never troubled with dreams. I observe the proverb concerning friets, which I never looked to in my remembrance, fulfilled about dreams: 'They who look to dreams, dreams follow them'. As soon as I set my mind off from looking to dreams the reverse is as sure—they no more follow me. Now also I am no more curious of knowing my lott and life to come, seeing that is a plain and presumptuous incroachment upon the divine secrets and impertinent torture and vexation to the mind. Hitherto I think I was a great stranger to the life of faith in God and in Christ, notwithstanding of a form of godliness²⁸ and external duties, yea and many pointed vows and ingadgement so for obedience to God and for resisting of all sins as well inward in the heart as outward in the life, the life of faith being wanting, and which on reflection, I think, was much hindered by looking to dreams &c. As is before said, there was no strength to bring forth the performance of *obedienee* ingadgments to the Lord; therefore, when I seriously consider the abortiveness of my resolutions and ingadgements hitherto, notwithstanding of all the devotions I used, I doubt of having true saving *faith* grace. Nay, I conclude it.

Now, where to begin the commenceing date of saving grace or of a true work of regeneration and new birth, actual manner is difficult and straitning to me because tho' now I am thus far reformed and begun to aim at living by *faith*, and reformed from haunting with ill company, yet I doubt of the principle of this reformation as being and arising rather from respect to the credit of my station which with other considerations brings ane outward awe upon me than for ane inward principle of grace, because I find that as yet I have the inclination and love to graceless and time-wasting company, and when I arrive afterwards even to a true hatred and loathing of graceless company and companions as such, the doubts remains if it be from grace or from custome, apprehending that long diswitude of several years from such company might wear out desire and inclination thereto. These have been very serious doubts with me. However, upon the main being unable to conclude anything with assurance, yet I found myself obliged to bless God for the work wrought, whatever be the principle, seing he is less dishonoured by me than before,

²⁷ Ink blot; if anything is beneath it, 'now'.

²⁸ 2 Timothy 3:5.

withall intreating God that in process of time I may find it to be the work of his arme.

I am to remark a special providence of God in my arrival to this post, viz., that the Lord made use of a strange instrument for advancing me thither and I may say also a remote tho' real instrument of my advancement to the holy ministry and all the benefits concomitant thereof and consequential thereupon. The instrument was a gentleman indowed of good wit, breeding, and discretion and my familiar acquaintance, but alas, wanting the set of true religion whither [whether] in principles or practise that my soul would have wished to him, for I loved him upon the account of his natural and acquired qualifications and courteous humanity. The strangeness of the providence I reckon to ly in this, that the instrumental cause was heterogeneous to the manifold effects.

1690. In this place [Lanark] I am well taken with my publick school which begins to thrive and increase considerably and it pleaseth God to give me a wife June 9th 1690, a helpmeet for me in all desireable respects.

Now upon the new relation of a family I set up family worship therein and look upon myself as come under a set of relative duties whereof I had not occasion before.

Now it is my mercy and familie's to be under a powerful and faithful gospel ministry. The minister being a person of eminent and well suited qualifications for his holy station, by birth very well descended, by breeding and education, both homeward and forrain in travels, eminent in parts of learning amongst the best, beside ane eminent degree of publick spiritedness and zeal, all adorned with a spirit of suitable boldness and authority, I had considerable advantageous occasions by private converse with him, finding many things in him dropped to me in converse worthy of imitation, and notably subservient to advance the power of godliness, and wherein I thought it my duty to take example. I think I owe to him, as the instrument under God, my conversion so far as I can reckon to such a thing, and his preaching upon personal covenanting plainly and distinctly gave me greater light in that duty, how to set about it more formally and expressly than anything ever I had read or heard or done before in that matter. I found by discourse with him and ane sight and view that he was under a subscribed covenant with the Lord largely drawn up and wherein his yokefellow was a conjunct covenanter and subscriber with him to the Lord. I thought this so worthy of imitation and might be of such aw[e] upon and usefulness to my soul thro' the Lord's grace that I very quickly set about the like in the way that I was helped to conceive and whereof the cobby and form doth follow:

Forasmuch as the great God hath truely revealed himself to us undersubscribers in his holy Word and articles which only with his spirit

are competent to begett the true and sound attainable notions and saving conceptions of one God and three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one in three and three in one, and of their different personal properties, the Father's paternity from all eternity begetting his son Jesus Christ Jesus, his sonship eternally begotten of the Father, the Holy Ghost's eternal procession from the Father and the Son, and of their common essential properties, eternity, unchangableness, infiniteness in their most simple and one being as [100v] also infinitness in power, holyness, justice, goodness, mercy, truth, and faithfulness, all which we do belive, and in whom we do believe;

Forasmuch as the great God holds forth himself in his wrytten Word of the Old and New Testament (which we do firmly belive to be the revelation of the Eternal God²⁹ because of the divine characters of eternal majesty therein, and because of its perfect consent and agreement with itself and of the infallibility of its predictions and prophesies, many whereof are accomplished, and of its powerful operation upon the consciences even of natural man, being such for matter, stile, and perfection, perspicuity, and clearness, at least in things absolutely necessary to be knowen unto salvation, so that no humane writings however plausible, authentick, or credible have dared to imitate or compet with),³⁰ so be the Lord God mercifull and gracious, long suffering and slow to wrath, full of pity and compassion and reconcilable to sinners by the merits, sufferings, and perfect satisfaction of his dear and only beloved son the Lord Jesus Christ who performed perfect and personal obedience to the whole law of God that so he might be a wel qualified mediator for others to perform for their behove and in their sted, to wit, the elect, his purchased possession, the said whole law both as to its preceptive and penal part being made for us wisdome, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and that of God having given perfect satisfaction to infinite and offended justice by the sacrifice of his body and sufferings of his soul once offered up for all the elect, which sacrifice is of infinite value because of the person of his Godhead and his divine nature unto quhich his humane nature is indissolvably united, all which and in which we do believe;

Forasmuch as the great God offers himself freely to be our God, our Lord and lawgiver, saviour and Redeemer, protector and defender, guide and father, shepherd and husband of our souls, our lot, portion, and inheritance and the God and Saviour, &c., of our children and seed, both such as shall not come to the years of discretion, dying in infancy or noneage, or such and all of them as shall arrive to ripe years as far as they shall adhere to God in the wel-made, sure, and everlasting covenant of

²⁹ The bracket is closed here, but obviously incorrectly.

³⁰ probable placement of close parenthesis.

grace,³¹ and shal imbrace the Lord Jesus Christ, mediator between God and man, whom we do imbrace and receive in his own gospel terms to be our king to rule over us, our prophet to teach us and ours, as well as our priest to atone for us that we may escape the wrath of an otherwayes angry God;

Forasmuch as God has sent his son into the world to suffer, dy, be burried for lost man his sin, and raised him again from the dead for justification of his elect for whom having ascended upon high he doth make continual intercession³² with the Father by the constant presentation of his humane nature according to which he suffered, dyed, and was buried as a constant and significant memorial of his merits and will to the Father in which we belive and rest;

Forasmuch as 'God hath so loved the world that he sent his only begotten Son, that whosoever belives on him should not perish, but have everlasting life',³³ to which promise and all the rest of the exceeding great and precious premises in the Word of God we cleave and adhere;

Forasmuch as Jesus Christ 'came to seek and save that which was lost and came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance',³⁴ heartily inviting all the weary and heavy laden with sin to come to him and get rest, to take on them his yoke which is easy and his burden which is light³⁵ because he is susceptor for the debts or sins and for the duties of belivers:

Therefor we do challenge and lay claim to God and to Jesus Christ the Son of God, under all the titles of covenant relation in his holy Word, with all the benefits of Christ's purchase and his Holy Spirit, to be ours and our seed's, in terms of beliving above said and mentioned and thro' free grace and mercy offered and according to the tenor of God's holy covenant and promises; do take God to be our God and the God of our children, Christ to be our only Saviour and the Holy Ghost to be our only guide, comforter, and sanctifyer, and reckon ourselves and our children to be the Lord's, for ourselves and for our children, renouncing the devil, world, and the flesh, and all the false pomp, pride, profits, and pleasures of the same, together with our lusts, idols, passions, and affections, parts, and members; and do dedicate to the Lord our God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, our souls, bodies, faculties, senses, members, passions, affections, parts, heart and life, profits, pleasures, credit together with our — children given away by us to God in baptism (to be disposed on at God's pleasure as to life or death to which we submit to God's will as shall be for his glory and their spiritual and eternal good),

³¹ 2 Samuel 23:5.

³² Romans 8:34; Hebrews 7:25.

³³ John 3:16.

³⁴ Luke 5:32.

³⁵ Matthew 11:28-30.

and ratify by thir presents, to the service, honour, and glory of God, disallowing ourselves expressly in every known sin and in every sin unknown and undiscovered, upon supposition desirous that what sins we cannot find out ourselves in us God may search and find them out to us for our conviction and conversion from them, withal pleading and protesting that breaches of this our covenant on our part, which we shall never wittingly and willingly, widely and wickedly, make, thro' God's grace in Christ Jesus may not dissanull the covenant on God's part. In testimony of our sincerity of heart and soul we lift up our hands to the most high God, and lay them down upon his ~~writin~~ holy Word, John ch. First [1:1], and do subscribe thir presents as in the sight of our God, the great God in heaven and earth, the searcher of the hearts and tryer of the reins of the children of men.³⁶ Att — the — day of — year —. So help us God. Sic subscribitur.

[101r] Here I am to take notice that as my coming into the world to breath[e] the natural life was ushered in with [a?] woeful revolution, as I already hinted, in the overthrow of presbytery and establishment of prelacy, so my conversion and beginning of spiritual life, so much as I can reckon and so far, was ushered in with the comfortable revolution of King William³⁷ of ever blessed memory, which restored presbytry and overturned prelacy. And further, I may note that according to the order of means and humane speaking, and abstracting from the appointed critical times and seasons of God, my conversion was retarded by the sad times of prelacy that were days of horrible darkness and ignorance and of great snares to any that became anything familiar with them, as I was too much with severals of that perswasion and whose visible godless lives reflected upon helped well to cast the ballance of my once almost indifferency in these matters. Here also it is not to be forgot that tho' I never was reduced to pinching want of the outward things of this life, yet I reckon it a singular mercy that I was not master of any considerable piece of fortune or monyryfe, which probably might have ruined me to all good intents and purposes. I have blessed the Lord many a time that I was not rich in the world in the days of my youth, whereof, had there been a conjunction, it had excelled that of the most malignant planet in the aspects.

In this place my publick school thrives to good purpose and the Lord doth bless my endeavours and labour in this charge, which having a

³⁶ Jeremiah 17:10.

³⁷ Similar laudatory sentiments were expressed by Henrietta Lindsay, Lady Campbell: 'November 5 made memorable how the Lord wonderfully appeared in the safe conduct and delivery of King William and all with him from their enimie's enterprize and in directing their landing place in so marvelouse a manner as this conduct cannot be ascribed to an arm of flesh but to the High and Lofly One who inhabiteth the praises of Israel, who did animat and raise up this instrument for our deliverance in this day of our extremity and need, and blessed with wonderfull succes, as to succeeding ages may be remembered as the doing of the Lord, and wonderouse in our eyes'. *WLW*, 337.

sufficient encouragement of living creditably and conceiving the office conscientiously discharged to be a serviceable piece of work to the generation, I became well satisfied and fully resolved to cleave to the same, laying aside any thoughts of the holy ministry, and applyed myself closely to adorn that station I was in, training my schollers in the exercise of publick tragedies and commedies, sometimes composed in prose, some times in meeter for to sharpen their genius and learn them confidence, which encouraged the gentry to commit their children to my discipline.

For the space of three years full I had the satisfaction specified till the following accident of wonderful divine providence (which always gives strange turns to the affairs of the world and of private persons) gave me a discouragement to persevere in that office. And it was this: one of my schollars, having received only ane ordinary chastisement for negligence and ignorance, in the homegoing caught a fall occasioning his bleeding, which his parents challenging, he basely and out of pelt³⁸ and odium of the school said that I had so abused him unto the emission of his blood. Whereupon the malignant parents spreading this gross lie, I came under the character of a rigorous and tyranous master which (like all lies and reproches that are more readily belived than the truth) discouraged several gentlemen that were designing to commit their sons to me from there intent. Thereupon I took discouragement, and apprehending that I should not adorn that ~~station~~ calling to my satisfaction, quickly bended my thoughts towards the ministry, read close to that purpose in my spare hours from my charge, which were for most part when others were sleeping, without abating my ordinary diligence. This I did for the space of ane year and ane half and unto which the reverend minster in the place gave me good incouragement and was exceeding profitable unto me.

Here I am to remark a special deliverance from a violent death. The wicked parent of that wicked child came to my doors about eleven at night and with a feigned voice called to get entrance as having a business of necessary concern with me at that present juncture. But the Lord making me suspectful of treachery, I looked out at a window, and the lap of his clock³⁹ flying open, I observed a naked sword in his hand. Upon the morrow I suted him before the magistrate, at whose solicitation and upon his humble acknowledgements I forgave him and quit⁴⁰ him.

But before I had freedome to give up myself to the tryals of the presbytry, I can say it with much freedom and ingenuity that I was of a long time straitned and difficulted and exercised in my mind whither to⁴¹

³⁸ unworthiness.

³⁹ cloak.

⁴⁰ acquitted.

⁴¹ Almost certainly the correct reading; the irregular script, however, is not what one would expect.

follow such a look and that in the examining of my soul about my motives to that holy calling, I would have had a clearness one day and quite dung back the other. Att length attaining to a distinct perception that in sincerity as I thought I principally and expressly proposed the glory of God in the edification of souls and mine own soul as my ends, unprompted from sinful motions of pride, desire of lucre or honour, always praying to God that he would put visible stops in my way and attempt if the event should not answer my proposed ends, so I gave up myself to the tryals of the reverend presbytery in the summer season in the year 93.⁴²

1693. But so it was that I was trysted with several exercising providences which seemed to me like providential stops in answer to my prayers. The first was that after I had delivered my first exercise with approbation, the giving me out a second part was delayed and that upon a misreport, insinuated here before, of having taken the Test. For clearing the presbytery of which I was willing to ly by till they made enquiry, and so the next meeting, having satisfy'd themselves in the point, my tryals went on. Tho' I knew my own freedom from the guilt and sin of this oath, yet the challenge of it set me back to reflect on my call to this work. A 2nd accident that was exercising to me in the summer forsaied was that in time of the presbytrie's intermission till their next meeting, the whole space that was allotted to me for my first publick discourse, I was taken ill to a degree of the hemorrhoids so as I was most unfit and unable to study my exercise, and so weakned that I had scarce strength to stand in the pulpit to deliver it. A third exercising providence, and it was in time prior

⁴² 'Mr Henrie Duncan is appointed a homily from 2 Corinthians 5:7 ...', NAS, CH2/234/3, Presbytery Book of Lanark, 42; 'Mr. Henrie Duncan who delyvered his homily ... was approven', 44; 'Mr. Henrie Duncan hath another text prescived to him from Isaiah 52:11 ... to be delyvered at first meeting at Lanerk', 47; 'Mr Henrie Duncan delyvered his homily according to appointment from Isaiah 52:11 and is approven and now hath appointed to him a commonhead *de liberi arbitrii viribus, an homo viribus natus possit active concurrere ad sui conversionem* to be delyvered next meeting', 50; 'Mr Henrie Duncan delyvered his common head *de viribus liberi arbitrii in conversione* and is approven and is now appointed to defend the thesis and to give account of the languages, the 1st Psalm in the Hebrew and *Chronologie a promissione facta Abrahamo ad liberationem ex Aegypto* and to answer to extemporarie questions', 54; 'Mr. Henrie Duncan hath defended his thesis and given ane account of the languages and is approven and now hath the presbyterial exercise appointed to him', 56-7; 'Mr. Henrie Duncan who had the presbyterial exercise is approven and a popular sermon is prescived to him from Phil. 3:8 ...', 57; 'Mr. Henrie Duncan who preached his popular sermon ... is approven', 59; 'Mr. Henrie Duncan hath answered to the extemporarie questions and given ane account of that part of *Chronologie* that was prescived to him and is approven in all the parts of his tryals and licenced to preach as a probationer ... [and] is appointed to preach at Carnwath Sabbath come eight days', 61. At the presbytery meeting on 11 October 1693 he was appointed to supply one Sunday at Dunsyre (70), though this was hindered 'because the waters were impassable' (71). Appointed again (73) and the parish told more or less to forget about calling a settled minister, Mr. Sandilands of Dolphinton; appointed again (74-5), &c.

to the last, was my exceeding [101v] straitedness⁴³ in composing a homily tho' the text was nothing specially difficult but very ordinary, sweet, and practical, yet after many attempts and frequent putting pen to paper could never satisfy myself with a word, tho' having used all the ordinary means in conjunction with prayer. At length, almost despairing to attempt it any furder, late at night in solemn secret prayer for that very purpose I left it upon God, fully submitting to him to be remitted to continuance in my present station if he would not assist me in that piece of work. Whereupon I lay down at ease, and quietly after two hours sleep awakened and arose about two or three in the morning and after prayer composed my exercise without withdrawing the pen, by the Lord's blessing. As I took these stops to be tryals and the just matter of my exercise, so I took the Lord's thro' bearing of me to be his continued call to me to proceed, all along continuing prayer, after the forsaid manner, viz. that God would put effectual stops if it were not for his glory.

It pleased the Lord without any further trouble to carry me throw unto my being licensed to preach, which was done in October 1693. When this was done I can very freely say the Lord did not suffer me to be anxious to be [1694⁴⁴] settled anywhere a minister altho' I have now a double charge, never a Sabbath exhonoured from preaching, beside my ordinary incumbency upon my schoolarie charge. [March 27, 1694 I was ordained a minister of the gospel within the bounds of the said presbytery, not meeting with any more exercising and jumbling providences, having come under a very free and harmonious call from the people of my charge.⁴⁵]

Now commences the fifth stage of my life from my ordination to the date of thir presents. In the first three years of my ministry I have these things very remarkable: 1st, that I mett with manifest crosses in that period from the crabbed ill nature of some particular persons and partly by my own hastiness and inadvertancy of their humors, not having yet taken them up, not having observed as yet in this station what I was always wont to do in my former among my young disciples when they entred first to school, viz. to observe their temper that I might accommodate myself theirot in the most gaining way. However, experience became my teacher, and patience I found to be extraordinary necessary. My former station try'd my patience, but this much more.

⁴³ 'straiten, straiten', to tighten, put in a fix, subject oneself to pressure.

⁴⁴ in margin.

⁴⁵ Bracketed material in the margin. On 28 February 1694: 'Mr Henrie Duncan hath answered to the extemporarie questions and giving satisfaction therein and in the languages and having absolved all his tryals in order to ordination with approbation, the presbyterie appoint his edict to be served Sabbath come eight days and himself to preach at Dunsyre after they had required him to subscribe the confession of faith as his confession of faith in opposition to popery, prelacy, arminianism, and quhereunto he did assent', NAS, CH2/234/3, 85.

Here I have need both of patience and prudence, piety, and humility; and good it is that God brought me into a station and circumstances conducing and effectual more and more thereto. The first considerable cross here is that of my six elders of the first edition, in a year's time three of them fall different ways away. One goes off to a military station; another, the session, by the presbytery's advice, dismissed for immoralities; a third goes off in a fit of peevishness because of some sharp words I reply'd to him speaking very impertinently and unpurposefully.

This elder's departure arose out of a trying providence to me. The matter was this. My garden had been robbed upon a night of my sett cabbish plants which had been a moneth or five weeks taken with the ground. Whereupon acquainting the paroch officer and commending the enquiry thereof to him according to law and custome of the place, he, upon some presumption, pitched upon a man in the paroch and brought him down into my garden where the mark of a foot being found, he made that man step into the mark (this I knew not of, for I would have thought it foolish, illegal, and noways tending to proof because many men's feet are of the same size). This raising a blunder of theft upon the man and proving nothing, I am pityfully inveighed against for the officer's fault as making a man a thief without probation. Upon this, a brother of this man's and a tenant in the paroch, threatnes to summond me to the commissary court as a slanderer of his brother. And having been much abused by their tongues beside, I cause summond them all to the presbytry and the officer also for exhonouring me of his measures. (In the meantime I was jealous that the officer desyred either a trick upon me or on that man.) But so it fell out in the space of twenty days or a moneth, the space between their citation to the presbytry and the time that they should have compeared, that the man's brother who threatned me to the court dy'd of a flux ~~and~~ sent for me and disapprov'd himself; the officer dyed from home in twenty-four hours' space of a cholick; and the man who was jealousd from that time hath lived upon charity for the most part. I trembled at this seeming resistent of providence and was grieved for their sakes thus dealt with and for whom I had not been wanting to pray that the Lord would forgive them their injuriousness to me.

Other troubles I met with as having both my private discourses and publick doctrine wickedly and falsly traduced, which the Lord also resented upon the traducers as also the irreverent and disdainful upbraids of some, I found, tho' with grief for their sakes, that praying for them heaped coals of fire upon their head,⁴⁶ both coals of conviction and chastisement unto their suitable carriage afterwards.

⁴⁶ Proverbs 25:22; Romans 12:20.

In the next place, in the space of these three years, tho' I found the people generally very ignorant, contentious among themselves, and in their neighbourheads ill-natured to a degree, and that severals of age both unmarried and married had no letters and that many worshiped not God in their families at leist by prayer, I prevailed with severals of foresaid age and circumstances to learn to read to keep family worship to be more calm and gently. They grew tollerably in knowledge, and in a word, though these three years were the years of my maniest crosses, yet were they, I think, the years proportionably to their number of the greatest success of my ministry, for I found awakening exercises upon severall of them whom, when I have been visiting, have been mightily importunate to hold me and longer [102r] hold me with their cases of conscience, which were both weighty in their nature and upon their exercised souls.

In the period of time I preached all the personal experience of the way of God towards my soul⁴⁷ that I could canvass, yet by the inquiry and sentiments of the elders I could not find the congregation disposed and suitably inclined for the celebration of Lord's holy supper and so [⁴⁸].

1697 May 1697 I went in mission to the north in Aberdeen and Bamff shires for the space of a quarter of a year, in which piece of peregrination the following providences are observable. 1st, I went off in much weakness and indisposition of body (throw a dysentery which continued with me several weeks, yea most part of my time of peregrination). Besides, the first day I went off, and taking lodging in a gentleman's house betwixt and Edinburgh, I contracted such a hoarseness I could not speak a word audible, which was accompanied with a pain in my head. This distracted my thoughts whither to go forward or turn back. Notwithstanding leist it should be constructed faintnes, I attempt thro' to Kinghorn under all my indispositions, save my hoarseness and headach abateing a little, which encouraged me a little to go on in my company, which was refreshing indeed and comfortable to me. So I arrived on Saturday at Aberdeen and was enabled to preach on the Sabbath immediately following. From this and the like that I have many times been trysted with I observe that ever discouragement should not get leave to cease to the obstruction of duty. I was very valetudinary all along my peregrination but being posted between the Old and New Towns and nigh them for a good space I had the advantage of a most discreet host with whom I lodged. When I went to the shire and town of Bamff

⁴⁷ cf. the title of Agnes Paton's composition, 'The Way of God with my Soul', in *WLW*, 354.

⁴⁸ Space left in MS, to the extent of a quarter of a line. Perhaps he had intended to write something like: 'I decided to delay it until such time ...' in which case one may compare with Thomas Hog who 'did not dispense that ordinance [Lord's supper] for several years after he was settled minister at Kiltearn'. *Memoirs of the Life of Mr Thomas Hog*, in *Memoirs of Mrs William Veitch &c.*, 95.

where I took up my quarters upon Saturdays, I was seized with a violent cholick accompanied with incessant purging and vomiting for the space of twelve hours so as I could not probably have held out as long with life, yet it pleased God to recover me so far against the bells ringing Sabbath morning that I was inabled to preach. I find the people all along in the north country of a discreet and sturdy temper, tractable and docile and singularly respectful to ministers carrying themselves right, and that they only stand in need of a faithful and pious ministry, which I think they are ready enough to imbrace if left to their liberty without the influence of their masters and superiours who have them greatly under their reverence, and who for most part are tenacious of their episcopal principles and yet discreet to presbyterian ministers and attend upon the ordinances of their ministration; from which I see clearly that without stickle in conscience they can live under presbytry and want prelacy, tho' they affect the latter most.

