


Jac. V. $\frac{7}{2}$.





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SELECT PASSAGES

FROM THE

DIARY AND LETTERS

OF THE LATE

John Blackader, Esq.

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OF THE LATE

JOHN BLACKADER, Esq.

FORMERLY LIEUTENANT COLONEL OF THE XXVITH OR
CAMERONIAN REGIMENT OF FOOT, AND AFTERWARDS
DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF STIRLING CASTLE.

Written chiefly during the most interesting Scenes and
Engagements of the War in Flanders and Germany,
conducted by JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

Now first Published from his own MSS.

And interspersed with Explanatory and Historical Notes.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND PARENTAGE
OF THE WRITER.

WITH A PREFACE,

By JOHN NEWTON,

Rector of St Mary Woolnoth, London.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY J. RITCHIE.

SOLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE EDINBURGH
MAGDALENE ASYLUM.

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1806.



LAURISTON CASTLE  
LIBRARY ACCESSION

## ADVERTISEMENT.



*THE greater part of the Manuscripts from which the following pages are printed, were sold a few years ago as waste paper. But they happily came into the possession of those who discovered the writer of them, and perceived their value. They were afterwards shewn to Mr JOHN NEWTON of London, who having perused several parts of them, expressed his opinion that their publication might be useful, and agreed to recommend them in the following Preface, written more than five years ago. He advised that with this view they should be put into the hands of Mr JOHN CAMPBELL, then of this place, now Minister of the Gospel at Kingsland, near London. Mr CAMPBELL bestowed much time and attention upon them, and transcribed the Extracts and most of the Letters here presented to the Public—a task of no small labour and difficulty, from the smallness and faintness of the character in which they are written. His numerous engagements, however, prevented*

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him from preparing them for the press. He committed them to the care of the present Editor, with the view of their being illustrated with such notes as might point out the occurrences to which the Diary and Letters refer, and accompanied with some account of the life and parentage of the Writer. This the Editor willingly undertook, but various hindrances, with which it is unnecessary to trouble the Public, have delayed the appearance of this small volume till now. The delay, however, has in some respects improved the book. It put it in the Editor's power to make inquiry among Colonel BLACKADER's relations and friends respecting his papers, and he has recovered so many in addition to those at first obtained, that a complete series of his Diary is now in his possession, from A. D. 1701 to 1725 inclusive. For these he is chiefly indebted to the Colonel's grand-nephew and representative, Mr JOHN BLACKADER, Accomptant General of Excise.

Mr CAMPBELL originally intended and offered the profits of the Publication to be devoted to the Magdalene Asylum, an Institution then in its infancy, happily now producing the advantages to not a few wretched indivi-



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*duals, and to society, which were expected from it.*

*The Managers of this most excellent Establishment have accepted the offer ; and these pages are now printed at their expence, and sold for its benefit. As neither they, Mr NEWTON, nor Mr CAMPBELL, have seen any of the Editor's part of this small volume previous to publication, they are not answerable for any thing he has written.*

EDINBURGH,  
SEPTEMBER 1804.

The first part of the report  
 is devoted to a general  
 description of the  
 country and its  
 resources. It is  
 followed by a  
 detailed account of  
 the various  
 branches of  
 industry and  
 commerce. The  
 report concludes  
 with a summary  
 of the principal  
 facts and  
 observations.

## P R E F A C E.



**T**HE Letters here presented to the Public, were providentially preserved from being destroyed as waste paper, by coming, after having been thrown aside and neglected for many years, into the hands of a person who knew their value.

When I was favoured with the perusal of a few of them, I felt a strong desire that they might be printed; and if they should be sent to the press, I promised to recommend them (so far as my poor name and judgment can be a recommendation) by a short Preface. I have since read them all; and am now called upon for the performance of what I promised.

Some Memoirs are to be prefixed by a Gentleman competent to the service. It appears from his letters that he was an Officer of rank in the army of the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders, during that war with France which was terminated by the peace of Utrecht. He was a mar-

## MR NEWTON'S PREFACE.

ried man, and happily married. The Letters, most of which were written to his wife when he was engaged in military duty, and some of them from the field of battle, are chiefly in the same strain, and do not afford that variety which may be expected from writers who have much leisure. But they exhibit a beautiful picture of tender conjugal affection, heightened and sanctified by true religion; the sure tendency and effects of which, when it really possesses and influences the heart, are to increase the relish of our temporal comforts, and to sweeten and alleviate the cares and trials incident to our respective situations in life.

The officers and men who compose our armies, are justly entitled to our respect, gratitude, and prayers; and, on some accounts, to our compassion. They are exposed to many hardships and dangers. "For us they suffer, and for us they bleed." They hazard their lives to protect our liberty, property, &c. The like may be said of the officers and seamen of our navy. They are daily and equally liable to be called into contest with the enemies of our country, in which, if they

## MR NEWTON'S PREFACE.

fall, they die indeed upon the bed of honour, and are justly lamented by us, who are indebted, under God, for our peace and safety to their exertions and to their blood. But the chief concern of a serious mind arises from a fear that many of them are cut off in a moment, and hurried into an eternal state without any due consideration of their latter end.

But thanks be to God, we have had, and still have both officers and privates, in the navy and in the army, whose courage is animated by Christian principles. They are not only defenders of their king and country, but are the servants of the Lord of hosts. They trust in him to cover their heads in the day of battle, and if he is pleased to give them the victory, they gladly ascribe to him all the praise. These are true patriots; the defence and glory of the land. They delight not in war, but when it is just and necessary they feel themselves in their proper and lawful state. They fight not for fame, or from a spirit of animosity and revenge, but to answer the trust reposed in them by God and their country. They give proofs of their courage in the

hour of battle, and of their humanity when God gives success to their arms.

Posterity will venerate such characters of this description as are now living. It becomes *us* to commemorate those who have finished their course; who have been made, in every sense, more than conquerors through him who loved them, and are already in that happy state where the noise of war is heard no more.

Such a one was the late Colonel GARDINER. He was equally bold and consistent as a soldier and as a Christian. In the rebellion 1745, he lost his life in the defence of his king and country; but he knew whom he believed, and died in peace in the midst of his enemies. For he likewise fought the good fight of faith. It requires no less courage to withstand the smiles and baits, the frowns and snares of a world that lieth in wickedness, and to act uniformly upon that maxim, (however obvious and indisputable) "We ought to obey God rather than man," than to march up to a formidable battery. But it is courage of a different kind, and derived from a much higher source than natural constitution or military connec-

## MR NEWTON'S PREFACE.

tions. In this point, many who are not afraid to meet the events of war, are *very* cowards. They feel in their consciences that they ought to obey God, but they are ashamed or afraid to do so, lest they should incur the scorn or displeasure of their fellow-creatures. The Lord enabled Colonel GARDINER to break through this smart. It is probable some of his former gay companions thought him a strange man when he forsook them, and joined himself to those who feared the Lord; but his exemplary conduct, his firmness to his religious principles, his wisdom in avoiding all needless and ostentatious singularities, his integrity, humility and benevolence, in a course of years stopped the mouths of gainfayers, and extorted reverence for his person, not only from the pious, but from the profane.

The Letters of Colonel BLACKADER manifest the same spirit and aims. He was a wise and brave officer, a solid, pious, and consistent Christian. The God whom he served and trusted protected him in many seasons of danger; his dependence upon his providence and care was habi-



tual. The example and influence of such officers, whether in the army or navy, must doubtless have a good effect upon those who serve under them. The present unhappy war in which our sins have involved us, is *sui generis*; perhaps it has had no parallel in past ages. We certainly are not now fighting for the extension of dominion and commerce, our all is at stake. The contest is literally and strictly, *Pro aris et focis*. But our enemies are only instruments in the hand of God to inflict his severe and just displeasure against sin and sinners. What he permits they will do, and they can do no more. He has already permitted them to ravage a great part of Europe, but we know that they cannot exceed their secret commission. He will overrule their wrath, in the issue, to the purposes of his praise and glory; and the remainder of their wrath, all their designs which are not subservient to his plan, he will restrain. He has appointed them bounds which they cannot pass, and will say to them, as to the sea in a storm, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther,*



and here shall thy proud waves be stay-  
ed.

Though the overflowing scourge has reached our fifth kingdom of Ireland, the inhabitants of Great Britain are still favoured with peace at home, and preserved from foreign invasion. In general we know little of war but from the newspapers, and by the increase of taxes. Surely this exemption is not because we are better than those who are suffering by fire, sword, and rapine. Our national sins are of a deeper dye, and more aggravated than the sins of any nation around us, being committed against clearer light and greater privileges than any other nation has enjoyed. Nor are we yet disposed to take warning by these calamities. The Lord's hand is awfully lifted up, but we seem determined that *we will not see it*. Instead of that humiliation and repentance for which the state of public affairs so loudly calls, behold infidelity, dissipation, profusion and riot are advancing amongst us, perhaps with more rapid strides than at any former period. Yet we are still spared, for God has a remnant amongst us, who sigh and mourn

## MR NEWTON'S PREFACE.

For the abominations and miseries which they cannot prevent, and stand continually in the breach, supplicating his mercy for themselves and their country. And though they are few compared with the multitude around them, by whom they are despised for their singularity and preciseness, yet I hope, in the aggregate, they are not a few. They are precious in the sight of the Lord, and I ascribe to his gracious attention to their prayers, (while the hearts of the many are stout against him) the late favourable changes which have alleviated the terrors of the prospect which not long since made all faces gather blackness. To them I believe we owe the unhop'd for, sudden, and wonderful suppression of the mutiny in our fleets, and the signal victories obtained by Lord DUNCAN and Lord NELSON.

I have said that our officers, soldiers and seamen, have a just claim, not only to our respect and gratitude, but to our compassion. The nature of their service precludes them from many advantages, and exposes them to many temptations. They live in the midst of incitements to

## MR NEWTON'S PREFACE.

evil, and have few opportunities of instruction or advice respecting the wrath to come, and the obtaining salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ. They are immortals, but too often unapprised of the worth of their souls, and the importance of that eternal unchangeable state in which the next skirmish or battle may fix them. How earnestly therefore should we pray, that our gallant soldiers and seamen, who all venture their lives, and too many of them more than their lives, to defend us from our enemies, might be commanded by officers who, like BLACK-ADDER OF GARDINER, would, besides forming and animating them for battle, by their example and influence endeavour to impress them with a sense of their dependence upon God, and the nature and necessity of that religion which is revealed by the gospel, and which teaches those who embrace it, to renounce all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly, in this present world.

That the Lord may bless this Publication to the Reader, is the sincere prayer of his affectionate wellwisher,

*London, June 1799.*

JOHN NEWTON.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day. The author discusses the various stages of human civilization, from the earliest times to the modern era. He also touches upon the different religions and philosophies that have shaped human thought and culture. The second part of the book is a detailed account of the history of the United States, from its founding to the present. The author describes the struggles of the American people for independence and the development of the nation's institutions. He also discusses the various wars and conflicts that have shaped the country's history. The third part of the book is a collection of essays on various subjects, including politics, economics, and social reform. The author expresses his views on the state of the nation and offers suggestions for improvement. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is accessible to a wide range of readers.

CHAPTER I

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The book is a comprehensive and well-written history of the world and the United States. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of human civilization and the development of the American nation. The author's clear and concise style makes the book accessible to a wide range of readers, and his detailed account of the history of the United States is particularly noteworthy.

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ACCOUNT

OF

LIEUT. COL. BLACKADER'S

L I F E

AND

PARENTAGE.

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**L**IEUTENANT Colonel JOHN BLACKADER was son to Mr JOHN BLACKADER, Minister of the parish of Troqueer, situated in the county, and very near the town of Dumfries. He was the descendant and representative of an ancient and respectable Scottish family\*. The instruction, example, and sufferings of this excellent man, must have had so much influence, it is probable, in forming the character of his Son, that those who may feel an interest in the papers now laid

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\* See Sir Robert Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, pp. 142. col. 2d.—258. col. 2d.—288. col. 1st and 2d.—Sir David Dalrymple's Remarks on the History of Scotland, p. 242.

before the Public, would, it is likely, wish to know something more of him besides his name. He was born in 1615, ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland in 1653, and deprived of his living, with other presbyterian ministers, in 1662. He died in prison for conscience sake in 1687. He was one of the most distinguished sufferers during the dreadful period of nearly twenty-eight years, in which Charles the Second, his ministers in Scotland, and his successor, persecuted with unrelenting cruelty those very persons, and others of their sentiments, who were the first instruments of the Restoration, and who had placed the crown of Scotland on the head of Charles, while yet a wretched exile. For the sake of this he submitted to the most humiliating terms, and practised the grossest deceit. At his coronation, kneeling, and lifting up his right hand, he swore in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, who liveth and reigneth forever\*, to support,

\* Persons will be greatly disappointed who look for information respecting these transactions from the great historian of the time, Lord Clarendon. However minute in relating the history of Charles on other occasions, he is as silent upon this scene of iniquity, as are the episcopal historians, Bishop Burnet excepted, respecting the persecutions of the latter part of his reign. The fidelity and integrity of Mr Douglas who preached the coronation sermon, its suitableness to the occasion, and the singular excellency of the composition, considering the country and the period in which it was delivered, cannot fail to strike every impartial reader.

establish, and adhere to that system of religion, and those forms of church government; which he afterwards, by the most violent and bloody proceedings, endeavoured to extirpate. Whatever views persons may entertain of the nature of Christ's kingdom, concerning which, if his own testimony before Pilate \*, illustrated by the doctrine and practice of his apostles, be understood in its obvious meaning, these worthy men were very greatly mistaken—whatever sentiments we may hold of its discordance or agreeableness with diocesan and lordly episcopacy, or of the alliance between church and state—indeed, whether men be Christians or infidels †, the sanguinary and perfidious measures by which it was attempted, not merely to establish, but to enforce the conformity of a whole nation with a hierarchy which they almost universally detested, must excite in every honest and humane mind, not under the influence of bigotry and prejudice, the keenest indignation and abhorrence. Mr BLACKADER was one of

\* John xviii. 36.

† The various and enormous oppressions of his reign in Scotland, (says a late able historian, impartial wherever Christianity is not concerned) may be compared with the tyranny of the worst Cæsars.—A more diffusive, and to the people a more unsupportable tyranny, extended over the community at large. The only apology for Charles is, that he was not present to superintend or to restrain his ministers; to witness the tortures, the groans, and the murders of his subjects; to compute the sums wrung from their misery, or the



three hundred and fifty Scots ministers, deprived, as about two thousand were in England at the same time\*, of their livings; the zeal of whose

blood indiscriminately shed by his judges and guards. But the cries of his people, and the crimes of his ministers were repeatedly, yet ineffectually conveyed to his ear. The orders for a massacre were certainly executed with his approbation, if not subscribed with his hand. And his refusal to listen to, or to alleviate the calamities of his subjects, bespeaks a cruel, unforgiving, and obdurate heart, irreconcilable to the Presbyterians from former indignities; and, without religious bigotry, secretly gratified with religious persecution.—Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 141, 142.

\* By the act of uniformity (which may be seen as generally printed in the front of the Book of Common Prayer) and which took place August 24. 1662. The miseries of these times are to be imputed to the endeavours of each party to make their own scheme of religion the paramount and national one, by other means than argument and persuasion. And indeed most of the evils and confusions charged on Christianity by infidels, have arisen from such struggles to obtain the patronage and sanction of states for various forms of godliness. No sooner were Presbyterians in power, than they overthrew Episcopal church government, prohibited the use of the Liturgy, substituted the Directory in its place, imposed it by authority, and ejected such of the clergy as would not comply with their measures. Those who wrote against these were fined and imprisoned. Many of the Episcopal clergy who refused the Solemn League and Covenant, were removed on this account from their livings by the Parliament, as well as Non-conformists were by the act of uniformity, though indeed better treated when they were so. Cromwell proceeded in the same course, though he well knew his



king, in which coercion could be equalled only by his profligacy, and the gross licentiousness of his moral character. Impartiality, however, obliges us to add, that these persons were in many respects the occasion of their own sufferings, although their constancy and magnanimity in enduring them were worthy of a better cause. From the first period of the Reformation in Europe, all parties of the Reformers, both on the continent and in Britain, seem to have judged it lawful and proper to propagate what they thought religion, by human authority; and they employed its carnal weapons wherever they could, not merely that they might profess their own opinions in safety, but to compel others to embrace them, and to obtain their civil establishment. The Presbyterians in Scotland adopted these sentiments, and they led them to measures which some of the leaders in their own order now account to be *most unjust and violent deeds*\*, and which even their most rigid and implicit followers

duty in this respect; and Dr Owen, who wrote in favour of toleration, with several other Independents, both of the clergy and laity, was principally concerned in executing Cromwell's plans—in removing the parish clergy, and planting others in their place. Indeed the whole clergy of England were virtually removed during his usurpation, until they obtained the approbation and appointment anew of his thirty-eight commissioners, whom he empowered to manage the ecclesiastical affairs of all England.

\* Theological Institutes by George Hill, D. D. p. 179.

are beginning, but without consistency, to disapprove. In place of commending themselves to the consciences of their opposers, by peaceable manifestation of the truth, or fleeing from city to city when persecuted, as Christ's disciples were directed by their Master \*, although they did not retaliate the cruelties practised on themselves, they yet reviled the government under which they lived, and endeavoured to render it odious and contemptible. When they were joined by the mass of the people, and a part of the nobles whom they attached to their cause by the spoils of the church, they incited them to overthrow the images and temples sacred to the established religion, refused allegiance to the ruling powers, withheld the payment of taxes, and not only levied war against them, and allied themselves with their enemies, but engaged in conspiracies, and some of them even assassinated individuals hostile to their measures, or who were their persecutors. With such objects in retrospect, and perceiving the same measures adopted, and the same spirit prevailing in his own times, what could they expect from their unprincipled monarch but the usage they experienced? Are we to wonder that, as soon as it was safe, he laid aside the finesse assumed to obtain the objects of his ambition, and revenged the humiliations and indignities, as he judged them to be, which they had imposed on him? Are we to wonder that the declaration of

\* Matt. x. 23.

Jesus was verified in their history, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword \*?"— But to resume the narrative of Mr BLACKADER— While he submitted to the loss of his temporalities, and to various restrictions and punishments inflicted on his order, he still continued to preach the gospel. Denied the use of parish churches, he continued, with many more of his brethren, not only in private houses, but on moors and the sides of hills, to publish to thousands what he judged himself commissioned by divine authority to declare. He was one of the first and the most intrepid in adopting these measures, and his labours were not confined to Dumfries-shire, but extended to Edinburgh, the county of Fife, and other parts of Scotland †. Considerable success seems to have attended his labours. It appears that he was employed in this itinerant preaching from 1662 to 1678 ‡. In that year he removed to Holland, which afforded an asylum to not a few of the persecuted Presbyterians; and he is said to have been eminently useful in removing misunderstandings and allaying disputes which prevailed

\* Matt. xxvi. 52.

† Two Discourses preached by him at Kilbride, Sept. 5. 1675, were printed at Glasgow 1780, in a Collection of Sermons preached in the time of the late persecution. These are said to be transcribed by John Howie from different MSS. Probably these were written down by some of his hearers, and not his own notes.

‡ He was denounced a rebel in 1676.

amongst some of the ejected ministers settled at Rotterdam, particularly Mr FLEMING, the well known author of "The Fulfilling of the Scriptures," and Mr M'WARD. After his ejection from his parish, and the restoration of diocesan episcopacy, he resided in the parish of Glencairn in the same county. The diligence and zeal with which he preached the gospel, and dispensed those ordinances which he thought that Jesus Christ had appointed his disciples to observe, provoked the oppressors of his country. A party of soldiers were sent to his retirement in 1665 to seize him. Happily he and his wife were at Edinburgh. They entered his dwelling-house in the middle of the night, uttering the most dreadful execrations. His children were turned naked out of their beds, and one of them in his shirt was forced to hold a light while they searched the house, and examined and removed his father's papers. Another of his children, terrified by their threatenings, escaped by running off to a considerable distance. His whole family was dispersed among those who ventured to expose themselves to the hazard of protecting them. It appears, however, by a note in his own writing, that Mr BLACKADER himself was not apprehended till the 6th of April 1681, after he had returned from Holland. His examination at Edinburgh before the Privy Council deserves to be recorded. After he had owned that he was a Presbyterian minister, ordained at Troqueer in 1653, the Chancellor (Lord PERTH)

asked him if he had excommunicated the king, or was at Torwood\*?

*Ans.* I was not at Torwood these four years.

*Chanc.* But do you approve of what was done there?

Perceiving that they were about to impose upon him by ensnaring questions, he resolved to make a stand at first, and answered, "I am not free to declare my inward sentiments of things and persons, and therefore I humbly beg to be excused. You must form a libel (indictment) and I shall endeavour to answer it as soon as I can."