I remark that the Christians in these places that are really so are also eminently so. A certain gentlewoman in the New Town by hearing me preach upon the signs of a beliver's perfect peace from Isaiah 26:3 was stirred unto a sad lamentable exercise of soul going near to despair, in as much as from that time she deserted publick hearing, and gradually, her exercise increasing, she was driven from secret prayer, reading, family exercise, her husband's marriage bed, the care of the family, the fellowship of her friends, and all others and from necessary food. The nature of hir exercise was her confirmed jealousy that all the former peace she enjoy'd was but a false peace and now she could attain to no true grounds of peace. In this case was she eight or nine weeks unknown to me till by providence being informed, I and another brother resolved to go and visit see her, which we did. And the first thing we attempted, to which her friends bare good hand, was to have her forth to take a walk in the open air, which with great difficulty and long pleading, with incessant importunity she yeilded to. So when we were all gone out seven or eight in company she took me up, of which I was very glad; and asking her of the time and occasion whereupon she fell in trouble she told me roundly upon hearing my sermon (being the first I preached in these northern part and in the New Kirk in the New Town). This made me indeed the more concerned with her case, and so going throw all the p[—]⁴⁹ of her exercise it pleased God to assist me for her comfort and to draw her to a promise to a present falling to all duties, which she had suspended especially to publick hearing: which accordingly she did, having next Lord's day come to hear in the Old Town where I was preaching. I, having stayed but two or three weeks in the country after this, had not conveniency and occasion to see her again, only I heard that her delyvery

⁴⁹ might be 'parts'.

continued. She was a gentlewoman of good birth and education, credit and respect, and equally matched.

In my passage betwixt King[h]orn and Leith homeward I entred into ane open boat under a storm of such present violence as all the strength of men with difficulty held her too till the passengers got in. Seing others passing I ventur'd also, under danger of the character of a common coward. So it was the storm increased and the winds much contrary; in a word, we were all in such hazard as it was needfull to be linked in one another's armes under hazard of being shaken out of the boat which always [102v] lipped⁵⁰ with the sea and sometimes dipped, the top of the mast touching the waves, so as the seamen were quite struck dumb, which was a sad sign, and yet a great mercy they were not roaring out their ordinary blasphemies: not one word out of one of their heads, but once one of them says, 'God be our pilot, and we will win safe to land'. I looked as certainly for death as ever I did or think could do. I did in my heart and meditation betake me to God with serious thoughts thereof taking good night with my family, flock, and all this present world. Yet it pleased God, when we came under the shelter shadow of the land and town of Leith from which the winds blew over us, on a sudden it is a calm upon our vessel and we arrive safe to land, upon which remarkable and dangerous providence I had the following reflection afterwards:

O happy and comfortable haven and harbour that received me into thy lee bosom from the fierceness of the roaring waters and rolling waves, each of which was as ane overwhelming mountain threatening my overthrow into the depths, as if these could not have sucked me down without violent pressure of weight laid upon me. Happy haven but happier dry land that receives me in perfect shelter (for I might have dropped down in stepping out from my wooden tent upon the step of the harbour), perfect shelter, alas! alas! I must correct myself for when I consider what is betwixt me and death now my security is no better than in the seas. Upon the seas I had a strong board of timber betwixt me and death. Now I have only a weak tabernacle of clay, a frail body of perishing flesh betwixt me and it, a tabernacle little stronger than a snail cap obvious to crushing by the tread of every foot that passeth by. Where is my security, then? Certainly, certainly it is not on the dry land more than in the seas but in the God that made both and to whom night and day, sea and dry land, are all one. Why then shall I not be as mindful of death upon dry land as upon rough seas, seeing a little stone upon land awaiting upon the foot of my tabernacle may fetch it a fall to its ruins as well as the rough seas can swallow it up out of sight?

⁵⁰ rose and fell with the waves.

1698. June 1698 I set about to celebrate the Lord's holy supper. After this work effectually intended, it is ushered in with a very strange and wonderful providence. A poor woman whose husband maintained himself and her by what shift he could make with a horse, the horse dying, the woman falls in dreadful despair of dayly bread. I am sent for upon a day being the first time I heard of her case, and with me was in providence another brother, a minister, so we went together, and see the woman in a fitt exactly resembling the demoniacks in the gospel.⁵¹ She is sitting upon the ground with her hands bound which of necessity was done to keep her from doing violence to herself; she is roaring and gaping, frowning, foaming, and belching forth language of dreadful despair; she is tossing her head from side to side indeavouring to knock herself dead, but she is set at distance from the wall. Whenever she sees us ministers she cries out with terrible roarings, 'What have ye to do with me? Are ye come here to pray for me? Ye need not pray for me, for I'll be damned', to this or the like purpose. In the meantime we were informed that before this she had attempted several times to dispatch herself both by rope and water. That minister, among other persons questions, proposed to her in her desperate fitt, 'What! will ye not be prayed for? will ye deny God (which was unhappily proposed as will afterwards appear)?' 'Yea', says she, 'I deny God. I have nothing adoe with him, nor he with me, to the purpose'.

After some time speaking to her I imploy the brother to pray, all the time of which prayer she roared and belched blasphemies. After this I took her up in discourse a little, in meekness, and asked her if she would calmly converse with me, and if she would desire me to pray for her. She gave way to the motion. So I understand the cause of her sad condition as is above said. I find also that she had deserted the duties of reading and praying, which I know she practised habitually, being a woman of a blameless conversation, well-meaning and not ignorant. I did not find her conscience troubled with sin aither in the general or in particular, but that she was quite desperate of present and future life.

In the meantime before she was put into the bed, the abovesaid person asked what she would do if left to her liberty. She said she would go drown herself: 'wel', says he, 'go your way and try it', to which, with other neighbours all designing to attend her, gave way. So out she gets, her hands being loosed, which she was very desirous of, having nothing on her but her smock and a little petticoat, if she had that, and outruns the whole company, tho' ane old failed woman, to the waterside. The forsaid minister, tho' a young and nimble man, scarce being able to uphold with her, the rest stragling behind, yet winning at her seasonably and the rest coming up he says, 'Now will you drown yourself?' 'Indeed,

⁵¹ Mark 5.

yes', says she, 'if you will ~~come~~ and give me leave'. 'I', says he, 'I shall help you', so he ducks her well in a pool all over [103r] and brings her out again as desirous to be drowned as ever. However, we bring her home and put her abed and then began I to speak to her as above, and told her this tentation was of the devil, and that all along her case he is sorely shooting at her, and hath got a great deal of advantage in prevailing with her to forsake these duties in the exercise of which she ought to have kept near God.

So labouring to convince her that God had yet love to her in so much as he had prevented Sathan's indeavours to stirr her up to destroy herself, only she must not gratify Satan any more in giving up with duty (this I think was upon Fryday), so she calmed very much and quietly heard me pray, and afterwards conversed soberly, composed herself and lay still, having promised to fall to reading and praying again. So I left her that night, went and saw her upon the morrow and found her calm and sensible, still and well-resolved. She ask'd me if she should come to church, the morrow being the Sabbath. 'By all means', say I, 'for your case will certainly be noised, yet ye must not gratify Sathan, to stay away because of shame that ye should have been in such a condition'. She promised to come and accordingly came and carried well as she also did thro' the most part of the following week.

She comes to church next Sabbath, which was immediatly before the communion. When I enter the church upon first sight of me, she cries and roars out in a demoniack-like way and naming me by my name, 'M. H., M. H., what are you going to do? See that you do not pray for me. I have been an unworthy communicant and am a damned soul'. Thus she continued a good while to the astonishment of the whole congregation that were deeply and universally affected so as the place was Bochim indeed. After speaking to her I could not git her silenced. At length the elders approach to me in the pulpit advising to remove her that the worship might no more be disturbed. I replied, 'If we could believe, the prayer of faith might do much', and so I suffered her to stay still, and she became silent till in mids of the first prayer where I took in her case she cried thrice out in end with great violence, 'M. H., M. H., pray not for me for God will not hear you', and then held her peace. Prayer being ended I open my Bible to read the lecture, at which she begins and makes a terrible roaring and refuses to keep silence untill I did in a most solemn and devout manner charge her in the name of Jesus Christ my master to be silent and make no disturbance in his house; upon this she becomes intirely silent and from a place nigh the door where she was sitting she comes creeping in by the foot of the pulpit and hears composedly all the forenoon. In the last prayer as I was taking in her case again she cried out once, 'M. H., pray loud for me and the Lord hear you', and never word more all that day, and became well settled all the next week till the

communion was over. She was so well settled that some would have been clear to admitt her to the sacrament, but which was not done, being hard to venture. A week or some few⁵² after the sacrament she becomes as desperate as ever, refuses to work, refuses to rise out of her bed, lyes still night and day, if she be not drawn out, calls for nather meat nor drink, eats none except it be set down before her bedstock. She becomes loathsome in her bed, troublesome to all her neighbours, vexing to her husband, and tho' she is never suffered to want all things promised her needfull for her through bearing by the help of the session and private Christians, yet nothing gives her encouragement nor hinders her still to cry out and prophesie her starving. Nather these promises nor spiritual discourse from the Word and promises of God avail upon her. I then advised to deal sharply with her and beat her to her distaff and spindle, which had some but little effect. Sometimes I threatened to cause take her to a correction house, which was the most formidable of anything to her. But she would not believe that I would have accession to or suffer that, and so under this threatening grew secure. At length I took her into my family, caused my wife hold her in work. I myself prayed with her and caused her to pray, spoke to her often in private, and thus dealt with her the space of fourteen days. She was tolerably plyable in our presence but in our absence insisted on her old tone, grew worse, and was sent home again and grew as bad as ever. Last of all I intimate to her that we will put her out of the paroch that she may try who will do better for her. At this she bore a mighty reluctancy, crying out that she would never leave her own house. We tollerated her a while longer, and held a parochial fast by the session's appointment upon the account of her case chiefly, which she attended in the church, rising up very composedly upon her feet at my call to her, in which posture I applyed to her the doctrine both of the lecture, which was from Mark 6:24 to the end, and the sermon, which was concerning faith and dependance upon God in Christ Jesus in all cases and for all things. After this she is soberer a while, but relapsed again as bad as ever. So as the neighbourhood and session being exceedingly burdened become weary of her, and the session [103v] conclude to have a man to take her away upon horseback and sett her in amongst her natural relations wherof she had severals in the moorland, and these honest and opulent. After which we left no access to her to return hither again, but so it was that four or five able men and women had much adoe to draw her out of her bed and to get on cloaths on her, so stupendously strong she was and of necessity was she bound in her hands and tyed to a strong man's coast⁵³ upon horseback. And now the space near of two years are exhausted. Having continued in her bad condition among her

⁵² days or weeks?

⁵³ side of the body.

friends for more than half a year who were very kind and alluring to her, at length it pleased God to deliver her perfectly from her sad captivity under Satan. She comes and sees me and thanks me for the care I took of her and gave me a very sensible deduction of all the sad circumstances of her sad by-past condition as they are here narrated and much more, for the sixth part is not hear. Sorrowing deeply and with tears that [she] should have provoked God so to desert her so much to his dishonour and her soul's prejudice, but most of all with horror and deep amazment, she laments that she should have denyde God and withall prayed that God would forgive that minister that asked such a question at a poor woman in madness and despair. She was very affected upon the whole, but especially for that which is truly exercising unto her. She continues in perfect delivery to this day.

1699. Follows some observations of providence concerning my ministry since March [16]94 that I entred hereunto till May 1701, including the years of the dearth.

1st, the Lord for most part furnished me with suitable matter in lecturing and preaching as it had been specially calculated to the times and seasons of the various afflicting providences as they fell out, and it is the more remarkable that such matter arose from continued and fixed place of lecturing and preaching pitched upon before the hand.

2ly, whereas sometimes I have been led from the Word and text under my consideration to be right positive, tho' no even down in a prophetick way, to assert for the future, it hath been so often confirmed by providence as I was led to preach. Amongst particular instances that might be given, this is one. Upon a fast day upon the account of the harvest from Amos 8:1-2, I was positively led to express that with allusion to the basket of summer fruits only seen by the prophet, that all we should likely receive of the present cropt upon the ground (which was very plentiful) should be a sight of it, and alas, so it fell out to be sadly blasted with frost and mildew, and followed with a grievous death death by scarcity.

3ly, I have all moral ground to believe that the Lord hath converted some and confirmed others by my ministry, tho' I fear they are few.

4to, there are many proficients in knowledge sensibly and of these some young ones eminently so, others too many nothing proficient either in knowledge or practise but rather hardened, tho' close attenders upon ordinances which makes a wonder of judgment; others who have increased in knowledge increase in pride.

5to, some I have found incredibly ignorant of precious Christ, and some who have dyed absolutely ignorant of him, and yet freighted full of vain hopes of eternal life, being so bottomed upon their own righteousness and outward blameless life that there was no reaching them

in the le[a]st with a conviction of their woeful state by nature, nor possibility to raise in them the le[a]st fear of hell or doubt of salvation.

6ly, of these who have dyed in ripe years (as for young ones, some of them upon deathbed of nine or ten years of age, have had serious seeming conviction of sin and was in breathings after Christ, tho' leaving the judgment to the Lord), there have but few dyed apparently in the Lord, fewer comfortably, but very few with assurance.

7ly, I have been generally more weighted and perturbed with preaching at home, both in body and mind, than ever I was abroad, tho' several times under more oppressive circumstances and inconveniences abroad than at home.

8ly, I have always, tho' no in the same variety of measure, been assisted by the Lord in my publick ministry, in exceeding weakness many a times made strong, and alwise strongest in the Lord when most confident in him and diffident and weak everyday in myself. I have many times have had extraordinary assistance when (thro' bodily sicknesses and infirmities) altogether unprepared in study and unable in body. I have many times been carried over my studies to unpremeditated matter, and that hath fallen out native unstrained and much more edifying than what was studied. I have several times—even at solemn occasions—preached *ex tempore*, upon ne[104r]cessity of others imployed disappointing, which I think every minister of Christ is called to venture on in the master's strength, when extraordinarily called to it and a flock gathered.

9ly, from year to year successively there have not been wanting particular bad instruments of discouragement to my ministry, and successively by providence either removed by transportation to another place, by death, or were brought under convincing providences. Several instances follow.

1st, M. M. was a great back foe and evilspeaker and whisperer, which was assured to me with a caution by Mr. I. B, minister at W. and I. M. She was soon removed out of the paroch by wedlock.

T. M. belyed my doctrine sordidly, and my private discourse maliciously and wickedly, even down contrary to the truth. So it fell out that he was disappointed of his greatest worldly expectation, removed to forraign kingdoms, alas, in a destitute enough case and condition.

I. H., contumacious to the session and presbytery even unto a process of excommunication, led so far as to be once prayed for in publick in order thereto, was present that day in church and heard the publick solemn and separate prayer for him. Presently after prayer he stood up and spoke with great relentment [yielding] so as he became subject unto the sisting [stay] of the process. The providence that followed to this poor man was the remarkable and extraordinary blasting of his crops, the death of his wife, who was a great help to the familie's maintenance, with that

odd and unchristian treatment he met within rude men poinding⁵⁴ his house while his wife was a corps.

I. Y. in my hearing did most bitterly in the Divel's name and in the sanctuary imprecate against I. N. Very shortly after he took sickness, lay half a year, many times at the point of death.

J. B., who behaved very haughtily, and began to disfrequent ordinances and to be much dreaded of adultery, dyed abroad by water in strange and pitiful circumstances, having had the space of two hours upon the top mast of the litle ship to repent in before he was swallowed up of the storm. The pitiful circumstances that were that he was seen of men but without their reach and help. Many other instances might be remarked but these suffice to warn every soul of man to a right improvement of the gospel, and to beware of discouraging the same and the labourers therewith. There are two particular beacons that serve to be warnings to ruleing elders in particular. 1st, J. W., a ruling elder in the place, after he was justly set off[f] by the session for miscarriages, God left him to further sinning to steal away his goods to the defrauding of many country creditors, tho' he had abundance among his hands both to live upon and to satisfy his master and other creditors. Having transported a good sum of mon[e]y to England with him, soon spent it and dyed desolate and in a begging condition. 2nd, I. P., who out of pride and ambition refused to performe his assigned part of the service of the holy table of the Lord, except he got the elements of bread to carry in (tho' he gave his voluntary vote to another for that piece of service), was shortly after visited by death, his family broken and reduced to low condition and particularly his eldest son to beggery and a very miserable death, cast from hand to hand even among friends and deserted of all, litle to their praise indeed, especially being professors of religion.

Follow some notes of special providence &c.

1699. Upon Fryday night at ten of the clock the tenth of February 1699 as I was taking a dropped egg, a spate of difluction surprizingly encountring with the vinegar in the spoon so overmastered my lungs that there was not a hair's breadth betwixt me and death in humane appearance; so vehement was this oppression that my wife and others about me are at the outcry. But it pleased the Lord to revive me. I was at another time after that no less indangered by a litle salt upon the bottom of my spoon, which my breath drew in on a suddain putting me in the like jeopardy. I have often beside these instances been in the like danger by the vehement and plentiful pituitous difluctions coming down upon me in my sleep. I find these providences had a sweet and useful tendency

⁵⁴ 'poind', seize, as in the action of a creditor.

for my spiritual advantage, to make me mindfull of death, and however little in proportion to what I ought, I have been bettered this way, yet I think I was *dayly* thereby trained to dayly habitual intertainment of the thoughts of death, and particularly every night when laid in bed to suppose truely it might be the last night, and whereas before I was very loath to think upon a surprising and suddain death either by night or by day sleeping or awaking, yet now I have thro' grace attained to a full submission to such a dispensation provideing the Lord shall not come upon me unready and unprepared. I have also resolved to be more painful in finishing my Christian and ministerial course, to be mortified to a name and savoury memory upon earth which is oftimes burried by uncharitable persons under the rubbish of ane untime[104v]ly death, to be mortify'd to my family and concerns thereof, to die daily, and to judge soberly and charitably of others visited with suddain chastiments from the Lord.

Aprile 8th following I and my family are trysted with a very alarming providence, about ten a'clock in the night in time of family worship, viz. the reading of the chapter, a heathery trufft, blazing up in the chimney and taking hold of some timber within the brace, streams up to the top of the lumb⁵⁵ like a fiery stream of brimstone, vents out upon the roof in great abundance, communicats itself to another lumb and brace, to the apparent and visible danger of utter upburning the house. Upon present scaling of the house by the means we could use ourselves and cleansing down the lumbs, it pleased God to prevent all skaith.

The special remarks under this providence are: the night was calm without a puff of wind, tho' a house for scituation seldom free; my wife, it being but the first time of her uprising from childbed, lamentably crying out, and seized by the fright, with a great pain in her back, and yet nothing prejudged; myself, tho' very timorous upon household conflagration, yet wonderfully strengthened and composed. But the principal remark here is that for some space before I have been *specially* frequently prompted and concerned in prayer more than ordinarily that the Lord would preserve not only my family but particularly my house and habitation; where I note that the Lord disposes his people to particular suits and petitions, correspondent to future providences foreseen by himself. The use of this I indeavoured to study was to be denyde to a convenient habitation upon earth, to be sensible of my deserving at the Lord's hand, even to be burnt out of house and harbour as being but little of my desert whom God might have lodged in everlasting and unquenchable flames, to be thankfull to God for hearing of prayer in preserving me, my house, and family, to serve the Lord with fear and to rejoice with trembling, to feed in fear, and to fear always, to check the

⁵⁵ a wooden smoke vent suspended over the fireplace.

pride and pleasure of ane earthly house, and to be instant with God for a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

Since I began to come more frail and valetudinary the Lord hath made the study of preaching much more easy, and my memory in order thereto much more strong and tenacious so that I am eased of the burden of writing in preaching which I was wont to do liberally and especially for my memorie's cause, and which was very weighty to my weak body. It is to me a remark of great praise that, whereas formerly when any good and suitable thoughts occurred to me, whither when walking, riding, or in my bed waking, my memory could never retain them till I had occasion to note them down, and that behoved to be shortly after. Now in my weakness I scarce know what it is to forget, tho' I write not and that for a good space of time, as also for most part and ordinary I write none but bare heads⁵⁶ and these often no till after they are preached, being helped of the Lord to make all inlargement in my mind and carrie to the pulpit in my memory—I wish I could always say, in my heart, for there is a great difference.

4ly, prayer I have observed to be often heard, and that most literally, and that in all the circumstances thereof and in every matter of prayer. If it be asked how it shall be discerned whither the thing prayed for comming to pass be the native effect of prayer and not of providence also, so as that the matter would have come to pass however, tho' there had been no prayer for it; I answer, the praying person may take it to be the former when the thing asked is according to the Word of God; when he is put up to the duty by the Spirit of God giving inlargement of heart to ask; when he praises as much and cheerfully as he prayed for the mercy earnestly; when he remembers the mercies and improves them suitably for God's glory; when he esteems the mercy equally in possession as before the hand in hope and desire; and when he is encouraged more and more to the duty of prayer and stirred up theirto from the sense of mercies received.

Ag [August] 7th, 1702. In the time of morning exercise, viz. singing, something or other, stone or sclate, with a loud report and surprise flies out of the fire upon mine eye with great violence, and both contused it and burnt it sore. The special mercy was that mine eye was shut in the interim, and so my sight was not prejudged. The providence was the more remarkable of something antecedent and something consequent unto it. That which preceeded was being trysted and having promised a day or two before this day to go and visit ane exercised woman in deep exercise and near unto despair. I am not able for the indisposition of mine eye. That which was consequent was ane apprehension of mine that my not keeping tryst to go see her might be made a handle by Satan to

⁵⁶ headings.

increase her exercises, make hir believe that God is unconcerned with her and does not think her worthy of a visit from a messenger in his name. This apprehension of mind forwarded me the next day, the Saturnsday, and notwithstanding the indisposition of mine eye, which must be bound up, to travel two miles of way to go and see her. And when I see her I find my apprehension exactly fulfilled, and she ready to think that I had met with that preceeding dispensation upon her account to keep me away from her. After two hours converse I find her as far overrun with despair almost as Spira,⁵⁷ except it pleased God to recover her ease. Her case was absolute despair of salvation; the cause she named—because she had eaten and drunk to damnation at the Lord's table, having gone to the table under great doubts and after many struggles in her mind, prompting her forward and driving her back from the table. At length, she, approaching in perfect [105r] doubting, sat down and ate and drank altogether void of faith. The exercise came this length to drive her from secret prayer, from family worship, from her master's dark,⁵⁸ from her necessary food; and from publick ordinances; her sleep forsook her, and [she] was haunted with audible voices in the night~~mare~~time and in the dark, and with suggestions of Sathan as if she had wished for her only relief that Christ Jesus had never been and then she could not have been in danger of damnation for eating and drinking his body and blood unworthily.⁵⁹ After conversing with her, for assistance wherein I had prayed secretly, I leave her much quieted, having found by questioning that she could not get these things refused, viz. that the authority of Christ's command obliged her to the duty, that tho' she had not faith in exercise, nor brokenness of heart, yet the want thereof was her grief and she thought to obtain them at the ordinance, and tho' she did not find

⁵⁷ Francis Spira 'died in Cittadella in Northern Italy in 1548, thinking himself damned. Six months before, during an investigation by the Inquisition, this provincial lawyer had renounced his earlier beliefs in salvation by faith. His dramatic deathbed scene became the most famous story of the Italian Reformation, widely used as an awful warning to those tempted to give up their beliefs or to keep silent about them'. M. A. Overell, 'The Exploitation of Francesco Spiera', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xxvi (1995), 619. See also Nathaniel Bacon, *A Relation of the Fearful Estate of Francis Spira* (London, 1638ff; published in Edinburgh in 1675 and Glasgow in 1695); Thomas Beard, *The Theatre of God's Judgements* (London, 1631; first pub. 1597), 73-4. References to Spira are found also in Murray, below, p. 300; and West, *Memoirs*, 20; and in New England, Betty Sewall, in *The Diary of Samuel Sewall 1674-1729*, 2 vols; ed. M. H. Thomas (New York, 1973), i, 348; ref. in E. S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*, new edn (New York, 1966), 93. Also in Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert: Discovering the small number of true believers, and the great difficulty of saving conversion* (London, 1657), 39. This book was written by a minister in New England, published first in London in 1640, and frequently thereafter in London and in Scotland.

⁵⁸ A later hand has added a 'g' above the line. If this intends to correct 'dark' to 'darg', then the passage makes sense, 'darg' meaning a day's work.

⁵⁹ 1 Corinthians 11:29.

love to Christ Jesus in exercise yet she desired to love. And as to that blasphemous suggestion upon strict charge to her not to charge her own poor soul wrongously and unrighteously, I proposed and asked, 'Did ye wish Christ had not been?' She durst not say it was her wish, nor yet that she did approve the naked suggestion but was tortured by it and could not be quite of it. I thought I had ground to tell her that as I found the case thus was Satan's sin and not hers since she did no intertain the suggestion with any pleasure or assent but on the contrary abhorred it,⁶⁰ I exhorted and charged her to fall to duties again—reading, prayer, and joyning family worship, to fall to her work, take her food, converse with others, and in prayer to be instant with God to rebuke Sathan, to humble her heart by giving her a gospel repentance, and strength to fly to Christ with hearty protestation entered before the Lord against that blasphemous suggestion. I left her considerably quieted and resolved to take advice, and accordingly she came to church the following day being the Sabbath where she attended very diligently and perused her Bible in following the citations from scripture for my doctrine, which tho' from my stated ordinary text, yet the Lord so adapted to her case and with as much nativeness as might be from a text or doctrine as if both text and doctrine had been designedly studied to her case.

I thought to make a handle of this extraordinary and in a manner *ex tempore* help from the Lord as a special mean of her comfort next meeting, and upon so urging the same, being yet little comforted, she attributed the fitness of the doctrine and what I urged to her case rather to my designed industry than to any speciality of designing gracious providence. By this I understood she was not healed, and tho' she was never so ill again, yet having quit her service and gone to her friends without the bounds of my charge, she continued near two years ill and then came one [on] errand to acquaint me with her delivery. When I trace back her case and ask particularly how she came by the relief from this, that, or the other *thing* piece of sad condition and tentations whereof the sixth part I have not here mentioned, I found that she was punctually sensible of and remembred all her sad circumstances and gave as punctuall answers concerning the particular word of reading, preaching, prayer, or other means whereby her soul became gradually settled and her faith in Christ established, so that now she speaks with great chearfullness and great sense both of mercy and judgment and great assurance. Among other *dispensations* exhortations wherewith I dismissed her, I told her [that] of all persons she had ground to be chiefly humble, to beware of Sathan, that as before he laboured to depress her, so he do not now strive to exalt her and make her spiritually proud; and now indeed at writing hereof I find Sathan hath assaulted her by the other extream, being one of these that

⁶⁰ sentence interpolated from margin.

are taken off from the publick ministry of the church and become among the chief boasters and insulters against a gospel ministry by which I dar not doubt she had received conviction, conversion, confirmation, and consolation. Here every one may see the variety of Sathan's killing weapons whereby he endeavours to destroy the child of God.

Follow some instances of particular spiritual frames in sleep, in meditation, in prayer, in communicating, and in self-examination.

I begin with the most remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten instance of the most spiritual frame that ever I had awakening. It was upon a Sabbath morning in the moneth of A[u]gust, being under design to partake of the Lord's supper that day in a neighbouring congregation. My frame began in my sleep, in time of which I was sweetly and ravishingly exercised in my spirit about my Saviour's resurrection and Peter and John's emulous running to his grave⁶¹ and about all the rest of the circumstances of this according to the gospel history. I thought I was filled with a spirit of emulation and strong desires to get some manifestation of Jesus. Thus awakning about the dawning, my mind was impressed with such clear and lively ideas and representations of Christ as of a thing that mine eyes had seen and my hands handled. I leap quickly up, out of my bed, filled, cheared, and transported with joy in Christ, a joy it was sure exceedingly transcending all earthly joy in earthly things that ever I possessed; a joy which I would rather have for one moment rather than a lifetime of all uninterrupted carnal pleasures. *Experto crede.*⁶² My soul was greatly elevated to God in praise and 'thanks for his unspeakable gift',⁶³ and enlarged in prayer and petitioning to great faith. If ever, it was then that the north and south wind⁶⁴ of the Spirit of Jesus did blow upon my garden to the refreshing of my soul, the extracting of all my affections to him, and the upstirring his own graces in me as a feast to him of his own preparing, and as the means by which I was allowed to feast upon him. O how [105v] insipid are all things beside Christ now! O what a vanity in the abstract are all the world's profits, pleasures, honours, &c.! This frame lasted from the dawning of the morning till the beginning of the publick worship, and went along with every duty, both secret and in my family, and in converse in the way to the sanctuary, and I think I may say it was almost continued without interruption. I never had a frame that was so long in continuance and so uninterrupted. After

⁶¹ John 20:1-10.

⁶² 'Having experienced, believe!'

⁶³ 2 Corinthians 9:15.

⁶⁴ See the similar phrase in *Memoirs and Spiritual Exercises of Marion Shaw*, 115: 'O how much need of the north and south wind of the Spirit of God to blow upon us, for the life and power of our religion is very much decayed'.

the beginning of the publick work I became something heavy with sleep, but which I wrestled against what was possible, and found much of God that day, tho' the morning before the sacramental feast was the special feast time to me.

Another instance of a spiritual frame and in some respects more remarkable than the other and to me wonderful was a thing frequent to me in my sleep for several years together, i.e., I was wont in my sleep to be wonderfully transported with a celestial and heavenly joy in God and about spiritual things. I thought I had some sweet discoveries of God and divine things that I never had so much as the notion of before or such feeling impressions of the things I had knowen, as wholly affected me with a ~~spiritual~~ delight unspeakable and unconceivable pleasure. In the meantime, having mighty impulses to note and write down these things, I was wont to awaken with the same sweet sensations and rapturous delight for several minuts together resting on me and impelling me so as sometimes I have quickly got out of bed and upon my knees, naked as I was, and sometimes have been drawing to my pen and ink, but presently hereupon the pleasant vision left me in great damps, almost counterpoising my joy. I verily thought all the collected various pleasures and pomp of the world in the greatest degree imaginable by the most exquisitely carnal wit were nothing even in the point of sensation (as for the nature of the things, they are not to be mentioned without loathing and abhorrence) in comparison to this my joy. I would have thought it (with the three disciples upon the mount⁶⁵) a noble heaven never to be interrupted of such a dream. But how carnal and derogatory are my thoughts from that true heaven and joy of the excellent glory which must needs infinitely exceed an imaginary heaven by a creature in so sinfull a condition as I am. But what language to make of these nocturnal impressions and frames, I wot not. Sometimes I would fain believe them to be manifestations of God's love to me and his divine project to train up my thoughts and affections heavenward in a habitual holy frame; but the event does not answer this project⁶⁶ in any considerable degree. Sometimes again I think these impressions are trying dispensations of God, whither I would be exalted and puffed up. But neither was I suffered to be spiritually proud on that account nor did I reckon assurance of God's love one whit the more upon that because, 3ly, sometimes I think with myself, these impressions might be Satannical designs to put me in love with immediate ~~revelations~~ inspirations, and to carry me off the ordinary and plain way of God's manifesting himself, to expect him in an extraordinary manner. Whatever language or how manifold soever were the voices of these impressions, comparing events therewith I think

⁶⁵ Mark 9:2.

⁶⁶ These two words have been added in, and the former is unclear, hence conjectural.

one divine design hereof of it was to make my thoughts run more and more in a heavenly channel; and this end not being attained, as I have insinuate, the Lord quickly took another way, more by laying much personal affliction upon me in the moneth of February 1703, whereof more afterwards (quhich to this day continues but with gracious and precious intermissions and revivings). And yet for all this, tho' I am made more mindful, even dayly mindful, of death, and often attempting to sett my thoughts heavenward, yet it is with little or no satisfaction to me because of the dulness of my heart and affections. Tho' the duty be oft attempted, yet the manner is naught and my heart much plagued with wanderings and impertinent interruptions made by Sathan and my own imagination. 2ly, the Lord quickly sent off to glory and took home to himself two of my most eminently godly and familiar acquaintances in whom I could have had much confidence as eminent helpers of my joy with respect to a concern both with myself and family. And not only so, but after these three of my most eminently and evidently godly and dearest friends, my first born, who was a youth of most promising gifts and graces, and well now through his liberal arts and literature at schools and colledge, ten weeks after him a dear nephew of mine and a faithful eminent diligent and successful minister of Jesus Christ,⁶⁷ and about a quarter of year after this ane eminently pious, experienced, and aged mother-in-law—these beside the death of a second-born son, a child in whom mortality was swallowed up of life, having scarce tasted death in his departure: these, I say, I think the Lord sent before me (who was justly expecting to be foremost myself) to effectuate in me what these nocturnal impressions did not, viz., to train up my heart and thoughts more heavenward where my glorious Redeemer lives surrounded with innumerable angels and spirits of just men made perfect and the spirits of these named amongst others. After all, I have dayly matter of mourning and complaint before the Lord for great defectiveness of that heavenly frame that I do so much affect and that the Lord hath contributed so many means and providences to. I am in the mist and in the dark; I quite lose myself in these ocean depths of divine meditation and contemplation.

As to nocturnal frames in sleep, I find them various, sometimes sorrowfull, sometimes joyful and sometimes mixed, even as day frames in wakeing are. In one and the same night I have been variously exercised. On a particular night my first sleep was sweetly seasoned with joy all over. I thought I was communicating and it was very like communicating in heaven, but I cannot make words of it.⁶⁸ The same night in my second sleep I thought I [106r] heard the now glorified M. B., sometime upon

⁶⁷ This phrase about nephew and minister has no punctuation after 'mine', so I take it to be a description of one and the same person, i.e., a nephew who was a minister, John Bell.

⁶⁸ a common observation in presbyterian autobiography.

earth a shining minister of the gospel and my trusty friend and father, preaching and that in preaching he applyed his doctrine by way of reproof to me in some things, pointing to that place in the kirk where I was sitting and which application and reproof I took home to me as seasonable and justifiable.⁶⁹ Here was both matter of joy and grief, grief for guilt that it supposed and joy for a received conviction. Considering this was before communicating, one would think it should be taken as a divine warning that a penitential frame and taking with sin should be followed with sweet communion with God, for the comfort of the penitent and his living soul.

I have sometimes in the night sleep also been as much in the depths of sorrow as ever I was in the heights of joy. I have wakned frequently in a night and allways with deep and dreadfull impressions of God and these are also as far above my expression as the contrary passions of joy are. This frame I have had in the night before a fast day. And one would think in both these instances that the Spirit of God doth frame the soul in molds suitable to insueing and consequent duties.

I have never been so capable either of joy or sorrow nor so sensibly affected with the same ever in my life wakeing with respect to any manner of object as I have been sleeping or upon wakeing after sleep. My sorrow hath been non[e] such in sleep when dreaming that I was committing some wicked sin and my joy none such upon awaking and finding that it was but a dream and that I had no kind of propensity to the sin nor could observe any grounds of such a dream ~~and tho' I had not~~ ather from frame or disposition on the day before or from the predominant⁷⁰ or temperamental constitution of my nature. Whence I am ready to conclude that such dreams are more immediately from Sathan rather than the working of natural corruption, altho' also I grant if there were not corrupt nature in me susceptible of such corrupt imaginations, either sleeping or wakeing, Sathan could get no place, not for a moment in me.

Upon the whole, concerning night frames, I think it of great interest to pray to the watchman of Israel⁷¹ nightly for sanctify'd rest and sleep for his glory, as wel as for quiet rest for the refreshment of the body, and I am ready to attribute a sweet night frame in sleep to prayer as the means of obtaining it from God when it follows from prayer.

As to frames in meditation, I have long thought that it ought to be

⁶⁹ The word is divided at the right at the right margin and while 'able' is clear, the first part is only partially legible, and the first letter might be 'I'.

⁷⁰ Trail, *Letter*, 34: 'Keep your eye much upon your predominants, and upon the sin that doth most easily beset and overthrow you; for these may be the captain of your soul's enemies. More particularly, enquire whether any of these prevail over you, viz. doubting, misbelief, and calling almost all truths to question'.

⁷¹ Ezekiel 3:17, 33:17.

the stated dayly duty of a Christian as wel as prayer and reading, &c., if we consider either the nature of the duty or the practise of scripture and approven saints. As to the frames in this duty, they are various according to the variety of the subject matter of meditation. The variety of the subject raises various and suitable passions and affections in the mind. If I meditate upon the divine threatnings, curse of God, gospel woes, and self-guilt incurring all these, this must needs beget bitterness of the soul and the passion of grief and sorrow and fear. If upon the divine promises, the freedom and riches of the grace of God in Christ Jesus, this tends to excite—the beget the passions of joy and hope. If upon the evil of sin, whither in the nature or effects thereof, it excites hatred and aversion. If upon the beauty, sweetness, and excellency of holiness, it stirs up desire, love, delight. If upon the holy precepts of God, it will excite holy fear and awe of God in the soul against all sin. If upon the nature and person's word and various works and properties or attributes of God, these agreeably excite all the preceeding passions and affections with the answering passion of admiration. I can define this duty no otherwise than ane outgoing of the mind and thoughts after God and the things of God and man's soul in order to God's glory and the soul's good. Neither may it exclude a respect to the things of a present life if handled and exercised in a due and true subordination to God's glory; for in Isaac's going forth to meditate in the evening, Genesis 24:63, doubtles he had in his view the important matter of being comfortably matched in matrimony for the glory of God. When the mind and thought goes out after things past, it may be called reflection; when upon things present, speculation or contemplation; when upon things fature,⁷² consideration. When deepness of thoughtfulness affects the will and extracts direct addresses to God, it runs into ejaculation or mental prayer. When the soul is carried forth in a more immediate contemplative way toward God, then I quite lose myself in the ocean of his infinitness, and being sunk in the deepest silence I land in the deserts of stupendious admiration. As to mine own experience in this duty, I am as much and more difficulted to manage it to any satisfying purpose as any duty, and particularly most interrupted in it as my set times thereto. Upon this I am ready to conceive that Satan is a great enemy to this duty, and that therefore tho' there were no other reason, that it must be a very heavenly and profitable duty. I have been many times so interrupted that when I have set time apart for meditation, and that with reference and as preparation to insueing prayer, I have been necessitated to put myself immediatly in ane immediate praying posture to get the frame I was designing by meditation. My great difficulty is to get my thoughts continued in the right channel and my mind held to the object. This introduces me to

⁷² future.

frames in prayer.

As to praying frames.

Frames in prayer are various, as is already said upon other frames. But this I note alwise in my experience that the frame of the heart and affections goes exactly by the fixedness or unfixedness of the mind and [106v] thought upon God, so that upon observation of my frame gone down in duty I note exactly that it falls out in the very first moment of my mind's distraction from God, and that my heart continues dull and dead till I get my mind and thoughts of God recalled, and then forthwith my heart revives and my affections are again in sweet motion. In the time of one retirement to God I will find many interchanges of frames this way, but I alwise love to end with a suitable frame and when I find my spirits a little exhausting upon the whole, for the time I think it most eligible to leave off for that time. For this reason, when I observe and find my mind so confused with alien thoughts, as oftimes it is with me when attempting to pray, I find a necessity to break off before I be got into the duty with this one petition or the like with as much composedness and seriousness as I can: 'Lord, dispose my mind for this holy duty', and then I have no peace or quietness till I make another attempt to make good my putt thro' grace and it will be with success.

— This confusion of mind will happen to me in these cases: 1st, upon some business of worldly concern and importunately ingyring ~~upon me~~ itself upon me, notwithstanding of all endeavours used to bear it off; 2ly, upon occasion even of things, objects, and duties in themselves most proper, holy, and pertinent at other times bearing in upon me; 3ly, upon occasion of Satanical ingestions which I so term because I cannot discern from what hand or object in the world they come from beside, and because they are in such an extravagant and disorderly confusion and number as resembles to me a multitude of midges confusedly dancing thro' other and of which I cannot discern, pursue, or catch one by another; 4ly, upon occasion of angry passion raised upon injury ~~zeal~~ real or apparent done me. Ane angry frame of spirit is ill to go to God with, and yet oftimes I never got it cured till I went to prayer. When I thought I would first fain cool, as preparatory to prayer, yet I have been constrained first to pray, and in the exercise of that duty shame got my spirits sweetly calmed. Oft times I have got anger laid by meditation and consideration, but sometimes not without prayer once and again, nor till I got my heart brought up to a full forgiveness of the injury and heart reconciliation to the person; and then was I quiet and calm. In the meantime, since I judiciously and Christianly discerned betwixt good and evil, I never suffered 'the sun

to go down on my wrath' at any soul,⁷³ even upon the greatest injury. Nor could I be satisfied with myself till I got my heart wrought to pray to God for them cordially and sincerely.

I have many times found that a frame of spirit and motion wrought to prayer being neglected and slighted hath been justly visited by the Lord with desertion in the duty at another time and evidenced in great deadness.

I have often found a great averseness to this duty one way, and yet a pressure to it another way. But then I found I was rather drawn violently than gently led to the duty, and that I was dead cold in it.

I never was in a more lively frame than when my sins were in all their aggravations and circumstances were vively set before ~~me~~ [me?] and affected me most deeply, and then have I been most sensible of the oil of joy⁷⁴ powered into my soul when most soaked with sorrow. Upon these frames and in this duty especially it hath been that the assurance of God's love and reconciliation throw Christ Jesus hath often been born in upon me with a very great and refreshing gale of the Spirit of God blowing upon my soul, with his south⁷⁵ and warm air working up my faith in exercise to lay strong hold on Christ Jesus and eternal life thro' him. In the meantime I never had assurance in this sweet degree as a habit: but as a dainty priviledge now and then conferred upon me in my extremities and all the faith that I have for ordinary is as much gripping to Christ and his righteousness as keeps from the extremities of slavish fear and despair. Anything that I can call like assurance is manifested unto me in this also, viz. when I am much weighted with a body of death⁷⁶ and my particular predominant, the case I think I get is a heart to praise God with great hope that this shall go no farther than the grave, with a lively and joyfull hope that death shall be my outgate, and perfect my soul in holiness and lay my dust down in the grave in union with Christ, till the blessed resurrection. And O how sweetly doth that word ~~come~~ often come into my mind and with much longing, Psalm [17:15⁷⁷], 'As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with thy likeness'.⁷⁸

I never could get any comfort in prayer or any duty till, having got mine own righteousness absolutely, freely, and clearly renounced, I got as clear grips of Christ's, my heart cleaving closs to it with a greedy desire as ever it did to any lust at other times. Long ago I am fixed upon the righteousness of Christ and utterly cast at mine own and at all my duties,

⁷³ Ephesians 4:26.

⁷⁴ Isaiah 61:3.

⁷⁵ possibly a biblical allusion, e.g. Job 37:17.

⁷⁶ Romans 7:24.

⁷⁷ blank space in orig.

⁷⁸ conflation of GB and AV, but probably his own translation from Greek.

however most splendid or punctual as can consist with this under state. Yet I find a secret pleasure that the deceitfull heart doth feed upon in the exercise of duties rightly discharged, or, I would rather say, doth hanch⁷⁹ at like a fish playing with bate. But when it comes to a decision and a reflex act of the soul, the deceitfull heart is quite dung,⁸⁰ and Christ and his righteousness is only positively asserted, maintained, and adhered to in spight of all deadly [sic].

I have many a time ane hardened frame and ane unbelieving frame, and I find that they go inseparably together in my experience, so that when my heart is not actually broken or bursting with the sense of sin or sweetly meets with the sense of Christ's love, the only healing salve to a broken heart, neither is my faith in exercise, nor can I lay hold on Christ or the promises. I find then that there is ane unseparable chain of graces—faith works by love, and desire, love, and delight towards Christ are wrought up by faith.

With respect to a frame in publick prayer, I find that when the heart is enlarged towards God and [107r] the thoughts fixed upon him, then also words and expressions flow readily and sweetly and easily. But where there⁸¹ is more care and anxiety about getting expressions, there is a great ebb both of words and expressions, affections; and no wonder, for this care proceeds from faithlessness and a want of suitable impressions of and fixed thoughts on God. Upon this I resolve thro' the Lord's grace henceforth to be more concerned with God and mine own heart rather than with my words or the outward dress credit of their dress, for the suitableness of words and petitions are intirely to be trusted to the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of prayer, who wil not be wanting to his promise to all that trust in him.

I find a considerable difference betwixt my frames in family prayer and my frame in secret and in publick or in other company, being more ordinarily more lively affected in the three latter than in the former. I find it difficult to find out the reason of the difference, because for my frequent more deadness in my family I cannot alledge it to be a divine, supernatural restraint upon the account of the ungodliness of my family society. For I am obliged to have all charity for all the present members of my family having the grace of God. Nor can I say that my seeming liveliness in publick or other company above that of in my family at times flows from the activity of my carnal mind to gather together my its natural affections and acquired gifts into a combined force for obtaining credit and repute among men, and that because of my immediaty preceeding note, for I have found frame lost in seeking words, as I have

⁷⁹ snap voraciously.

⁸⁰ defeated.

⁸¹ A tentative reconstruction, as the top of the page has been cropped.

insinuated. Nor can I say but my frame in secret where God only is witness is more frequently lively than in all the other respects. As to the reason of the difference, God is a sovereign God and the gales of his Spirit he lets out and withholds at pleasure. Likely also my family and I, our mutual infirmities being best known amongst ourselves, may affect me with blushing and hardness at times. This also may be in it, that in the mornings I am sometimes hastned in duty, at night sometimes weak and weary. For remedy of this I have thought it duty to be more watchful against passionate and hastie anger, one of my great predominants, especially in my family, and sometimes among my brethren who, tho' far above me in gracious qualities, yet are subject to the like passions unto mutual irritation and jars which I pray God were more watched against in the ordinary judicatories of the church, and that pride and passion were less imputable to the holy ministry. I have thought it duty also in reproving my children and servants to do it with calmness and a word of God against their fault in my mouth, and this to have been the far more successful way to reclaim than the hasty and offensive way of passion and anger. But alas, the hasty way was most part readiest.

In this and in all other holy duties as reading, meditating, preaching, and praiseing, I have ordinarily a check immediatly upon the back thereof for something, yea many things amiss in them, either interveining wanderings, selfseeking, or fits of deadness. I alwise think with myself that the next duty shall amend the preceding, whither secret, family, or publick, and the Lord knows I affect sincerely and deeply to have it so; and tho' also I think I resolve it on my part and hope for it thro' grace in Christ by his Spirit's part, with a positive resting on divine assistance and as positive a rejection of mine own strength, yet I find so little amendment as to my frame that I wonder whence it proceeds. I am allways of the opinion that God is able and willing to give more grace, and therefore must lodge my shortcomings at the door of my secretly deceitfull heart that secretly rests upon mine own resolution more than upon the strength of Christ. Otherways I must conclude that a more growing desire of a frame obstructs the sense of any partial growths or amendment of frame, but I fear the deceitfulness of the heart is the principal cause, for surely there is an undermining faculty in the unrenewed part that counterfits faith and relyance on God in many cases, and imposes deceitfully upon the mind of man or judicious part of the soul to make him believe that he is believing and resting on Christ and divine strength, while he is secretly resting on his own resolution, verily, the superlative deceitfulness of the heart above all things. Jeremiah 17:9 is much spoken of, little notticed, far less diligently inquired into and smartingly felt even by all ranks of Christians. The mysteries of the deceitfull heart may be listed with these of Antichrist and Satan.

Concerning a communicating frame.

There is such an affinity betwixt all the graces of the Spirit of God and the duties of godliness and Christianity because they flow from that one spirit of holiness, that a communicating frame cannot be objectively distinguished from frames in praying, reading, or meditating.

Notwithstanding there are these things belonging hereunto in a peculiar manner—the frame antecedent to communicating, the frame concomitant, and the frame subsequent.

In my frame antecedent I include self-examination performed by time set apart for that end before the sacrament, and I discharge it after this manner: 1st, by revolving in my mind the whole catalogue of my more remarkable sins from my being six years of age, for which I endeavour to get my heart powered out to God, as also on the account of original sin inherent and imputed, at which I begin my [107v] self-examination⁸² before the Lord. 2ly, I particularly, with the help and consultation of my diery, examine that⁸³ space of my life spent betwixt and my next, immediately preceding communicating, seeing wherein I have come short of my resolutions pointedly made, for which I endeavour to humble my soul before the Lord, to fly to Christ the Redeemer for pardon and in his strength take on new vows; seeing also wherein I have been helped throw grace to be forthcoming in my vows as the matter of my praise and thanks to God. 3ly, I consider what are my spiritual personal wants to be supplied and lusts to be mortified. 4ly, I consider the circumstances and case of my family, paroch, and natural friends, minding them before the Lord. 5ly, I renew my covenant with God by subscription, urging the Lord upon his promises that I may find and have made good to me the riches of his covenant in Christ Jesus my crucify'd Saviour, and that I may have a renewed seal of the same in the sacrament, and find Christ to be true food and nourishment to my soul, and that all the graces of the Spirit of God may be in actual exercise and my soul in a sweet and swift motion after precious Christ, to have my understanding clear to take him up crucify'd, my faith active to lay hold on, cleave to, and feed on him, to draw from him all spiritual influences, more and more spiritual life, strength, sap, nourishment, comfort thro' the virtue and merit of his death. Lastly, in all this I begin with prayer, intermingle prayer, and conclude with it.