They frequently urged him to answer, and he declining, the Chancellor said, "Do you approve

\* A forest situated about seven or eight miles east of Stirling, on the road from Edinburgh. In a field adjoining to this, where were assembled a congregation of his hearers, Mr Donald Cargill, a friend of Mr Blackader, and one of the ejected ministers, excommunicated Charles II. and several of his principal Courtiers and Generals in Scotland. This was regarded as an act of rebellion by the royal party, and even in later times has been condemned by most of those who imagine that the clergy have a divine right to inflict and pronounce such sentences. Mr Cargill excused the acknowledged singularities of this procedure, by the distracted and persecuted state of the church, and pronounced, as if he had possessed the spirit of prophecy, which indeed he arrogated in common with others of the ejected ministers, on the future condition, even in this life, of those whom he excommunicated, as the test of the divine approbation of this measure.

of shedding the King's blood, and damning him in soul and body \* ?”

*Ans.* I do not, and no good man will.

*Clanc.* You have done yourself a favour in saying so. But we hear you keep conventicles since the indemnity †.

*Ans.* My Lord, I am a minister of the gospel, though unworthy, and under the strictest obligations to exercise my ministry, as I shall be answerable at the great day. I did, and still do count it my duty to exercise my ministry as I am called thereunto.

*Clanc.* But you have preached in the fields, i. e. on moors and hill-sides. I shall not ask if you have preached in houses, although there is not liberty even for that.

*Ans.* I place no case of conscience, nor make any difference betwixt preaching in houses or in the fields, but as it may best serve the conveniency of the hearers; nor know I any restriction as to

\* Such was the construction of the excommunication of the King by the royal party.

† The act of indemnity, which was not passed till Episcopacy was established in Scotland, is justly characterized as an instance rather of oppression than of clemency. Many were excepted, and fines, to the amount of above £ 80,000 Sterling, were imposed on it on more than 900 persons, some of them of high rank, not on their own account, but for the nonconformity of their relations and connections. Certain persons also were excluded from offices of trust, not by name, but afterwards to be fixed on in Parliament by ballot.



either in the word. My commission reaches to houses and fields, within and without doors.

*Chanc.* No doubt you know and have seen the laws discharging such preaching.

*Ans.* My Lord, I have; and I am sorry that ever any laws were made against preaching the gospel

*Chanc.* Not against the gospel, but sedition and rebellion.

*Ans.* I preach no sedition nor rebellion.

The Lord Advocate, Sir GEORGE M'KENZIE, came to the prisoner, and told him he was sorry to see him upon the reserve, and difficulted about the excommunication.

Mr BLACKADER answered he was no wise straitened in that, but had kept on the reserve because he thought himself only obliged to speak upon facts relative to himself, and that it was hard to be obliged to declare his opinion as to others.

The Chancellor asked if he kept conventicles in Fife, which he did not deny; and after he had owned himself of the family of Tulliallan\*, and

\* His family was an ancient one. Their original estate, a very considerable one, lies in the county of Berwick, of their own name, probably derived from it, (Blackader of that ilk) afterwards the property of Sir ——— Home, Bart. now of Alexander Boswall, Esq. The family came into possession of the extensive estate of Tulliallan (now belonging to Lord Keith) by marriage.

One of the ancestors of Mr Blackader, and whom he lineally represented, was created by Charles I. a Baronet

the nearest representative alive of that family, they removed him, and he was carried to the guard-house. In the afternoon the Council sat; he was brought up, and continued among the soldiers in the outer room from three till six o'clock, but was not called before the Council, although, without hearing, they sentenced him to be sent to the Bas. This barren rock, on the coast of East

of Nova Scotia, the fourth on the roll, by patent dated the 18th July 1626. This title was inherent in Mr Blackader, though not assumed by him, nor since that by any of his surviving descendents. His maternal great-grandfather was Mr (or, as he is stiled by some, Sir) Robert Pont, one of the Lords of Session, afterwards Minister of St Cuthberts, near Edinburgh, an eminent Reformer, and Moderator of the General Assembly 1595. He appears to have been a man of abilities, particularly noticed by James VI. and one of the first who suggested the union of the two kingdoms, in a book upon this subject, *De Unione Britanniae*, Edin. 1604. He was the son of John Pont, or du Pont, an illustrious Venetian who was banished from Venice on account of the profession of the reformed religion, and having taken refuge in France, he came to Scotland among the attendants of Mary of Guise, Queen of James V. Timothy Pont, the son of Robert Pont, was an eminent Mathematician, the first who actually surveyed the counties and isles of Scotland, or who projected a Scots Atlas. His maps are distinguished by their fidelity and exactness — See Sir David Dalrymple's *Catalogue of the Lords of Session*, notes, p. 9. Calderwood's *History*, *passim*. Dr Robertson's *History of Scotland*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 93. And Bishop Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, 8vo edit. pp. 17. 24. 285. together with a Memorandum in Mr Blackader's own writing.



Lothian, distant from the land about a mile, and accessible only by one narrow winding passage, had been purchased by Government about ten years before, and was now converted into a place of confinement for the non-conforming ministers. He remained here for six years, and although during this time he was afflicted with rheumatism and dysentery, and an order was made in consequence of this for his enlargement to the town of Haddington, it does not appear that this was executed; but—death set him free on the of June 1685. He was buried in the church-yard of North Berwick, the parish immediately adjacent, where an inscription still appears over his grave.

Lieutenant Colonel BLACKADER, who wrote the following papers, was his fifth and youngest son\*. He was born on the 14th Sept. 1664.

\* His eldest son William was bred to Medicine, and died Physician to King William about the year 1704, without issue. He was much in the confidence of those in Holland and Scotland who were engaged in promoting the Revolution, and frequently went betwixt these countries on business respecting it.

His second son Adam was a Merchant in Edinburgh. He was the only one of his sons who left descendants. When seventeen years of age, he was imprisoned for five weeks in Stirling castle, because his Master frequented conventicles. He was afterwards committed to Blackneis castle, because he had attended his father while in confinement.—To his grandson, Mr John Blackader,

about two years after his father's deprivation. He entered the army as a cadet in 1689, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. His piety is said to

Accomptant General of Excise, the Public is indebted for a considerable part of the communications now published.

His third son, who seems to have been a pious young man, studied theology at the university of Utrecht. He died in Holland in 1689.

His fourth son Thomas went abroad to New England in 1680, and died in Maryland.

Elizabeth, his only daughter, was married to Mr James Young, Writer in Edinburgh. She was the means of saving her eldest brother William from great danger, probably from death. In one of his excursions from Holland he was seized at Leith. His sister heard of this, and found means to obtain admission while he was examined by those in authority; the tradition is, that the Duke of York, then (1679) in Scotland, was present. She was not permitted to speak to him, but she observed him to look very stedfastly at her, and to hold up his hat as if for her observation. It occurred to her that he intended to signify something to her by this. She went directly to his abode in Edinburgh, and having found a hat belonging to him, she examined it, and discovered papers concealed in the lining, of such consequence that, if detected, they would have endangered his life. These she immediately destroyed, and a few minutes after she had done so, a party entered the house and searched it for papers, without success.

This excellent woman endured great affliction in her own family, with much patience and resignation. Her husband, who appears to have been a very worthy and experienced Christian, suffered many disappointments, and with a numerous family was long exposed to straits and difficulties. He went to London with a view to pro-

have been early, and it proved abiding. He was admitted to the Lord's supper when he was only twelve years of age. It may seem strange that a youth thus disposed should have chosen a military life, but this perhaps may not have been the effect of preference but of necessity, or of a sense of duty. In the circumstances of his father's family at that time, he might not, possibly, have had the opportunity of being educated to any of the professions of civil life which a Christian, acting as such, would in most circumstances assuredly deem far more eligible. But however enormous the guilt of those who excite or maintain

vide for them, and wrote a long letter to his wife from thence in 1697, which has been often printed at Edinburgh, with the title of "Faith promoted and Fears prevented, from a proper view of affliction as God's rod," pp. 77. 12mo. It contains many excellent and striking sentiments on this subject, well calculated to maintain the patience and fortitude of suffering Christians.—Mr Young died in 1699, and some account is subjoined to the edition of the Letter I have seen (1772) of the behaviour of his widow under this trial. It appears from this that she was supported by the consolations of the gospel, and though left with six children, and pregnant with a seventh, was preserved from painful anxiety respecting their provision. God raised up friends to them; her prayers were heard, and her hopes fulfilled. She was a careful observer, as well as her brother, of the state of her own mind and conduct, and of the providence of God; a record of both, from 1700 to 1724, is mentioned in the preface to the above Letter of her husband, as extant in her writing. She survived all her father's family, and died in 1732, thirty-three years after her husband.

unjust or unnecessary war—however great the evils and temptations of the most just and necessary, and however undesirable an active concern in either may be, to every person of a Christian spirit, the profession of arms is yet in itself certainly a lawful one, no where forbidden, but on the contrary supposed and sanctioned in the holy Scriptures. It should seem that those soldiers who came to John the Baptist \*, did so from a sincere desire to know the will of God, and to conform to it in their circumstances; and we do not find that he condemned their calling as sinful. His reply, on the contrary, presumed their continuance in this, and directed them how to abide in it with God. He did not address them as Jesus addressed the woman taken in adultery, with “Go, and sin no more,” but, on the contrary, admonished them to avoid the guilt of mutiny and oppression, the crimes most frequently committed in their circumstances. Besides these men, there were also Cornelius a centurion, and some of his household in the Roman armies, who being partakers of the Holy Spirit, were in consequence of this baptized by the apostle Peter, and are described as devout men †. Indeed if magistracy be the ordinance of God—an ordinance the blessed effects of which those will most value who seriously consider the selfishness of man, and the evils of anarchy—the magistrate must not only be entitled, but obliged to put arms into

\* Luke iii. 14.

† Acts x. *throughout.*

the hands of his subjects, and to commission some to bear these. He would otherwise be appointed in vain. Civil governments are not like the kingdom of Christ, they are not establishments of choice, but of necessity and coercion, and they must be maintained by carnal weapons. Unless their rulers "bear the sword," i. e. possess the power of inflicting temporal punishments, they could neither restrain evil doers, nor reward those who do well. The defence of kingdoms also against the inroads of ambitious neighbours, as well as their protection from internal disorder and sedition, absolutely require the use of armies, and the employment of them in war. The supposition of peace taking place universally among mankind, till Satan be bound by the Prince of peace, proceeds upon the notion that men by nature are not prone to malice or envy, or ready in scenes of rivalry to shew that they "are hateful, and that they hate one another." But the account of degenerate man in the Scriptures is far different from that which philosophers have given of his goodness and benevolence. And our own times afford us the most awful proofs of this. Although mankind are not destitute of natural affection to their species, yet this principle is far too feeble when opposed to their selfishness. While "they lust and have not," wars and fightings, both in larger and in smaller societies, will take place upon earth, and it will be manifest that it is natural to them to plunder and to kill, and "their steps to be

swi't to shed blood." We need not wonder then that Jesus distinguishes his kingdom, by which he meant his subjects and their peculiar interests and concerns, from the kingdoms of this world; and that while his servants are forbidden to fight for it \*, the subjects of these must do so for the other. Such being the case, it may become the duty of Christians, as many judge at this present time in Great Britain, however opposite to their spirit, to engage in such civil contests. There is no doubt, from the strain of all the following papers, that it was under the influence of such views that Colonel BLACKADER engaged and continued in military life †.

Perhaps few wars require less justification than that in which Great Britain was engaged when he entered into the British army. The great revolution was then but recently atchieved. This important event, for which we have such cause to bless God, was not the effect of the resistance of individuals to existing authority. It was the deed of a whole nation, with the exception of a small minority, who had groaned ever since the restoration of CHARLES under arbitrary power, and various violations of their acknowledged and confi-

\* John xviii. 36.

† It gives me much pleasure to refer the reader for a full and satisfying view of this subject, to a judicious pamphlet lately published at Edinburgh, "Hints respecting the Lawfulness of Self defence, under the limitations prescribed by the Christian law." Sold by Guthrie & Tait, Ogle & Aikman, and Ogle, London.

tutional rights. It was accomplished, too, without one drop of blood being shed. In Scotland, cruelties the most enormous had been perpetrated during both reigns, with the view of effecting a change in the religious observances of the country. And while the Parliament of the one nation had voted, "that JAMES abdicated the crown by endeavouring to subvert the constitution, and by withdrawing from the kingdom," the Parliament of the other solemnly declared, "that being a professed Papist, he had assumed the royal power, and acted as King, without having taken the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of wicked and evil counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, altered it from a limited and legal monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power, and had exerted the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the violation of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, whereby he forfeited his right to the crown, and the throne had become vacant."

The war of this period was undertaken by both nations to maintain this their united determination, and with it their existence and most valuable rights. LEWIS XIV. of France bent his utmost efforts, in concert with those of the former Monarch, to overwhelm the new government. He had also given a dreadful example of what Britain might expect if he should prevail in his unjust designs, by revoking the edict of Nantz—by his tyrannical conduct towards his own subjects, and the



savage persecutions or butchery of the Protestants among them, 50,000 of whom took refuge from assassination in Great Britain. He had invaded Ireland with the avowed purpose of supporting the interests of the exiled Monarch, and had attempted, by the meditated conquest of Flanders, and changing the succession to the throne of Spain in favour of a prince of his own family, to acquire an ascendancy in Europe which was judged to be fatal to the cause of justice and of freedom in this country. The character of the Regiment in which Colonel BLACKADER served is also here to be considered. The military force of the former government having been disbanded, and various alarms having prevailed, that an army from Ireland, in the interest of King JAMES, had landed and committed great depredations, some thousand Presbyterians offered their services in arms to resist them, and were accepted by the administration. Those called Cameronians were the first to do so, and a regiment of eight hundred of them was completed in one day, without beat of drum or any expence of levy money, under the Earl of ANGUS. The conditions, however, on which they served were these: "That all the officers of the regiment should be such as in conscience and prudence might with cordial confidence be submitted to and followed; such as had not served the enemy in destroying, nor had engaged by oaths and tests to destroy the cause now to be fought for and defended; but that they should be



well affected, of approved fidelity, and of a sober conversation. That the cause they were called to appear for was the service of the King's Majesty, in the defence of the nation; the recovery and preservation of the Protestant religion, in opposition to Popery, Prelacy, and arbitrary power, in all its branches and steps, until the government, in church and state, be brought to the lustre and integrity established in the best and purest times \*."

Accordingly their first employment was to guard the Convention of Estates which voted the exclusion of JAMES, and the settlement of the crown on King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. The Convention was threatened by the garrison of the castle of Edinburgh, commanded by the Duke of GORDON, a Roman Catholic, and by a body of horse under the Viscount of DUNDEE. But the conduct of this and of other bodies of troops, completely secured them, and rendered the Revolution effectual in Scotland †. Smarting

\* See a Memorial of the Sufferings and Grievances, past and present, of the Presbyterians in Scotland, particularly those of them nicknamed Cameronians. Edin. 1690. pp. 41.

† CANNON, who succeeded to the command of the Highland army, after DUNDEE fell at Killcranky, surrounded this regiment with his whole force of between four and five thousand men, but, though abandoned by a body of horse, they completely routed the assailants, and dispersed the whole army.—Such is the fortitude inspired by principle! This regiment is now the 26th in the list

by the feverities from which his father had been just delivered by the hand of death, and beneath which his family had groaned so bitterly during the former government, should we be surpris'd that a young, and, as he appears to have been, a brave man, embrac'd, in such circumstances, the profession of arms, when his country required the aid of them? In other respects these papers will shew that the army was not his choice, that war was his abhorrence, and that the society and conversation of military men, in general, comparatively moral as they were in those days, was not agreeable to him. The same causes which had given origin to the war, renewed it after a peace of short continuance. Immediately on the death of JAMES, LEWIS proclaimed his son King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. This event, with the apprehensions which Great Britain and several of the powers of Europe entertained of the aggrandisement and augmentation of the power of France by its union with Spain, contrary to the faith of existing treaties, in which LEWIS was himself a party, were the causes of those campaigns in which Colonel BLACKADER was engaged, and to which the following papers chiefly relate. The valour of Great Britain and of its allies triumphed over the ambition of France, during many of the first years of the war, and its monarch was forced repeatedly to sue for peace of British infantry, known still by the name of *the Cameronian Regiment*.

after he had sustained the most formidable defeats. The war, there is now too good reason to judge, was prolonged after this from motives very opposite to those on which it was undertaken. The leaders, seduced by the emoluments of office, fought in the end to gratify their own avarice, rapacity, and ambition, under the pretence of humbling France, and of providing for the security of Europe. But the nation and the army were their dupes all the time in which Colonel BLACKADER continued in the service, and during this period the guilt is to be imputed to those who misled them.

These papers make it manifest that he acted with very full persuasion that the cause in which he served was just and righteous. The Editor is little acquainted with any particulars of his life, unless what they contain. It is certain, however, that such steady faith, such habitual devotion, and communion with God as they express, must have produced an exemplary deportment—singular not only in the army, but in any situation; and such, from the best authority, I have always understood his to have been. Two anecdotes which I have heard from good authority, are too memorable to be omitted. In one of them he is said to have been the unhappy, but the innocent cause of taking away the life of a brother officer, the son of a noble family in this country. Colonel BLACKADER unfortunately gave him offence in conversation, which issued in his sending him a

challenge. In vain did he attempt to justify himself, and to shew him that the words he had used, on a very trifling occasion, were not capable of the construction he put upon them: in vain did he assure him, that if he had given him just provocation, he was ready to make any proper apology, or any concession or reparation he had a right to demand. In a paroxysm of rage, deaf to the voice of reason, he rushed on Colonel BLACKADER sword in hand. He kept retreating, and expostulating for some time, till at length, finding it impossible to move him, and perceiving his own life in danger, he was obliged to draw his sword in his own defence. An unfortunate thrust from the Colonel soon after put a period to his antagonist's life. Happily the contest was seen from the ramparts of the town where it took place, by some soldiers, who bore witness to the necessity under which he was laid to defend himself, in consequence of which, after a regular trial, he was honourably acquitted.

The event, however, was too solemn to be forgotten, and the anniversary of it, as I have heard, was observed during all his future life as a day of fasting and prayer. I have not been able to discover this in the diary, but the fact has been so confidently affirmed by more than one person connected with him, as a circumstance handed down, and well known by them all, that it cannot be doubted.

At another period of his military life, but when

I cannot say, there is a tradition also of his having received a challenge, which he refused to accept. His adversary threatened, in consequence of his refusal, to post him as a coward; to which he is said to have replied coolly, "that he was not afraid of his reputation being impaired by this." Having known, however, that at this time an attempt was determined on against the enemy, of a kind so very desperate that the Duke of MARLBOROUGH hesitated to what officer he should assign the command, and had resolved to decide among those qualified for it by throwing the dice, he went to him and offered to undertake the duty. His offer was accepted, and by the providence of God he came off, with great loss of men, but without any personal injury, and with the complete establishment of his character, not only as a brave man and an able officer, but also with general estimation as a consistent Christian.

The following pages will lead up the reader to the springs of such actions. But the Editor does not present them to the Public with indiscriminate admiration. Mistakes, as it seems to him, may be found in them, and there are blemishes recorded in the diary, which are marked with as much severity by the writer, as they probably could be by any others. He has perused them with impartiality, and he trusts he shall not be the only one who wishes to cherish as long as he lives the emotions they have excited in his mind. He trusts that the hearts of many will

burn within them, while they look into the thoughts of him who hath now entered into rest, and observe what once was known only to his heavenly Father, who seeth in secret!

Some persons, however, may be emulous to imitate the whole, and despondent because they cannot attain what they may account the same heights of Christian experience. He thinks it right to request such to prove all that they read, and to hold fast what is good. He earnestly entreats them to discriminate the pure flame of love and hope kindled by the Spirit of truth, from the false glare of enthusiasm. True religion is misrepresented, and vilified as enthusiasm, by those who are ignorant of it. But enthusiasm there is, not only among such who are under no better influence, but some measure of it also may be found among Christians themselves, mixing with their good, and causing it to be evil spoken of. By what other name can the expressions in these papers be denoted, which imply that divine direction in circumstances of uncertainty and doubt, together with consolation, and personal assurance of an interest in the divine favour, are conveyed to the minds of Christians by direct intimation from Heaven? Colonel BLACKADER does not say this in so many words, indeed he says what is inconsistent with it, yet it is evident he expected and supposed it. He does not seem to have considered such impressions made upon his mind, as the effects of divine influence, imparted merely through



what is contained in the Scriptures, which are equally addressed to every creature, and which, when they fail thus to impress any one, must be neglected and disbelieved. He does not seem to have considered them as the proper result of crediting and understanding the sense of those passages of Scripture by which they are made, as this appears to the sober eye of reason, or comes out by those means of interpretation which must be employed to unfold the import of all writings, whether human or divine, ancient or modern. Neither does he seem, in such circumstances, to have made application to himself, by the just rules of precedent and analogy. He appears rather to conceive, that the passages which gave origin to his comfort, and which directed his conduct, were applied in some secret and mysterious sense, superadded to their original and evident signification, immediately suggested by the illumination of the mind, and the other influences of the Holy Spirit.

There are traces also in these papers of another idea, not less deserving the name of enthusiasm, viz. that encouragement to pray is derived, and an answer to our prayers is to be expected, not merely from the declarations concerning the divine character and the intercession of Christ; not merely from the promises contained in the Scriptures, that if we ask any thing according to the will of God he heareth us,—encouragement amply sufficient for the most guilty and destitute;

but from that state or frame of mind which Christians may feel in themselves, while engaged in prayer; from the enlargement, fervour, and satisfaction they enjoy in it, or from the presentiment taken up, they know not on what evidence, that God will grant them what they ask.

It may also here be observed, that although extremely sensible of his constitutional proneness to depression of spirits, he was yet too ready to mistake the effects of this, and to impute them to the desertion of the Comforter, and to the hidings of God's face. These expressions are the language of the Old Testament, not any where found in the New Testament, and describe things which were evident to the senses, and not merely matters of internal feeling. Nothing is more certain than that peace and joy accompany the full persuasion of what God has declared to be glad tidings, just in proportion to the attention given to them, the clearness with which we understand their meaning and import, and the strength of our faith in God. The low degree, or the withdrawing of this satisfaction, on the other hand—the diminution or deprivation of happiness in religion, is the effect of blindness, error, consequent doubt respecting the truth of the gospel, and of not giving up all the heart to God, and of seeking to serve God and mammon. The state of the body, however, without supposing the direct operation of these causes, will also affect the enjoyment of faith, disturb the tranquillity of



the sincere, and incapacitate the mind for the satisfaction derived from things unseen, as well as for tasting the comforts of this life. Proneness to dejection is a malady which forms in some persons the character of the bodily constitution, as really as in others a disposition to asthma, consumption, or headach. The gladness of heart communicated by the faith of the gospel, has indeed as much influence towards correcting this, very frequently, as medicine has in the other, yet still in spite of this, its symptoms will be apt to arise, and be excited by causes which are too slight to produce them in other constitutions. These papers bear witness, in conformity with daily observation, and with what experience may teach every man predisposed to these distressing feelings, that vacancy from earnest pursuits, as well as such pursuits as produce anxiety, is that which most generally calls them into action. I know not if, in any papers of this nature, the writers seem to have discerned this more clearly than Colonel BLACKADER, so as to have perceived their operation more distinctly as a disease. The excellent and judicious Mr DAVID BRAINERD, is the only one known to me to whom I can her refer. Yet in both of them melancholy and its attendant thoughts and tempers appear sometimes to escape detection.

These and some other misapprehensions, as the writer of this judges them to be, in this excellent man, need not surprise us. They were the ef-

fects of the prevailing sentiments of the time, and they still mislead many who are very conversant with the writings of Scots and English divines of that period, and who bestow on them too implicit respect. Nor are they less pernicious, nor less carefully to be examined and shunned, because good men have adopted or been misled by them. Colonel BLACKADER, notwithstanding this, in many things thought for himself. It appears, from several parts of his diary, that he was by no means a blind adherent of any party, and that he rose far above the level of his age in Christian knowledge and freedom from prejudices. In particular, he ventured publicly, as a member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to express his conviction of the justice and policy of toleration, though he opposed, in doing so, the opinions of those whom he esteemed, and even the repeated remonstrances of the church. Indeed his ideas of the state of practical religion, either in the country, or among the clergy of his times, are by no means so favourable as those which are generally received. In the conclusion of this volume the reader may peruse a part of a speech recollected and written down in his diary, in which he seems to have used very proper plain dealing on this subject.

It must be added, however, that some persons will readily fix their eyes on these and smaller imperfections in him and in others, who do not so readily observe, and are not so easily affected

by the spirituality, the confidence in God, the fear of him, the circumspection, the vigilance, and deep devotedness to the Redeemer, so conspicuously displayed in these papers. Such should be reminded, that his mistakes are consistent, and have been often found united with these most excellent fruits of the Spirit, while correct notions on such subjects may be possessed with no more than the knowledge that puffs up, and with a cold and barren heart, which values itself on freedom from enthusiastic fancies and distrust of frames and feelings. With the deductions above mentioned, these papers will be perused with satisfaction and improvement, I am persuaded, by every Christian. Those, in particular, whose lot hath been cast in similar circumstances, will, it is hoped, receive them with peculiar delight. This publication, and the posthumous works of Mr MEIKLE, late surgeon in the navy, show how much true religion may flourish in situations justly thought the most adverse to its thriving condition. Were there no other instances, either among the living or the dead, these are sufficient to convince us, that the want, or the imperfection of true Christianity, can never be accounted for by any outward circumstances.

The latter years of Colonel BLACKADER's life were tried by pain and sickness. He was frequently, during the year 1728, in severe agony from fits of the stone in his bladder, but he was upheld and comforted by the prospect of an eter-

nal weight of glory. At last, however, the earthly tabernacle was worn out by repeated attacks of this disorder, and in the month of August 1729, apprehensions were entertained of their terminating fatally. Physicians were sent for from Edinburgh to assist with their advice those who usually attended him. But they were obliged to inform him that they could do him no service. He is said to have sat up in his bed, and having thanked them, he expressed his clear views and hopes beyond time and mortality. He died on the 29th of August 1729.

His widow was afterwards married to Sir JAMES CAMPBELL of Ardkinglas, Baronet. His remains were interred in the West Church of Stirling, in the wall of which, near the pulpit, a plain marble tablet was placed, a few years ago, by his nephew, the late Mr JOHN YOUNG of Edinburgh, son to his sister formerly mentioned, page xiv. bearing the following inscription.



Near this place are deposited the Remains  
of a brave Soldier and devout Christian,

**John Blackader, Esq.**

Late Lieut. Colonel of the Cameronian Regiment.

He served under the Duke of MARLBOROUGH in  
Queen ANNE'S Wars, and was present at  
most of the Engagements in that Reign.

He died Deputy Governor of Stirling Castle,  
in August 1729. Aged 65 years.

August 1750. J. Y.

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SELECT PASSAGES  
FROM THE  
DIARY AND LETTERS

OF THE LATE  
LIEUT. COL. JOHN BLACKADER.

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1704.

*Note.*—THE scene of the war had hitherto been in the Netherlands, but in this campaign it was carried into Germany. The situation of the empire required vigorous measures to be taken for its safety. The Elector of Bavaria, on the one hand, and insurrections in Hungary on the other, seemed to menace its existence; and Great Britain, having listened to the earnest solicitations of that government, sent an army for its protection. The Duke of Marlborough, who conducted the conferences both in Germany and Holland with consummate address, and whose talents in negotiation were not inferior to his skill and bravery as a general, joined his forces to those of Prince

Eugene, and the campaign of this year was the most distinguished of any in the military history of modern times.

*Jan. 1.* **R**ESOLVED to spend my time better, so as I may have peace in it—to serve God more cheerfully, to trust him, and cast all my burdens upon him—not to be anxious or careful about any thing, but by faith and prayer to interest him in it. Lord, give me grace to live so.

6. This day, from morning to night, my spirits sour, chagrined—there is still as it were a weight upon me—a melancholy temper, inclined to discontent, poisons all my comfort. Satan also works by it, and the least accident is fuel to it. Lord, pity me; if this grow upon me, my life, which thou hast made sweet and comfortable by a long track of singular mercies, will become miserable. At night I found help in prayer, believing firmly that God will help me to serve him more cheerfully and pleasantly, will take this sourness and melancholy out of my nature, will give me a contented serene temper, will help me to live more by faith, and then I shall live more cheerfully.

20. I find great difference in my frame. Some days I am serene, cheerful, and contented; other days, without any outward cause, I am the reverse.

21. This day business went on well. I see the best way to get through business is to commit all to God.

25. This has been as good a day with me as yesterday was bad, and I observe that usually after a great temptation or fit of melancholy, God gives me a great lightening, cheerfulness, and access to him by faith.

*Feb. 4.* O if I could live by faith, I might have a sweet life; for I find the very moments in which I believe, that my thoughts and temper are only pleasant, cheerful, and contented. My spirits quite dissipated by being long in company at night. O if I live not more by faith than I do, I foresee my life must be miserable; I poison all my comforts by unbelief and thoughtful poring. Dear Lord, pity me and hear me.

8. This morning, access to God in prayer—cheerful, lively faith, trusting in God, putting all my interests, my wife and family, into his hand cheerfully, be-



believing firmly that he will give a good account of all, believing that mercy and goodness shall follow me and her this campaign as it did the last; for besides the promises of God I had last year to trust to, I have also the sweet experience of the last campaign to encourage me, how he gave his angels charge over us, that no plague came near our dwelling; no evil befel us. We saw a peculiar care of Providence about us. O then I desire cheerfully to trust a covenanted God still, and pleasantly to put a blank in a kind Father's hand, who I am assured will give me a good account of all, and still put songs of praise and deliverance in our mouths; but, dear Lord Jesus, strengthen faith, for it is only by faith we can live this sweet life; when faith fails all fails.

After writing this sweet experience, and praying it over alone, I called my wife, and she and I prayed it over jointly, blessing and rejoicing in God for his mercies last campaign, trusting in him and casting one another over upon him this campaign, believing firmly that he will follow us with mercy and goodness



still, that he will give his angels charge over us, that he will protect, preserve, guide, and direct by his Spirit and Providence, and that all shall be well if we trust and rely upon him. EBENEZER!

17. This morning and forenoon set apart with my wife for prayer, to humble ourselves in prospect of a new campaign, to cast one another over upon God, and to depend on him for grace and strength, for counsel and conduct, to guide us in every step. I bless the Lord who gave me access to him by faith in prayer. I prayed over the 91st Psalm, and had lively faith upon every particular promise therein, believing the sure performance thereof. Resolved to depend more needily upon Christ, to employ him in every circumstance of my life, to serve him more cheerfully.

20. A melancholy Sabbath, much deserted in soul. O how much I long for those rousing and quickening ordinances I have once enjoyed, where I have felt the Spirit of God powerfully striving and refreshing a dead soul; and, alas, the longer I stay in this country, I think I am the worse. O Lord, carry me where thou

wilt give me most of thy presence, most nearness to thyself, for I take no comfort in a life absent from thee.

24. Was very well in the morning, but in the forenoon, retiring to pray, I found as it were sensibly Satan's fiery darts entering into my soul, whereby my temper became sour, chagrined, and melancholy. I prayed against it, but still it continued. At night, I poured out my soul before God. I was deeply affected with my condition, both as to the sin and the misery of it. Christ looked to, yet comfort not so sensibly found. That promise I especially looked to by faith, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest to your souls." I believe this.

26. This day my temper was not right. I would fain be at that, to cast away all care and all thought, except in so far as to do my duty, and by faith and prayer to cast all upon Christ, and there to leave it, and never trouble myself about events.

*March 2.* Set apart this morning and forenoon for prayer, for the presence and blessing of God this campaign, in the

view of launching out into new storms and temptations. It was a good day. I had access to a throne of grace by faith.

17. I see the world to be a theatre, and human life to be a downright farce, a stage-play of folly, vanity, and pageantry. My judgment and understanding, in its cold reasonings, does despise, and sees through its vanity and emptiness; but, alas, my foolish affections refuse to answer the helm, and will run out fondly after earthly trifles, though in the mean time I see their insufficiency, that they cannot make me happy. Lord, wean me from all things below the sun, and make my soul go out after a lovely Christ.

26. I complain I have not such frames on Sabbaths now in Holland, as I used to have in Scotland. I know not the reason; neither have I those tender meltings of soul which I have had there; perhaps it may be owing to the want of those lively means which I enjoyed there.

31. On command, and marching all this day. My frame serene, spiritual, singing psalms and hymns, and yet also sinning between hands by passion and hastiness of spirit. When I consider my

way of religion, I think it is this: As to internals, my thoughts, meditations, and secret out-goings of my soul, the Spirit of God seems to guide and influence these; but when it comes to words or actions, then the weak man appears, and I seem to act my natural temper, and do not so sensibly feel the conduct of the Spirit of God as in the heart motions. This makes me shun company, noise and hurry, and public posts and appearances, and court solitude and retirement; for I cannot get my words and actions so ordered as to be the true mirror of my mind.—This is a sad employment, much exposed to company; it is not my element. O how do I hate evil company the more I am in it! It is hell to me, I cannot live in it. What do I then in the army, where the scum and dregs of mankind are gathered together! My soul is weary of the tents of sin.

*April 9. Sabbath.* For some days past had much perplexity of mind, and distance from God. In the evening, a conviction served on me by my dear yoke-fellow, that I gave too much way to discouragement. We went to prayer, and

I was much assisted ; faith was strengthened. I believed that Christ would quicken me, and comfort me, and give me his Spirit and presence through the campaign, and make me cheerful and easy.

15. Serious and earnest with God, seeking direction about my dearest concern as to her disposal this campaign.

18. Very well all day. A calm, sedate and spiritual frame, frequent believing prayer, whereupon comfort and cheerfulness. O what a happy life a life of faith is ! By an instance to-night, I am confirmed in this, what need I have of, and how much I would be comforted by the enjoying the ordinances in Scotland, by the blessing of God, and what a loss I am at by being here in this dry and thirsty land.

24. Got accounts that we are to make the campaign far up the country. Serious and fervent in joint prayer, casting each other upon a covenanted God, trusting in him. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof" I care not where I go, if he go with me. His presence will make even a camp (the sink of

the earth) pleasant ; but if thou go not with me, Lord, carry me not out of the Bosch. We were helped to believe that he will carry us well through.

25. To-day, serious, easy and cheerful. I bless the Lord, who is a present help in time of need. In the winter I was more frightened for the snares, temptations, and discouragements of a campaign upon a far view of it, than now upon the near approach of it. He gives me more cheerfulness, more faith to trust him.

27. O I admire the goodness of God to me, who helps me to live by faith, and causes me to encourage myself in the Lord my God—delivers me from melancholy. We set up our Ebenezers. There is none in the world has better reason to trust thee than we have and shall have.

28. This day we marched out of the Bosch to the camp, and O how do I admire the goodness of God to me that I am so easy, serious, and cheerful. I find that the more the Spirit of God comforts me, that my natural temper is quite contrary to melancholy ; so that I owe it wholly to the pity of God to me. I com-

mit my dearest concern to thee. Thou art our God, and thou wilt encompass us with songs of deliverance. I will lean to thee through the campaign. Thou art the hearer of prayer. If I had not been assured of thy presence, I had not come out; for what pleasure have I in a camp without it! Thou hast heard us, and will be with us both.

30. *Sabbath.* Marching all day, and, alas, involved in sin by company, and by idle discourse. A sad place to be in an army on Sabbath, where nothing is to be heard but oaths and profane language.

*May 2.* O the wonderful effects of faith! Before I came out, I was much in wrestling with God for his Spirit and presence this campaign, both in secret and joint prayer with my dear yoke-fellow; and now I find the comfortable fruit of it. He keeps me in perfect peace. Marching all day, and in ill company which my soul hates, yet kept out of temptation—retiring alone for prayer between hands. I have company that the world know not of. Were it not for thy presence, Lord, I would sink under discouragement among these earthly devils,



who seem as if broke loose from hell. I wish to get rid of this army, it is not my element. I desire to have a spirit above the foolish pageantry and false notion of honour which the world admires. No happiness in it. All I expect is from thee. I will depend upon thee, go we up to Germany, or where we will; it is all one to me, if thou go with me. The earth is the Lord's.

7. *Sabbath.* Alas, not employed in the proper work of a Sabbath. Marching all day. Met with a merciful providence, my horse falling upon me, yet not hurt. This stirred me up to thankfulness, blessing God who gave his angels charge over me, that not so much as a bone is broken. Joining the rest of the regiment in the afternoon, where I got accounts of two or three particulars which were like to make me uneasy, but I retired to prayer, and there I cast all my care, all my burdens upon God; and through grace I will be easy. He lets me see this world is but a stormy sea, a vale of misery and tears, one blast after another. I should lay my account with this.



16. Marching every day. On command to day, which was both short and easy. I was kept out of snares and temptations in it. I find God to be the hearer of prayer, for it was my earnest desire that on guards, commands, and parties, I might not be chained to bad company.

17. At night I got a warning that I am a frail creature ; but, O Lord God, thou art the God of my health. I trust to thee that thou wilt keep me in health and prevent sickness in this expedition ; for how sad would it be here among strangers ! Thou art my Physician for soul and body. Lord, I tremble to think on the profanity and wickedness of this army that I am in, and what judgments we are like to pull down upon our own heads. For the English army are sinners exceedingly before the Lord, and I have no hopes of success, or that this expedition shall prove to our honour. Howsoever much we think of ourselves, thou wilt humble us ; but for my own part, I am not anxious ; thou art my God and Father, and whatever thou do with the English army, I am persuaded that by the

mercy of God, I shall set up my Ebenezers through Germany. Wherever thou lead me, I shall be still and see the salvation of God; while thou exaltest thy salvation among the heathen, be thou exalted very high, and work with thy outstretched arm, and let not an arm of flesh have the glory.

18. Resting this day, not designedly, but by reason of the roads. I know not where they are leading me, but, Lord, do thou lead me in thy way. I will not trust to generals leading; thou who leadest the blind by the way they know not, I trust to thee alone, and put myself, and all I am concerned in, under thy conduct. I see the kind hand of a father still about me.

22. Marching this day to Mentz, a long march.

25. Marching all day. Got good news in the afternoon from my dearest concern on earth. I bless the Lord who has heard us both, on our own and others behalf. I hope we were single in seeking counsel and conduct, and he has dealt bountifully with us both. I bless thee, O Lord,

that thou hast directed her to settle in so good a family.

27. Army resting this day. I went into Heydelberg in company and hurry. I still find that retiredness is my happiness.

28. Army marching. *Sabbath*. By being in town, I had retirement, for I shook off all company, and retired alone upon the banks of the Neckar. I hope I had communion with God, my covenant with Christ ratified, my Ebenezer here set up, his presence implored: and this I beg, dear Lord, if this be an unlawful expedition, that thou wouldst yet turn me back; if thou go not with me, carry me no farther. When I consider this, that we are assisting those oppressors who have wasted the church and people of God, persecuted and oppressed them, it makes me afraid the quarrel is not right, and that we shall not prosper, though I be satisfied that our quarrel against France is a very just one. O Lord, it is sad to be in an army where I have not confidence to pray for success, and dare not seek in faith. But when thy judgments are upon the earth, then the inhabitants thereof will

learn righteousness. When the carcases of the one half of us are dung on the earth in Germany, perhaps the other half will bethink themselves. Be it as thou wilt, O Lord. I bless thee I have such sweet minutes in such an army; they are as cordials which keep up my fainting spirits. At the writing hereof, I am sitting (it is a scorching hot day) under a great rock, cool and refreshed; even so, Lord Jesus, be thou the shadow of a great rock in this weary land to me.

*June 4. Sabbath.* Marching all day. Kept as much alone, and retired my thoughts for prayer and meditation as much as I could, among such a crew, and was serene and spiritual. That is the way I wish to live in this army.

8. Marching all day. Great fatigue, bad weather, bad roads, whereby my mind was not so easy and serene; such machines we are, that these outward things much discompose us, and when the body is not easy, the mind is uneasy too. Had fresh experiences of God's goodness. Got letters from my dearest friend. I see the Lord is trying her by providences. I observe also with pleasure how we are

guided and acted by one spirit, and that the Spirit of God at the same time seals the same promise to us both with comfort ; for the same promises which I had comfort from last Sabbath, gave comfort to her for me at 100 leagues distance.

13. Marching. Frequent in ejaculatory prayer. I think this is the great secret of Christianity, whereby a spiritual heat of soul is kept up. Communion with God and his Spirit cherished and entertained. Living as retired as possible. I know the retired way is condemned by a jolly world, but I care not ; it is the safest way of living, to be kept free from the filth and pollution of this vile army. I value not their opinion ; nay, it is rather a happiness to be hated and spoke against by a wicked world, for in all ages the seed of the serpent have opposed serious Christians ; they have a real hatred at holiness, and when they love any good people, it is a strong presumption that *they* are too like themselves.

21. Marching and expecting to come to action—committed myself, and all that concerns me, into the hands of God. In the evening, I was spectator of one of the

hottest actions I have seen, from six to eight o'clock. We gained our point and beat the enemy from their post, and yet we have no reason to boast. The British value themselves too much, and think nothing can stand before them. We have suffered considerably on this occasion. I had no freedom in praying during the battle, but that God should be glorified, and work so as that the arm of flesh might not rob him of the glory. O that God would reform this army, that good men might have some pleasure in it. When we see what an uncertain thing our life is—now in health and next moment in eternity, it is wonderful we are not more affected by it. I see also that the smallest accidents give a turn to the greatest actions, either to prosper or defeat them, in spite of human wisdom, prudence, or courage. Only four detachments of 130 of our regiments were at this battle\*.