1702. I give here an instance or two for example of self-examination, wherein are mixed some soliloquies and reflections.

Upon occasion of the sacrament to be administer'd in my paroch July

⁸² cropped page.

⁸³ 'th' crossed out and the abbreviation 'y' written in, perhaps by the same hand at a different time, given the ink.

3d [1702],⁸⁴ I renew covenant with God by solemn subscription, but alas, how dead am I, even more than ever I observed upon such an occasion and performance. But I will wait for quickning, and study to hold near the fountain of life thro' grace. Even so, Lord, help me to draw water out of the wells of salvation (especially of the solemn sacramental occasion) so as my soul may be refreshed, quickned, watered, and cherished.

I have not been so busy with God before this ensuing communion as I think I was before the last, nor have had so much of his sensible presence.

I think also my first and last thoughts at morning rising and night downlying are not so frequent and fervent about God as I sometimes have found.

Yet the Lord continues to me more and more of the spirit of meekness especially in my publick ministration.

I have attained but little or nothing in my late resolution of being more spiritual in my family, and but little mended therein in my ordinary converse.

My zeal for God is but little grown, yet I think a little more than before, as also I am more concerned about the state of the land and that God would prevent publick judgments and preserve his church in the hollow of his hand.

I am yet greatly defective in universal spirituality.

I observe since last communicating that tho' I dar not deny that for most ordinary all my lusts and predominants are something more mortified and my faith a little more increased, yet some one or other of my predominants are readily stirring and that they do so by turns—as one stickles and is beat down thro' the help of grace and by prayer, another will start up for a season.

I have not followed out my resolution of set private fasting as I should have done, but a weak and infirm body is partly the cause. Nor have I obeyed my own doctrine as becomes in my practise, my contrary lusts having contended much against me under the doctrine that was against them.

I am still much troubled with wandering of mind and desire, and with the entertaining of extravagant imaginations and foolish projecting and forecasting things to come, or that an improbable or impossible one, without edification.

I am also much troubled still with inward boilings of passions, surges of pride, the motions of sin, world, cares and fears, deadness, formality, grains of hypocrisie, a great shrinking upon forecasting of the cross of Christ, persecution, imprisonment, poverty, death, &c. Yet have I reason to bless the Lord for victories over all these now and then, and for a

⁸⁴ Looks like 1708 in MS, but this makes no sense.

constant disallowance of them in my heart before the Lord, and for his quieting word and promise of giving grace to help in time of need.

Now I need from the Lord remedy against all these evils, viz. mortyfing and quickning grace, more abundance both of the gifts and graces of his Spirit to fitt me more and more for the duties both of my Christian and ministerial calling, viz. wisdom, knowledge, prudence, understanding, meekness, gentleness, humility, patience, endurance, longsufferance, forbearance, faith, love, charity, hope, zeal, fervency, and frequency in perusing, meditating, and observing the Word of God, and to be more and more given to prayer, as also a greater gift of holy extemporary discoursing, and an accomodate faculty to edify in all companies. Lord, Lord, give me these, because for these I covenant and indent of new with the[e], as also for more com[108r]munion and fellowship with the[e], O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and for grace to make my calling and election sure.

I have bestowed large labour and time upon this people before this communion, ensueing both in weekly preaching, examination, visiting, and receiving visits, and have been much assisted of God to stirr them up to the work. Lord, make my poor labours successful, and not a testimony against them.

1702. July 22nd in self-examination after the communion. When I reflect upon the whole publick work I never observed more of the Lord's help and assistance to my reverend and dear brethren and fellow labourers than at this time; their doctrines and frames having been seasonable, suitable, powerful, and convincing, nor have I seen this people ever more affected, nor any people more affected, than they at this time.

The Lord also assisted poor me, I think more than ever. I will never forget the weeping after Christ wherewith the work was begun in the morning preface upon the fast day, and continued in a sweet smothered frame and audible outcryings.

I dare not but bless God for anything of a personal frame and sense of God's goodness and of Christ my Lord's liberality to my soul. Yet the week after, alas, [I] fell dead and unwatchfull unto indulging my predominant, but reduced again this week to review the work of God and to return to my watch.

I was fully resolved for sermon upon Sabbath next following the communion to have preached upon my ordinary text, 2 Peter 1:10, 'Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to give make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall', as being suitable after the occasion. But as I was begun in secret prayer to beg divine assistance in my study upon the said text, the word 'Bochim' was forcibly induced upon my mind so as I could not shut it off. Whereupon taking this to be the Lord's suggestion of a text to me, I pitched thereupon, viz. Judges 2:5, 'And they called the name of that

place Bochim', that is 'weeping', 'and they sacrificed there unto the Lord'.

I thought the Lord, by this suggested text, called me to make enquiries into the nature and sincerity both of my tears and the people's tears and weeping upon the occasion of our spiritual service and sacrifice.

As to the second frame belonging to communicating, viz. the frame concomitant, or that [which] accompanies the action, I awaken and arise early in the Sabbath morning, and endeavour to have my soul filled and taken up with the thoughts of the glorious work of man's redemption, and to make application of it to myself with all the faith that I can win to. Also to get my heart enlarged to intertain Christ my Redeemer and my desire and spiritual appetite of hungering and thirsting after him dilated and widened, to have a singular respect to the remembrance of his holy name, his perfect righteousness, his meritorious death, his victorious resurrection, his glorious ascension, and comfortable and powerfull second coming; and all with as much application and appropriation of the benefits and blessedness resulting from these as I can attain thro' the Lord's grace. Hereunto I endeavour to quicken myself by reading and meditating in the gospell history of his death, resurrection, &c., never missing that 53 chapter of the evangelical prophet Isaiah, Psalms 110, 116, 118, [1]24, &c., of other places which I use to read before or at the time. I again resume my covenant in all the articles thereof according to preceeding self-examination in conjunction with prayer, in frequency as time allows, and then call my family together. I go about all the parts of worship in a suitableness to the occasion. I endeavour untill the beginning of the publick⁸⁵ holy offices to have my heart, thoughts, affections going streight and directly out after Christ precious Christ. In the time of the publick offices I endeavour close attention and application of all that is spoken, whither in preaching or prayer or what is sung or said in fencing of the tables,⁸⁶ to myself and spiritual case as the same suits. When I sit down at the table of the Lord, I go along in my thoughts with the exhortation or discourse ministered there; but withall be said what will I allow to myself so much time as briefly as possible (not to miss much of what the speaker saith), and really to reflect upon my covenant and vows and there to take my sacrament in the terms of my indenting with God recapitulated. I endeavour to have faith in Jesus. In exercise I presentiate his very death at the table as if I see him crucify'd upon the cross. I both mourn for my sins that crucify'd him, and rejoyce in his love that was crucify'd for them. I remove, resolved strongly thro' grace never more to sin willingly, wittingly, or wickedly,

⁸⁵ added in margin.

⁸⁶ West, *Memoirs*, 28.

not to neglect any knowen duty, and to submit to the yoke of his precepts, and the yoke of his cross, and to take up mine own cross, and to draw virtue from Christ's death, to overcome a body of death and all my crosses and troubles which I aim to get sanctified in his cross and sufferings.

I never wanted a broken frame, and faith and love in exercise in less or more degrees, as it was not the first time I communicated, which is about twenty-three years agoe, and then indeed I think I communicated un[108v]worthily⁸⁷ in strick sense, because tho' I vowed well, yet I broke all bonds, basely and unworthily and wickedly and too much wittingly. But it pleased God almighty who call'd me by his grace and suffered me not to neglect the next opportunity of communicating to cause the next knot of covenanting with him hold to better purpose, and ever afterwards, saving the humane infirmities which are the 'innumerable evils that compass me about', Psalm 40:12.

As to the consequent frame of communicating, I indeavour to keep the impressions of what I have seen, heard, and handled of the Word of life. I follow the work with ane endeavour of watchfulness and self-examination, instanced already.

One more of many instances might be given of self-examination as it is noted in my diery, intending to communicate in a neighbouring congregation.

I find I have been slacker in private spiritual fellowship and convers with my yokefellow than at some other times.

I labour yet under frequent deadness in my family worship, tho' I think a little more lively than before.

I think I continue more victorious over pride, passion, and the love of the world.

My heart, I think, is more loosed from my wife and children than ever and much quieted in God concerning their welfare and throwbearing upon my decease.

I cannot but say that as I have used more indeavours than formerly after spirituality in common converse, so also it is not without success.

I am somewhat more exercised in meditation, tho' not distinct, lively, refreshed, and fixed as I would.

I am greatly free'd from slavish fears and melancholy which had seized sore upon me.

I am much more indifferent of and wedded to the fellowship of this world, and particularly of friends whose fellowship I too fondly affected.

I am more mortify'd to any gifts the Lord hath given me, being well satisfy'd to see his work of grace wrought in the souls of his elect in this place by the hand of whomsoever he wills to send among them, now

⁸⁷ 1 Corinthians 11:29.

while I am often laid aside.

I dare not allow myself to affect publick work because it lyes under the hazard of tentation to pride and affectation of popular applause.

I renew my covenant with God upon all preceeding terms and manner against all knowen sin or to be knowen, sicklike to all duties and obedience active and passive; and particularly against my predominant evils I do renew all my former vows and ingagments. I think I have faith to draw virtue from the Lord's body and blood in the sacrament to all these ends of my covenant, and love to remember him and commemorate his death, which with a desire of communion and fellowship with him, and the consideration of the authority of his command, 'do this &c',⁸⁸ are my motives unto partaking of the holy ordinance which I would fain believe shall not be dry breasts to my soul.

After communicating, upon self-examination I observe that my longings have not been so feverous as at sometimes before a communion. Yet I dar not deny but I was much affected and refreshed with the preparatory sermons. I was but little affect'd in the Sabbath morning. I was truely affected and some measure stayed in mind under the action sermon and appendent exercises. At the table I was distinct and direct in renewing my covenant and, as I thought, with a good degree of faith. In the afternoon's sermon I was neither stayed in mind nor affected in proportion to other times or to the duty. At night conversing with a brother, we were not all thro' so spiritual and serious as became. On the Monday my mind was oppressed with wanderings, sleep and heaviness, both in time of sermons and prayer, notwithstanding of considerable watching. The Lord assisted me to in any particular inward publick piece of the work that was assigned to me, altho' but little affected as to my personal and heart frame as I thought. Now I find in these and in the best duties that ever I performed there is always much matter of mourning for part of matter or praise. I ordinarily on reflection of on holy duties consider what seems to be rightly performed and to bless God for it in Christ as being his own work and effect of his grace: and for what is amiss, I consider it as my own, and fly to Christ's blood for pardon.

This year 1702 brings with it the first breach made upon my family by the death of a child who lived only to the fifth day. Being the first cross of this kind I take it too peevishly and for which the Lord did justly chasten me by leaving me to a strong perplexing and exercising tentation of Satan, viz. doubting about my child's eternal state now when she is gone. Thoughtfulness and perplexity of mind so filled me that I eat or sleep little for the space of six days. I reason myself out of it as being a tentation both irrational and irreligious; but yet am not quieted. I thought I was willing to part with her before the Lord took her from me, nor was I troubled

⁸⁸ 1 Corinthians 11:24-5.

about with the least fears about her eternal state, having given her to God and laid hold on his promise, I will be your God and the God of your seed.⁸⁹ But behold now (Ah! deceitfull heart) I am dissatisfy'd when she is taken from me, and doubtfull of the sincerity of my resigning her to God and of the truth of my faith in applying the promise and consequently of her state.

There are two things to be remarked here. 1st, when at former times in sober, settled, serious, and believing [109r] mood[s], as I have apprehended, I have presentiated to myself the case and supposition of my children either dying in infancy or in years of discretion; and upon the first supposition that tho' my resigning them unto God could not save them, that yet upon so doing and acting faith on the promise forsaid, I was to acquiesce and be satisfyed in hope without any doubting. And in the second supposition of their outliving childhood and arrival at years, their final state was to be judged of according to their keeping or not keeping God's covenant and commandments.

The second thing to be remarked here is that I had been under great spiritual deadness and dulness for the space of twenty days before this dispensation.

The grounds of this doubtfull and sorrowfull apprehension being my doubtfulness of resigning my child sincerely, the doubting of my faith acted and my apprehensions of not wrestling enough with God on her behalf the time of her sickness, which was the whole time of her life. I take it to be downright a fiery dart of the devil taking occasion upon my foresaid dulness to buffet me and to drive me into ane absurd and practical error of placing my child's salvation upon my faith, duties, or seriousness with God about her. For I am to acknowledge that she might be ane elect vessel tho' I myself were a reprobate, and that Christ could give himself to her, tho' I could not give her in a right manner to Christ.

This temptation seems to be the rather from Satan as a false accusation because, 1st, she was more early dedicated to the Lord by me than any of my children heretofore. I gave all the rest to the Lord so soon as they were born, but her I remember I gave to the Lord while she was in the belly, even so soon as my yokefellow acquainted me she was with quick child, and many a time before she breathed this common air was she given to God by both parents. This looks like a secret divine warning to us from the Lord who, foreseeing that we would have but five days to wrestle with him in the child's behalf after her birth (for she dyed the fifth day of hir life), did secretly inspire us to wrestle with him for her before our ordinary time. 2ly, because upon reflection on my frame when I held her up before the Lord in baptism I never had more, nay nor to my remembrance, so much fixed, sincere, and uninterrupted

⁸⁹ Genesis 17:7.

devotion of soul aither upon the parallel occasions or any other spiritual occasions. I was most distinct and express in hourly giving and quiting her to the Lord heartily in devolving her upon Christ as her Redeemer, distinct in resigning her soul and body to him, and contentedly submissive to part with her to the Lord at his pleasure. 3ly, because I prayed as I could without ceasing, what defect I was chargeable with was rather in point of fervency than frequency, and I thought the defect in that (tho' not altogether wanting) might owe itself in part, no to excuse my earthly disposition, to the exhaustion of my spirits with the frequency of the duty and the weakness, unrestedness, and weariness of my body.

The sins accompanying this tentation I reckon were, 1st, my sinning against that common charity that is due to all infants within the visible church dying in infancy; 2ly, little heart contrition at the time for mine own sins and little concern about mine own state, which had been more proper (considering what a sinner I have been) than to doubt of an infant innocently, comparatively, and who had not sinned after the similitude of my transgressions; 3ly, a root of atheism at the bottom of this doubting contrary to the apostle's caution, 1 Thessalonians 4: 13, 'that ye sorrow not, as these who have no hope'.

The fifth day after my begun exercise the Lord giveth me some lightning from this trouble of mind and I expect more, protesting that I may not be permitted to deceive mine own soul with comfort from any lower fountain than Christ Jesus.

The sixth day after, in prayer by a reverend and pious minister of Christ providentially brought to my house, I received great comfort every way, but especially anent this trouble in particular. I am now filled with hope of my child's eternall welbeing, and never suffered to doubt of it in the least afterwards.

Two things are here remarkable: 1st, that the minister was ignorant of my exercise and trouble, altho' he was directed in prayer as if he had been acquainted with it; 2ly, to the praise of grace, the Lord hath never suffered me to have any such doubt with respect to my children that have deceased since, with whose death, viz. two sons and a daughter, and one of the sons a first born and ripe, being of the top branch, the Lord hath justly chastned me with, because of my miscarriage under the first stroke.

I cannot but take notice of another point that argues the unreasonableness and importunity of this troublesome tentation from Satan, viz. I was bold with the Lord (I wish no[t] too bold) to ask a sign (with submission concerning her future welbeing), so it was that in the agony of death, or rather when she was expireing fast, for agony or pain she seemed not to have—the child had several pleasant smiles and upcasts of her eyes not as of violence but as it had been of devotion, and with

exceeding pleasant countenance unto the last, a breath which gradually went forth. Whither I should have reckoned this a sign or not, I know not; however, the end (blessed be God) of this tentation brings a double portion of sweetness to the preceeding bitterness. [109v]

1702. From the 4th day of December 1702 till near the end of January following, for that space I had the most entire health of body that I had for twelve years before, to my great admiration. I thought it was the Lord's call to me proportionally to improve it. So I read with great incessantness, transcending my task rather than coming short of it. I read with great success, with great composure of mind, with much edification and pleasure. It was also a sweet time of sensible mortifications and other attainments I had been resolv'd upon thro' the grace of God, and also of fellowship with God.

But behold, very quickly this lucid interval in all points is overclouded and it seems as if it had been a lightning not before one but many deaths or fights of affliction, which introduces the last stage of my life and begins early with the year 1703.

1703. From the latter end of January 1703 my health declines gradually, my strength fails, my body weakens, my appetite decays, and my spirit discourages, to that degree that upon Sabbath 21 February following I am not able to stand in a pulpit, and the next Sabbath to that I am necessitate to withhold a dyet of the work, and from that day untill the first Sabbath of June I am quite laid aside from the service of the house of the Lord.

My trouble and disease came to a height upon the sixteenth of March, about ten of the clock at night, at which time the habitual slow pain of my breast increased and got up on a suddain; notwithstanding I sleep'd till betwixt one and two in the morning, and then awakened with great agony, the pain flying thro' my breast to my back and so girding me as breath and speech were scarce left me untill seven in the morning, that I got a little respite by phlebotomy and other medicines. However, I think I am now under the peremptory summons of death. Now I think my days are extinct and the grav's ready [?] opened for me. But the thoughts of death are terrible, and 'spare a little, Lord, that I may recover strength'⁹⁰ is a pleasant petition to me. Some days hereafter, with my 'face turned to the wall' and remembering well Hezekia's posture and frame,⁹¹ I earnestly intreated the Lord for a reviving upon honest ends and conditions, was very anxious to live and to come back to the house of the Lord. At length I was stirred up with submission to crave some sign hereof from the Lord. A day or two, I think, after that, I found upon good ground and information coming to me unsought that the godly in my paroch were

⁹⁰ Psalm 39:13.

⁹¹ 2 Kings 20:1-7.

very much concerned with me and taken up in prayer that God would give me back to them again, and a day after this that scripture whereof I had no particular acquaintance with more than other scriptures came rushing into my mind with great command upon my spirit and with continued suggestion. The scripture I found to be in Psalm 148 [118], vv. 17-18, 'I shal not dy, but live, and declare the works of the Lord. The Lord hath chastned me sore: but not given me over to death'.

From the letter⁹² end of March I begin to grow to a little more strength, having many relapses among hands untill the beginning of May; and then, though in great weakness, the Lord allows me strength to be a hearer in his sanctuary all that moneth and then Sabbath, 1st of June, strengthened me to his publick work again, but still in great weakness.

With reference to my this great change of my life which hath brought habitual and considerable weakness frailty upon me to this day and year January 1708, which I never think I can probably shake off untill death, I have these remarks: 1st, of a long time and from my ordinary text in scripture before I was seized with affliction, my sermons sounded always of mortality and the doctrines thereof urged with motives from death and mortality and with something of death a breath in them as if they had been valedictory, as indeed they fell out to be for so long. My ordinary was in continuance from the 2 Peter 1. ch. from the beginning, which ordinary, when I laid down before me with a design to go thro' the chapter so far as time by God's appointment should allow me, upon reading and considering the chapter and particularly these three verses, 13, 14, 15, I had some impressions and suggestions that before I arrived that length in preaching, death or signs of death or some remarkable change or other of my life might fall out, and indeed my frailty began about the time I entered upon that verse 13, 'Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance ...'. 2ly, while I preached in such bodily weakness I was mightily strengthened and assisted of the Lord to press the practical remembrance of the things of man's everlasting concernment. 3ly, one ground among others why I was loth to dy was the condition of my family, faithless fears anent the Christian education of my small children, their thro'bearing, and my yokefellow's being now also with child. But the worst kind-of piece of frame was a kind of proud stingy humor or sometimes stirring in me [110r] against death. However, God did not suffer these peccant cares and humors to be regnant in me, but brought me over to a peace of submission to his wil, and a casting of my wife and children over upon himself. 4to, when I was beginning to recover, I begin to be [as] as affraid to live as I was before to dy. Particularly upon the 7th of Aprile in the morning upon my bed I am

⁹² presumably 'latter'.

truelly exercised with fears, that my life, upon recovery, shal be answerable to my sickbed vows, whereof many I made, and with fears the rod shall not bring forth suitable fruit as to Jacob,⁹³ even the purging away of my sin;⁹⁴ and I am now truelly willing to die over the belly of all objections and exceptions rather than that I should live to return to my former folly or not bring forth some singular fruit of more diligence in advancing both my own salvation and the salvation of others according to my station and the talents God had given me, and that more for his glory than ever before. While I am thus perplexed upon my rising and taking my Bible in my hand to read upon my private ordinary which fell out to be Psalm 56, the two latter verses were God's send to my soul in this exigence and helped my faith, viz. v. 12, 'Thy vows are upon me, O God: I will remember [render] praises unto thee', and ver. 13, 'For thou hast delivered my soul from death: wilt not thou deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living?' 5ly, all the moneth of May that I had strength to hear in the house of the Lord, I found my frame, alas, very disproportioned upon unto my expectation of being readmitted to hear the Word of the Lord. O! I thought with myself, if ever I shall have opportunity either to hear or preach the Word of the Lord again, I should be more serious, affected, stayed, holy, and heavenly in my frame. But I find a deceitfull heart still lives with me, and a strong body of death possesses a little better than [a] dead body of clay. My forenoted fears have come upon me in part, but I take this to be the devil's subtilty and malice to attack me early after my begun delivery (if I be delivered). But I trust in the sufficiency of Jesus Christ and his promise thro' grace to withstand him and to study and obtain advantage by my affliction, for the Lord knows what I would be att, and what I shall not give over hopes to attain.

Sabbath, July 11th. I concluded my doctrine of the burdened life and groaning condition of God's people while they are in their earthly tabernacles. Having chosen that text, 2 Corinthians 4:5 [5:4], 'we who are in this tabernacle groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed', &c., upon the occasion of my setting forth again in publick I preached mine own experience as I could but alas, not spiritually enough felt.

1704. My frailty continues still all along this year, being sometimes laid aside from my publick work and always very weak in the exercise thereof, but God doth always make his divine strength, power, and

⁹³ A curious interpretation of Genesis 30:37-43. The emphasis here is simply on association of 'rod' in both contexts, that of the Bible and that of his own life, whatever the distinction of meaning.

⁹⁴ Psalm 79:9.

assistance to shine thro' my wonderfull weakness, so as whosoever knew the truth of circumstances and observs the doings of the Lord could not but admire and praise God for his works of wonder to me.

Both as to my spiritual and bodily condition, I am very variable, and yet I think some more lively in spirit; but Oh how little is it and nothing to be accounted of especially when I consider how much any spiritual liveliness is transcended by much more frequent deadnesses.

I see the predominant in that so easily besetts me is no small evil to wrestle against, and tho' it be not in the nature of it so heinous as other sins, yet it makes as sharp punctures and stings upon the conscience as in sin of a more gross nature; it is the dead weight upon the soul that in its prevailing seasons oppresses the heart with grief, weakens faith, makes the soul to blush and be ashamed to face God and to approach the throne of his grace, and yet gives the soul no rest til it get itself washed in the blood of sprinkling and bathed in the tears of repentance. I note this here in opposition to the secure frame of so many professing Christians, who, to my certain knowledge as to some, make no reckoning of their temperamental or predominant sins of their particular and personal constitution, as if it were a sin to be indulged, or as if they did despair of mortyfying of it, and so ly by careless of it, letting it break out at will upon every tentation and provocation, and so go on in a sufficiently hopeful opinion of themselves if they can pretend and reckon to negative holines in other points and to a round or circle of common duties.

As against all other sins, so against this there is no sufficiency but in the strength of Jesus Christ and the promises of God: 'I will subdue your iniquities' [Micah 7:19⁹⁶]; 'sin shall not have dominion over you' [Romans 6:14⁹⁶]; and the like. If any kind of sin require more watchfulness and frequency of prayer and resolutions against it than another this is it, because it is most familiar, most beloved, most strong and importunate, most agreeable to nature; and as in dealing with all others it is so with this—the very first motions must be presently quashed, everything making introduction and tendency thereto wisely and prudently foreseen and watched against, and tho' it shall not be presently eradicated perfectly till death, yet must not indeavour, in a desperate way, be slackned, for thro' grace in the strength [110v] of Christ it is more and more crucifiable with the body of death itself, and that thro' virtue of Christ's crucifixion. Romans [6:6?].

This year produces to me some sensible seals⁹⁷ of my ministry both as to a more universal outward reformation amongst the Lord's flock of my charge in several points hitherto never amended; but especially as to the

⁹⁶ space in MS; citation altered from 3rd person.

⁹⁶ space in MS.

⁹⁷ see below, p. 286.

visible conversion of some, whereof I give two instances. 1st, in R. H., servitor to a neighbouring gentleman in the neighbouring paroch, who ordinarily frequented my ministry, his proper paroch kirk being at great distance; having been much importuned as being a neighbour and near-hand minister to go visit him upon death bed, I could not get it eshunned (being unwilling to enter in another man's line). When I converse with him I am very much surprized with the sensible account of his soul's state and spiritual condition both before and after conversion, speaking not as a novice but as an experienced Christian with a clear understanding of spiritual things and an affectionate feeling of them, speaking what he felt and feeling what he spoke, longing to be dissolved and to be with precious Christ, in the meantime most patient under very heavy affliction, and content submissively to ly under the rod during the pleasure of his heavenly Father. With much solid joy and pleasant undissembled countenance and frame did he declare his hope and assurance of his getting abundant entrance into Christ's heavenly kingdome; which words did sound sweetly and angelically in his mouth as if one should think they were ingraven upon the tables of his heart. These were the words of my text from 2 Peter 1:11, 'For so an entrance shall be ministred to you abundantly into the everlasting kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'. He was pleased to say, unrequired, before all the company, that my ministry had brought him over to Christ, and that my doctrine from the said text confirmed him and begat in him ane triumphant assurance of salvation. So having conversed with him to my great comfort and edification, I left him rejoicing, and so [he] continued till the last breath.

About the same time a young man in mine own paroch by name J. L. —visiting him under a decay, I meet with the like good news. He gives me a sensible account of God's dealings with his soul, begun only within these three years, and how that, having been before altogether indifferent and ane unbeliever about the things of his eternal concern, knowing nothing but moral honesty and civility (in which indeed he was eminent as any wanting grace), not being accustomed to prayer or other external private duties, yet it pleased the Lord to cause him fall much in love with the preached gossell, by which he was gradually brought to ane universal performance of all commanded duties, watchfulness against all sin. And having discovered to him by the gospel the woefulness of his natural state and condition thro' sin original and actual, the danger of his soul unto eternal condemnation without Christ and in and thro' whom he did see plenteous redemption from sin and wrath, he entered into covenant with God thro' Jesus Christ as his only Saviour, on whom he laid the whole stress of his salvation. And so being well satisfied to leave the world, he breathed out his remaining days with much patience and assured expectation of the Lord's salvation.

Within a moneth after this, Satan is very busy to list me up with pride and to stir up my other predominant. I have thought with myself many times in sober earnest and upon deliberate reflection that no soul of human race hath more ground to be humble than I. Ane apprehended slight given me hath discovered in me more pride to my observation then otherways I had thought was within me, especially considering that I had thought I had overcome such tentations and occasions. However, it is grievous and vexing unto me, and upon this occasion I am cast unto very sore troubles of mind, I am exceedingly confused in my thoughts, much weakned in my confidence toward God, much straitned and bound up in prayer, hardened in heart; my sore runs and yet little am I concerned. I have reason to bless God that suffers me not to quite duty, ill as it goes with me, not quite dependence on himself, tho' in a condition that I cannot depend [on], and yet he suffers me not altogether to depart from him. Notwithstanding the Lord is pleased not to suffer me to continue long in this sad condition but gathers me in again to a better frame after some moments hiding of himself.

This whole year hath been wholly seasoned with my frequent recurring frailties such as my pained breast, rhumatick pains, fainting fits in great degrees, loss of appetit, universal weakness of body, &c. This is a seasoning indeed that I stand in need of for mortifying my lusts, passions, and affections, and upstirring me to a holy living in order to a holy and happy dying. But especially in the latter end of Aprile I am almost quite reduced to the worst, and since May 22nd that I have made use of fountain water both for morning drink and bathing I am much better, for which I see much matter of praise to God for giving a special blessing to such a common benefite, while more costly means have been to no purpose. The fruit of which I reaped all the year thro', being inabled in the winter season both to visit and throughly catechise the flock.

1706. According to my preceeding resolution I begin this year, and continue to catechise my family several times of the week at night, this being a burden too great for my weakness upon Sabbath nights after publick work and taking account of and resuming the same to my family. As another part of resolved spirituality in [111r] my family after dinner, I appoint a question for edification to be proposed and handled, causing it go alternatively round from myself to my wife and from her to my children. Also I take account of each of my children's morning reading in the holy scriptures, making them to understand their particular notes that they take by heart. I find this tends much to increase in them a stock of spiritual and scripture knowledge. I indeavoured some more to oblige my servants to spiritual discourse upon their reading, hearing, catechis[m], insted of more idle and unedifying talking, laying out myself to understand w[h]ither they be

worshippers of God in secret.

My eldest son at colledge in Edinburgh hath had a very dangerous disease in his throat but recovered, blessed be the Lord. My second son, having been long under a dangerous flux, is also recovered, and my youngest in a pain of his year and other affliction, which I note to God's praise. Two of my daughters are now very unwell and I submit their case to the Lord, and wil wait his time and way for their outgate. As also I submit all my outward estate and comforts of this life. In the same moneth it pleased God to revive them; to his praise be it.

February 27, my wife being indisposed for travail [travel], I am called to Edinburgh to see my son mortally sick and laid of a pluritick fever. I am but too lately revived myself of a sore violent fitt of my sore breast, so shaken therewith that I despair of venturing. But the duty being so natural and my wife indisposed, I venture in the Lord's strength, tho' in exceedingly great weakness and disorder. The Lord carries me safe in and I find the lad indeed dangerously ill. But I reckon it a great mercy that he was sensible, and not so high in ravings as I have seen him at other times in feavers.

The second night after I went in, the Lord gave me considerable enlargement, both in prayer with the family where he lies and in secret for his restauration; and particularly in secret the Lord gave me boldness to pray for sleep and rest to him that night as a sign of his recovery, and was particularly heard for he got a refreshing sleep and cool of the fever that night, and amended dayly till the twenty-first of the moneth that he and I were safely brought home to my house by the Lord's good providence.

These fourteen days at Edinburgh the Lord gave me wonderfull support under great toil and weakness. Tho' a time of test, yet it was a sweet time to my soul of more than ordinary communion with God, more than ordinary composure of mind, spirituality of thought, and abstractedness from vanity.

Tho' the Lord gave me great confidence to ask the lad's life, yet it was with a true submission, and my desire of his reviving was only conditional of his living to God's glory, to be useful to his generation, and comfortable in the Lord to me and my family, which he proved to be more and more the short while of his life.

In the moneth of May, after I have a sore relapse into the pain of my breast and fainting fits to the degree of disabling me from both speaking and walking and continued in much weakness throw the year, two remarkable preservations have fallen out to my family this winter. The first was the falling of my stable quite in, notwithstanding the Lord wonderfully preserved both man and beasts, my man having only as much room made in a breach of the wall as to creep out at from his bed. Another wonderfull providence was the preservation of my child Anne

under the turfstack fallen upon her, death and smothering being prevented by my man's hearing a voice and, not distinguishing it from a bird's voice, quickly scattering abroad the turfs, finds my child struck down upon her knees under great oppression.

1707. This year begins as the other ended, with great weakness to me and want of appetit and digestion of meat, and which is worse, a want of that heavenlyness of frame that I dayly petition God for. That long lingering was followed with a severe recourse of my great pain and trouble upon the seventeenth of the moneth, and which, after a little reviving, recurred again with a greater force upon the twenty-third thereof. This was a heavy day of weighty affliction upon my person, being unable to turn or move myself for excessive rhumatick pains, with other troubles which had the considerable accession, that while I am in great agony, a sough of mourners and wailers surprise me, my weeping servant and other children bringing in my son Johnnie dead in all appearance, so as I know not whither to pray unto God or not, till having caused cutt his finger from whence blood dropped. I then, supported under two persons, made my address to God. It pleased God to revive him, tho' most unexpectedly, and whatever accession this surprising alarum made to my affliction at first, yet the extraordinary commotion thereof working thro' my body, blood, and spirits chased away my pains in a great measure, tho' I continue much shaken and very weak. Upon this I desire to sing both of mercy and judgement, and to commend myself and the child as dying persons to the mercies of God in the Mediator Jesus, and to prepare for death, and not to be secure upon respights, nor yet cast down upon the returning waters of afflictions. I look for no settled or continuing calm while I live upon the rough seas in this wilderness,⁸⁸ but desire to look for a storm after a calm, and to wait for a calm after a storm, till it please God to blow me by any wind of providence within the desired haven and harbour of the saint's everlasting rest. [111v]

All this winter the great and momentous affair of the incorporating union hath been a continuing accessory weight of trouble to me (God knowes) both night and day. My thoughts both night and day, waking and sleeping—tho' little sleep I got—running thereupon, my heart trembling to think of the fatal consequences that may follow thereupon, I was as mighty and plain against it in publick preaching and private conferences with all as I could, praying to God that I might not be deserted when it comes to the point of tryal about it, for that I am strongly apprehensive that tumult, confusion, noise of war, and blood to

⁸⁸ Well-established rhetoric in presbyterian piety, the language of pilgrimage and the howling wilderness, e.g., *WLW*, 45 (Katharine Collace), and 399 (Elizabeth Blackadder), and many others; see also *SP*, ch. 4.

the horse bridles may arise out of it, soon or syne.

February 6th it pleased God to remove to himself the forsaied child, and that suddainly in a second swarf⁹⁹ or sounding, so as his death was both surpriseing, and not surpriseing; not surprising because from the first fit of sounding and he expired in the second, his mother and I took the alarum of death as given to him. And looking upon him as a dying child, we renewed our gift of him to the Lord, and quite him, having used all possible means for his health and recovery. His death was surpriseing because instantaneous: from a present fervid¹⁰⁰ disposition in the servant's arms, he takes a little fretting and with that a swarf upon the back of it in the twinkling of an eye, and was overseen expire pleasantly without the least sign of pain so that mortality was swallowed up of life¹⁰¹ by the babe in Christ. I am fully satisfyed of his eternal happy state in being with the Lord. Whenever natural sorrowing thoughts begin to stir in me upon the account of this child's removal, I am as soon satisfyed with the hope of seeing him with the Lord.

The moneth of May brings forth a great deliverance to my yokefellow of whose death I was very apprehensive, and at the preventing thereof much surprised and as I thought much elevated in heart with praise to God and endued with a praising and thankfull frame, which much supported me otherways in very great weakness and bedrid condition. The month of June brings some reviving again till the latter end thereof when I am severely as ever seized with the pleuritick pain in my breast and rhumatick pains in my neck, arms, and shoulders for the space of eight days, and again revived after phlebotomy and purging. The moneth of July sicklike finds me in the same manner variable. Wonderfull it is what tossing this clay vessel of mine doth sustain and that I am not broken into shivers,¹⁰² and gathered among the dust of death. I homologat¹⁰³ and renew all my former vows to the Lord, whither sickbed, sacramental, providential, or otherways occasional, praying without ceasing,¹⁰⁴ that 'whither I live, I may live to the Lord; or whither I dy, I may dy unto the Lord: that whither I dy or live, I may be the Lord's.'¹⁰⁵

The moneth of A[u]gust brings a new storm with it and tryal of affliction, and that the most tossing and trying that ever yet I sustained. Upon the first day thereof, my eldest son and first born and now ready to enter the last year of his philosophy and entred in the seventeenth year of

⁹⁹ swoon, fainting.

¹⁰⁰ An uncertain rendering; the word is divided at the right margin, and some of the characters are unclear.

¹⁰¹ 2 Corinthians 5:4.

¹⁰² 'tatters'; here, presumably 'shards'.

¹⁰³ confirm.

¹⁰⁴ 1 Thessalonians 5:17.

¹⁰⁵ Romans 14:8.

his age, is seized with a pain in his back, and having linged the space of eight days upon his foot after phlebotomy, it terminates in a malignant feaver, whereof it pleased the Lord to remove [him] to himself upon the 24th day.

Upon the 4th of the same I was again seized with my pains which grew to the outmost severity untill the 6th day, producing a pleuritick feaver which held me nine days.

Upon the seventh day of my dear child's sickness and upon the 4th of mine he went from my bedstock and took the bed close. His feaver is very high but yet not being extraordinary. His case is dubious untill that I elapsed of my feaver which notwithstanding did not remove my pains, except near the space of two days when they return again with impetuous violence. I am brought exceeding low and my son becomes more and more dangerously ill. My wife, being now fully apprehensive of his death, knows not how to break it off[f] to me for fear of adding to my affliction, and yet she cannot keep it up least it should grieve me more to conceal the matter. So she tells me her apprehensions, whereof [I] asking the grounds, she replies that having been with him a good while, she found by his wavering language that he was drawing nigh his end; and by other gestures. I asked, 'Which?' She says, 'After I found him fingering his napkin which he had by him, holding out the nook of it and gripping and seeking into it, I asked, "What would you have, Robin?" He answered, "Mother, I would have a token. Get me my Bible;" and a little after, "Get me my shoes." "What token would you have, my child?" At which he cries out, "O Lord, be my God"', by which it appeared evident to us that in this holy roaving the Lord was exercising his young and tender soul with a deep sense of the need of and earnest longing for ane assured covenant interest in God himself. It appeared to be the language of a young weary pilgrim longing to be at the heavenly Canaan.

Upon this rehearsal I am fitted with the like apprehension of his approaching death, and O how am I straitned to think not to see his face or get words and farewell of my Christian child before he depart hence. For I was bound in the chains of my pains, beside my being worn to a shadow for weakness. Upon this struggle betwixt desire to see my son and inability to be taken out of my bed and carried upstairs, the Lord himself clears my way, louses my chains. I miss my pains for the [112r] time and, weak as I was, gave way to be carried up by two persons, where, being laid down in a couch at my child's bedstock to draw breath, he being in the meantime quietly sougning, within a little he awakens and I am helped up upon my knees on the couch. At sight of me he quickly bolted up upon his elbow, shutt¹⁰⁶ out both his hands and his head in

¹⁰⁶ shot, thrust.

towards me and is very sensible.

Unable as I was to speak, I asked him if he had indeed made a covenant with God in truth and sincerity, as I knew he had done by word and professedly, and if he stood to the covenant. He answered, 'O, I, O, I',¹⁰⁷ yes, yes, that sweet, sure, and wel-made covenant¹⁰⁸ continued by the blessed Trinity, the omnipotent, omniscient, and all[!]wise God for the salvation of sinners thro' the merits of Jesus Christ the Mediator; on which alone renouncing mine own merits (if mine heart deceive me not) I do intirely rest. O! the sweet mercies and sure mercies of the well-made covenant. O! the wonderfull love of Christ. O! the love of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of God'. Thus and to the purpose he spoke a considerable time, but his speech being marred with hoarseness, I could not take it all sensibly up. Then I turned down to rest me upon my couch, and a little after rose up again upon my knees and prayed, to which he gave closs attention. Being exhausted with the little speaking ~~after I had prayed~~ I had after prayer, I asked him, 'Shall it not be well-ordered if your next meeting and more shall be in the kingdome of glory?' 'O! I. O! I', said he, and several other sentences, all with much composure, seriousness, and sensibleness. Upon all which, looking for nothing but death to him and myself also, I blessed him in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and my God, kissed him, took farewell, and saw him not alive again, for after I returned down to my body, it pleas'd God to bring back my pains again, which continued so long as he lived, viz. till the Sabbath morning.

It is remarkable here as a considerable aggravation of my yokefellow's trouble that spectators look'd upon us both to be so near death as it was dubious whither¹⁰⁹ of us should demitt first. And particularly upon the Sabbath morning, when he was posting to his glorious rest, I grew so ill that my wife knew not whilk of us to wait upon. As also it's wonderfully remarkable that tho' I was still expecting that the report of his expiration should put a final period to my wretched life and weary warfare, yet it pleased God to strengthen me with much patience and contentment to receive the report and to bless him in prayer with my family that ever he honoured me to be father of one of his own elect children and that he has so graciously ordered my, tho' but once, conversing with him to my so great soul satisfaction, and that he had taken him away from the evil to come, and delivered him from all his afflictions and from this present evil world.

It is also very noticeable, and that contrary to my sinfull sense, I was so far from being deeper sunk by his death, that ane hour after, my pains

¹⁰⁷ 'aye, aye'.

¹⁰⁸ 2 Samuel 23:5; see *WLW*, 31.

¹⁰⁹ which.

eased continually considerably, and it pleased God to restore me more and more gradually to this life, and to cause me again to ascend the house of the Lord to speak in his name. O how far are the Almighty's thoughts above us mortals!¹¹⁰ and how am I ashamed of my thoughts and fears!

It is also very remarkable that tho' I had a great freedom and enlargement to pray for his recovery when sick at Edinburgh, as is before noted, yet under this his last affliction I could never get enlargement that way, and yet alas, loath was I to quite him. Only my expecting to follow soon after him made me the more easy, even as also the more I recovered myself, the more my grief upon his decease doth increase, and I have provoked God very much by too much grieving and sorrowing after my dead, but God helps me to bear up and upon calm reasoning quiets me when I consider that it is himself who hath done it, and done it in justice (O that it may not be in sore displeasure) against me, as unworthy of such a comfort upon earth as the gifts and graces of God in my child fairly promised, but in rich mercy to him, early removing him from the miseries of this life and advancing him to the felicities of that life of glory, and remarkably fitting him therefor.

Here I do record some worthy remarks of this youth for the glory of God, edification and imitation, especially of the younger sort.

An early remark for the vindication of the divine scripture revelation concerning original sin in opposition especially to papists and Quakers, and others who deny original sin and assert that the posterity of Adam sin actually by imputation and example only: when he was but betwixt two and three years of age, and being taught (so soon as he could speak) to answer some fundamental questions in religion and to repeat some parts of the Psalms in meeter, at a certain time I required him to say 'the Lord is my Shepherd',¹¹¹ he reply'd 'I don not'; being urged, he reply'd, 'I cannot'; being again urged, he reply'd, 'I will not'. Whence by the effects, without the least of occasion for imitation or example as influencing, I took notice of natural laziness and sin and averseness in spiritual things, in that 'I don not', naturall impotency in that 'I cannot', natural obstinacy and unwillingness to spiritual good in that 'I will not', and natural shifting in that 'I cannot', when he could say it. As this and the like serves to confound such adversaries of the grace and truthes of God and self-flatterers into a damnable estate of security against the wrath and of God for to original sin, [112v] tho' man had no other load of guilt, so it serves to be a notable confirmation of the sad truth of original corruption and sin which every soul of man is tainted with naturally and from which he is influenced to sin actually and would sin actually, tho' he were most securely disbarred of all imitable human society.

¹¹⁰ Isaiah 55:8.

¹¹¹ Psalm 23:1.

When he was four years of age only, and examining him upon the works of creation as he had been taught, I asked him at a venture who made God? He replied, 'God was not made'. I further asked, 'How then?' He answered, 'God was himself in himself for ever'. I took this to be a wonderfully bright sparkle of the remains of natural light and reason, pleading the being and eternity of a deity against all atheists! From that age (to the praise of the gifts of the God of nature) he had much of a reasoning and discursive faculty; so that when attacked by an argument to prove him to be some absurd thing, he would readily, by a retortion and in the same form of argument, infer and conclude an equal absurdity upon his opponent, from which I inferred that if the Lord should be pleased to spare him he would have a good vein for philosophy and learning, which indeed fell out to be so, so far as he proceeded, viz. being to enter to the magistrand class¹¹² at Michaelmass after his death in August.

When he was ten years of age, asking him what sort of calling he would incline to embrace for the service of his generation, he reply'd, 'Whatever might be most for God's glory, and were most free of tentations to sin'. I took this to be a pregnant evidence of the grace of God, and to be the effect of an impression and inclination above nature.

When he was not thirteen years of age full he gave the following pregnant evidence of the sense and savoury sweetness of the grace of God and of the excellency of the means thereof, viz. when I and my yokefellow (before the celebration of the Lord's supper in the paroch) took him with some others of our children apart to spend some time in praying with them and in instructing them in the nature of covenanting with God, and of their baptismal vows which we laid upon them. Having caused them all to pray before us, which they did with a very seeming sincerity and spiritual sense in proportion to their years of the things delivered to them, he, particularly in prayer after many pertinent petitions and suitable to our exercise at the time, came at length to express himself in these words: 'Lord be thanked that we are come of such parents as take such care of our souls to put us to such duties of our salvation concern, and the Lord be mercifull to and pity many poor children of careless parents that never mind their children of such things. Lord, our parents' pains taken upon us will be witnesses against us if we be not holy children'.¹¹³

In the fourteenth year of his age he communicated the first time. I had given him some manuell and directions to read for his preparation, with all insinuating to him that I would not press him, however much I thought it his duty, but told him that as he found himself qualified in knowledge to discern the Lord's body and in the understanding of the

¹¹² Fourth and final year of the MA, which was and is, in Scotland, a first degree.

¹¹³ Presumably he had heard this a number of times from his father; see the copyist/editor's conclusion, below, p. 280.

ordinance, and according as he was moved and excited affectionately so he might impart himself to me. So upon the preparation evening he came and presented himself to me saying nothing but his weighted frame of spirit sending forth without constraint or affectation floods of tears from his eyes, reply'd affirmatively with all subjecting to my advice, so tho' I had the precognition of a competency of his knowledge, yet I tryed particularly for that end. And finding him clear in his understanding and ane edge upon his affections, I encouraged him to hold at his mark and to prepare for the duty, telling him that his mother and I would jointly seek the Lord's advice in his behalf and after which we would jointly tell him our mind. So it was that after he had conversed alone with his mother as he had done with me to our joint satisfaction, we had much clearness and encouragment from the Lord to invite him heartily to enter into, renew, and seal a covenant with the Lord in the blood of a crucify'd Jesus, at his holy table. Thus he renewed his baptism and walked suitably as ane young heir of grace the rest of the steps of his short life.

Upon a night when he had been later out than I allowed him, upon the account of the night air, I alledged that some recreation had inticed him to such lateness, and pressing upon him to know why he stayed out so long and what he was doing, with great modesty and lothness told me, 'If you would have it, I was meditating'. This was sweet to my soul upon reflection.

In the winter seasons when he was at the colledge, I received pertinent and religious letters from him both in Latine and English, and particularly the last winter, being the sixteenth year of his age, he intreats in one of his letters that by no means I forget him in my prayers to God, and that I would particularly pray that he might be preserved from being infected with the corruptions of the godless [113r] youths and young generation, whose sins he thought alone were enough to sink the whole city in with. Accordingly we received him home in April ane innocent and unstained lamb of Christ, and lived and died unstained with any of the corruptions and ungodly fashions of the world, or of the unthoughtful and ramp [dissolute] youth in whose company he was necessarily imbarqu'd in school fellowship. He was dayly and peremptorily a devotionist in reading his Bible and secret prayer, and as I found afterwards by the report of some neighbouring people, was now and then dropping wholesome advice and good instructions into the years [ears] of their children. It pleased God to put it in my heart this last summer, two moneths before he took sickness, to ly and bed with him that I might take occasion evening and morning to converse him the best way I could for edification and to instruct and confirm him further in the ways of God. Upon which occasions especially as well as others I found that he had a very sensible understanding and uptaking of spiritual things, and a surprizing sense and gloss of scriptures very satisfying, and which kythed

much at our dinner converse where I held it an ordinary at my table with wife and children to have a certain question for spiritual edification proposed and which went round in order according to age beginning myself, my wife being next day the proposer of the question, and he following, and so in course. He always gave pleasant head to spiritual instruction and often¹¹⁴ we have been laid down in bed, I could never catch him falling asleep (tho' other ways very disposed, as other young ones are) so long as I continued discourse, nor till I had said to him, 'Now I have done, let us compose ourselves to rest'.

He was a youth of more than ordinary natural capacity, with an extraordinary genius for learning and prospered well, altho' I never durst suffer him to be too sedentary and closs upon his books, because unfit for his bodily complexion. He had a very quick apprehension, a ready wit, a discreet mannerly carriage to all, a soft answer, and a calm tho' a very sensible temper when offended or injured, prudent and silent in company, especially with his superiours, except when required to speak, very observant of the rational discourses of men, had a pertinent reflecting faculty. He had the masculine faculty of concealing what was committed to him, as if he had been a sworn senator, very humble and deny'd to what gifts or graces the Lord had given him, and free of affectation.