\* The battle of Schellenberg. This was fought on a rising ground near Donawert, a strong town on the frontiers of Suabia on the north side of the Danube, subject to the elector of Bavaria. Strong entrenchments were thrown up here between the rivers

22. In the evening, I went into the field of battle, and got a preaching from the dead. The carcafes were very thick ftrewed upon the ground naked and corrupted, yet all this makes no impreffion upon us, feeing our comrades and friends bodies lying as dung upon the earth. Lord make me humble and thankful.

24. Paffing thē Danube, the effect of our victory, the other day.

*July 30.* We are now divided into three or four armies. I know not what Providence is about to do with us.

Brentz and Danube to cover that town, but thefe were forced by the allied army under the Duke of Marlborough, and Prince Lewis of Baden. The French and Bavarian army under Count D' Arco were routed, who himfelf efcaped by swimming acrofs the river. By means of this victory. a paffage was obtained into the dominions of Bavaria, and the elector obliged to retire under the cannon of Augfburgh. The allies entered Donawert next day, where they found great quantities of provifions and military ftores.

The emperor, who confidered this victory as interefling the fafety of his dominions in a very high degree, wrote a letter to the Duke, with his own hand, in the Latin language, expreffing the warmeft gratitude, and prefented him with the dignity of a prince of the empire on account of it.



31. Marching all day, and repassing the Danube, joining three of our armies together.

*Aug. 1.* Resting a great part of the day, then drawing out our lines in battle as making ready to be attacked by the Duke of Bavaria and the French. I was quite composed, recollecting my interest in God

2. Many deliverances I have met with, but this day I have had the greatest ever I experienced. We fought a bloody battle \*, and by the mercy of God have

\* The battle of Blenheim or Höchstett is the subject of this record, as it is of his frequent and grateful recollection afterwards on account of the deliverances he personally experienced. This was the most signal victory ever obtained in all the campaigns of the great Marlborough and his successful army. The village of Blenheim, where it was fought, is situated in Suabia, on the west side of the Danube. The French and Bavarian army were entirely routed, after an obstinate engagement for five hours, and 40,000 of them were killed or taken prisoners, among the latter their distinguished commander Marshall Tallard, many princes, general officers, and noblemen. Europe re-founded with the applauses of the Duke and of Prince Eugene. Almost as much indeed was owing to the discernment of the former as to the good conduct and bravery of both and of their army. The Duke re-

got one of the greatest and complete victories the age can boast of. In the morning, while marching towards the enemy, I was enabled to exercise faith, relying and encouraging myself in God; by this I was made easy and cheerful. I was looking to God during all the little intervals of action for assistance to keep up my own heart, and to discharge my duty well in my station. My faith was so lively during the action, that I sometimes said within myself, Lord, it were easy for thee to lay these men flat upon the

ceived the thanks of both Houses of Parliament in the most flattering language—the great estate of Woodstock was bestowed on him—a splendid palace was erected there, named after the scene of his victory, and settled on him and his family—and many honours and emoluments besides, were conferred by a grateful nation, and by their allies. The effects of the victory were as distinguished as its success. The whole country of Bavaria was abandoned to the allied army. They were masters from the Danube to the Rhine. Augsburgh was evacuated. Ingoldstadt, Ulm, Munich and Ratibon, quickly surrendered to their arms. Landau was taken after a brave and obstinate resistance for eight weeks, and a campaign of uninterrupted success was concluded after seven months, without any one instance of a reverse.

ground where they stand, or to bring them in all prisoners ; and for encouraging our regiment I spoke it out, that we should either chase them from their post or take them prisoners, and I cannot but observe the event against seven o'clock at night.

Twenty-six regiments (some say thirty) laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion to the Duke of Marlborough, and our regiment was one of those who guarded them.

This victory has indeed cost a great deal of blood, especially to the English. I was always of opinion that the English would pay for it in this country, and when I consider that on all occasions we conquer, but with much blood, I am at a loss to assign the reason ; perhaps it is that our cause is good, but our persons very wicked. Among the rest, I have got a small touch of a wound in the throat. It is so far from making me doubt of the care of Providence, that it is really to me a great confirmation of his protection, for the wound is so mercifully directed, that there is no danger ; whereas, if it had been half an inch either to one side or other, it might have pro-

ved mortal or dangerous. The Lord is a shield and buckler to me \*.

O Lord, thou assisted me, and gave me such liberal supplies during the action, that I was helped to discharge my duty even with credit and reputation. Dear Lord, I lay down all at thy feet. I have no reason to be lifted up. It was none of my own, it was a borrowed stock from thee, so the praise is thine, not mine, for hadst thou withheld thy support from me I had behaved scandalously.—EBENEZER!

3. I went this morning back to the place of our attack, where we were posted, and there, among the dead, I blessed God for my wonderful deliverance.

4. Riding all day alone into Norlingen,

\* The following is an extract of a letter written by him, dated 2d August 1704, from the field of battle at Blenheim, to Lady ——— Campbell, at Stirling.

———“ I am just now retired from the noise of drums, of oaths and dying groans. I am to return in a few minutes to the field of battle, and wrapping myself up in the arms of Omnipotence, I believe myself no less safe as to every valuable purpose, than if sitting in your Ladyship's closet.”———

pleasantly employed in thinking over the 91st Psalm. Was thankful at night for my good accommodation here, and how happily I am sent in here among my kindest friends.

5. At home and well all day, but in the evening a little uneasy, my wound beginning to be painful; but why should I be exempt from trouble more than others? I bless God I am not groaning with broken bones, and bullets in my body as many are.

9. Visited the wounded and dying officers; saw the vanity and emptiness of all things here below. Those who last week thought themselves brave healthy men, are now groaning and sinking down to the dust.

12. Seeing officers at night in pain and torment with their wounds makes me thankful I am so mercifully handled.

13. *Sabbath.* Taken up all day in the house of mourning, burying a friend. O I wonder at the sottish stupidity of men of our trade. They see their comrades with whom they used to drink and debauch, plucked out of the world in a moment, yet have not so much as a thought

that they have a soul, or what will become of it when they die. O Lord, I shall always look on impiety and refusing Christ as the greatest madness. The longer I live I see the greater necessity for holiness. To behold a poor creature on a death-bed, on the brink of eternity, afraid to quit hold of all earthly comforts, nothing but horror—nothing comfortable to look to in the other world, surrounded with jolly company, miserable comforters, is very affecting. Then to get a view of Christ, O how precious! then to see a Saviour stretching out his hand to receive the soul, is worth a thousand worlds.

20. *Sabbath*. Had not that peace of soul which I value, being troubled about trifles. I believe my thoughts and affections go out too much after creature-comforts, and therefore they are justly made a temptation to me. I read my sin in my punishment. I beg of Christ to make me love him much more than I do, and worldly comforts much less.

*Sept. 14*. Passing by Coblentz by water, and at the writing hereof, the place in the Rhine where I had almost

been drowned in going up the country; it stirred up a sweet thankful frame while meditating on the goodness and mercy of God here, and during the campaign.

18. Arrived at Dort. Recorded the Lord's goodness to me this campaign, in the same room where I had an opportunity of doing the same thing last year for the mercies of that campaign.

19. Arrived at Rotterdam.

20. I see continual need of Christ in all circumstances, under a full cup as well as in trouble. When I was in the army I thought, O how happy I would be in retirement, or enjoying the gospel! now I have both, and yet, alas! my wicked heart troubles me. O dear Jesus, I flee to thee for help and pity.

24. *Sabbath*. Enjoying the ordinances of the gospel, I could not have believed my heart should have been so hard after such mercies and deliverances as I have experienced. O treacherous heart!

30. Upon the wing and hurry all day. O what is the meaning of this providence, that thou takest me from Rotterdam the very day before the Lord's supper, when



I expected to have taken the cup of salvation and paid my vows\*.

\* He alludes here to Psal. cxvi. 13. and probably considered the *cup of salvation*, there mentioned, to have the same meaning with the *cup of blessing*, or *the cup of the Lord*, in 1 Cor. x. 16. 21. But we know from the infalible interpretation of this psalm, in 2 Cor. iv. 13, &c. that these words are uttered in the person of Jesus Christ; and that the whole psalm, with the parallel psalms, xvi. xviii. and xxii. refer to his sufferings and following glory, appears from other parts of the New Testament. The *vows* of which the Psalmist writes, are those voluntary engagements which he undertook and fulfilled on behalf of his people. The end and object of the Lord's Supper is to commemorate these. It is a feast on the sacrifice which he offered to his Father. The proper employment of a body of Christians, and of all its members, at that ordinance, is not to make vows, or to fulfil them, but to participate and communicate with God and with one another, in the satisfaction and delight which he has expressed, and calls all who believe to enjoy in the atonement of his beloved Son. See 1 Cor. x. 16. v. 7, 8, &c.

It is hoped that the readers who turn to these passages of scripture and attentively consider them, will see that it is not improper to judge the writer here to be misled by the mistakes prevalent at the period in which he lived, and not yet entirely exploded among Christians. The observance of every appointment of God does indeed *imply* self-dedication to him, but this ought not to be confounded with the proper import and signification of them.

*Oct.* 1. Went on board. 5. Passage is pleasant, fair wind, calm sea, &c. 7. O what shall we render to the Lord who deals so bountifully with us, who follows us with mercies by land and sea; after a speedy passage we are landed in Scotland.

8. Enjoying sweet gospel ordinances, which my soul desires to delight in, and which was my chief reason for coming to Scotland at this time. I find that I am the first arrived in Edinburgh of those who were at the battles in Germany.

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1705.

*Note.* NOTWITHSTANDING the singular victories of the former campaign, the French again brought formidable armies into the field, not only in Germany, but in Holland. The allies did not heartily co-operate in opposition to them, and the abilities and exertions of the English Commander in Chief were obstructed by the jealousy, and the tardiness, perhaps by the treachery of the Dutch and Germans. Huy, a town of the Netherlands, situated on the Maese, surrendered to the French, and the populous city of Liege was taken possession of by Marshal Villeroy and the Elector of Bavaria, who besieged the Citadel. Having received intelligence, however, that the Duke of Marlborough was marching thither, they retreated with precipitation, and took refuge behind their lines near Hildesheim in Saxony.

*Jan. 6.* THE forenoon set apart for secret and joint prayer\*. I hope we had access to God and were accepted by him.

26. In the evening, though I had resolved to go abroad, I was kept at home by providence, and I bless God for it.

\* With his wife.

While employed in reading, meditation and prayer, I had one of the kindest visits from the Lord which I have had for a long time\*. I was enabled to pour out my heart to God, and to tell him every thing that was in my heart. My former prayers were all now answered. That word of God was accomplished, “ I have heard thee in an accepted time †.”

\* This language is authorized by the following among many passages of Scripture. “ Jesus answered and said unto him, If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him,” John xiv. 23. “ Behold, I stand at the door, and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me,” Rev. iii. 20. Such is the intimate communion with God, which Christians enjoy when they are strong in the faith and hope of the gospel, diligent in the use of means, active in obedience, and patient under suffering.

† These are the assurances of the Father to the Messiah, according to the explanation of Isa. xlix. 8. in 2 Cor. vi. 2. But as the prayers of Jesus, there represented as accepted and heard, were offered for his seed among the Gentiles; we may therefore very properly understand them as also fulfilled when his people experience his replies to their supplications; an experience with which all of them are acquainted who sufficiently observe the loving kindness of the Lord.

*Feb.* 15. This vexing trade of recruiting depresses my mind. I am the unfittest man for it in the whole army. Sobriety itself is a bar to success in this way. The greatest rakes are the best recruiters. I cannot ramble and rove and drink and tell stories, though my life were lying at stake.

20. Engaged in prayer about our going abroad; was much encouraged by Exod. xxxiii. 14. "My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest\*."

25. I complain of disappointments in Scotland; I receive not that benefit from ordinances which I expected; also disappointments about regimental errands here.

\* These are the words in which Jehovah gave assurance to Moses of his conducting him safely till he brought Israel to the rest promised to that nation. But Israel after the Spirit, i. e. Christians, are equally warranted to depend on this and every such promise in undertaking any arduous attempt which is according to the will and for the glory of God.

Whatever was written aforetime for the support of believers, is equally applicable in every future period, to the same use in like circumstances. Thus did the inspired writer, Heb. xiii. 6. conclude that Christians may confidently say, that "The Lord is their helper" in the most adverse situations.

But I hope to have reason to praise God before I leave the country, and to confess his way was best.

*March 23.* Toiling all the morning embarking men. I see that Providence orders every thing for the best, and far better than I could do myself.

25. Heard a sermon on the Lord commanding the Israelites at the Red sea to go forward \*. It was made sweet to me; it came with power and life. I hope it is by the Lord's command I go forward, and having his orders I trust I shall have his presence and conduct; and though *they* had the Red sea in their way and insuperable difficulties, yet they obeyed, and this engaged Omnipotence to work miraculously in their behalf. He can do the same still to those who trust in him.

31. Embarking this day at Kirkcaldy, committing myself and my wife and family to the conduct and care of a kind God and Father, who must be our convoy and safeguard †.

*April 4.* Alarmed in the morning at

\* Exodus xiv. 15.

† The day in which the Duke of Marlborough embarked at Harwich for Holland.

the motions of some French privateers, appearing to come clove to us, and waiting on us all the day. I blefs God I believed I was under the eye of a kind and tender Father. I was eafy and compofed.

7. Landed this day but not at the port defigned. Chafed in by fear of enemies and ftorms; a true emblem of a Chriftian's life.

22. This day I had the trial of that which is my greateft discouragement, and what I hate moft in the army—marching all day (Sabbath). As if hell had broke loofe about me—curfing, fwearing, profanenefs. O Lord, fanctify my foul, that the more I fee of fin I may hate it the more.

*June 5.* Spent a happy day on the banks of the Mofelle after marching all night; there fet up an Ebenezer, and prayed fervently for God to continue his mercy.

10. *Sabbath.* Marching all day. It is a hell to be chained all day, especially a Sabbath day, in fuch an army, hearing juft fuch language as devils would fpeak had they tongues.

12. Marching this day. Bad weather. Sober frame. Lord, I beg thou would



mend and sweeten my nature by thy grace. God is the hearer of prayer. In the morning I sought grace suitable to a particular occasion, and he gave it me. Have been kept serene and serious, and out of temptations. I bless the Lord who sets a hedge of protection about me.

21. Marching from three in the morn- till eleven at night, and crossed the Maese. A fatiguing march; many sickened and some died, it being a scorching day. I bless the Lord for his mercies to me, for my health and strength, and the good accommodation which I have in a camp, which makes me live easy and well, while others (better than I) are miserable, and serve in bitterness of soul. O, it is only the goodness of God that makes me easier than they, and it is only his free grace which makes to differ from the most part of the army, who are like so many incarnate devils broke loose out of hell.

26. Lying near the enemy, I commit myself to thee, O Lord, and put my trust in thee. I will not be afraid though an host encamp against me. Through thee I shall do valiantly. I fetch all my supplies from thee.

27. Taken up through the day judging criminals in a court martial. Seeking the conduct of the Spirit of God to judge uprightly and righteously. [He praises God upon a similar occasion, four days after, that he was there as a judge, not as a criminal.]

*July 4.* This morning putting my hand to a small affair before prayer, it went wrong. I checked myself that I should undertake any thing before prayer, so I went to my knees, and after prayer I went about the same affair, and went through it with ease. I observe this that I may be encouraged the first thing that I do in the morning to commit myself and all my ways to God, and put all I have within the hedge of his protection.

6. In the evening, went out into the fields to meditate, and I observe it as a mark of the Spirit of God, guiding and influencing me, I had more access and enlargement in prayer than ordinary, and was helped to act faith very strong, trusting and believing that if God was with me, I durst attack the French lines alone; and that a straw in the hand of Omnipotence is better than Goliath's spear. In

returning home it came into my mind, what if I should ask a sign ; but I immediately checked the thought as sinful, saying to myself, I'll trust the Lord's word and promise without any sign. I had no sooner said this but there came a bullet whistling close past my head, shot at random by a foldier cleaning his piece. I knew not what to think of it, but said within myself, this is the promise accomplished. " He will give his angels charge over thee ; thou shalt not be afraid of the arrow (or bullets) that fly by day," Psa. xci. All this while I knew nothing what was doing in the army, but when I came home I found that the regiment and the whole army had orders to march immediately. We guessed it was to attack the French lines ; accordingly we marched at nine o'clock at night in great silence. It was one of the sweetest nights ever I had in my life—access to God, communion with him, faith lively, trusting him, and securing myself in the chambers of his grace and mercy, so that I had no manner of fear or concern about any danger which might be before me ; the stock of strength and courage being in Christ's

hand and not in my own. I was determined to come every moment to Christ for supply as the occasions of the day should require: I did so, and he was a liberal master; he supplied me bountifully with grace to do my duty creditably in the functions of my post. O Lord, I give thee all the praise and glory, none of it belongs to me. I desire to allow myself in no other ambition but of serving thee, and laying out myself, and all thou givest me, for thy glory and service; and if thou give me any credit in this army, I desire to lay it down at thy feet. Let it serve to make me more capable of glorifying thee in this army, I seek no other advantage.

7. We attacked the French lines\* this morning, and got in much easier and cheaper than we expected. The lines were partly forced and partly surprised. Our horse had some action with them and beat them. Our foot had nothing to do, for the enemy fled before

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\* Huy having surrendered to a detachment sent to invest it, the Duke immediately on their return attacked and carried the French and Bavarian lines near Hildesheim, partly by stratagem.

they came up. As I said before, the Lord assisted me, and gave grace and strength as I needed. I approached the throne of grace in the intervals of action by ejaculatory prayers, and he carried me well through. I set up new Ebenezers.

8. *Sabbath.* Marching all day. We seem to have committed a great error, neglecting the opportunity of pushing our victory by marching straight on between them and Louvain. The French by marching all night have prevented us. This shews us men are but men, and the weakness and flaws that are in the wisest mens prudence. One day a great heroic action, the next a great blunder\*. But

\* This error is not to be imputed to the Duke of Marlborough, nor to the Dutch Commander in Chief, M. D' Auverquerque, but to the other Generals of the states, who would not consent to the Duke's proposal of attacking the French. In consequence of this, they permitted them to continue their march after this victory along the river Dyle, and to possess themselves of a strong camp at Parck, by which means they protected Louvain, Bruffels, and Antwerp, from the allied army. This resolution of the Dutch Generals was the source of great vexation and

let God have all the glory, and all flesh be grafs.

9. Resting this day opposite the enemy, the town between us, which is firing upon us \*.

11. Lying in the same post, and just as I am writing this, some cannon balls, shot from the town, came close over my tent, and lighted among those in the rear, but did no hurt. I put my confidence in God, and through grace will lay me down in peace and sleep.

12. To-morrow is appointed by the General to be observed through the army in thanksgiving for our success, and prayer. God grant that we be not found mocking him in this exercise, when these mouths come hot from cursing and swearing to the service of God, pretending to thank him for mercies which they have no sense

much disappointment to the Duke of Marlborough, as appears from his letters lately published by Dr Sommerville. Vide History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne, pp. 610, 611.

\* Louvain, a large town in Brabant, on the Dyle, a few leagues from Tirlemont, which they had taken after possessing themselves of the enemies lines.

of, and when the work is over, return to swearing and blaspheming. But, Lord, whatever the army do, make me single and fervent, and tune my heart to praise and gratitude.

*August 2.* The very naming of this day is an Ebenezer. The day of Hoch-Net, a day much to be remembered for the wonderful mercy and deliverance I got there. A thousand fell at my side, and ten thousand at my right hand, but it came not near to me but in a way of remarkable mercy, so as to make me more a monument of preserving mercy, for though the ball was at my throat, the angel of the Lord held it as he did the knife in Abraham's hand. I cried unto the Lord, and he answered me. I employed this day for meditating on these things, and there was a thanksgiving appointed by the General to commemorate that great day.

7. This day there were great preparations and all the appearances and dispositions for a battle. We were to attack the enemy (twenty battallions of us) through a wood. At the time we were lying in the wood, preparing to attack, I



retired frequently from company, and had sweet meditation. The enemy was so strongly posted that it was thought impracticable to attack them, so we were ordered to draw off at one o'clock; we had marched at nine in the morning. I observed at our coming off what a poor silly creature man is of himself; there came a panic fear and surprize among the soldiers on the head of the line, that before they knew what they were doing, they rolled and turned back one upon another, from one regiment to another, and knew not what hand to turn to. I thought upon that Scripture, One shall chase a thousand. It was over in two minutes; they came to themselves and were ashamed.

14. We have marched a good way from the enemy. I find I am best when nearest the enemy and in expectation of action, for dangers and varieties of providence stir up grace and chase me to Christ.

*September 11.* Having left the army and arrived at Rotterdam, he writes, Here I may set up a new Ebenezer. The Lord has, after a campaign of fa-

tigūe, hazards, and dangers, brought me back safe to this place, and given me a comfortable meeting with my dear wife, and compassed us about with songs of deliverance.

13. I see it is not change of place or circumstances that gives happiness, only the blessing and presence of God. I thought that when I came to Rotterdam and enjoyed the gospel and quiet retiredness out of an army, that I should be well, and have nothing to complain of; but, alas, one who carries about a body of sin and death must be still complaining.