I end with some observes of his last end whereof part already, [a third of a line left blank]. The rest of the family observed by words dropping from him now and then that he was looking for death even before his sickness seased upon him. Tho' he had a very high feaver and great roavings, yet he was never sooner spoken to about his soul but he was calm and sensible and gave good head. He incessantly and with great and sensible desire called for prayers for him, especially ministers, and particularly being tryed and proven in whither or not, in his roaving when he was very high at a time, he would mind a certain neighbouring minister to pray, who saying 'Farewell Robin' to him, he greedily shut¹¹⁵ out his hands, and called, 'Sir, ye will not go till ye pray'. In his greatest roavings, when he was but taking a little water to rinze his mouth, he would not neglect devoutly and weightily to crave a blessing. He was found much in prayer and in spiritual and scriptural reflections upon deathbed. He had many sweet soul-sensible expressions, as when his mother asked him, 'How is all, Robin?' he answered, 'I am a miserable lost sinner by nature, and deserve not a crumb of God's mercy, notwithstanding there is mercy with God thro' the Mediator Jesus to the chief of sinners'.¹¹⁶ Being overheard in his soliloquies and prayers [he] was saying often, 'Lord, be my God; Lord, if I perish I should perish at thy footstool where never a soul

¹¹⁴ Half a line scored out; see beginning of next paragraph for the ten words.

¹¹⁵ thrust.

¹¹⁶ 1 Timothy 1:15.

perished'. He adhered unto and relied on precious Christ only.

I remember that when he prayed in the family, which some months before he took sickness I had put upon him, upon occasion of my frequent and severe indisposition, he was wonderfully taken up always in prayer about the Mediator Jesus, having a massie¹¹⁷ pithy way of petitioning in his name.

But to draw nearer to his end upon Sabbath morning that he dyed, and which also gave him first light into this world and val[ley] of tears, he was more and more sensible, saying sometimes to the company 'I must be gone, and I must away', and often calling upon the ministers, there being two in the house, for prayer and fellowship. At length observing two of his little sisters at his bedfoot standing, he waved on them to come to his bedstock nearer him, where he talked much to them in a spiritual strain (but much of his language was lost all along from the middle of his sickness by reason of a great horsness and trouble of his throat, and now weakness even unto death was joynd therewith), but the strain of his discourse and some sensible and audible words were that they should seek God, seek God in their young days, and when he had done he said, 'It is finished'.¹¹⁸ Incontinent he signes to his mother to come a little nearer him and lays his head unto her, and who observing him hard upon the borders of eternity says, 'My child, the Lord be with thy departing soul'; to which with uplifted hand he replied, 'I, I',¹¹⁹ and forthwith calmly departed without the least observable motions or workings of body or countenance.

I am to remark the exceeding height of God's thought above man's thoughts,¹²⁰ for whereas I surely expected that the report of his death to me in such a weak condition and many ways broken should bring with it the finishing stroke of my warfare, yet I was inabled with great composure and silent submission [113v] to thank the Lord for what of his goodness and mercy he had discovered to me in the removal of my child to himself, thereby withdrawing him early from the miseries and snares of this life to ane early possession of his heavenly mercy.

But alas, the wound is now but green, for as I begin to recover and come back to this wilderness, I more and more miss the flower of my great delight. My rebellious heart grumbles and, if it durst, complains of this stroke, he having come to a considerable pitch of being useful and comfortable to me, a poor weary and disconsolate pilgrim, having become savoury company and helpful to me in all things. But what shall I say? I desire to be content because the Lord hath done it; surely the Lord is angry with me, and I have provoked his majesty; for 1st, tho' I was not

¹¹⁷ compact, dense.

¹¹⁸ John 19:30.

¹¹⁹ 'aye, aye'.

¹²⁰ Isaiah 55:8.

left to be vainglorious of him in the eyes of men, yet I had too great an heart esteem of him, both as to his personal bodily comeliness and status, and also of his gifts and graces. I had, 2ly, too much carnal hope and confidence of his being usefull in my sted to his mother and the rest of the children, which, 3ly, begat in me a presumption of his living, tho' otherways I was very apprehensive that his constitution bespoke him unlively, and so, 4ly, was too seeming against the thoughts of his death so soon. A 5th provoking cause I suppose might be a sinful inclination to wearying of the Lord's lingering rod upon me in my frequent and sharp recourses of my bodily distempers, for which God in his justice hath given me more ground, if there can be a ground for wearying of his chastisements.

October 1707. Upon the back of this stroke, exactly nine weeks, and while I am yet in weakness, Friday, the 31 October 1707 brings to me another heavy stroke by death. My nephew M. J. B.,¹²¹ my chief comfortable relation next to my own family, is taken home by the Lord to himself after two moneths' heavy affliction under a fever. This is as the death of another son to me, and a loss not only to his family and congregation by whom he was dearly beloved, but even to the Church of Scotland, for the Lord had endowed him with no mean gifts and graces, a publick spirit, a painful, prudent genius, with a pleasant, graceful, and suitable conversation towards all ranks. He lived universally beloved, and at death much lamented. He dyed in the thirty-first year of his age and tenth year complete of his ministry.

He was one who, to my certain knowledge, speaking after all moral signs, that was a very early seeker and sensible seeker of and wrestler with God, in the eleventh or twelfth year of his age, had sensible manifestations of God in the exercise of faith in prayer, sensibly and observably returned upon some critical occurrences of straitning and concerning providences both with respect to himself and his father's family, even under his tender age.

Two particular manifestations of God I had from his own mouth and which (tho' I did not lay closely to heart at the time) yet I alwise remembered, and time and event made them good.

The first was when I had engaged and allured him to submit to passing his tryals, being conscious to myself according to my discerning of his true piety, Christian practise, sound principles, and a good competency of parts and learning reading, yea a great competency for his age, being but now twenty years of age: I proposed the exploratory question, 'What moves you, being of young years, to comply so

¹²¹ This is John Bell. The first portion of his own memoir follows on p. 281, and some of his sermons are intermingled with Duncan's; see above, p. 28.

cheerfully and readily with my motion of putting you upon tryals?' He replied, 'I am the more willing to enter soon because I have but short while to run (in the meantime he was of a most entire constitution of health and excellent complexion both of body and mind, as far from symtomes of short life as any person could be). Now the event made this good, having finished the course of his ministry which he received of the Lord Jesus Christ in ten years. Indeed the year before his death his constitution altered to my observation, and the change of it owed itself to his indefatigable pains in reading and excerpting the marrow of the books that he read in a digested and alphabetical order, so as under his notes and indexes there is no material subject of divinity, beside other subjects of his providential reading, but some fine thing is to be found, and which labours of his (for they are of a good extent) I doubt nothing but they might be very profitable to bookish men, especially divines.¹²²

Of a child from ten or eleven years of age he could never be allured to any game or pastime whatsoever; books were always his only recreation. When companions of his own age would have drawn him away to pastimes, he would engage and intertain them with notes of preachings and practical books and such hystories as he read, and drawn them to fellowship, prayer—a society of which he never wanted. He was pure and untainted from all youthfull lusts, pleasures, immoralities, games, and recreations whatsoever. He was of a very free, furthy¹²³ disposition and had a very communicable faculty of his gifts and parts.

Another manifestation of God that he had was a presentiment about his death. When we were talking together about death (this was before ever he passed his tryals, as also was the preceeding instance) he told me that he had great apprehensions that whensoever he should dy, he might have a strong battle with death. The event was answerable, for he had indeed a long tryal and fight of affliction upon his body and also some sharp conflicts of soul, tho' it pleased the Lord to give him frequent intermissions as to the former and great clearness as to his spiritual state, so as he dyed with assurance, and with these last words: 'I have no more to do now but to shutt mine eyes and to lift them up in glory'. So he shut his eyes and quickly fell asleep in the Lord, [114r] and pleasantly, without any commotion of body or countenance.

These two deaths were heavy to me, not yet delivered tho' revived from my trouble. The news of my nephew's death arrived to me upon the Sabbath after his death, being the second day of November, and that in the morning as I was expecting a minister under appointment to come and preach for me, as yet unable. But so it was that, the minister giving a

¹²² Possibly the item at Glasgow University Library, MS Gen 1243, commonplace book on theology, c.1700.

¹²³ forward, friendly, generous.

disappointment and the people being gathered, I was hard put too.¹²⁴ Unable to preach and unprepared to preach, and by these tidings of his death sunk with grief, to evite the dint of grief and as my best divertisement from the seizing of it for that day, I project to try to preach, as the Lord would assist me, and had my recourse to him for that end, and lectured upon Isaiah 40 from verse first to ninth and preached on the 7th verse¹²⁵ with much assistance of the Lord's Spirit, much composure of mind, and much support to my weak body, being the first day of my publick appearance after thirteen weeks languishing and these two piercing deaths.

Extract of his diary finished.¹²⁶

After this he had little health and carried the begun extract of his diary no further ~~there is nothing more in his diary but one~~ ~~and~~ but enjoying some calms after storms lived until the 10th of June 1712. There is nothing in his diary more but an account of his struggles with and victories over a body of sin and death, of his constant standing upon his watchtower, several instances of his great spirituality, and of the great assistance he found in discharging his ministerial function. He lived constantly within the views of death but was not affraid of it: in his sickness he remarks, he thinks himself truly willing to dy, and that he had got a true submission to leave his family (viz. his wife, four daughters, and a son) behind him upon the Lord's care, and that the Lord gives him great patience under great affliction. He took occasion to spiritualize almost upon every minute thing that happened. I only note one instance of this as marked in his diary 22 April 1710:

Saturday morning as I was walking in my garden, a worm crosses me in the ro[a]d, which, because of my aversion to these reptiles, I was about to tread upon with my foot, but forbore upon the following reasons: This is a creature, I another. This is a worm sinless, but I a sinful worm. This worm, as it came out of, so it is creeping humbly into the earth again. So am I creeping into the grave, and ought to creep humbly. When I touch this worm, lying quiet, with my foot, it moves all its parts for its defence from the persecuting enemy. So may I move all my strength to defend from my enemies. This worm hides itself among the grass as well as it can till it get opportunity to win into the earth: so ought I quietly to lurk under divine protection, till providence offer me my green bed of rest, where the weary hear not the voice of the oppressor.

¹²⁴ to.

¹²⁵ Isaiah 40:7, 'The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass'.

¹²⁶ What follows is in the same hand, indicating that this document is a transcription and not the original. Many of the corrections in the text are consistent with errors in transcription.

He was not only submissively willing to die, but rather desired death than life, knowing that to be with Christ was far better than to be in this world.¹²⁷ Some few days before his death he had a little reviving, upon which a certain person in the neighbourhood took occasion to say to him, 'Sir, I hope you will come back to us again', to whom he replied, 'Do you so? but I do not'. His discourses upon deathbed were very edifying to all about him. A little before his departure he spoke comfortably to his wife and children and gave everyone of them a particular advice. He injoy[n]ed his children to be seekers of God and told them, if they did not seek God, altho' he had been a loving father unto them (as indeed signally he was), yet he would stand up in judgment against them and condemn them, after which he blessed them in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of his father's God, and his God.

Some few minuts before death he said, 'I am faint', so a little white wine and bisket was given him, and having tasted them said, 'Come, let us give thanks before we depart', whereupon he made his address to God, took in the case of the church that God would preserve it in the hollow of his hand, of the people in Dunsyre (among whom he had laboured eighteen years) that God would supply his room with ane able and faithful minister, and of his wife and children that God would take care of them. And after he ended his thanksgiving and prayer, spoke no more but pleasantly his breath went forth.

He was low in stature, of a ruddy complexion, was no mean schollar and divine, pathetick preacher, and knew well when to awaken and when to speak comfort. He made it his great business to bear down sin and wickedness, was a constant reprover of vice in whomsoever he saw it, nothing could byass him from what he thought his duty, was a man of great candour and ingenuity, simplicity, and sincerity. He had a little quickness in his natural temper, but alwise forgave and forgot injuries, and none complained more of it than himself, was [greatly?]¹²⁸ below'd of his people, and left behind a very savoury name.

Finis.

¹²⁷ Philippians 1:23.

¹²⁸ The corner has been torn off page, taking a couple or more words.

John Bell, 'The Most Memorable Passages', 1706

The most memorable passages of the life and times of Mr. J[ohn] B[ell] written by himself. 1706

The great goodness of God to his unworthy servant Mr J. B.

[25r] I was born at Glasgow 2 February 1676 of religious parents who devoted me to the ministry from the womb and¹ educated me agreeably. I should sin against God's goodness to me in my noneage if I did not remark two things. 1mo, that from the cradle I was preserved from being tainted with the vices incident to children; 2nd, that so far back as I can trace my life I loved prayer and would be now and then preaching to the neighbour children like myself.

2do, at ten years of age I entered to the grammar school (Anno Domini 1686), Mr George Glen being rector, and about four moneths thereafter my worthy father died, and my mother then obleiged me to pray in the family by turns with herself and in her hearing. I cannot but say, the Lord was encouraging to me about this time and gave me many signal returns of prayer. One time I remember my mother, who was left with five children and little to give them, came to me in my closet, and with the tear in her eye lamented that she knew not how to put by that day, or get dinner for us. I do not mind if I said anything to her then if it was not to put her in remembrance of a notable expression of my dying father: 'As for my children (said he to her), take no thought, God will provide, for [25v] only to you, I say, be humble, be humble, be humble'. So dismissing her respectfully, I shut the door and, falling on my knees before the Lord, I was helped to plead the promise made to the widow and fatherless² with much warmth of soul, and left not off to wresle till I got an inward confidence that God would provide and be a very present help to the family in this strait. After thanking God for the assurance given me, I called on my mother and told her not to fear, she would be provided, but nothing in particular how I came by this assurance. And

¹ Wodrow's hand ends here.

² Psalm 146:9.

agreeably, it pleased God that within a few hours thereafter a debtor of hers sent her ten shillings which she had not been craving. Bless God, O my soul, for many such assurances. I do remember what was very searching about that time, viz. that death ceased³ the best friends our family had in town, one after another, and I perfectly remember I had never one hour's distrust of providence for all that past of that kind, and when my mother and the few surviving friends she had would be lamenting over the death of those, I would with an unexpressable cheerfulness of soul cry out, 'Fear nothing, for I know God will stir up instruments to do for us, and that from an airth we dream not of'; and it was so indeed, for they became our friends one after another from whom we expected le[a]st kindness. By these methods it was that God framed me up in the exercise of faith when I was yet but young. This made me study my Bible, and I fed sweetly upon the promises that are there. I got my fill of the milk of consolations and strength [26r] to suck⁴ + ~~falling on my knees before the Lord I was helped to plead the promises.~~

3tio,⁵ I was but a few moneths att school when my master took notice of me as one that learned fast, and advanced me. All this while I was acquainting myself with practical divinity, particularly Mr Andrew Gray's sermons,⁶ Smith's *Assize*,⁷ Durham on death,⁸ and some others. I would frequently ask hard questions att my mother, who was a woman well read, of a quick witt, and of a liberal education.

When I was about twelve years of age (Anno Domini 1688) I began to my exceptions⁹ and reduced the substance of diverse little books into question and answer, which proved the beginning of great eassiness essaies this way.

5to, being thus furnished, my nixt business (or care) was to enter into a society for reading and praying, and having pickt up some three or four boys like myself, we continued att this work for some considerable time. Of these some proved ministers afterward and owned to myself then that they had never prayed till that time. While I am thus employed, in a melancholy mood, I began to weary of the schools, and dealt long with my mother to let me be a marchant as my father was, or put some

³ seized.

⁴ perhaps a reference to Isaiah 66:11; cross in MS.

⁵ seems to be overwritten with '4'.

⁶ Andrew Gray (1633-1656) graduated MA (St Andrews) in 1651. He was ordained, at the hands of the Protesters, in 1653, and became a minister in Glasgow. *FES*, iii, 465. His sermons were collected and published frequently after his death.

⁷ Samuel Smith (1584-1662) was a Puritan minister in Essex. He joined the presbyterians duing the civil wars, and was ejected at the Restoration. The work cited is the much published *The Great Assize* (2nd impression; London, 1617).

⁸ The reference is to either *The Dying Man's Testimony* (1659) or *The Blessedness of the Dead* (1681); see above page 143, n. 12.

⁹ to collect excerpts from books.

trade in my hand. But finding her inexorable and bent on my being a scholar, I brack from the school, and a certain lawyer in town pickt me up, and having a conceit of something he saw in me fit for his purpose, profer'd to train me up in his calling gratis and keep me in bed and board at his house for nothing. The offer was tempting enough to me, but not so to my mother, who, fearing I might turn a rake, studied to divert me and told me how much I should be tempted to cheat, lie, and swear in that employment; and so [26v] I was prevailed with to refuse the offer. But I, being for everything rather than my books, looked still after another way of living. Other designs were set on foot, friends meet, and matters are drawn up, yet all misgive, none knowing how or wherre the fault was to be lodged. Things going cross in this sort after then once or twice, I determined to keep the schools better, and resolved to read hard. The revolution comes on, and upon King William's accession to the throne my master is turned out of office, and so living¹⁰ Glasgow, I went to Lanerk where I learned my Greek with ane uncle [Henry Duncan] of my own by the mother.

6to, after a year spent this way or thereby (Anno Domini 1692) I came back to Glasgow and entered on the study of philosophy under Mr John Law.¹¹ I used a more than ordinary application here, and all the time I was learning my logicks I can say that day never past wherein I was not master of my lesson, and I never opened my book to read without prefacing my studies with a short ejaculation to God. I spent two summer vacancies in extracting the marow of eight or ten of the best tractats of logicks and metaphysicks.

7to, in summer 1692, a certain young nobleman of the same class at the colledge with myself, and who honoured me with singular friendship, pressed me to spend a moneth or two of the vacancy [27r] at his father's country house. I was averse because his governour was highly episcopal in his judgement and considering that my prysbyterian principels had not better footing than meer education, I became scrup[ul]ously jealous of a design in that tutor to alter me, and my jealousy was heightened from that man's ordinary way of regrating¹² me, for he would often say, 'It were a pity ever that youth should have drunk in prysbyterian milk'. However, after much pains taken on me, I was prevailed with to comply with the young nobleman's request (1692), resolved by God's grace to hold firm my presbyterian principles, which I was helped to doe with more than ordinary courage. The chaplain gained nothing upon me but in effect lost something of what he had, for there

¹⁰ leaving.

¹¹ 'Januarii 1691. The faculty taking under their consideration that all the candidates who had entered upon their tryalls for the regent's place, which now is Mr John Law's ...', *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii, 351.

¹² lamenting, mourning.

was another student of philosophy occasionally at that place attending a young gentleman related to the family of the same stamp with the chaplain. With this fellow student I had frequent warm conferences, the result of all which was that he became more sober in his opinion that way, and some seven years after became a presbyterian minister and who has owned to me frequently since that those conferences (the beginning of a closer amity twixt us) did much to allay him, who had the disadvantage of an episcopal education. However, it pleased God to withdraw from me at this time and to send a thorn in the flesh,¹³ for I was haunted with ugly suggestions, which became my exercise for several years together. This put me upon personal covenanting; yea subscribing with my hand to the Lord, I fasted, [27v] prayed, and did frequently take my sacrament with an eye to this temptation. The first time I did communicat was at Lanerk where Mr John Banatyne¹⁴ was minister in the year 1693; and in the year 1694 [I] commenced Master of Arts from the colledge of Glasgow and was publicly graduate in the Tron Church by the Reverend Mr James Wodrow, professor of divinity,¹⁵ in absence of Mr William Dunlope, principal,¹⁶ who was at that time waiting on the parliament as king's chaplain. I sustained a disputation publicly, being impunged by a minister who came from the country. This was in Aprile (1694), and in May that same year I entered to Mr Wodrow's divinity colledge where I studied hard for three years, in which time God was singularly gracious to me. I was much in love with polemical and casuistick divinity, and for accomplishment in both I followed this method: besides my task in the common hall assigned me by the professor, I took care at le[a]st to spend fourteen days in reading upon every chapter in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and to excerpt as I went along what was material in ten or perhaps more authors upon the subject of the chapter in hand, and revised all at night which I had read through the day. Again I frequented two societies weekly for those kinds of exercises, and here theses were impunged &c., and finally I collected most material doubts I could find in the whole Bible and put them in a book and their answers annext, with a large and

¹³ 2 Corinthians 12:7.

¹⁴ John Banatyne (1641-1707) was imprisoned in 1683 for some rebellion. He was licensed before 3 April 1688, when he was appointed to supply at Lesmahagow. He was legally settled at Lanark in 1690. He became a member and clerk of general assembly, and was a bitter opponent of the union. *FES*, iii, 307-8.

¹⁵ James Wodrow (1637-1707), father of Robert the antiquarian. He graduated MA, Glasgow, in 1659. He became a conventicle preacher from 1674, and then a minister in Glasgow in 1688 before assuming the chair of divinity at the university there in 1692. *FES*, vii, 399-400.

¹⁶ William Dunlop (1654-1700) went to Carolina in 1684. He returned after the Revolution and became principal of the University of Glasgow in 1690, and Historiographer Royal for Scotland in 1693. *FES*, vii, 396.

easy index.

Next, for my improvement in casuistick divinity, I made it my bussiness to be witness to the soul trouble of such exercised [28r] persons as I found in the whole towne, and I cannot express easily what dismal cases I have been privie to. Again there was a society of fellow students mett once a week in my chamber for recollecting the notes of all the sermons preached up and down the whole towne since the time of our last meeting, having to this effect severally dispersed ourselves in separate churches (Anno Domini 1696). Thus I observed besids whole nights spent in the colledge with intimate commarads in prayer and religious conferences when others were fast asleep, and also Saturdays afternoon which was spent in prayer and answering cases of consciences in publick society, by the professor's approbation and allowance while I studied divinity, especially the last year I was att the college. I made my visits in the town til eight a'clock att night, and after publick worship in the family I threw me down in my night gown on a resting bed and sleep for one hour, by which time my mother's family was thinking of taking night's rest. I retired to my chamber, and read till two in the morning, then closed my book, and having run over in my thoughts the several subjects I had been reading all the day over, which were perhaps six or seven, for I never read above one hour upon any one book, I disposed myself to prayer and self-examination for one hour, and so I went to bed about four a'clock, and was again att my books upon four or att most five hours sleep. To all this I cannot but add that, by reason of the thorn in the flesh which I mentioned formarly, I was brought into the wilderness of soul exercise or affliction, there to continue till I had passed tryals in the casuistick part of divinity; and indeed, now that I have perused Ames,¹⁷ Dickson,¹⁸ Perkins,¹⁹ &c., their cases of [28v] of conscience, I can say there is not three of them but I have felt something of it or like to it within my own breast. But yet I must say, I thank God for the many sweet hours I had then in my chamber att Glasgow. Then it was by staited thanksgiving days the sense of mercies was kept fresh upon my mind. O my soul, remember thou with joy those days in which thou was detained before the Lord for some hours together and might not stir from

¹⁷ William Ames (1576-1633) studied under William Perkins (below) and became one of the more extreme Puritans, refusing even to wear the surplice. He moved to Holland and was active in the anti-Arminian efforts of the time. He became professor of theology at Franeker in 1622.

¹⁸ David Dickson (1583?-1663) studied at the University of Glasgow and in 1618 became minister of Irvine, in Ayrshire. He refused to comply with the liturgical provisions known as the Five Articles of Perth and was for a time exiled to Turriff. He was a major figure in the coming of the National Covenant, and in 1640 he was appointed professor of divinity at Glasgow; in 1650 he transferred to Edinburgh, and was ejected at the Restoration.

¹⁹ William Perkins (1558-1602) studied and taught at Christ's College, Cambridge. He was held in high esteem by the Puritan party during his life and long after.

the Lord's presence and feast of love.²⁰ O forget not that happy hour wherein thou was honoured after rising from prayer with such clear manifestations of God, as thou was made to cry out, 'Earth is tastless now. O if this were the happy hour of my being taken into the upper house, O heaven, heaven, O communion with God, O love of God'. Mind also what trouble thou felt before thou got assurance that this was something other than a pleasant delusion. Call to thy remembrance how that for many months together thou never walkt betwixt thy closet and the Marcat Cross, nor didst travell a quarter an hour in end, without some pittie ejaculation to God or serious thought.