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1706.

*Note.*—THE French this campaign collected an army of 70,000 men, and by various stratagems and secret negotiation, employed, as was said, at the courts of some of the allied powers, they contrived to retard the march of their troops, and to obstruct their co-operation with the British. They passed the river Deule, however, on the 8th of May, and engaged the allied army on the 12th, O. S. at Ramillies, a village about ten miles from Namur, in Brabant, at the source of the river Geet. The allied army obtained a complete victory, attended with more important consequences than any they ever gained. The French and Bavarians lost about 8000 men in the field, 6000 were made prisoners, besides several thousand deserters. The whole towns of the Netherlands submitted in consequence of this victory in a very short time, and the states of Flanders having met at Ghent, acknowledged Charles, the emperor's brother, as their sovereign.

*March 8.* SET this forenoon apart for seeking the presence and blessing of God with us in prospect of the campaign.  
*March 26.* spent in the same way.

*April 23.* Making court to some great men. I am like a speckled bird among them. "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you."

29. In a hurry and business all day in order to marching. O to win to that—"Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee." O Lord, thou knowest my heart, thou knowest that I trust in thee, and hope in thy mercy. This is all the comfort I carry to the camp with me.

30. Marching out of the Bosche this day. Now my life of hurry and noise begins.

*May 9.* Marching all day. One of the worst days and roads we ever marched in. I pitied the poor soldiers. Now we begin to talk of action, and that very quickly. O Lord, here I am, do with me what seems good unto thee, for thou art my God. I trust in thee, and hope in thy mercy. I flee to the chambers of

thine omnipotence, love and faithfulness; there I shall be safe. Help me, O Lord, to discharge my duty as a man, as a Christian, and as a soldier.

11. Advancing toward the enemy. I observe, to the praise of free grace and the mercy of God, that the nearer I come to action, the more cheerful, the more vigour, and grace the more lively; faith in exercise through the day.

12. *Sabbath*. And here I have one of the most remarkable Ebenezers of my life to set up. This day we fought with the French, and by the great mercy of God did beat them. The battle was not general\*, but it was hot to those who were engaged. Our regiment was no further engaged, but that we were canonaded for some hours warmly, and had several men killed and wounded. Not unto us, but to thy name be all the glory; for on our part I thought I saw great confusion. I was not near the Duke, but upon our wing we had great want of Generals and distinct orders, and some of those we had seemed somewhat confu-

\* At Ramillies.

fed. So it was not our conduct, but kind Providence. I observe also that the English had but small part in this victory. They are the boldest sinners in our army, therefore God will rather use other instruments than them. O Lord, give me grace never to forget this great and glorious day at Ramillies.

13. Marching this day to improve our victory, but we are stopped; for the enemy has retired over the Dyle, and there strongly fortified and posted; probably we are to attack them to-morrow, and if they stand to it, the action is likely to be very bloody. I desire to be no way anxious, but to fly to the name of the Lord.

14. The ways of God are wonderful and past finding out. A disappointment this day that was not unpleasant. Instead of meeting with a vigorous resistance as we expected, the enemy is gone, and we have got possession of Louvain. The effects of this battle are much greater than we expected. The Lord has sent a panic fear among the French army, and they are so shattered, that they can hardly get them kept together.

15. Marching this day to Bruffels. Still more and more of the surprizing consequences of this victory. They have abandoned Bruffels and all Brabant. The Lord is taking heart, and hand, and spirit from our enemies. This is the Lord's doing and wonderful in our eyes.

19. *Sabbath*. A fatiguing march all day; that which I fear and hate in this trade I meet with the whole day; viz. swearing, filthy language, &c. yet though it was a hell round about me, I bless the Lord there was a heaven within. We are still pursuing our victory, and they are still flying before us. There is certainly something in this affair beyond human working, for they called themselves 70,000 before they fought, eighty battalions of foot. I do not believe there were 3000 of them killed, and yet their army is mouldering away, so that they have almost no foot in any body together. This is the finger of God, and not the doing of man.

21. This day is appointed by the General as a thanksgiving through the army for our victory and success, and all the chaplains to preach.



25 Marched this day to Arfel, a place famous for the retreat that Prince Vaudemont made here in the year 1695, in presence of the French army, who were thrice as strong as ours. And at this place I have a great Ebenezer to set up of thankfulness and praise for merciful deliverance from men who were ready to swallow us up. And now we are got in again to Cambray, where we were in the last war. I hope to have comfortable remembrances of the mercy and goodness of God to me in several places.

*August 3.* This day I went to see the siege of Menin\*, and was in the trenches four or five hours. I observe this of myself, and own freely, that any measure of courage or resolution that I can pretend to is † allennarly the free gift of God, and not owing to natural temper, or constitution, or blood, or any thing of that kind, for I find that if God should withdraw his grace and assistance from me, I would be one of the poorest faint-hearted crea-

\* Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, Aeth, strongly fortified cities of Flanders, were besieged during this campaign by the allies, and every one surrendered after some opposition.

† i. e. solely.

tures in the army; but blessed be God who is my strength, heart, spirit and courage. I own, to the praise of free grace, that whenever I am clear that I am in my duty called to such a post, be there ever so much danger, the Lord bears my charges, and gives liberal supplies; and proportionably as I am unsatisfied or doubtful of my being in my duty, so does my spirit fail.

24. We have now begun the siege of Dendermond. The Lord is able to lay the walls as low as those of Jericho. The arm of the Lord is not shortened; he shall give his angels charge over thee: and though all the bombs of France were raging over my head, and though all their cannon were in a battery against my breast, he can keep me safe.

25. *Sabbath.* This forenoon we attacked a redoubt near the town and carried it; upon which, the town did immediately capitulate. Now this is over, and I have not got one hour in the trenches, or any thing else, during the siege. Well, I will bless God for every thing.

*Sept. 5.* Ordered to the siege of Aeth. We were surpris'd at this, for we did not expect that our regiment should have any thing more to do with sieges this campaign, and indeed we are wronged. It is thou, O Lord, sendest me here. I look above Generals. Thy presence, O Lord, go with me when I go to trenches, to attacks, to batteries, and wherever I go.

10. Our regiment went into the trenches at night, and though there was a great deal of firing all night, we had not a man either killed or wounded. I had not that distinctness of faith as I would have had, but I was praying to the throne of grace for strength to do my duty.

11. We were in the trenches all night, and only lost two men. I praise the Lord for preserving and defending me. Let others take it for chance or random, I look to a higher hand.

17. In the trenches all night—seven or eight of my workmen wounded, yet it pleas'd the Lord to protect me.

19. I shall not soon forget the providences of this day. We continued in

the trenches all the day, and lost several men; we had seventeen killed and wounded. We were beat out of a lodgement on the counterescarp at two in the afternoon, we retook it again at six. I fell into a mistake of a quarter of an hour in timing the attack. I am not certain what influence this had. However, my own conscience smote me about it; and I think it is the surest way for me to flee to the blood of Jesus for pardon and washing: At night, coming out of the trenches, I was in great confusion of spirit. I had only a servant with me. It being very dark and wet, and on foot, we wandered. I had a water to cross, and my servant durst not venture my horses over for me, it being a bad bridge. But I got a horse, and coming to the bridge, I fell over, both horse and I, into the water, and was in danger of being drowned, my foot sticking in the stirrup, the horse falling on his side. I had short ejaculations to heaven in the very time. I got rid, and got out, but it was a quarter of an hour before I got out the horse, so that he was near drowned. Presently

my own horses came to me. So I came home blessing God for his merciful deliverances, and in the mean time trembling at his judgments.

21. This day the town capitulated.

1707.

*Note.*—THE uninterrupted victories of the allies in Brabant, and the defeats of the French arms both in Spain and Italy, with the exhausted state of their finances, produced in the end of the last, and the beginning of this year, overtures for peace, on the part of France and Bavaria. By these, the original causes of the war were in great measure removed. They consented to yield either Spain with the West Indies, or Milan, Naples and Sicily to the Archduke Charles. They agreed that Holland should possess a strong barrier in the Netherlands, and that the Duke of Savoy should receive satisfaction for the devastation of his territory. They applied to Charles XII. of Sweden, as mediator, who was then lying with a powerful army in Saxony; and, on his refusing this office, to the Pope. But all these attempts were ineffectual, and were considered as a feint to obtain time, that they might recruit their forces and excite jealousies among the allied powers. The terms were not considered as affording even a ground for negotiation, although far more favourable than those upon which peace was afterwards concluded at Utrecht.

Dr Sommerville \* has given very satisfying reasons for our believing that there was greater duplicity on the part of the English Ministry in this transaction, than on that of France, and has answered the venal arguments of the Chaplain general of the army, Dr Hare, who prostituted his pen in defending the continuance of the war. It seems indeed too certain, that the ruling faction, and the Duke of Marlborough in particular, were willing rather to prolong its evils and miseries, than to deny their lust of dominion and glory, and to part with the emoluments and patronage it afforded them †. Ah! how little do mankind, seduced by the delusions of selfishness and ambition, consider, that the crimes and the horrors which unrighteous and unnecessary war produces, shall receive at the hand of God a justly tremendous and everlasting retribution! How little even do

\* History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne, Appendix; No. xxvii.

† Besides the aggrandizement and immense riches bestowed on the Duke and on his family in perpetuity by Great Britain, and by the continental powers, his known annual revenue arising from the war amounted to above L. 54,000 per annum; and the Dutchess, besides this, possessed between L. 9000 and L. 10,000 per annum, in offices and government emoluments.



they confider, that they fhall foon defcend to the fame level with many thoufands of their fellow-creatures, whom they have been the guilty inftruments of bringing down thither, and that the faithful page of hiftory fhall foon record, in other language than that of their flatterers, the character of their moft admired exploits.

France, notwithstanding all their loffes, were able to take the field with a very numerous army. And it is remarkable, that nothing very decifive was atchieved by the allies during this whole campaign. The French Generals were able to avoid coming to clofe action, and much difappointment and mortification were endured by the Duke and the army, who were kept in the dark as much as the nation, refpecting the propofitions for peace, with whom, in confequence of this, the war ftill continued to be popular.

*March 23.* THEY begin now to talk warmly of peace. I will feek nothing nor wifh nothing, though I be weary enough of campaigns, but what is for thy glory, O Lord. Camps have been fweet places to me. Though I hate the evil company which prevail in camps, yet, by the prefence of God with me and the rou-

sing providences of war, I have never been better as to grace than in campaigns.

26. This day spent quietly in conversation. I am generally dissatisfied with the most part of conversation. I find nothing in it solid or edifying, favouring of grace, or administering grace to the hearer.

*April 6. Sabbath.* I have been looking over my diary of this time twelve-month. I find just the same frame as now. I went out with no other stock but this, Trusting in God and hoping in his mercy; indeed, I shall never desire to go out to a campaign in a better frame. What was last year at this time matter of faith to me, is now matter of praise, Ramillies, Dendermond, Aeth; just as Hochstedt was to me the year before, so are these to me at present; and what is to me matter of faith now, shall, I hope, be at the end of the campaign, matter of praise.

*May 10.* This is the first night of setting up my tent and lying in it—and now, O Lord, make it a Bethel, a comfortable place, by thy own presence. Thou hast given me much of thy presence in a camp

and in a tent. I devote myself to thee now in the beginning of a campaign. I know not what shall be, or how it will go, but I go out in thy strength.

11. *Sabbath.* Marching a long march, and joined the great army; but O such a spent Sabbath, and such company! This is one of the greatest hardships of my employment to be tied to such things. In the morning, I had almost forgot it was a Sabbath, but recollected myself and retired from company (I mean in my thoughts) and strived to keep up a spiritual habit of mind.

15. Marching a long march—a scorching hot day, very uneasy to the poor soldiers. The French army is without their lines, and we are marching up to them. I bless the Lord who still keeps in perfect peace; trusting in him, I lean down my head upon the well ordered covenant, and go forth in thy strength.

24. I got a compliment from the General, and thanks upon the head of the regiment, that they exercised so well, and for my care; but all this is the goodness of God alone that gives me favour in the fight of any man.

25. *Sabbath.* I was invited to dine abroad with a great man, but I shunned it, fearing temptations, company, and conversation unfuitable to a Sabbath. When I do my best, I cannot get lived circumspectly and tenderly in this army as I ought and would fain do.

*June 4.* In the evening, we had one of the severest storms I have ever seen, of hail, rain and wind; most of our tents were beat down and torn, and the hollow ways running as rivers. I observed what a poor creature man is, and if any of the elements were let loose upon us, how soon should we be reduced to our first nothing. O what a comfort to have the God of nature to be our God in covenant with us.

*August 1.* Marching in the afternoon, and coming close to the enemy, so that there is all appearance of an action tomorrow. I depend upon thee, O God, for courage, for strength, for every thing. I roll my dear wife upon thee also. Mercy and goodness shall follow us.

2. The day of Hochstet, a day never to be forgot by me; and this same day Providence gave us the opportunity to

make it as glorious a day as that was, but we had not the hearts to improve it. We had crept up pretty near to the enemy last night, by stealing a day's march upon them, so that they could not easily get off without a battle if we had pushed them; but we contented ourselves by making a bravado of attacking their rear guard with the grenadiers, and mismanaged that too, so that they got off free, to our shame. But it is fit that men commit mistakes and blunders, and weakness, that we may see men are but men. We know of no other ways of working here but great armies, but Omnipotence needs none of these. An army of frogs or flies is as good to him; they can do more with him than we can do without him. This is the first army just now in the world, and yet does the least; perhaps this is the reason, We adore the arm of flesh always, and God will have men humbled.

I was chagrined and uneasy all day for the neglect of this opportunity, for through God's assistance I was very eager to come to hand with them. I am of opinion that we second Providence very

ill this year, for the French seem to be a coward, frightened army; and I have no doubt but if we attacked them briskly we should beat them, but instead of that we seem afraid of them. This makes them pluck up their drooping spirits again. Their time is not yet fully come it seems, and yet there is but one Prince Eugene in the world, and he is not every where.

3. *Sabbath.* Marching all day, and the worst day for the poor soldiers I have seen; it poured down a heavy rain, and the cavalry had so broke the ways, that the soldiers marched in clay and dirt to the knees almost the whole day for four leagues, and there was hardly 100 of a regiment with the colours at night. It seemed to be heaven contending with us, for I never saw the army so harrassed.

8. Heard of a friend who died the other day at Brussels. He regretted that he had mispent and trifled away so much precious time, and that he had been so drawn away by company to tippling, drinking, &c. O that others would learn and take warning, and all of us so learn to number our days as to apply



our hearts to wisdom, and to redeem time.

10. *Sabbath.* And a Sabbath of rest, which is a great mercy in a camp; for this day week was a sad day, liker a hell than a Sabbath. Came to my knees this morning with a sense of sin and pollution of my heart and nature. My heart was enlarged by faith to flee to Christ for pardon and washing, seeing an infinite fulness in Christ as a complete Saviour. My heart was also enlarged to trust him cheerfully for the events, dangers and actions of this campaign, which are yet to come, believing that so many events, be it battles, or be it sieges, shall be so many Ebenezers. I was earnest with God, that with outward deliverances he would bestow upon my wife and me, hearts and grace to be more thankful, to live to his praise, and never to forget his goodness.

19. Received the bad news of the Duke of Savoy\* raising the siege of

\* The intention was, that the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, should pass the Alps, and penetrate into Provence, receive provisions and artillery



Toulon, which is very mortifying, for our hopes were raised high, and probably the taking it might have hastened peace; but Providence is not to be tied to our little projects, but can work his ends by ways and means which we think contrary.

20. Marching this day, and the French marched also, so we hardly expect to see them this campaign, but we know not what may be.

21. Resting this day, I went into Aeth and viewed all our last year's attacks, and

from a British fleet which was to sail up the Var, and proceed from thence to destroy Toulon, the great arsenal of France. The fleet under the command of Sir Claudesly Shovel accomplished their object in the most undaunted manner, but the Italian army did not reach Toulon until great supplies of provisions and troops were thrown into that city, and strong entrenchments and fortifications raised to protect it. The emperor, bent on the conquest of Naples, gave imperfect support to the expedition; and from all these causes, it not only failed of success, but produced great loss to the army, who made good however their retreat without sustaining further injury, after producing considerable distress in the enemy's country.

with thankfulness remembered my Ebenezer which I set up at the siege.

22. I went out this afternoon round the town where our trenches had been, and particularly that sap in the counter-scarp where I was the 19th of September\*, and had such exercise of spirit, and met with such providences as I shall never forget. Mercy and judgment! I put up thankful ejaculations of praise this day in remembrance.

*Sept. 3.* In town all day. At night, my dear wife came to town, and we had a comfortable meeting, with the blessing of God, I hope, and mercy to us both. Lord, make us thankful.

4. Getting an alarm of part of the army marching, and of the appearance of action, I went out to the camp, easy, trusting in God. The French did not meddle with our foragers or escort, and so there was no action.

5. Somewhat discomposed this morning by the humours of men; but I commit

\* See above, p. 51.—relation of his escape when returning from the trenches at the counter-scarp of Aeth.

all my ways to God. I went into town, and brought out my wife to my cottage here in the camp. O Lord, thy blessing and presence be with us, and this cottage shall be a palace.

*October 18.* I am like a speckled bird among most of the officers of the army, but if it be for righteousness sake that I am reproached, hated, or ill spoken of, I desire to esteem myself happy; for really it is a better sign to have the ill-will and hatred of most of this army, than their love and good-will.

20. This forenoon set apart for secret and joint prayer between us. We marched into our garrison. The Lord has preserved my out-goings and in-comings, and followed me with mercy and goodness through this campaign, and brought me safe back.

29. I resolve still to be more spiritual, and to have more intercourse with Heaven in the midst of my business.

*November 3.* Serene and cheerful all day. I bless the Lord for his goodness to me, that I live so easy, that my business is but as a diversion, when many are toiled from morning to night in gaining a

poor livelihood, and I have so much time. Lord, give me grace to improve it better, and that I may be more spiritually-minded.

*Dec 2.* Left Ghent to-day, committing ourselves to the care and conduct of kind Providence.

3. Got a speedy and easy passage beyond our expectation, and arrived at Rotterdam at night.

31. I bless the Lord for our quiet and comfortable living here in the winter out of many snares and temptations which we should be exposed to in our garrison. It is like coming into harbour after being tossed at sea in a storm.

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1708.

*March 10.* Got orders to be in readiness to march for embarking, in consequence of hearing that the French fleet had failed, notwithstanding our fleet being so strong; but armies and fleets are but broken reeds when we trust too much to them.

11. We set apart this morning and forenoon for prayer and seeking of God in this melancholy and threatening aspect of affairs.

15. At a court-martial this forenoon. I bless God who gave me grace to escape a snare there, which by my simplicity and weakness I might have fallen into. I am indebted to free grace alone, having nothing in myself. The whole of yesterday I was serious and earnest in seeking more of the Spirit of God, and complaining of the want of it; but I see that when real necessities press, and I really want it, then he bestows it upon me.

20. Heard great and good news today, that our fleet has beat and totally destroyed the French fleet upon the coast

of Scotland \*. If this be true, I confess I am in a great mistake about this providence, and the design of it. I did not at all think it likely that Providence had set out the Prince of W. † and the French fleet, and taken all rubs out of their way, and blasted all attempts on our side to oppose them, and this to bring them to the coast of Scotland to be immediately beaten there. I was of opinion that he might be sent there to be a scourge for a while to that island, but we are blind creatures and know nothing. When we are expecting God to come one way he comes in another. He acts sovereignly, often disappointing our expectation. When

\* This relates to an expedition which failed from Dunkirk for the purpose of making a descent on the coast of Scotland. The force was very considerable, and it arrived in the mouth of the Firth of Forth on the 13th of March, but having received intelligence of a very formidable fleet under the command of Sir George Byng in pursuit of them, they deserted their purpose. The English fleet only captured the Salisbury man of war, which had formerly been taken by the French, and the rest of their fleet got safely back to Dunkirk. The apprehensions concerning this expedition extended over the whole nation.

† The Pretender, son to James II.

we expect him in a way of mercy, he sometimes comes in a way of judgment; and when we expect judgments, he often comes in mercy. I am very glad to be disappointed this way. But now, Lord, unless thou give a spirit of grace and repentance, all these mercies will be lost upon us, for we frequently use thine own mercies to fight against thee, they swell us with pride and insolent boasting. O Lord, get glory to thyself, and let not man rob thee of it.

22. By this day's news our great hopes are vanished into smoke. The great victory which we thought so sure, amounts only to the taking of one ship. I dreaded we were triumphing before the victory.

24. Most people are of opinion the danger is now over; I wish it may be so, and hope it is so. I confess I was expecting confusion and war in Britain; perhaps a melancholy cast of mind leads farther into such thoughts than I am aware. But several good men who walk close with God believe that troubles are awaiting Britain, and these by the French.



But God's ways are not as ours, nor his thoughts as ours.