3 [7] to,²¹ thus furnished, the reverend and worthy professor (in Anno Domini 1696) urged my entring on triels in order to the ministry, and at length I was prevailed with to yield to the importunity of some reverend ministers in the presbytry of Lanerk and Biggar, and entered upon trials before the presbytry of Biggar, being then twenty years and five moneths compleet, and was licentiated by them to preach with their bounds thirteen May 1697. I had not preached two Sabbaths till three vacant paroshes who had heard me formerly on my triels [29r] did sollicit me to accept of calls from them. Brughtoun having first bespoke me and actually lodged their call in the presbytrie's hand, I did prefer them, and having preached four moneths I was ordained publickly to the work of the ministry there by Mr Robert Law,²² minister of the gospel at Skirline, on the twenty-fourth day of September 1697.

8o, after I had served four years compleet in Brughtun and honoured of God with several seals of my ministry there,²³ the church thought fit to transport me in July 1701 from the paroch of Brughtune to Gladsmure, a new erection within the bounds of the presbytry of Hadingtoun, where I was admitted twenty-seven A[u]gust 1701.

9o, when I cam first to the bounds of the presbytry of Hadingtoun (Anno Christi 1701), I found myself aparently in hard circumstances, having exchanged 200 obedient and submissive people at Broughtoun for 1200 obstinate people in Gladsmure, and a loving presbytry in Biggar to be collegiate with a lot of brethren to most of whom I was intearly a stranger, many of them lookt on by superiour judicatories as men of cold spirits, and who were jealous of my secretness. My first care was to reduce my own people to obedience and sweeten them into a good opinion of religion, and by God's blessing on my poor endeavours they complied within the space of ten or twelve weeks, save three or four who did also conforme and gave attendance to publick [29v] ordinances. In a short

²⁰ perhaps an allusion to Jude 12.

²¹ i.e., 3to, tertio.

²² Robert Law was minister of Skirling, Biggar presbytery, from 1689 until 1699, when he was transferred to Shotts. He died in 1727. *FES*, i, 258; iii, 277.

²³ Probably a reference to some notable conversions; see above, p. 264.

time thereafter, finding thus peaceable at home, I was supported inwardly in my attempts of reforming abuses crept in upon the presbytry in their publick meetings. Some of the brethren who were pleased to think me over nice, for fear (as would seem) of disturbance from me, concurred politickly with the more strick party among them to mount me in the moderator's chair.

And now I was in greater consternation than ever, till I found me master of the affections of that party of them who were in best repute with the neighbourhead, by whose help I learned the practises of underhand dealings of the rest. I was at length jealo-used²⁴ for heading a party by reason of the ballast²⁵ which I kept in the presbytry when I was in the chair, and was now and then lifted in the throng of the janglings of the other party. This obleiged me to alter my former measures, which I did and upon a certain critical juncture of presbytry affairs made a concert with a leading minister of our own number, that he and I should never misunderstand one another, however we might be forced now and then to clash in publick. I found this so very successfull, that I was encouraged to enter into the same measures with the rest of our honest brethren, and being thus supported I set myself to reform some abuses crept into the presbytry, and quhich I understood to be the spring of all the jealousies the synod of Lothian had and which was at this time at a great pitch. To work we go, and I take upon me (as being the stranger among them) to quarral diverse [30r] procedures. I quarrel the neglect of publick preaching at their meetings and their irregular way of meeting, keeping no set hour. I am displeas'd with them for not singing of Psalms in the church when any of our own number did chance to preach. But I fall out with them chiefly for their superficial way of trying candidats for the ministry as being the true rise of the synod's hard thoughts of them, who found some probationers pass from under their inspection who afterwards proved troublesome to the church. Diverse other things I stood up for, and after a year's conflict all came to be notably reformed, and the whole fraternity were in good terms with me and we lived amicably together.

²⁴coldly.

²⁵ballance, order.

James Murray, 'Diary', c.1698

Mr James Murray's Diary,

or a succinct record of what was remarkable with relation to him for the glory of God and his own shame and downcasting.

4r] Notwithstanding of the ignorance and impiety of these times quhich occasioned my lamentable and never-enough-to-be-deplored loss of a pious and holy education, my parents (from ane overruling good hand of providence) put me to the school for to acquire some knowledge in the English tongue, quhich in a short time I attained to, being then about six years of age. After quhich time I was kept from all school for the space of five years, and excepting two quarters and a moneth quhich was mostly spent in reading the Bible. After this it pleased the Lord upon the advice of some godly presbyterian friends, finding me of a slender body, to move my fater (quho had conceived thoughts of designing me for some mechanick employ) to send me to the Latine school, even beyond his own first intentions, being then about eleven years of age. [4v]

Having begun the rudiments, I continued waiting upon the school with great diligence and care, very respectfull to my master, as will appear from these three things that were known to be true by others: 1. Upon ane apprehension of being too late in going to school, I would in all haste run without breakfast or anything in my pocket that so I might be timeous enough. 2. Iff I had but thought in my mind that my master was displeased with me, I would have wept quhen saying my lesson, tho' I never was whipt or beat by him for the want of it. 3. I never was reproved by any master for faults committed either within school or about it, excepting twice, I stood so in awe of him, tho' otherwise I was most wicked quhen provoked by my condisciples, but yet not so outwardly gross as many others; grace put even then some restraints upon me, a wild bullock.¹

When about 13 years of age I was made to have thoughts of my duty, perform[5r]ing something of it now and then, though alas, too rarely and formally, scarcely knowing what I sought of God. About this time I had thoughts of being a minister quhich sometimes I entertained with great

¹Jeremiah 31:18.

delight, as I fancied, if I could preach well and do good; quhereupon, at coming home I would have spoken the best words that wald offer to me then.

In the 14 and 15 years of my age I began to forbear my frequent childish pastimes, upon quhich I was too much bent formerly, and betook myself to a constant and more full reading of my books, quherin I was so incessant that my father would have taken them from me and bid me go out to play; quherof before it was the quite contrary with him and me. At this time, if I had prophaned the Lord's day by playing in words or deeds, my heart would have smitten me and I repented therof as I could, though much tempted to persist in youthheid's folly and vanity by others. O if grace had surl² me more early, then I should not have offended God so much.

[5v] Having compleated my Latine course and also my Greek, I thought more seriously than before of sermons and of the desireableness of learning, thinking it strange quhen some of my comerads were unwilling to be scholars, whose detaining of me through their incapacity and negligence I reflected on, as I could. About this time sovereign grace took me up from many common evils that others were daily involved in, thinking it a fearfull thing quhen any that were good scholars would name the devill or any such like word by way of imprecation or execration, having always a horrou of these terrible cursings by the name of God, **woun** wounds, &c, tho' alas, too often I would have uttered in my anger and rage the name of fiend and devill, but yet not ordinarily. When I entered to the semi-class in the college I laid aside every harsh word, thinking myself very innocent in being free from these oaths that others were belching out in my ears. Sometimes I used by-words,³ for quhich being often smitten in my [6r] conscience, I forsook them, understanding something of God's displeasure thereat, as I conceived. All the time of my abode at the colledge I was kept innocent from the many exhorbitant extravagancies that my condisciples were frequently rushing into; only thrice (too often, alas) I was ensnared and drawn aside with ill company, bot to no excess, but once, quhich quhen I remembered thereafter, O how heavy was it upon my spirit, many times wishing within myself that I had stayed in my quarters that so I might have had that ease in my mind quhich formerly I enjoyed. My sobriety and harmlessness was such that the regent would credit no evill of me, even quhen accused by my comrades quho took me for a presbyterian minister's son, envying me the more on that head, tho' I knew not quhat a presbyterian then meant; yea, because they conceived

² perhaps 'stormed'.

³ substitutes for the abhorred words?

that I would be a presbyterian minister, they hightened my stint⁴ the more at my laureation, for quhich then I cared not much, being plentifully provided by my father all that time, obtaining from [6v] him sometimes more money than was needfull; by reason quherof that the more profuse misbestowing much of it upon quhat was but childish, following (alas!) my own selfish heart too far, as upon reflexion I found afterwards too sadly true; but yet (quhich made it worse and the more endangering) as to the discerning of others, great innocence would [have] been thought in me as being one that was graver and more settled than many others, quhich, though I cannot deny, yet my heart was most wicked.

My course being perfected at the colledge with no small satisfaction and joy to myself, in regard that I was set now at liberty, as I thought, and freed from the many youthfull snares that sometimes were heavy upon me, quhen at the class, and presently quhen I was alone in my chamber or walking in the fields, I betook myself to think upon my soul and upon the hazard that I was in by reason of my manifold iniquities that then I seemed to see, but not so fully as afterwards.

[7r] Many times, even quhen I was at the colledge, I would have been thinking upon my case; but too rarely and remisly upon the account of my diversions—partly by comrades, partly by the indiscretion of my landslady—in my batchelour year severall ways quhich had so prevalent and strong influence upon me through the ebness⁵ of any serious thoughts I had, that they perplext me much and took off any small piece of edge that was begun upon my spirit. For even notwithstanding of a sharp convincing touch that I got from a minister's sermon in my semi-vacance as to my omission of prayer with that constancy and frequency as Christians ought, yet to my old restlessness I returned. Quhen waiting upon the class for quhich my vain heart had this frivolous pretext, that now I was obliged to be taken up about my learning and for serious matters I had yet time enough—neither were others so concerned about their souls as I was, quhich many times would on a sudden be injected [7v] and darted in upon me, but O I may say, I knew not quhat seriousness meant.

However, my laureation, quhich was in June 30, 1690, being over, I apprehended that all my difficulties and straits were past. Staying at home in my father's all that half-year thereafter, excepting 20 dayes, I gave myself to the revising of quhat I had ever learned, judging myself therby to be the more fitted for any pedagogy or chaplaincy that I might be called to in the Lord's holy providence. Quherunto if ane opportunity should be given, I alwayes much inclined.

⁴ supply or allowance, whether food or money.

⁵ shallowness, scarcity.

About the beginning of September 1690 the Lord in his goodness ordered it so, that one Dr Trotter,⁶ a very discreet and piously inclined gentleman, as is thought, signified to me that he knew of a family that against Martinmass thereafter would gladly have me for their pedagogue and chaplain, quherwith I was very well pleased, thinking it a good occasion; and endeavouring to make myself ready I went on November 16 or thereabouts to the family, quhich was the laird of Shielfields⁷ [8r] at Dryburgh in the Merse, a more sober and well-affected family than many in that country, of quhich descended the good and honest ministers Mr Henry⁸ and Mr Wm Areskines.⁹

After that I had entred into the family and continued a quhile in it, it was put upon me by the laird to make family exercise quhich formerly, even quhen his children had another pedagogue, did it himself. This was very astonishing and surprizing to me, a poor, young, bashfull, and timorous creature, being as yet 19 years of age. How many painfilling anxieties and desponding thoughts had I about it! Yet being called therto by the heads of the family, I durst not, I could not, decline it. In the performance of it I continued during all my abode there, being for the space of ane year and a half, with many fears and much trembling, especially quhen strangers came to the house, so afraid was I to intermed

⁶ Thomas Boston's mother was Alison Trotter, 'a woman prudent and virtuous'. *Memoirs of ... Thomas Boston*, 5. He had a cousin Alison (106). This Trotter was a physician, of Duns. 'He was second son to Alexander Trotter of Cattlesheill [or Kettesheill, in Longfornnacus parish, of which property he became laird in 1693]], and married [1698] Mrs Julian Home, sister to the laird of Kimmerghame [George Home], a grave, virtuous, and pious gentlewoman'. Boston praised his temperate and generous nature: 'He had something severe in his temper, but was nevertheless a most affectionate and useful friend, whose memory is exceeding dear to me,' 180. See also *An Album of Scottish Families, 1694-96, being the First Instalment of George Home's Diary*, eds. H. and K. Kelsall (Aberdeen, 1990), [48].

⁷ John Erskine, brother to Henry; see next note.

⁸ Henry Erskine (1624-96) was born in Dryburgh. He took MA at Edinburgh in 1645. He spent time at Cornhill, Northumberland, but was deposed in 1662. He returned to Dryburgh and ministered as he could, without any warrant, until his arrest in 1682. He was allowed to leave the realm, and went to a place near Carlisle and then back to the vicinity of Cornhill. He was imprisoned again briefly, then returned to Scotland and lived in Whitsome parish in the presbytery of Chirnside, where Boston heard him. He went to Chirnside in 1690 as minister (*FES*, ii, 34). Wodrow remembered him as 'a singularly good man, and extraordinary in the actings of faith, and had many singular outgates in the greatest of his straites'; *Analecta*, i, 88. Wodrow continued on the next page: 'Soe that the Lord will even work a miracle, almost, before he suffer any that treuly depend upon his Providences to want' (italic added). His providences, including the supply of food, remind one of some of Oral Roberts's stories, the exception being Wodrow's insistence on the almost a miracle. See also *ibid.*, 84; and *An Abbreviate of the Life of the Rev. Mr Henry Erskine*, in *Memoirs of Mrs William Veitch*.

⁹ William Erskine (c.1631-1692), apparently of the same family as Henry. Minister of Girthon, called but probably did not go to Carsphairn, both in Kirkcudbright presbytery; then to the Tron, Edinburgh in 1687. He spent years in prison in Stirling Castle and the Bass Rock for his presbyterianism. *FES*, ii, 400-1, 409-10; i, 136.

and with such a weighty duty even before men; though alas, not [8v] from that sense of my insufficiency for it, that became me.

About this time it pleased the Lord to give me a deeper sight of my sinfull and vile self than ever before, quhich (I bless God), stuck with me, so as that I was not only convinced of my former misspent time, but of my own hazardous case and dangerous state at present, notwithstanding of all my duties both private and publick quhich were not a few; it being my ordinary (beside family worship) to pray thrice a day with my pupils, at morn, midday, and at night; and for the most part 10 times in private every day; in quhich, altho' I was as seriously taken up as I could—giving myself also to the frequent catechizing of the children with many admonitions to them—yet I was taught (and blessed be my teacher) that all this was nothing, being but a building on the sand,¹⁰ quhich I learn'd from the Lord's darting in that truth, Hosea 13:9, 'Thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help'; quhich was most refreshing to my poor spirit quhen ready to faint and give over because of [9r] the difficulties that laid by my sinfulness in the way of my own salvation. This promise was brought home upon my soul with power, so as that I found nothing in me could contribute to my obtaining of salvation, but that all was in God and Christ. At the time of its sudden and unexpected incoming upon my mind, I was anxiously and with no little heaviness thinking how dreadfull was my condition and quhat I should do for a remedy. That this truth came from God's own Spirit and not from ane enthusiastick inspiration is convincingly plain to me (tho' I have indeed many times since almost sunk under the apprehension of being feirfully deluded) in regard that it had ane effectuell tendency to lead me to my best helper, viz. to God in Christ, quherin alas, I was ignorant of before, doing duties only by the force of an enlightened conscience, as if by it and by my own painfulness I could spiritually and acceptably perform, quhich was nothing from Satan, even as 'ane angell of light',¹¹ leads this way, but hiddenly tends to draw from God and to involve us in deep security or despair and anguish. [9v]

This promise and some others came very seasonably unto me, being formerly imposed upon by Satan so far as to think it was in my origin and option to come out of myself and devolve my soul upon Christ, a fearful deceit! Quherupon to this very time I was dashing and ruining my poor sinfull soull; altho' the Lord took no small pains upon me to teach my own utter inability so to do by the continued inefficacy of fasting and abstinence to soften or affect my heart, quhich, if it had been mollified any way by these endeavours, how readily would I have sitt down therupon and so never have come to Christ for the doing of that quhich

¹⁰ Matthew 7:26.

¹¹ 2 Corinthians 11:14.

could never [have] been done by me. So that I may say, O quhat mercy is it for a poor soul, that's in the place of the breaking forth of children, sometimes to be little affected and touslit under the pains and means it uses, that quherby it may learn Christ from quhom a soft tender heart only comes. It's good for us sometimes that we [10r] cannot weep and sigh, as we wald be at, and that because great pride would creep in immediatly and so we should be more hardened. But Christ knows well how to make us acquaint with himself and with ourselvs.

After that, continuing for some time in much fear and doubting again because of the wanderings of my heart quhich were many in duty and out of it, it pleased the Lord out of his free grace and infinite love to bring home to my soul the promises of pardon of his assisting grace, quhereby the sweet gales of his Spirit breathing on my dead soul he carried me to Christ and helped (I hope) with some measure of sincerity to close with him as the only portion of my soul. Quhich being done, with what joy was my soul filled and quhat filiall confidence was I made to repose in him and in him alone, being taught before the ill of my self-destroying wayes and inclinations, quhen did my soul sing: 'Thanks be to God, that alwayes gives us the victory through Christ Jesus'.¹²

[10v] Now was I filled with praises for my riddance and freedom from my former fears, doubts, and anxieties, quherby I had brought my body into a perfect skeleton. Through them I had heart to nothing. But this my fair sunshine was soon eclipsed and benighted by the Lord's permitting the enemy to assault me with all his helling darts, tempting me to atheism, blasphemy, unclean thoughts, pride, security, and many more abominations. When I ever can reckon up or if told, aye as credible almost, quherat being but ane untrained novice in encountering with such a subtile enemy, I was so damped and discouraged that I thot all my former attainments none [but] were cheats and delusions, quhich also he suggested many times on a sudden. Quherupon I became most melancholious and deserted even within a moneth after, quhich, no doubt, was the more readily contracted by former sedentariness and fastings and mind-troubles, as the formentioned Dr Trotter shewed me, quho, foreseeing the bad fruits of all these in me, dissuaded me, [11r] as he had occasion, from my being so retired and solitary. But I being secure as to these things and drowned in perplexities of mind because of my sinfull case, superadding to all unweariet reading, very hastily involved myself in a deep melancholy quhich was most hurtfull both to my soul and body, being sometimes by it deprived of my very sense and so far dulled that for some dayes I was fit for no duty. But by the use of some means in my father's in March 1692 I was restored, as whole as ever. Blessed be the great physician even quhen I was counted among the dead by some of

¹² 1 Corinthians 15:57.

quhom I deserved better things. After quhich on March 25 I returned to the family to my old station untill Whitsunday, discharging my former trust both with respect to the family and my pupils, two of quhom (being the eldest) I made through God's blessing ready for the Greek tongue; and quhich is not ordinary, they were more fitt for it quhen I left them then half a year therafter, tho' at a publick school, the overruling [11v] cause quherof I conceived to be this, the restraint of God's favourable concurrence and blessing, because of their carelessness of prayer and other duties, quherin they were frequent quhen with me, and upon the account of the snares and vices that their condisciples drew them into; the reality of quhich thot I founded upon 2 Chronicles 26:5.¹³

After Whitsunday it pleased the Lord to bring me out of that family to the truly godly Mr Areskine's at Churnside in the Merse, quhich was the more remarkeable that previously to my melancholy it was furnished by our lady's mother that the earl of Forres would have me upon some recomendation it seemed by my welwishers, tho' unknown to me. But this, if true, was frustrate by my melancholy for my greater after advantage, and that beyond my expectation, my hopes being at this time almost lost through my own despondency and disanimating fears. Yet God's thoughts were far above mine,¹⁴ for I was but lately entred to his house quhen he desired me to take a text, quhich I durst not think upon, so that I altogether refused it, being both young and most dejected in spirit, hav[12r]ing but newly fulfilled my twentieth year. However, the worthy man continued to offer me a text severall times, quhich I declined alwayes, untill August 1692, quhen [an]other two young men were at their presbytry, receiving texts in order to tryalls, of quhich he told me and intreating me to take a text also to pass with him, shewing if some other ministers also were willing and desirous of my entry on tryals, especially Mr Colden,¹⁵ a very holy and circumspect man. Quherupon at length I yielded and took a text, quhich Mr Areskine prescribed me on 1 Timothy 3:16, 'Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness', quhich I made ready as well as I could and delivered it before the whole presbytery and a considerable many country-people that out of curiosity came to hear us three quho had our homilies all on the same day. In this I was approven. But at the time of its delivery I was most indifferent whether I proceeded or not. After this I got my common head appointed me, *Num papa sit antichristus?*¹⁶ quhich I also repeated *coram*¹⁷ and was approven. Thereafter I distributed my

¹³ '... and as long as he [Uzziah] sought the Lord, God made him to prosper.'

¹⁴ Isaiah 55:9.

¹⁵ Alexander Colden (1654-1738) took the MA at Edinburgh in 1675. He was minister at Enniscorthy, Ireland; to Bunkle, 1690; to Duns, 1693; to Oxnam 1700. *FES*, ii, 136.

¹⁶ Whether the pope be the Antichrist?

¹⁷ publicly.

theses to be impugned, quhich I was helped [12v] to sustain without being in the le[a]st nonplust. After this I had the presbyteriall exercise and addition on the presbyterie's ordinary in Colossians 1 last [1:29] and 2:1,¹⁸ quherin I was approven without the use-making of any book, to the praise of rich grace. After this I was tryed in the catecheticks and languages with approbation, being put out in no question but one, blessed be my helper and teacher. After all quhich and upon my adherence to the presbyterian government, declared I was licensed to preach by the united presbyteries of Dunse and Churnside on November 1, 1692. From quhich time till May 1 I continued to preach at the presbyteries' direction upon my own proper expenses, never having received any gratuity but three dollars and ten pound in lieu of Duns byrsary, quhich I refused and rejected because the Lord provided for me in a more creditable way quherunto my spirit inclined most, being most averse from the ties of such-like gratuities.

There is one thing that will [13r] make my tryals and license the more remerkable, quhich I cannot omitt. A little before my entry on this, Mr Areskine and Sir Robert Stewart of Allanbank were pressing for my engaging with Allanbank's family, and to persuade me hereunto a greater sellary than quhat the former chaplain got was promised me, quhich I declined upon the advise of Dr Trotter, that alwayes seemed to have a great kindness for me, and because at this time I inclined to wait on Mr Campbell's¹⁹ lessons at the profession in Edinburgh; quhich Mr Areskine took very ill, probably because Sir Robert had been kind to him and because his own children would come to me every day, Mr Areskine's house being near G[irthon?]; quhich much troubled me for a quhile. However, a little thereafter he was gratified and would have me to take a text as is said before, quhich (I dare not but say) my heart was hankering after, my inclinations being alwayes set upon the ministry, tho' in contemplation of my unfitness and out of fear lest my melancholy should recurr, I declined it [as] formerly. [13v]

While I was preaching at the direction of the forsaid presbyteries, the parish of Ladykirk had ane eye upon me to offer me a call, being therunto advised by some of the ministers, particularly by Mr Dysart,²⁰

¹⁸ 'Whereunto I also labour, striving according to this working, which worketh in me mightily. For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh'.

¹⁹ George Campbell (MA, Edinburgh, 1656) who became minister of Dumfries in 1658. He was deprived in 1662, declined the 1672 Indulgence, fled to Holland returning in 1687 to Dumfries then to Old Kirk, Edinburgh, in 1690, while he was also divinity professor. *FES*, i, 75.

²⁰ John Dysart (1660-c.1726) took the MA at Glasgow in 1680 and was ordained to the presbyterian congregation at Dalton, Northumberland in 1686. He went to Langton in 1691 and then to Coldingham in 1694. His settlement there was sufficiently unpopular that he took pistols into the pulpit. *FES*, ii, 38.

then minister at Langtown, quhich I understood afterwards. But that was crushed by the laird of Ladykirk, a malignant, quho choosed rather one Mr More²¹ that had been episcopall, but then a truly pious man, as I thought, quho continued to preach every other day (if I mind aright) in the said Ladykirk for the space of half a year and some more therafter, at quhich time it pleased the Lord to take him.

On March 19, 1693, having providentially met with Mr George Boyd,²² minister at Glencairn, one of my former acquaintance, I was earnestly prest and intreated by him to come unto the presbytery of Penpont in Nithsdale in quhich bounds he was settled; quherunto I yielding gave my promise that against Aprill 25 therafter I should see their bounds. Unto this (quhich is very remarkable) I was inclined, although the very worthy Mr Gabriel Semple,²³ minister at Jedburgh, sollicit [14r] me very much to stay in their bounds upon the hopes of procuring me a call there with him. But to this I had no heart, being still of this resolution to settle with the people quhom I could profit most, suppose I should have the lesser stipend, being then indifferent quhich place in the vineyard my master should pit[c]h on and allott for me and also knowing that many parishes in that countrey, especially as to their leading men, were disaffected to the government and most headstrong and unruly.