*April 21.* I am sure I am one of those men in the world who owe least to my own conduct and management, and most to the goodness and kind providence of God. Lord, make me thankful, and give me thy blessing with all my enjoyments.

· 29. Got orders in the morning to go upon command for a week. I am rather troubled at this, for it is the most terrible to me of all my employment to be chained as it were in hell so long. I could cheerfully undergo the fatigues and dangers of our trade to be free of that dreadful company who are the scum of the earth; but I am not to chuse my own lot, thy will be done.

Going out in the afternoon, I found that which I feared was come upon me, for I had the scum of the garrison and of the earth along with me, both officers and soldiers, most abominable vermin whom my soul abhors. O Lord, how long shall I dwell among men whose tongues are set on fire of hell! O when wilt thou deliver me out of this horrid.

noise of tongues? All night in hurry and confusion.

30. Marching all day. Was troubled with several occurrences, and not knowing what course to take. Frequently in such junctures; my mind is so confused I cannot pray to a throne of grace with any distinct thought or serene mind. O thou who leadest the blind by the way which they know not, wilt thou lead and direct me in thy way? I find also, to the praise of free grace, that I am well guided when I trust in God.

*May 1.* This has been one of the worst days ever I have had in this employment. My mind was chafed and vexed all the day with villany and abominations of all sorts, both against the laws of God and man. Cursing, swearing, drunkenness, robbing, thieving, mutiny, &c. I made some severe examples of punishment, but was badly assisted by some officers, who rather encouraged the villains; so that I believe I shall not be so well liked among many of the English, but I shall be glad to be hated by such. I should be bad enough before such beings would love me. O Lord, thou who knowest my heart,

knowest that a battle would not be so terrible to me as this day has been, but thou seest this trial needful for me. Arriving at Willebrook in the afternoon, I was somewhat relieved from the sad company, by getting conveniency to live by myself in peace and quietness.

2. A Sabbath of rest, for which I praise the Lord. Poured out my soul before the Lord for relief from this situation.

4. Marching homeward, my mind more serene than it has been since I came out. Retired frequently from my party, by riding before from the noise of their tongues, for prayer and meditation.

9. I bless the Lord for this Sabbath of rest before we go out to the campaign. I know not when I shall get another. I go out trusting in thee alone, O Lord, and hoping in thy mercy. Through grace I am not afraid for dangers or battles; through thee I shall do valiantly. I am more afraid of the snares and sin of the wretched company I must be chained to; but thy grace, O Lord, can make me escape that pollution. I cheerfully leave my dearest concern upon thee, that we shall yet set up our Ebenezer, and that

thou wilt compass us about with songs of deliverance. Thou hast done great things for us, thou canst do still greater things. If we can believe, all things are possible. Lord, we believe, help our unbelief.

10. I bless the Lord I never went out of garrison more serene, trusting in God. I commit myself and my dear wife, and all my concerns to thee. Ebenezer!

15. Marching. This irregular camp way of living is a pleasure to many, but it is a most unpleasant, hateful life to me, and only because of the evil company it chains me to; otherwise I would like it very well: for I bless God I keep my health well, and, through grace, I am no way afraid of the dangers to which this way of living exposes me. Nay, I would with pleasure fight a battle to-morrow, if I thought it would put an end to this war, and this sad way of living. O Lord, I trust in thee, come what will.

23. *Sabbath*. And a sad Sabbath, both by fatigue and bad company—marching all day in the middle of an English army. I need say no more to give a notion what a hell on earth is. It was a fore day for

fatigue, for we marched all yesterday, all the night and all the day; had a constant heavy rain most of the time, which made the roads very bad, and the march very tedious. Sometimes we took four hours in marching half a mile. I was thirty hours on horseback, which is the longest time ever I was in my life, either the last war or this. I know not how things will turn, but I think there are appearances of a battle, for the French seem not to shun it much, if we be very keen in courting the occasion, as we still pretend to be. Lord, I commit myself and all to thee, and through grace will be very easy, come what thou pleasest to send.

26. This day was kept, by public orders, through the army for preaching and prayers for success to our arms this campaign. O Lord, grant the English army may not be found mocking thee, and aggravating their own guilt on such occasions, when there is not so much as the appearance of seriousness, or that they believe there is a God who can either give success or mar it. I retired as much as possible from company, and we had sermon. O Lord, let me be among the

Lots that are in this Sodom, whom thou wilt spare in the day of thy wrath.

29. Attending a review of the army. We are a great army if God be with us; but if he be not, we are but so many cyphers.

*June 1.* Attending a court martial all the forenoon, which is a very unpleasent part of my duty, prosecuting a deserter for his life, yet I have peace of mind in this affair, for I pardoned this man once before for desertion. Now providence has cast him in the way again. I know not what is in it, but all God's ways are holy and just; he brings men's sins to light, and malefactors to punishment when they are least thinking on it, and when men punish for one crime, he often discovers other crimes in them, for which sentence of death has passed against them in heaven.

24. We marched this morning at two o'clock, the enemy also being upon their march. We came within sight of them about four or five in the evening, and they advanced as if they designed a battle. We took post, as the Generals thought, to the best advantage, and lay at our arms all night, having orders to be ready in the



morning for a battle, and that the French are to attack us. I commit myself and all to God. I flee to the chambers of his attributes, his omnipotence, love and faithfulness, to shelter myself there. I believe he can keep me in perfect peace and safety as well in a battle as in my chamber. I rely also on thee, O Lord, for courage and grace to do my duty.

25. When the light appeared this morning, we found the enemy were marched off, and that their design was not to fight, but to give us the go-by, and possess themselves of Ghent, which they have done \*. I commit my dear concern there to thee, O Lord. Keep her in perfect peace, trusting in thee, for we shall yet praise thee.

26. Resting this day. There is great appearance of action suddenly. O Lord, I beg of thee sanctifying grace to purify my heart, for this marching and conti-

\* This was effected by stratagem. A few French soldiers pretending to desert, obtained admission into the town, and having been followed by others, soon got possession of the place, chiefly in consequence of the inhabitants being well disposed to receive them.



nual exposure to evil company defiles my soul. Blessed Lord Jesus, pardon my sin, and wash my soul in thy own precious blood.

27. *Sabbath.* Concerned about the present posture of affairs, and somewhat anxious about my dear concern at Ghent; but I trust her to a good God, who has been kind to us all our life.

28. Marched at two in the morning, a tedious march. We camped about three hours in the evening for a feint, and then we marched all night, which was great fatigue to the army. Our mistakes and weakness give us this trouble. What a vain thing is man, the wisdom and courage of man! He who one day performs great actions, and extolled as more than man, is the other guilty of great blunders, and as much decried. We have still a prospect of sudden action if the enemy defend what they have got.

29. A fatiguing march, to retrieve our past mistake. Passed the Dender. In all probability it will be retrieved, and that the French will quit what they have got; and I see little else in it but a French gasconade. All is vanity!

30 \*. This day is another great Ebenezer of my life to be added to Hochstet, Ramillies, &c. never to be forgotten. We have fought the enemy, and by the great mercy of God beat them. I bless God he supplied me with every thing I wanted upon such occasions. I praise him for the courage and resolution he gave me, and for a calm mind. All is his gift.

The battle began about five in the afternoon, and lasted till night put a screen of darkness betwixt us and them, and thereby saved them, in all probability, from as great a defeat as ever they got. The battle came by surprise, for we had no thought of fighting through the day. My frame was more serene and spiritual through the day than ordinary. My thoughts ran much upon the ciii.

\* This was the battle at Oudenard, a town situated on the Schelde, in Flanders, thirteen miles south of Ghent, and the same distance North West of Aeth. The Elector of Hanover, afterwards George the 1st. and the Pretender, both commanded in the opposite armies. The loss of the French was very great, said to have been 9800 taken prisoners, 4200 killed and wounded, and 2400 deserters. The allies lost about 1000 killed, and above 200 wounded.

Pfalm, which I fung frequently upon the march. Our regiment was not properly engaged in attacking, but, which was worfe, we were obliged to ftand in cold blood, expofed to the enemy's shot, by which we had feveral killed and wounded, for there was heavy firing for about two hours. I was fometimes engaged in prayer, fometimes in praife, fometimes for the public, fometimes for myfelf.

*July 1.* We lay all night upon the field of battle, where the bed of honour was both hard and cold, but we paff the night as well as the groans of dying men would allow us, being thankful for our prefervation. I was mercifully fupplied with the comforts of life, and wanted nothing good for me. We marched again by break of day and formed our lines, the enemy making ftill fome appearance, but it was only their rear-guard which was eafily repulfed, fo we returned to our camp. I went again though the field of battle receiving a lecture on mortality from the dead.

3. Marching towards Tournay.

4. Marching toward Lifle. We are got within the enemy's lines, and they

have shut up themselves so, that their army seems to run the risk of being lost if we act vigorously. Lord, give courage and conduct, else we will blunder the affair.

5. Employed in demolishing the French lines.

6. There are strange turns of providence this campaign. The French are got into our country and we are in theirs. They are closed up by the canal, so that they are in danger by remaining there, and while they are there we can do nothing here. O Lord, direct and guide our General, and thy presence be with us; then canals, ramparts, walls, &c. like the walls of Jericho, shall become as plains. Let this be the time in thy wise and holy providence, to unriddle that dark providence, the French tyrant. Waste him as he has wasted thy church, get glory upon him as thou didst upon Pharaoh; for this cause I trust thou hast raised him up.

7. My dearest concern is now in the midst of enemies\*, yet she is kept safe,

\* At Ghent.

and in peace. They are chained and restrained as the lions in Daniel's den, that they can do no harm, yea, they are made to befriend and protect when we expected they would plunder. Let others take this from their generosity, or from chance, I take all such mercies from thee, O Lord. Thy promise is accomplished, that when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him,—and who shall harm you if ye be followers of that which is good? Enlarged in prayer for the downfall of the French tyrant, and of antichrist. O let the time come when thou wilt avenge the blood of thy servants. Let the cry of the souls under the altar\* come up and be heard by thee. Let all this great assembly know that the battle is the Lord's, and that he saves not by sword or by spear.

8. This day kept as a thanksgiving for our victory, and a *feu de joy* at night.

14. Got orders to march from the army. I commit all to thee, O Lord, thou art my God and guide. We decamped at three in the afternoon and marched all night.

15. Marching all this day also. We

\* Rev. vi. 9.

have been full twenty-four hours under arms, and the horses as long under their loads. There was appearance of action, but it came to nothing.

17. We marched at twelve, and next morning at six came to Lens. We are pretty far advanced into the enemy's country, much further than either last war or this.

18. *Sabbath.* Dining in company. I wish I had rather dined on bread and water than been in conversation so foreign to a Sabbath.

23. Marched this day back to our camp, and so our expedition ends. It is certain we might have done more than we have done.

*August 1.* A sad Sabbath. We are so far from knowing a Sabbath, or seeing any marks of it here, that it is more like hell that day than on any other, the incarnate devils in the army rage more on it than on any other. Oh! how long shall I dwell in the tents of wickedness.

8. The army was drawn out in the morning to review before the Prince of Hesse and King Augustus of Poland. This is the first time that I recollect of our re-



viewing on Sabbath for twenty years past. Lord, pardon this sin.

12. Marched over the Scheld. There will be an action again if the enemy attempt to relieve Lifle.

23. I went this day to the siege, into the trenches. The French have come up close to us, and give out that they will fight us and relieve the town, so that there is all appearance of battle, and like to be the most deliberate one we have ever fought. O Lord, let the fruit of all be the advancement of thy honour and glory, and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

31. Employed all this forenoon in perfecting our trenches. At two o'clock the enemy appeared marching toward us. The army took arms, and took their posts behind their retrenchments. About four the enemy had raised a battery of twenty-six pieces of small cannon, and played upon our lines, but with little effect.

*Sept. 1.* We lay at our arms all night, expecting they would attack us by break of day, but we were disappointed, for they only continued to canonade us as the day before.



7. Marching this day. The siege\* proves very tedious and troublesome, and the French army have got between us and Bruffels.

11 †. Ordered on command this afternoon with 400 grenadiers to go upon some attack at the siege. Committed myself to God. This is no surprize to me, as I have been laying my account with it; for since the commencement of the siege (though our regiment was not there) yet I have had constant impressions that I should have a share of some attack or other before it ended. So it is God who commands me there. I take the command from him, and not the Brigade Major.

\* Of Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, and the key on that side to France. The siege of the city lasted three months, and the citadel held out two months longer. It cost the allies 12000 men.

† This is one of the most remarkable passages of the diary, and relates to events which were ever after deeply impressed upon the mind of the writer, and frequently referred to by him. Ample accounts of them are to be found in the historians of the time, who highly celebrate the bravery of those engaged in them. See, in particular, Lediard's Life of Marlborough, vol ii. p. 320. and Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxiii. p. 55, &c. Edit. 1745.

We were so late in arriving at the siege that the attack is delayed till to-morrow, and we are sent to Marquett Cloyster to lodge all night. We lay down upon the beds prepared for the soldiers who shall be wounded upon the attack, and probably by to-morrow at this time, many of us may be lying here, groaning by wounds and broken bones.

12. *Sabbath.* Serious all the morning in view of the hot and dangerous service we are to be employed in at night. Committing myself to God. We have got our orders to attack the counterescarp. I went into one of the chambers of the cloyster alone, took out my Bible, and read over several comfortable promises, such as Joshua i. 9. 2 Sam. viii 6. 14. 1 Chron. v. 20. Psal. xviii. xxxii. 7, 8. lx. 12. Isa. xl. 29, 30, 31. xli. 10. 13, 14. xliii. to the 5th. I sung the xci. Psalm. When I had done, and was walking up and down, I cast my eyes upon the chimney piece; there was a coat of arms, and the motto was *Deus fortitudo mea*\* I held to that, was strengthened, and encouraged myself in the Lord.

\* God is my strength.

We marched into the trenches about twelve o'clock. There my thoughts were not so distinct, being fatigued—and my spirits dissipated. Went up and down to see where our attack was to be. Prince Alexander of Wurtemberg came in about four, made the disposition, and gave us our orders. When he posted me, he desired me to speak to the grenadiers, and tell them that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene expected they would do as they had always done, chase the French, and that it was better to die there than to make a false step. I answered, "I hope we shall all do our duty," so he shook hands with me and went away.

Near seven, the signals being given, by all our cannon and bombs going off together, I gave the word upon the right, *Grenadiers, in the name of God attack!* So they sprung over the trenches, and threw their grenades into the counter-scarp, but they fell into some confusion. I then ordered out fifty more to sustain them, and went out myself, and in a little time got a shot in my arm. I felt the bone was not broken, and all the rest of the officers being wounded, I thought it my du-

ty to stay to encourage the grenadiers to keep their warm post. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, the fire continuing very hot, I got another shot in the head; I then thought it was time to come off. But these shots were so mercifully directed that there is not a bone broken, and I still say, notwithstanding these two wounds, that God put a hedge round about me, and gave his angels charge over me. The nice ordering of the bullets to touch there, and go no deeper, is to me a clear proof of it, and that he only wounds, to make me a monument of great mercy and kindness.

I had great difficulty in getting out of the trenches in three hours. I was mercifully provided with a good bed, a house, and good company. I rested well, though my wound broke out and bled during the night.

13. Most of the day our kind officers were visiting me. I wrote to my dear concern. The Lord support and comfort her, and make her thankful for God's goodness to me.

14. I rode in to Menin in very good

health, and very easy. O how great is the Lord's goodness to me, for most of the officers who were with me are lying groaning with broken bones. Have good quarters, an excellent physician and expert surgeon; but, Lord, be thou my physician thyself.

17. Was sent to visit an officer who was on the attack with me, who is lying in great torment, and very weak. O how thankful ought I to be, that God deals so tenderly with me.

18. Sent for again to see this gentleman, but he died before I reached him. Lord, be a God and a father to his poor wife and children.

29. There are more of our officers come in wounded at this late action down the country, where God's goodness has been very great to us in giving us victory, though they were more than two to one, and he has been merciful to our regiment. There is not a man killed or wounded who was with the regiment except one officer who had his finger shot through.

21. My wound is not painful, considering the place where it is, the elbow, where:

the roots of the tendons and ligaments of the hand and fingers are collected.

24. Sensible of the power of sin and a body of death. Still it haunts me, in health and sickness, every where. O Lord, sanctify and bless this providence to me; let the fruit be to purge away sin.

25. Was calm and easy through the day, but had more pain in my wound than I have had for several days, for they have made a small incision and enlarged the wound in my head lest matter should lodge about it, and because it runs more than they would have it. The Lord deals very tenderly with me, for my pain is very tolerable and easy.

26. *Sabbath.* All night and all this day nothing but noise and hurry of marching. The army marching through this town, going down the country towards Bruges. Probably there may be an action in a few days. O Lord, be on our side.

*Oct. 2.* Lord, sanctify thy providence to many poor creatures, officers and soldiers, who are lying here under thy hand, wounded. O the goodness of God to me that I recover so well, and have so little



pain, considering, by the wound in my arm, several tendons are broken and bruised, yet I have the use of my hand and fingers as well as I could desire.

5. Was calm and serene last night. Put out of order by a dismal melancholy object in the same house with me—a poor gentleman who is wounded, and has gone perfectly mad and furious, forced to be tied. He blasphemes God in his fits, and is a most terrible instance of the judgment of God.

6. This poor creature grows worse and worse, tears up all his wounds, continues to blaspheme, and is likely to die so—it is a dreadful spectacle.

12. I was in pain and trouble all night by the toothach till the morning that God in mercy directed me to the use of means which have eased me. I take this as much from God as if he had healed me with his hand, as Christ did in the days of his flesh on earth to poor sinners.

13. God is the hearer of prayer, he heals the diseases and distempers both of soul and body. I have had sweet experience of both—He sweetens my temper by his grace into a thankful contented.



frame, and he eases the pains of my body.

19. Blessed be the Lord who is still the hearer of prayer, a God who pardons sin, and who does not keep up a controversy against a sinner who returns to him.

*Nov. 6.* My wounds being now perfectly cured, I begin to think of returning to the regiment. Sought counsel and direction from God about it. I think it is my duty. Should I be afraid to go back to Lisle, where I have one of the greatest Ebenezers of my life, where the Lord has so wonderfully preserved me, and put such songs of praise in my mouth, and compassed me about with such songs of deliverance? I go, trusting to thy promise, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," and as for my weakness to endure fatigue and cold, I'll trust to that promise, Isa. xl. 29, 30, 31.

13. Went to Lisle.

14. Our regiment got sudden orders to march away. There is a great appearance of action. O Lord, be on our side.

15. I went out in the afternoon and viewed the breach in this town, and the place where I got my wounds.

16. The goodness of God to me is very great. It was by his great mercy that I was not killed or wounded to-day, by a ball from the citadel \*, while walking in the street where I apprehended no danger. The ball just passed me and battered upon the wall at my side. They mark at officers. O Lord, let me not forget thy mercy. I would have had no peace to have been wounded in this way, where I had no call.

17. Our good news is confirmed. The French have made but little opposition to us in passing the Schelde.

18. The regiment came into the town this evening. The success we have got is the Lord's doing, and wonderful in our eyes. The French have been fortifying these posts upon the Schelde for two months, and had made them so strong that they boasted they would starve us, yet the Lord had so taken heart and hand from them that they suffered us to pass, at all the places we attempted, without opposition.

20. I went out in the afternoon alone,

\* Of Lisse, which still held out.

to the place where I got my wounds, and desired to offer up the sacrifice of praise to God for my merciful deliverance, with a thankful heart. O Lord, give me more grace, else I shall soon forget all thy mercies.

24 \*. Kept as a day of thanksgiving and joy in the army, for beating the French from the Schelde and relieving

\* To impede the operations of the allies against Lille, the French had inundated the country between Bruges and Newport, and had strongly intrenched the opposite bank of the Schelde. The Elector of Bavaria at same time marched a large body of troops towards Brussels. This rendered it necessary for the allies to cross the Schelde to protect it. The Elector was compelled to raise the siege with very great loss, by the brave resistance of the garrison under General Pascal the Governor. The allied army under the Duke arrived in Brussels after that event, though their address, assiduity, and bravery, and their safety in doing so it is probable, greatly contributed towards that important event. They speedily, however, returned to the siege of the citadel of Lille, which surrendered, as the Colonel mentions below, on the 27th of October, O. S. though a fortress of prodigious strength, constructed by the famous engineer Vauban. It was quickly followed by the reduction of Ghent, the abandonment of Bruges, and the retreat of the enemy; within their own territories.

Brussels. The Duke never fails to give thanks after victory. But these things are mocked and ridiculed in our army. I usually observe that the greatest Atheists among us, despond most, and are most sunk when things go cross.

27. This morning we were surpris'd with the agreeable account that the citadel had hung out the white flag, and they are capitulating. We did not expect it so soon. God is very kind to us, his providences have been wonderfully favourable to us this campaign. This is taken notice of even by the graceless creatures in the army.