About March 30, 1693 I was prevailed with by Mr Robert Stark²⁴ to go into East Lothian and preach for him; quhich accordingly I did, upon the presbyterie's permission and consent (for beside and contrary to this I never acted), but would not stay, tho' the said Mr Robert prest me so to do.

About April 16, 1693 procuring my testificat from the presbyteries forsaied, I came therefrom, tho' with the reluctancy of some of them; however, at their desire I continued to preach a Sabbath or two therafter. [14v]

According unto quhat our blessed Lord said, 'A prophet is not without honour, save in his own countrey',²⁵ in his holy providence he brought me to this countrey of Nithsdale on May 5, 1693, quhere, tho' labouring under many discouragements common to me with my

²¹ John Moir, MA, Marischal, 1685. He taught at Wemyss, then, confessing his fault in taking holy orders as deacon, was licensed and ordained in 1691. He became minister of Simprin in Chimside presbytery in 1691. He married Elizabeth Erskine and died sometime after 14 Nov 1692. *FES*, ii, 62. From what Murray writes, one may presume that Moir preached in two parishes, including Ladykirk.

²² George Boyd graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1689 and was minister at Glencairn, Penpont presbytery, 1692-1700; *FES*, ii, 315.

²³ on Semple, see above, p. 24.

²⁴ This might be the — Stark listed in *FES*, ii, 284, mentioned in the context of Kirkpatrick Durham c.1662.

²⁵ Matthew 13:57.

brethren, I want not suitable respect; yea I have more honour put upon me than I am worthy of, so that I may say, 'What am I or my father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto?'²⁶

In my coming thither by Edinburgh, having the advice of some ministers there present to take off a new suit of cloaths, I became strained in money; quhich proved not a little disquieting unto me by virtue of my sinfull and diffident anxiety thereabout. At length I came to submit intirely to the will of God, as I could; quherupon immediatly (quhich frequently I have had reason to observe) God provided me plentifully and so disappointed my anxious fears. 'Quhat shall I render unto the Lord for all his seasonable benefits?'²⁷ [15r]

Having written from Edinburgh to my father for some more money upon the account of ane apprehended penury in a strange place, I received 8 lib. Scots of 10 that he sent within 7 or 8 days immediatly after my writing, quherwith I thought myself very enricht, especially quhen the young man that was sent to bring me into the country of Nithsdale, and presently to the parish of Penpont, did bear my charges all the way almost.

Though now a stranger in a strange place and upon that head not a little discouraged—Mr. George Boyd, my only acquaintance in the country being at that time in Edinburgh—yet the Lord procured me much favour by the undeserved commendation of Mr Gabriel Semple, quho a little before my incoming to this country was correspondent to the synod of Drumfries, quhere he met with some of the people of Penpont then sekng a minister quho, because of him, were the kinder to me, he being well known to many of them. [15v] The same holy man, Mr Gabriel Semple, wrote unto me encouraging me in my work about a moneth after my coming to Nithsdale, quhich, as I conceived, was done by him because he knew me to be of a melancholy temper at that time and easily made to despond; upon quhich account I have understood him to be very much concerned in me, tho' 'less than the least of all saints',²⁸ even to this very instant.

Being desired by Mr George Boyd (quhich he also shewed in a letter) to signify that it would be necessary for the presbytery to meet, and having made so much known, I was much mistaken, especially by Mr James Elder²⁹ as I found; tho' most innocently I uttered it without any selfish designing, being most willing and desirous at this time to return to my own country, as my conscience bears me witness; at quhich I was in my own mind much troubled. However, I was helped to overlook the

²⁶ 2 Samuel 7:18; 1 Chronicles 17:16.

²⁷ Psalm 116:12.

²⁸ Ephesians 3:8.

²⁹ From Ireland, ordained at Penpont 29 May 1691; minister of Keir, presbytery of Penpont, from 1691; d. 1722. *FES*, ii, 317.

same and by it in some measure learned poor man's lyableness to mistake and to be mistaken. [16r]

The presbytery judging it expedient and in some measure necessary that young men (probationers) should upon their first entry preach before them, and shewing that other young men did so before me, I was prevailed with on their desire to preach *coram*; quhich I was helped to do with ordinary assistence and, as they said, to their satisfaction.

After this at their appointment I continued to preach in Penpont and other places within their bounds, not without divine assistance, if I dare say so. At this time, viz. upon May 30, 1693, I had a call from the parish of Penpont tendered to me by the presbytery, quhich was most unanimously subscribed and adhered to by the Penpont parish. Even the wildest people (as they are called) owned me and attended the ordinance of preaching dispensed by me, quhich they never did before; quhich call upon the presbytrie's desire I took to my consideration, being alwayes afraid of its ~~xxxx~~ vast extent, especially quhen I minded the tenderness of my body. Quherupon I did hesitate much, yet being desirous to do all the service I could to any people to quhom the Lord in his holy providence should bring me, I accepted of [16v] the call and went through all my pieces of tryall in order to ordination through the Lord's aid to the presbytrie's satisfaction. ~~The grounds that prevailed with me~~ The grounds of my clearness to accept of the call are these: 1. my indifferent purpose of settling in any place of this church and with any people to quhom I should be lawfully called. I preferred no place, no people, before another antecedently to a call. 2. The people's declared satisfaction with my preaching gift, as suiting them. 3. My utter unconcernedness to make them to call me either one way or another. 4. My utter silence as to their stipends, hearing without enquiry that there was a competent maintenance. 5. My firm resolution to do all the good to souls I could amongst them, to quhich I may add, 6. the guiding providences of God in the people's cordialness and unanimity as to my exercising of myself in the country amongst them; as also the prayers that the godly amongst them made eventually for me; quhich I hope may give me cause to say that the Lord determind my heart to them more than to any other. And yet [17r] it was cast up to me by another, quhom I name not, that my cleirness was only God determind me, and is quhich I uttered, quhen posed by Mr George Boyd that ordained me, quhat cleired me as to this parish in particular—quhom I forgive, tho' he spakest quhen I was most despondent and cast down.

July 26, 1693. I was ordained minister at Penpont, having then elapsed my 21 years. My youthheid and natural bashfulness did keep me from speaking as much as others at such a time, quhom I shall not condemn.

Although I made the fashion of consulting God's mind as to the clearing of my way for the people, yet alas, I was too negligent, quhich in some measure I [have] understood since. O how hard a thing is it to wrestle with God,³⁰ yet I dare not but say that he was pleased to take away some things that were very pusilling³¹ to me. Notwithstanding wherof I have been most jealous that I knew not quhat it was to obtain clearness in any matter from God.

August 21. I took up house in the manse, having gotten some utensils from my father. [17v] Although it was a³² barehanded enough, yet the Lord procured me favour with severals and I wanted not, being provided for a servant-man with my uncle's son John and for a maid with one Euphame McLaury, a very faithfull servant and most piously inclined. But being unmarried I judged it not convenient in such times of prophanity to keep a woman in the house with us: quherfor I put away the woman at Whitsunday 1694. Altho' I had Ebenezer Areskine³³ with me beside my servant-lad, quhome I sought of his father to bear me company and to learn his Logicks with me for my divertisement, and this my removing of the woman was displeasing to the parish, quho told me that without one the house could not be ordered, my lad being unskilfull in house-affairs, quhich to my loss I found true afterwards.

About the beginning of July 1694 it pleased the Lord [18r] to smite me with a sore and long hec tick feaver that continued to near the 10 or 11 of September thereafter, at quhich time tho' recovering I was scarce able to walk a pair of butts without fainting almost. About the mid-time of my sickness, quhich was about August 11, I was given over as gone and dead by doctors and all quho saw me—my winding sheet was bought, my dead soaks were sewed, quhich I kept hitherto and resolves to keep untill my last, and yet the Lord, to shew his power, brought me back from the gates of death beyond the expectation of all almost in the time of my sore feaver, being waked ten weeks together.³⁴ My spirit was often refresht with these and such-like words, 'Fear not, worm Jacob ... I will help you',³⁵ 'I will uphold you',³⁶ &c. The Lord upholds all that fall and raises up all that are bowed down; yea, to the praise of rich and free grace, tho' most spent and feeble, much of his Word was given me to the refreshing of others that waited [on] me in the night-seasons as they shewed me, quhen afterwards I was most damped [18v] with fear

³⁰ perhaps alluding to Jacob's wrestling encounter in Genesis 32:24-30.

³¹ puzzling.

³² probably intended to be crossed out.

³³ Ebenezer Erskine (1680-1754) was son of Henry Erskine, minister of Chirnside. He was at the University of Edinburgh, 1693-1702. He went on to defend the Marrow doctrine and to establish the Secession Church. *FES*, iv, 328-9.

³⁴ There is here (, but there is no closing parenthesis.

³⁵ Isaiah 41:14.

³⁶ Isaiah 41:10.

and melancholy, quhich was occasioned quhen I was recovering upon my remembering the many rovings that I had now and then in my feaver quhich, tho' the fruits of sin somtimes (I am sure), were represented to me in a magnifying glass to the overwhelming of my soul with sorrow and that by Satan quho works desperatly upon predomin[at]ing melancholy. Little did he suffer me to know and consider that rovings in feavers are incident to the best, tho' I dare not altogether excuse myself. They were no doubt my sins, tho' not so gross as those that the ungodly committ in such feavers. As also my apprehension of my unproficiency under so sever[e] a rod and the inherence of old adolescent³⁷ lusts did not a little affect me; now I thought I should have been a new man and more holy than formerly. But this was not quhich made me very speedily cast away my love and confidence, breaking out into despair, crying that I was a hypocrite and dam[19r]ned wretch, cast off by God, continually weeping and bemoaning my desperate case, untill my body was quite disordered. I could neither eat, nor drink; nothing could satisfy me. To do thus I began on Munday being about September 21 continuing unto October 5 thereafter. O how afraid was I of hell, &c., quherby I became most stupid, speaking almost none, being a burthen to myself and as I thought, hated of all upon just causes. Often I exclaimed against myself as being a novice and unworthy to be a minister. All my sins of all sorts were now fresh upon my spirit and as mountains betwixt God and me. At this time reviving would it have been to me to hear of a possibility for me to obtain salvation; yea, I would have sold the world, if mine, for ane hour's true sleep and ten thousand worlds for the solid hope of heaven and of obtaining Christ's favour. Now thought I myself to be guilty of the sin against H[oly] G[host]³⁸ innumerable times. By all quhich Satan had me at a [19v] great advantage, making me apprehend that all the ministers were condemning me to be burnt and such sort of fancies, quherby I was made a hell to myself and, as I often thought, another Francis Spira.³⁹ Now thought I the wicked were hardned and the godly wounded through my incurable bruise: a reprobate was my ordinary name with my own lips. Sometimes I thought God would strike me into a stone, as he had done to severals in Tripoly, as history records,⁴⁰ quhich came often into my remembrance, quhich I thought upon ~~xxxxx~~ with horroure of soul; sometimes I had thoughts of self-murther. But blessed be the Lord, quho gave me not up unto the will of mine enemies. So broken in memory and judgement in God's holiness I continued all October without preaching a word, except a

³⁷ probable reading.

³⁸ Matthew 12:31.

³⁹ See above, p. 242, n. 57.

⁴⁰ unidentified.

lecture ane Lord's day, quhen I baptized a child. And all November also, tho' every day preaching quhen I was scarce able to stand, untill about the beginning of December, at quhich time the Lord healed me. Blest be my physician. [20r]

All this time I was a fear to mine acquaintances, yea (I suppose) to my brethren, some of quhom were ready to say that 'there is no hope for him in God', excepting Mr Thomas Shields,⁴¹ Mr James Elder, and Mr George Boyd, quho set themselves to encourage me. But alas, Satan did obstruct all consolation tendered by them in suggesting to me that I wronged the cause of God by my unmanly and unchristian silly-spiritedness, quhich they honestly had owned hitherto, and that they came to see me for espying and searching out causes of condemning me, quhich I too much credited. O, but my heart would have leapt within me if I had understood so much as the le[a]st desire in them of my welfare. But blest for evermore be the Lord that recovered me even beyond my own expectation quhen I was looking for nothing but utter sinking under desertion in the mire of heavy and unmaning melancholy, that so the praise might be not of men, but of his free grace. [20v]

After this I revived still more and more both as to my spirit and body, being beyond my thoughts helped to follow the duties of my station with respect to the parish in catechizing them, &c., all the spring and summer therafter untill July 6, 1695, on quhich day the sacrament of the Lord's supper was celebrate to my great satisfaction many wayes, the Lord being pleased to reach the hearts of many in the parish by convincing them of the ill of the Test,⁴² so as that they openly confest the same on the fast day and others were confirmed. Some were more restrained from sin; some of the wild people were brought in; and as for my own part, I dare not but say, the Lord was with me not only at this time, but even in severall Sabbaths before, quherin the Lord made his Word most convincing, as I thought, to others and to myself. This solemn action was so mannaged by God's aid that even the wildest were silent and, as [21r] they said, glad to hear of it—not unto me, not unto me, but to thy name's glory, let it be.

About the beginning of August therafter, being in the Merse in order to the visiting of my friends, I went to see Shelfield's family at Dryburgh, quhere the worthy Mr Henry Areskine promised to meet me, and being counselled by all my brethren that a yokefellow would be most comfortable to me and presently being advised by Mr Anderson⁴³ in West

⁴¹ Thomas Shiels went to Kilbride (Kirkbride), presbytery of Penpont, in 1655, and was deprived in 1662. He went to Robertson, presbytery of Selkirk, in 1689, then back to Kilbride in 1693 and on to Sanquhar in 1693. *FES*, ii, 190, 325-7.

⁴² Probably the Oath of Allegiance, 1693; see above, p. 192, n. 73.

⁴³ Probably John Anderson (1655-1712), who graduated MA from Edinburgh in 1672. He went from Earlston to St Cuthbert's (West Kirk), Edinburgh in 1691, and to St Andrews in 1699. *FES*, v, 234; i, 101. Wodrow wrote about one of Anderson's communions at Earlston

Kirk of Edinburgh to come in suit of Shelfield's second daughter, in whose name he promised that I should scarcely meet with a refusall, I offered my best respects and service to her, quho being of a complaisant humour took it well and promised me ane answer that might be (as she said) satisfying, quhich I, being credulous, expected. But notwithstanding of her promises to Mr Henry Areskine, she seemed to be reluctant. After this again I went October 20, or therabouts, and saw her at her father's house, quhere Dr Trotter, agented for me to Mr Anderson, by a letter had signified my purpose. After [21v] conference with her she consented and gave me an evidence therof, quherat I was well pleased, she being one that seemed to be piously inclined. Her stepmother was for me, [but] her father, tho' declaring his consent before me, was in reality not so cordiall for it, as was shewed me afterwards, upon quhich account and better expectations she resiled, notwithstanding of her many declarations of affection to me. At this time she looked for one Mr Charles Lithgow,⁴⁴ a preacher and a gentleman's son beside themselves whose knavery and folly in forging his credentials of lineage and preaching at his own hand was discovered some few days after this my repulse, and sentence past against him in the assembly of quhich then I was a member. Beside him her father and she harkened after one other Mr Gowan, quho was said to be rich; yet here they mist their mark, for within some few weeks his father dyed and left his affairs very ravelled and unclear, and the lad himselfe fell [22r] in fornication. As for my proposals, as I could I committed them to God, according to Psalm 37:5,⁴⁵ quhich was often in my mind, from quhich promise I concluded that God would do one of these 3: either grant me my particular request or give me as good or else strengthen me to bear my repulse in a Christian way without fretfull anxiety, both quhich last God gave me graciously, tho' not the first. Blest be his name, for upon that very day of my final repulse the Lord ordered it so that coming unto Mr Laurie's shop without the le[a]st design of marriage for a season, I was informed by him and his wife of a niece of his in Kirkcudbright, quho without enquiry told me that she was godly, well bred at schools, and one that had a considerable tocher; quhich the honest man, as he declared, silenc'd me out of a desire of my welfare more than out of any selfish respect to his niece [Isobel Murray]. To this [I] hearkened and told him that I perhaps I would pay her visitt, quheranent he wrott to her friends. But being averse from marriage and very

at which 'there wer one thousand Communicants, several thousands hearing, and twelve Ministers'; *Analecta*, i, 178.

⁴⁴ Charles Lithgow possessed forged credentials from the presbytery of Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline and was called to Swinton but when the forgery was discovered, the general assembly had him censured from the pulpits of churches of the presbyteries of Duns, Chirside, and Selkirk on 12 January 1696. *FES*, ii, 60.

⁴⁵ 'Commit thy way unto the Lord; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart'.

indifferent as to it, I did not goe for a quarter [22v] of ane year thereafter almost, for mainly I was inclined to marriage upon the persuasions of some ministers, being of myself as to it very unclear and hesitating. However, merely out of respect to my promise, having never seen the gentewoman, I went to Kirkcudbright March 10, 1696, devolving it on God's disposall, being very unconcerned as to its event. And as I was going I apprehended her friends probably might be ungodly and mock me, but that word was frequently born in on me, 'all things are ready'.⁴⁶ Being come to the place, I was most kindly taken in by the learned and worthy Mr Andrew Cameron,⁴⁷ minister, and by one John Murray, with quhom I lodged. So on the morrow I went to see Bailliff Meek, her uncle, and quhen I had spent all that day, I desired him to take me to Bailliff Carmont's, her mother's present husband, to quhich quhen I came, she met me without my knowledge, and there having stayed one hour only, being made very welcome, I gave her a letter [23r] written by Mr James Elder in my favours. On the morrow I came again and called for a word of her, quhich obtaining, I shewed my design and told I would write after this and so returned, being perswaded that Mr Lawry⁴⁸ had said nothing but quhat was true.

Afterwards, going some times and transmitting otherwiles some letters, it pleased the Lord to dispose the minds of all concerned so favourable, as that within less than 5 moneths our marriage was consummate and solemnized after my first visit, viz. on July 22, 1696. We were married by the worthy, learned, and truly pious Mr. Andrew Cameron in my stepmother's house and attended with the best and most honest people in the town of Kirkcudbright. After 8 or 10 dayes' abode with my mother-in-law we came home accompanied with some of my wife's friends.

After this it pleased God that my wife was with child very early, but yet not before time, blest be the Lord quho kepted me from defiling the honourable bed of marriage. All the time of her being with child [I] was still afraid lest she, a very young lass, being but yet [23v] in her 19 year, through her rashness or carelessness of herself should bring forth before the due time; quhich made me put my requeest, as I could, often to God for disappointing my fear herein, that so she might not open the mouths of [the] ungodly; and blessed be the Lord, quho heard my desire, in that my sweet firstborn came not unto the world till the full 3 quarters of ane year were expired and 24 hours more, on April 23, 1697. The child being

⁴⁶ Matthew 22:4; Luke 14:17.

⁴⁷ Andrew Cameron had been in Holland, and returned in 1687. He was ordained to Carsphairn 1690 and moved to Kirkcudbright in 1693; d. 1721. *FES*, ii, 417.

⁴⁸ Possibly Thomas Lawrie, who studied at Edinburgh and Glasgow (MA, Edinburgh, 1686). He succeeded his brother Robert (d. 1693) as minister of Closeburn in Penpont presbytery in 1694. He was deposed for adultery c.1709. *FES*, ii, 309-10.

a lass was born and baptized—her name was Marion⁴⁹—by Mr Elder minister in Ker on April 29 quherafter. The child quhen born was very small, quhich made some think that she was ~~æææ~~ somequhat abortive. But notwithstanding of her slenderness, she grew and thrived on my wife's one breast wonderfully, for my wife's left breast suppurated for the space of 13 weeks if not more, and ran with putrified matter for the most part untill about August 5, 'ere Dr Martland cured it by making incision therin. About quhich time the child was seized with ane extream hoarseness that lasted for 8 or 10 dayes, and this was little before our communion, quhich was on August 15, 1697, a great work and the greatest multitude that many ever saw at such ane occasion. At quhich time (blessed be the Lord) [24r] severalls were made to bless the Lord for his goodness to their souls then manifested, as also the child was restored as well as ever and was brought forth to the place of that solemn action, quhich was, as a gudly Christian woman asserted well, the Lord's favour to us that her sickness and death might not divert us at such a work. However, therafter on August 29, quhen her mother was in church (the Lord so ordering it for his own holy ends) the servant woman that was keeping the child changed her cloaths and from that time we observed that the hyves strake in and she was overtaken with ane extream cough, wherof she had many sore violent fitts, especially on Munday being September 6. About 5 in the morning or rather sooner, it scarce being light, she took a sore fitt quhich was apprehended to be death, and therfor I was called down to see my sweetest child expire, quhich was a great suprizall to me, that was not looking for it, altho' I had formerly and was of the mind, but rarely and with a kind of reluctancy, that she would not live, being such a smart and more than ordinarily thriving child. Coming down and seeing her greatly pained I went to prayer in the family [24v] to seek mercy to my poor child and relief; quhich was the Lord's pleasure soon to grant, for within a little she got ease for quhich I bowed my knees and gave thanks as I could. Her obtaining of any intervall and respite from these agonies was very refreshing to my spirit for she was dear to me on many accounts, such as 1. I sought her from the Lord by prayer, 'ere I saw her. 2. She was a most observing and quick child, considering her age, quhich was but 20 weeks. 3. She was of a very comely feature in the face and had the smartest eye. 4. To the far greater advantage she resembled myself. 5. She was a sweet diversion to me, being a man from the 18 year of my age of a sorrowful spirit. 6. Her knowing of me from another, quhich was strange in such a young child, quho, as soon as I came to her, quhen in the fitt above said, had such gestures with her lips and countenance and made such groanings, as to the

⁴⁹ Inserted between two lines of text. Marion is not given amongst his children in *FES*, ii, 323.

conviction of some present made them say that she was making her moan to me, quhich extorted no small sympathy from me. Being obliged that day to attend the duke of Queensferry, I left my sweet child until night that I returned, and as soon as I came in, notwithstanding of her pain, she laughed upon [25r] me and ~~xxxxxx~~ [said] 'ochy'⁵⁰ often, quhich she used quhen welpleased. After this she was better and the bystanders, seeing her laugh on me, said that she knew me and she was too wise. So she was pretty soft⁵¹ and well until Tuesday about one in the afternoon at quhich time she took a fitt, having had a lock leech upon her and I was at two miles distance. However, I was sent for. Being on my foot, I run home for the most part, making all haste, and coming in, I see my child in blood and coughing so as that the blood would not be stopt. O I was perplext; however, I settled myself and thought I would trust God that she should not bleed to death, quhich hope was not in vain, for the blood stayed that afternoon. About sun-setting she was like to expire, but it pleased the Lord to give her a further respite. On Wednesday morning she slept pretty well until about eleven hours, at quhich time she took a passion of death and had 5 or 6 of them until four in the afternoon, after quhich time she grew better, and all that she was recovering. She slept well until Sabbath and was pretty well. On Sabbath she was some worse and rested all the night before and about [25v] 3 [a']clock in the afternoon I was called from keeping session to see her dye, quhich was as a fresh wound to me, the Lord having given her sweet ease for many dayes before from her great tossings and pains. However, it was his holy will to take her from us, quhen tho' with difficulty at first, yet at length [we] submitted willingly to him, giving her away, as we could. On Sabbath, September 12, 1697 she dyed about 6 a'clock at night and of her age 20 weeks and 3 dayes. Yea, I may say on very great probabilities that she slept in Christ at that time.

June 29, being Wednesday, 1698, at ten of the clock at night I had my first son born very safely, for quhich I blest the Lord not only in secret, but in the family. The next day immediatly after his birth, my wife took a violent and long bleeding at the nose, quhich was got with great difficulty stopt, so that friends and I fear'd she would bleed to death; and quhen she saw her mother and me so concern'd, she told us that her heart was no way faintish, notwithstanding of her loss of so much blood; quhich was some encouragment and ground of hope that she [26r] might recover and the rather because ane eminent old physician, Mr Ross, quho was sent for, told that she was the better of bleeding and not the worse, and a gentlewoman quho [was] present assur'd us she was once in the same case and yet lived; quhich I observed to be made true as to my wife

⁵⁰ 'och aye'?

⁵¹ peaceful, quiet.

by the sovereign goodness of God to us. However, through the confusion the family was in, the child was not duely noticed for many hours, being only carried in my arms up and down the room with a thoughtfull and sad heart both for my wife's case and the neglect of the child among so many women, and (quhich increased my grief) a friend said 'It was no matter of the child, for', said he, 'children's death breaks no family'.⁵²

⁵² Suffice it to say here that such an attitude does not reflect the content of autobiographical reflections on the loss of children.

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