30. Left Lisle. I desire to be very thankful for the goodness and mercy I have met with in this place.

*Dec. 1.* Left Courtray—providence ordering an escort just for my purpose. I viewed the field of battle at Oudenard. I set up my Ebenezers here. O let me never forget thy goodness to me. Still I find much strength of sin and corruption. Lord, sanctify and purify my soul by thy grace. I flee to thee.

2. Continuing my journey from Oudenard to Alost, which proved a tedious one,

for we went off our way. It was so late when we arrived at Alost, we were almost obliged to lie in the streets, the town being full—at last we got lodgings in a soldier's house: I praise God for it.

3. Arrived at Dendermond.

5. Came to Antwerp.

8. Arrived at Rotterdam.

12. *Sabbath.* I bless thee, O Lord, who hast in thy mercy brought me back to the Scots church in Rotterdam.

15. How mercifully does God deal with me, who has brought me here where I live at ease, while the army is undergoing so much fatigue and trouble at the siege of Ghent.

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1709.

*Note.*—THE campaign of this year was very late in its beginning on account of a negotiation for peace, which was long carried on by the powers at war. This, however, after very promising appearances proved abortive, and the operations of the campaign commenced with the siege of Tournay, the strongest town in French Flanders, which surrendered after a siege of three weeks.

*March 9.* I observe that as to our going up to Flanders, providence seemed to point at several ways of our going, and has still disappointed these again, and stopped us. Well, I hope it was all in mercy.

14. This day we left Rotterdam for Flanders, and we arrived at Ghent the 17th. No sooner had we left the water, than a great storm came on, which continued all night. O the goodness of God to us!

*May 15.* I was taking a review of the last campaign. God has been the hearer of prayer to me, both for the public and

myself. The hope of peace encreases. O Lord, fend peace and truth together.

28. Now the peace is blown up. I was very serious this morning in the view of launching out again into new storms of temptations and snares in a campaign. I had entertained some hopes that I should not dwell any more in the tents of wickedness; but the will of the Lord be done.

*June 14.* We marched last night at eight o'clock, and continued all night till four o'clock this afternoon. We are much surpris'd and disappointed this march, for we believed all the night that we were marching straight to attack the French army, or to take some pass upon them, so as to oblige them to move and quit their strong intrenchments, but instead of that we are marched straight to Tournay, and investing it to besiege it.

20. This morning again vexed with the immorality and scandals committed by some in the society. I immediately punished them so far as the military law allows. I know I got a great deal of ill will among many of the officers for this way of dealing, but I will glory in it. I bless God I hate no man's person, it is on-



ly their vices. Lord give me zeal for thee, and let not passion or humour, or any thing of self, mix with it. I went in the afternoon to view Tournay with some company, pretty near their guards, and they fired some cannon at us.

30. This day twelve-month was the battle of Oudenard, a day never to be forgotten by me.

July 1. This day quietly spent about the regiment—was too late in company, and falling hot in debate and dispute. O when shall I enjoy the blessing of good company that may do me good and not evil. I desire now in every debate to be found on the side of truth, religion, and virtue. Long ago I used to dispute, *pro* and *con*, for argument's sake, but it is not right.

8. I went this evening into the trenches. I praise the Lord who preserved me. On the one hand I desire not to value my life more, or to think dangers greater than they are, but on the other hand, I would not let mercies and deliverances, even from the smallest dangers, pass stupidly without taking any notice of them.

20. This day I have taken home an

old servant who has been wandering through Spain, Portugal, and France, these five years; providence has at last brought him back like the prodigal son. Lord, bless it for both our good. To-day we are masters of Tournay, and they are going to put on new regiments to the siege of the citadel, which will probably bring the siege of next town to our door. I desire not to be anxious about any of these things. Nothing falls out by chance. No general can send me any where till providence sign the order. If I go to a siege, it is God who sends me there, and I'll trust in him.

24. This day is appointed by public orders as a day of thanksgiving for the reduction of Tournay.

*Aug. 9.* We were reviewed by these two great men, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. All went very well. Our regiment appeared in good order and full.

12. I dined this day with such company that I would rather have fed on bread and water in a dungeon—so much idle, filthy language.

23. This day the citadel capitulated.

24. We marched this morning at three

o'clock. We know not where we are going, some say to besiege Mons\*, others say, to their lines. I commit all to God. A wet day and night. I was ill accommodated, lying in a soldier's tent, wet and cold; but I have reason to be thankful for the good accommodation I have had hitherto, all this campaign.

26. After a long march we are encamped near Mons.

27. We were expecting to have rested this day and prepared for the siege, but we got sudden orders to march, the French army appearing near to us on their march, so we expect to come to an action. O Lord, I commit myself and all to thee. We lie upon our arms all night, expecting a battle to-morrow. I am no way afraid, thou art the Lord of Hosts, and thou art my God and my Father.

28. *Sabbath.* We marched all this morning in line, and in order of battle. I bless God I was serene and easy—but about ten o'clock we got notice that the French were gone again, and that their

\* The capital of the province of Hainault, which was really the object of the allies.

design was not to fight. I was uneasy at this as a disappointment.

29. We marched suddenly, the enemy being near. In the afternoon they came in view, and our line of battle was formed. They are in strong ground. They raised batteries and played upon us with their cannon. There was not a place in the whole line so much exposed as where our regiment and two or three more stood, and we had considerable loss. Many a cannon ball came very near me, but he gave his angels charge over me. Thou art my shield and buckler! This I trusted in, and repeated several times, when I saw the cannon balls coming straight towards me, as I thought, but the goodness of God let none of them touch me. This night was an unpleasant, uneasy night to our regiment; they have wanted bread these five days, and are faint. It was a cold wet night, and we lay at our arms. I laid me down and slept sound, for God sustained me, and I am not afraid of ten thousands that set themselves against us round about.

30. We expected to have been saluted this morning, by the break of day, with

their batteries, as last night. We laid our account if we staid upon the same spot of ground, with having a third of our regiment killed and wounded, for the General would not allow us to draw back our men a little way behind a rising ground which covered us; but God in mercy prevented us, for the enemy had drawn off their cannon from that place and did not trouble us all the day. In the afternoon an extraordinary thing happened, the French officers and ours, as if it had been concerted between them, went out between the two camps and conversed with each other, and called for their acquaintances, and talked together as friends, as if there had been a cessation of arms; but it was broken off by the Generals on both sides. I was unwell all night with the cold and bad diet I had got for some days past. "O Lord, thou art the God of my health, the strength of my heart." We have got it in orders this night that we are to attack the enemy to-morrow morning by break of day. O Lord, I commit myself and all to thee; get glory to thyself. I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep, for thou, Lord, only makest me to dwell



in safety. I bless the Lord, I was never more serene and easy. I hope it is faith.

31. This day is one of the greatest Ebezers in my life. We have fought a battle, and by the mercy and goodness of God have obtained a great and glorious victory. We attacked the enemy in their camp, a strong camp, and strongly entrenched by two days working\*.

The battle began about seven in the morning, and continued till about three in the afternoon. It was the most deliberate, solemn, and well ordered battle that ever I saw—a noble and fine disposition, and as nobly executed. Every one was at his post, and I never saw troops engage with more cheerfulness, boldness, and resolution. In all the soldiers faces

\* This is the battle of Malplaquet or Blairegnies, the most bloody which took place during the war. The allies sustained prodigious loss, not less, it was said, in killed and wounded than 18000 men. John Duke of Argyle and Major General Cadogan, greatly distinguished themselves on one side, and the Pretender on the other. Prince Eugene was wounded. The Prince of Orange and the Duke of Argyle had each two horses shot under them, and the loss in officers was very great. Mons surrendered October 21st.



appeared a brisk and cheerful gayness which presaged victory. The Lord of Hosts went upon our head as captain of our hosts, and the army followed with a daring, cheerful boldness, for we never doubted but we would beat them.

Providence ordered it so that our regiment was no farther engaged but by being cannonaded, which was the most severe that ever our regiment suffered, and by which we had considerable loss; but the soldiers endured it without shrinking, very patiently, and with great courage; for my own part I was nobly and richly supplied, as I have always been on such occasions, with liberal supplies of grace and strength as the occasions of the day called for. I never had a more pleasant day in my life. My mind stayed, trusting in God, I was kept in perfect peace. All went well with me; and not being in hurry and hot action, I had time for plying the throne of grace; God gave faith and communion with himself, by short ejaculations, sometimes prayer, and sometimes praise, as the various turns of providence gave occasion; sometimes for the public, sometimes for myself. I did not



seek any assurance of protection for my life ; I thought it enough to believe in general, to trust and depend with resignation, and hang about his hand.

Our regiment with some others, in particular, were honoured to do some very good service, by marching up and manning a retrenchment which the French had left, for there we sustained our own horse, which werè pushed by the French horse, and might have been of dangerous consequence if the foot had not sustained them. Take thou the glory, O Lord, to thyself. Not unto us, it was not our bow, but it was the Lord's doing.

The French foot did not behave themselves well, they soon quitted their retrenchments, but the horse stood more stiffly to it. I did not expect to see their army fight so well. I believe the loss may be equal on both sides. It is as bloody a battle as has been fought, either this war or the last. God is working his holy ends, sweeping off sinners on both sides from the face of the earth. But blessed be God for this, that though he be angry with us, and mowing down our carcases thick on the fields, yet he is not with our enemies ;

he is angry at them too, and laying their carcafes upon the face of the earth. He is ftaining their pride, for they are a vain-glorious nation.

*Sept. 1.* This morning I went to view the field of battle, to get a preaching from the dead, which might have been very edifying, for in all my life I have not feen the dead lie fo thick as they were in fome places about the retrenchments, particularly at the battery where the Dutch guards attacked; for a good way I could not go among them, left my horfe fhould tread on the carcafes that were lying heaped on one another. I was alfo furprifed to fee how ftrong they had made their camp. They had a breast-work before them, round about like the rampart of a town, to fire over. The Dutch have fuffered moft in this battle. Their infantry is quite fhattered, fo that it is a dear victory. The potfherds of the earth are dafhed together, and God makes the nations a fcourge to each other, to work his holy ends, to fweep finners off the earth. It is a wonder to me the British efcape fo cheap, who are the moft heaven-daring

finners in the whole army, but God's judgments are a great depth. He has many arrows in his quiver, and is not tied to our times and ways. We marched back to our camp we had left on the 29th. I bless thee, O Lord, who brings me back in peace, while the carcases of others are left as a prey in the fields to the beasts and birds. "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not once come near to thee." Every promise in that psalm has many a time been made out literally to me, every promise in it, and shall be. I trust in God.

2. I went this day to court to put in my claim for advancement in my turn. I commit all to God. I know promotion comes not from the East or West. I leave myself in thy hand, O Lord, to dispose of me as thou seest fit, thou knowest what is best for me. If it be for thy honour and glory, and my good to keep me in this employment, and to raise me higher in it, no man will have leave to keep me from it. If thou hast ordered it otherwise, and if it be better for me to leave this trade, let them distribute their places among

them as they please, I shall not seek them, only guide me by thy counsel, and direct me what I should do. I depend upon thee, and through grace am very easy.

9. O Lord, how great is thy goodness and mercy to us unworthy sinners! We laid our account to be on this siege, (of Mons) we thought we could not miss it; but kind Providence has found out a way to put it by us, by bringing so many regiments out of garrison. O Lord, I desire to observe all these things and see the loving-kindness of thee, the Lord. We marched back to our post in the army this day, for covering the siege.

23. We marched a small march to lay our front better towards the enemy. I have got a house to lodge in. I bless the Lord for his mercy and goodness.

23. Judgment-like weather—storms of wind and rain. I bless the Lord for the mercy of this poor cottage I have got.

27. I commit all to thee, O Lord. Going on command to-morrow, I trust providence shall order all well, and keep me out of evil company, which is what I fear most on these occasions.

28. God has mercifully heard me and

kept me out of evil company upon this command. I sent away the British from me, as I always do when it lies in my power, because I see no nation who are such bold, impudent sinners as they are. I was somewhat anxious about the charge I had of 1200 horses; but committing myself to God who must take charge and defend both me and them, I was easy and safe. I met with one of the greatest storms of rain and hail, while in the fields, which I have seen.

*October 3.* I went to court this morning, but did nothing. I see nothing but delays in this affair, I know not how providence will order it. I cannot cringe at a court, neither is it decent or becoming for a child of the house to be fawning upon the servants for a favour. A child of God should have a noble spirit, and carry their suits straight to their Father in heaven, and make their court there, and then they need not cringe to any creature. Your heavenly Father knows what ye stand in need of.

4. There is a report to-day that the French design to pay us another visit here. I do not believe it. Yet God may hard-

en their hearts, as he did Pharaoh's and his host to follow Israel into the midst of the sea, that they might perish there. Be it as it will, O Lord, I put my trust in thee, and my dependence on thee.

7. This afternoon we have got intelligence that the French are coming to attack us. Thou plucked them out of our hand last day at the battle of Jannier, and they are grown vain and insolent. As for me, I put my trust in thee—still thou art the same God. Thou hast delivered me in six troubles, and thou wilt not leave me in the seventh. Give me grace as thou hast done, and take the glory to thyself.

9. Our alarm is turned to nothing. The town is capitulating. It is good news. Providence is very kind to us. We did not expect it so soon or so cheap.

15. This day we marched. Blessed be the Lord who has put such a comfortable close to this campaign, and has filled my mouth with songs of praise, both for myself and the public. He doth all things well.

16. The Sabbath. This day is appointed by the Duke a thanksgiving for our



taking Mons and the success of the campaign. Most of the army laugh at these things, and many have taken this day to leave the army. I hope the Lord will bless the Duke for his piety and gratitude to God. I believe, indeed, that God will be mocked by the generality of the army; but, O Lord, I beg grace to praise and magnify thy great name for the great things thou hast done this campaign for me. O Lord, we have great reason to bless thee for this campaign, for it has been a very great campaign—two such strong considerable towns as Tournay and Mons taken, and a great victory; and with all, this is a shorter campaign than any we have had all this war.

Thou hast also mercifully disappointed our fears; for my part I laid my account we should be hard put to it. I expected little less than famine; on the contrary, we had abundance of provisions both for man and beast: likewise I had quarters in houses almost the whole campaign, so that I hardly lay three weeks in my tent the whole summer; by this means I got lived more retired from evil company and snares.



It is also to be remembered with great thankfulness, that we were also threatened with pestilence; for in all the villages through the country, the poor Boors were lying starving and dying with the bad nourishment and victuals they were obliged to eat, yet God in mercy kept this infection out of the army.

17. Now I have got the charge of the regiment. O Lord, thou must take the charge of me and it, or else it will be very ill guided.

20. This day we marched into Ghent. O Lord, what shall I render unto thee for all thy mercies to me? Thou hast preserved my outgoings and incomings, and sent me back in peace and safety, and given me a comfortable meeting with my dear concern here. O give us thy blessing and presence.

24. Kept in continual hurry with business and people about me. I am sure greatness must be a troublesome thing, when this small shadow of command which I have is so troublesome. Retired at night in joint prayers. I could not live without intervals of retirement for meditation.

*Nov. 1.* I get but little time to myself now. I am afraid it makes me contract a carking careful temper, all this hurry of business, for I am afraid of neglect in my duty, and this makes me pore and plod. O Lord, do away earthly mindedness, make me spiritually-minded.

19. Sitting in a court martial to-day where I was not expecting to be concerned. Serious to be directed aright in giving righteous judgment.

*Dec. 30.* There is constant need of that prayer, "Lord, lead us not into temptation." This day I stumbled into company where there was temptation which I did not expect, but was mercifully kept out of it.

31. The day quietly spent. Serene.

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1710.

*Note.*—PREVIOUS to this campaign, and during its continuance, a long negotiation for peace was carried on at Gertruydenberg, a town in the Netherlands. The treaty on the part of Great Britain was conducted by the Duke of Marlborough as plenipotentiary. Respecting the justice of the demands of the allies, the concessions of France, and the consequent continuance of the war, persons judged at that period according as they were of the parties of Whigs or Tories. In later times, writers divested of the prejudices, and not misled by the interests which blind contemporaries, and furnished with more information, have given a fairer opinion on this subject—that France yielded all they could yield, and that the continuance of hostilities was equally unjust and impolitic on the part of Great Britain, the effect of the ambition of a party to retain the power of administration, and to keep possession of those emoluments for which the lives and happiness of so many were sacrificed. A Christian who has leisure to compare the authors who wrote about this time, with the subsequent accounts and opinions so

well represented by Dr Somerville, (History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne, pag. 390. &c.) will find it, rightly considered, an useful employment.

*March 6.* Was well directed in business. This dull, heavy temper still hangs upon me. I cannot account for it; but in the evening, at prayer before I went to bed, I found a sensible lightening and cheerfulness, and the weight taken off. God is the hearer of prayer, and his Spirit is the comforter, and when faith comes, then comes comfort also.

15 This day is appointed to be kept by our garrison as it is in England, for fasting and humiliation. Composed frame, faith in exercise, trusting in God for grace, strength and courage, and every thing else that I need to furnish me out for a new campaign.

23. Busy all the forenoon going up and down among our generals. The hope of peace grows less. I hope it shall be well with me, peace or war.

27. Now my time of hurry begins again. I bless the Lord for the quiet and peaceable life I have had all this winter. Lord

fit me for launching out again into new forms.

28. I go out to this campaign, upon the one side, weary of the war—woes me that I am forced to dwell so long in the tents of wickedness; Lord, scatter those who delight in war: But on the other side, I go out cheerfully trusting in God, and hoping in his mercy. I hope to see him arise and scatter his enemies, and do great things.

*April 2. Sabbath.* Obligated, by the hurry of marching to-morrow, to be about things foreign to a Sabbath. O Lord, pity and pardon. Now I must launch out again into new difficulties and confessions. O Lord, I put my trust and confidence in thee alone. I bless thee, who helpest me to trust thee cheerfully, and that I am not given up to melancholy, despondency, or anxious fears, as I have sometimes too much been. I cast all my cares and burdens upon thee. Furnish me out in this new post according to the occasions of it, and the service thou callest for. I leave my dear concern upon thy care.

3. This day we marched out of garri-

son. O Lord, get glory to thyself this campaign. O thou who art the Lord of hosts \*, go out upon the head of our army as captain of our host.

\* Colonel Blackader, it appears from other passages of his diary, had no other idea in addressing Jehovah by this title but this—that it is he who rules amidst the struggles of nations; and that the events of war, however little conducted according to his will, are superintended by him and brought to fulfil his just, holy and gracious purposes. Too many have used this title in a very different sense, supposing, it should seem, that God adopts and sanctions the quarrels of nations, and patronizes measures of the most horrible cruelty and ambition. The title of the Lord of hosts often in Scripture denotes Jehovah as the Creator of the sun, moon, and stars, Jer. xxxii. 18. compared with Gen. ii. 1. Deut. iv. 19. Psal. xxxiii. Isa. xl. 26. Jer. xix. 13. Zeph. . 5. Dan. iv. 10. It is true the *hosts of the Lord* denote the nation of Israel brought out of Egypt, Exod. xii. 41. and their armies, Psal. cviii. 11. It is probable this latter is its secondary sense, in allusion to the regularity and order which prevail among the heavenly bodies, and mark the divine hand which formed them. But many consider that God is specially present in armies and in battles, as he was in the tabernacle and temple at Jerusalem, and favours them with some peculiar care. Nothing is more false or more opposite to the revealed discovery of that God who is Love, and who has



9. *Sabbath.* Lying at our arms from morning till two o'clock ready to march. I retired as much as I could from company for prayer and reading, believing several promises with comfort and joy. Deut. xxxii. to the xliii. Josh. i. 9. v. 13. 14. Isa. ii. 11. 17. 19. iii. 10. v. 4, 5, 6. viii. 9, 10. I trust the Lord shall be exalted in the earth, and that mercy and goodness shall follow me. My particular bundle of mercy is bound up in the great store.

10. We marched all the night and declared wars and fightings universally to proceed, as they must on one side or other, often on all sides, from the lusts and the guilt of mankind. Perhaps there is nothing which carries on the depravity and corruption of nations with such accelerated progress as war and what always attends it.

Voltaire has blasphemed the true God under the title of the Lord of hosts, as the Mars of Christians; and insinuates, that he is the same furious and infernal being which that heathen-god is characterized in Homer. Too many who do not profess open infidelity seem to have not very different ideas. See a sensible sermon on this subject, entitled, "The Name *Lord of Hosts* explained and improved," by Joshua Toulmin, D. D. London, 1800.



this morning, and got within an hour of the lines. We hear the French have quitted them. This is the doing of the Lord, and should be wonderful in our eyes. Last campaign these lines were a bug-bear to us, we durst not go near them. God's time was not come then. Now he has given us them without stroke of sword. When I saw the pass and bridge where we were to have attacked, I could not but admire the goodness of God to us; for it was so strong a morass, that we could hardly have made a head to attack it. But the Lord sent a terror and consternation among our enemies which made them quit them.

11. We have another instance of the goodness and mercy of God to us this day, for we expected the French who had retired behind the river Scarp, would stand and defend that river; but the front of our army appearing, they quitted that too, and retired farther into the country, by which we have free access to besiege Dowaay\*. We marched on and encamped

\* A considerable city in Flanders, with an university of note, where many English Papists were usually

near Doway. This town is a nest of Jesuits and seminaries of idolatry.

16. *Sabbath.* This day is appointed by our general to be kept a day of thanksgiving to God for our success since we came out. O that there were a heart in us to obey these orders heartily and sincerely! O to break off our sins by repentance! Then we might hope the Lord would do great things for us and by us.

19. I bless thee, O Lord, for thy goodness to me; for the good accommodation I have here, a quiet cottage in the midst of a wicked army, where I can retire out of the hell round about me to seek communion and fellowship with thee. My neighbours here envy me this poor cottage, but thou dost not suffer them to wrong me. Thou art my protection. Who shall harm you if ye be followers of that which is good? I bless thee, O Lord,

educated, by whom an English translation of the Old Testament and Apocrypha from the Latin Vulgate was published about the same time with our present established version of the Holy Scriptures, and who added notes, with a view to pervert those passages which are opposed to the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome.

for my peace and quietness here. I have just as much business as diverts me, not so much as to be troublesome.

20. I praise thee, O Lord, for thy goodness to us, that thou hast again disappointed our expectation of going upon this siege. We laid our account with it, but thou hast brought others out of their garisons, and sent them to it. I should have blessed thee also if thou had sent us there, for I should have had greater and more frequent Ebenezers.

23. *Sabbath.* Much of the day spent alone in the fields. Had a serene thankful frame, meditating upon the mercies and goodness of God to the public, and to me in particular. Exposed to company at dinner, and the conversation not suitable to a Sabbath. O Lord, cleanse and deliver me from these.

27. Last night the enemy made an out-fall out of the town, and one of our regiments gave way; most part of the officers are either killed or wounded. This will in all appearance bring our regiment to the siege. Well, Lord, this is thy doing, and not blind chance. It is thou who sendest us, and we go; and

where thou fendest us we will cheerfully go. I will depend on thee for grace according to the posts thou putest us upon; and this regiment which I have the charge of, I roll the charge of it over upon thee. Serve thyself of us, and get glory. What shall we say when our regiments give way, and turn their back before the enemy? but I do not wonder at that, for every word which our British forces speak is a damning of their own blood, and impious swearing by God's blood and wounds; it shall be no wonder to see them wallowing in their own blood and wounds. God is just; he can work his own work by us, and yet lay our carcases as dung on the face of the earth.

*May 1.* This morning our regiment went into the trenches, and, blessed be God, we had a very good day, and had not a man killed or wounded, though the enemy continued a very smart firing all night with cannon balls and small shot. O Lord, give me courage, strength, and conduct, as I need it; without thee, I find I have neither head, heart nor hand, but through thee I shall do valiantly.

2. We came out of the trenches about ten o'clock, and had only one man hurt. Take thou the charge, O Lord, of me and the regiment; thy almighty power and kind providence could make the trenches, or the hottest attack of a breach, to be as safe as our houses in garrison are. The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous flee into it and are safe. I am much fatigued by want of sleep, and running up and down seeing to get every thing right.

3. I bless the Lord for rest and sleep after fatigue. I laid me down and slept. I awaked, for the Lord sustained me; yea, I will both lay me down in peace and sleep, for thou, Lord, only makest me to dwell in safety.

4. We have lost four or five men in the trenches—the day quietly spent in prayer.

5. This morning we went into the trenches again, and got one of the best posts there for safety from the cannon and bombs of the town. I desire to observe all to the praise of the goodness and mercy of God.

6. This day is one of the great Ebe-

nezers of my life. This morning the French made an out-fall from the town upon that post where our regiment was. It was a little before break of day. They came on silently, expecting to surprize us; but by the goodness of God to us we were ready. Our centinels gave us warning, and we put ourselves in a posture, and received them so warmly, that they immediately retired in confusion without firing a shot. It is observable that it has been so ordered, that this second out-fall of theirs should happen to be only upon us who were brought in to relieve that regiment upon whom the enemy fell out at the first fortie and used so ill. Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be the praise and glory. It was thou who made our enemies faintly to turn their backs without attacking us; thou took heart and hand from them, for if they had attacked us briskly, we have no reason to believe as to our own behaviour, courage or conduct, but that there would have been as bad an account of us as those who were there before us. For indeed I saw among several of our soldiers manifest signs of fear and confu-



sion ; but the goodness of God hides our failings, and not only so, but makes these actions which our own hearts know to be mixed with great weakness and failing, to turn to our honour and reputation. I have often observed this in my own case since I have been a soldier, and now it holds good as to me and the regiment, that our actions, though in themselves not worth a button, no better than other peoples, yea not so good, often mixed with weakness and defects, yet God is sometimes pleased so to distinguish them with such circumstances of reputation, and to place them in such a light, as gives them a peculiar lustre in the eyes of the world. I am sure this should make us humble and thankful. I acknowledge, for my own part, if the Lord by his grace did not very powerfully supply and furnish me with courage and fortitude, I would behave very ill. I would have neither heart nor hand. I am not ashamed to own that I have no fund of my own ; neither courage, nor fortitude, nor wisdom, nor conduct, but what I get from God. Therefore, I shall rejoice in my own emptiness, weakness, and fear, be-



cause it leads me to an infinite inexhaustible fountain and magazine of all I need.

7. *Sabbath.* I bless the Lord for sleep and sweet rest after fatigue. The most of the world, by not knowing the want of them, do not enjoy the pleasures of these common mercies of meat, drink and sleep, as we soldiers do. Many poor soldiers at this siege are exposed night and day to fatigue and danger, and get not sleep one night in a week.

8. This is a thoughtful time; many poor souls hurried into eternity every night at this town, where bombs, cannon and musket bullets are flying like hailstones all the night over.

10. Our regiment went into the trenches this morning. Our post was not so liable to forties as the last, but more to the bombs, &c. and most to our own, which falling short of the town did incommode us, but, blessed be God, we had no loss. He lets us see that he can make the trenches to be as safe a habitation as my house in Ghent. It is all one thing, where his presence and protection are.

11. The British got several things to

humble them last night. There was a hundred grenadiers commanded out to sustain the workmen who were to go and make a lodgement on the other side of the avant fosse. The French came out with a great noise, perhaps a small number, and they all gave way and quitted the lodgement. Several were killed and wounded.

12. I was on command in the trenches all night with the workmen to make up that lodgment. Our workmen were in great disorder this night also, and did not do their duty as they ought. I could not help it. There was hot firing all night. I came off at sun rising. I praise the Lord for rest after fatigue.

14. *Sabbath.* Serious through the day, but sometimes engaged in idle company and conversation foreign to a Sabbath. This is the temptation and pollution which attends being in an army. I have long been tired of this way of living. I have sojourned long in the tents of wickedness.

15. Our regiment marched into the trenches this morning. We had a good day. Providence is favourable to us.

We were bombarded pretty smartly from the town, yet, by the goodness of God, we had very little loss.

16. We hear the French army was upon their march yesterday to Arras. They and our army were encamped pretty near each other last night. There are four regiments to be sent for from this siege in case they come to attack us. It is said ours will be one. Well, it is very well. I commit all to thee, O Lord; thy grace is sufficient for me, and shall be.

17. This day the enemy being in motion towards us, a battle is expected tomorrow. All my hope and comfort is, that thou, the Lord of hosts, art my God and Father; and when the Father is general of the army, what has the child to fear?

19. The enemy advancing towards us, four regiments were sent for from the siege, whereof ours was one. We marched up to the army in the evening, and were put into one of the entrenchments which are cast up along the line. It is expected they will attack us tomorrow. O Lord, I put my trust and confidence in thee who art the Lord of hosts. Give

me supplies of grace for strength, courage and every thing else I need, for I have nothing of myself, all must come from thee.

20. Our army worked all night entrenching ourselves. The enemy do not think fit to attack us in this post. Our four regiments were sent back to the siege, and we marched straight into the trenches. I was detached upon command into the sap, to command the grenadiers and those who were to fire all night. I was surpris'd at this, because I was not near command, but it was the pure decision of providence, being done by lot; so I went cheerfully, being assur'd that it was not blind chance, but God who sent me there. I was very well carried through. I see that he also sends me upon these posts on purpose to make me an instance and monument of his goodness, of his protecting, defending and delivering mercy, and to put new songs of praise in my mouth; new links added to that golden chain of sweet experiences of mercy and goodness following me. We had an alarm during the night from a magazine of the enemy's grenades blow-

ing up on the counterfcarp, which we took to be a fortie. We had no harm by it, though it was hard by us. Thou fhalt not be afraid of the terrors by night. Going through the faps and bridges, where the bombs, small fhot and grenades were flying pretty thick, I believed I was even as fafe there under the protection of God as if I had been at home. Thou art my fhield and buckler. I fhall never attribute my deliverance to blind chance.

21. This morning I came off this advanced poft and joined the regiment: in the trenches; we had a good night, only one man killed by a bomb. *Sabbath*. This is two nights we have been at arms. I came home, lay down and fleep from ten till two o'clock. I blefs thee, O Lord, who gives reft after fatigue, and fleep after long watching. I was fent for to fup abroad, where we had much idle converfation. Lord, cleanfe my foul from the filth and fin I contract in evil company. I endeavoured alfo to testify my diflike at vice and abominable things as they came to be the fubject of converfation.

*June 4. Sabbath.* We went into the

trenches, and Providence has been kind. The Lord was very gracious to me in particular, and put a new song of praise into my mouth. While I was looking to our batteries firing, there came a musket-ball from the town and shot through my hat, flanting close by my head. O Lord, thou covers my head in the time of danger, and gives thine angels charge over me.

6. Hurried out in the morning by company ere I got time for retirement, and was led away to a place in the trenches where we were needlessly exposed to great and small shot from the town. I have not peace in these needless exposures of myself. When I have a call to go into danger, then I depend upon God for suitable grace; but where I have no call I have no promise.

Riding abroad in the afternoon, I went to our hospital, where was a melancholy sight of wounded men. May it please God to put an end to this tedious troublesome siege.

8. This evening there was an attack upon the two ravelins of the town. I went up and saw it. It was hot work for a while, but we know not yet how it has



gone, but many poor souls, no doubt, by this time are hurried into eternity.

9. This morning we went into the trenches. We see that our attack did not succeed so well as we would have wished, for we were beat back, and got not full possession of the ravelines, yet we made a lodgement in them both. This attack has cost dear. Many were killed and wounded as we may guess by our own regiment, for of thirty-nine who were there, we have thirty-two killed and wounded. I observe the goodness and mercy of God to me on this occasion. I was the first upon command of the field officers of our besieging army yesterday when the attack was ordered, but our regiment being to go into the trenches the next day, the custom is, that that regiment gives no men or officers on command the night before; in this way it missed me, and the next officer on command was taken. Who so is wise and considers these things, shall see the loving kindness of the Lord. I have occasions every day of observing this. I would have blessed God also if he had sent me, for I trust he would have born my



charges, and carried me through, to the praise of his grace. The Lord is merciful also to our regiment, for we have not had a man either killed or wounded these twenty-four hours in the trenches.

10. We came safe out of the trenches this morning. I went to bed and slept till evening, and it was well I did so, for I was ordered in again at night to the trenches with two hundred grenadiers to sustain our lodgements. And here again I observe the loving kindness and mercy of God to me; for about an hour before I came into the trenches, the enemy sprung a mine upon that raveline where my post was to be, and overturned all our lodgement, killing and blowing up a good many men.

We soon recovered our lodgement, and made up our works. We expected that it would be a troublesome night, and that the enemy would dispute every foot of ground with us, as indeed they have hitherto done, but we were mercifully disappointed, for they quitted all the ravelines entirely to us, and we had not a more quiet and peaceable night since the siege

began, for they threw not so much as a bomb or stone all the night.

We were expecting also to have our lodgement on the left hand blown up, but were agreeably disappointed in that also. O how many Ebenezers have I in this siege! new songs of praise every day. Lord, make me thankful, humble, and holy.

11. In the evening, I came off my command in the trenches. Just before I came out, the enemy began to throw bombs, grenades, and stones from the town, and all the night following have plyed our trenches very hot with all these, especially stones, whereby many of our men are wounded. Thou givest thine angels charge over me, that I dash not my foot against a stone.

14. This day we went into the trenches. At two o'clock they beat the chamade, and hung out a white flag to capitulate, which was a very acceptable sight to us all, for it has been a very toilsome, long, and bloody siege. I bless thee, O Lord, for the bountiful supplies of thy grace which thou hast given me during the

siege, and for thy protecting, preserving mercy.

15. They have not relieved us this day out of the trenches—we are much fatigued by being two days in them. We hear we are to get the fort Scarp also, which we were not expecting. This is a great mercy, for it would have proved troublesome, and perhaps taken up much of our precious time.

16. We were not relieved till twelve o'clock this day. We have got possession of a post and of the fort.

18. *Sabbath.* The garrison of Doway marched out, and we were under arms all day on that account. I was invited to dine with a General, but I'd rather fasted. O Lord, wash and cleanse me from the filth I contract in this wicked army among vicious men—filthy, idle conversation. I flee to the mercy of God in Christ, and to the blood of Christ for washing, for repentance and remission of sin. O deliver me out of these snares! Sanctify my soul.

24. I besought the Lord to remove temptation, and give more grace; and I bless him that he is the hearer of prayer,

and that he gives a meek and quiet spirit. I had a serene thankful temper through the day. I went into Doway, and viewed all our works, and the French works, and there I set up my Ebenezer. Mercy and goodness have remarkably followed me at this siege.

25. This day is kept, by orders, in our army, a day of thanksgiving for the reduction of this town. None have more reason to keep it with a thankful cheerful heart than I have. No one has been more followed with signal mercy and deliverances, attended with distinguishing marks of the divine care.

26. Now we are going to march again. The Lord direct us what is next to be done. Thy presence go with us. I commit myself and all to thee; as thou hast been with me during the siege, so thou wilt be with me during the campaign, and thy grace be always sufficient for me. I depend upon thee alone, come battles or what else thou pleasest.

*July 2.* Sabbath, but forced to do many things foreign to a Sabbath, by preparing for a review to-morrow. Engaged in company and idle conversation.

O this is a sad way of living! How is the mind defiled, the edge of zeal against sin blunted. Sin becomes common and familiar, the Spirit of God is forced away, the effect of grace withers, the heart grows hard and dead. In the afternoon was earnest that the Lord would pity and have compassion upon me, and deliver me out of the tents of wickedness. How long shall we hear the sound of the trumpet and the alarm of war? Wo is me that I sojourn so long among them. I am in a dry, barren, thirsty land. O that thou wouldst in mercy restore me again to the tabernacles of thy grace, and let me see the beauty of the Lord as I have seen thee in thy sanctuary, and had my soul filled as with marrow and with fat. I leave all to thee; thou knowest what is best for me.

In meditating upon the present state of affairs, I found my temper too ready to fret and grow melancholy, by seeing our army, which we have reason to esteem the best ever was in this country, stopped from making progress by an enemy which we flattered ourselves could not well make head against us, and that now we are obli-

ged to turn away from them, and march another way; but in reading the Scriptures in my ordinary, I got both reproof and instruction. The first was 1 Chron. xiii. 10. to teach me not to be solicitously sinfully anxious about the ark of God. God will take care of his own ark. The second was, the following chapter, verse 14.

5. We are to march to-morrow from the army, I know not whither. I commit all to thee.

6. The order for our marching was countermanded; so we stay still. All orders come from above; so whatever Providence orders, I hope still is the best for us, whether going or staying, &c.

*August 18.* I went to see Bethune, which is capitulating—the Lord be praised for it. Direct us what we are to do next.

20. Walking in the fields in sight of the French army.

26. At Court this morning. In company at dinner, where we drunk no more than what all the company thought very moderate and sober, yet I thought it too much. Not that reason was disturbed



thereby, but I cannot endure to have my head the least warmed, or that coolness of thinking marred which I would always be master of. But I am a poor weak creature.

*September 4.* I have had a comfortable meeting again with my dear wife and good friends. Lord, make us thankful, and give us grace to pay our vows and to be weaned from the world and its enjoyments, possessing all with moderate affections, for thou only art the satisfying portion of the soul, our only happiness and only rest. Let us rejoice in thee and in thy goodness, but let not the enjoyments of the world steal our hearts away from thee.

8. We have been alarmed here all day by the enemy being near us, apprehending that perhaps they might have a design upon this place; but about twelve o'clock we found that their design was upon the convoy. We went out in the afternoon with the few men which could be spared here, to try if we could give any help; but when we came within half an hour of the place, we were informed that the convoy was beat, and they are burn-



ing and blowing up the ships. This is a very great loss, and great affront.

9. This day we went out to view the field of battle, and saw a melancholy sight of near 200 men lying drowned on the river sides. There seems to have been great mismanagement, and bad behaviour in this affair. When God is not with us, we have neither courage nor conduct\*.

22. I came to the camp through eight leagues of the worst way I ever travelled, but, blessed be God, we came all safe without any accident. I find all quiet and peaceable here as I left it, so that I hope there has no inconvenience arisen from my long absence. All this is the goodness of God. Lord, make me thankful.

28. The weather being very unplea-

\* This relates to the capture of a convoy of provisions and stores coming up the river Lys, from Tournay and Ghent, for the use of the allied army. It was guarded by 1200 men, commanded by Colonel Ginckel, 200 of whom were killed, and 600, with the commander, taken prisoners. It greatly retarded the sieges of St Venant and Aire, in which the confederate armies were now engaged.

fant, renders it exceedingly uncomfortable for the poor soldiers to live in a camp. To-night, about nine o'clock, the town began to capitulate—Lord, be praised for it, that we have got it at last after many errors\*.

*November 4.* I have to praise the Lord for bringing this campaign to so comfortable an issue, for having preserved and protected me in the midst of dangers and fatigues, and, though it hath been a long campaign, has made it appear short, by giving me so much good company, &c.

8. We marched a short march. I went in to Courtray, and find my friend is gone to Ghent.

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\* Aire, a strong town in French Flanders, with a castle.

1711.

*Note.*—AT the opening of this campaign, such jealousies prevailed among the allies as impaired in a great degree their unanimity and co-operation. And this, perhaps, more than better motives, inclined the Court of Great Britain to pacific measures. The death of the Emperor Joseph, and the succession of his brother Charles, to support whose claim to the crown of Spain the war was originally undertaken, changed the apprehensions respecting the balance of power in Europe. France, adverting to these circumstances, renewed and increased their exertions, notwithstanding their past misfortunes. In no former period of the war were the great talents of the Duke of Marlborough more conspicuous; but, as a lesson of the instability of human glory, at the end of the campaign, he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, for the dishonest application of public money, in consequence of a petition from the House of Commons to the Queen, and was removed by her from the command of the army, and from all his public offices. During this campaign, also, Colonel Blackader left the army and

never afterwards returned to it, having disposed of his commission in the course of the next year.

*January 6.* I have this day been making a proposal to quit this employment. I commit it to thee, O Lord. I have only proposed, do thou dispose and prosper as far as thou seeest it for thy glory and my good. Guide me by thy counsel, and make the way plain by thy Spirit and providence.

19. Got more proposals about leaving the army. I do nothing else with them but to carry them to a throne of grace, and leave them there, trusting that He who leads the blind by the way they know not, will guide.

*February 26.* Got orders to be ready to march, which is likely to make me begin my campaign very early. I have no pleasure in this command or this society; on the contrary, it is a burden and terror to be tied to them; but I cast all my cares and burdens upon thee, O Lord.

27. I see that most men of the world keep up their hearts by vain imaginations, and make themselves easy and cheerful;

is it not then a sad thought that religion and reason should not have a like effect upon me? O to live by faith! that would do it; that would make us rejoice in infirmities, in temptations, in losses and sufferings. O for grace, to practise more what we profess.

*March 1.* Employed this forenoon in secret and joint prayer, seeking the presence and blessing of God this campaign.

10. We marched out of Ghent. This is an early commencement of a campaign. I have been uneasy about this command, not so much unbelief, as it is anxiety and carking cares, which indeed is a kind of unbelief. The care about doing my duty properly, and other things trouble me, which ought not, for I should commit all to God by faith. I find also, being engaged in business takes away my anxiety of temper. I have also that unhappiness of temper which forms melancholy ideas of things before hand, which vanish away when it comes to the acting part.

12. Marching this day in bad roads and bad weather; yet all going well. I bless thee, O Lord, for thy mercy and

goodness, and fulfilling that promise, Psalm i. "And all he doth shall prosper well."

13. This morning I went upon command to take possession of a post which we were apprehensive the enemy designed to possess; but it fell out well, for we took peaceable possession of it. We posted our men the best way we could. I committed myself and my charge to him who is a fortress and high tower to all who put their trust in him. Providence has ordered it so, that I am the first who has begun hostilities this campaign, and taken post in the enemy's country. In thy name, O Lord, will we set up our banners.

14. We were busily employed fortifying ourselves in this post; but if thou, O Lord, do not keep it, the watchmen watch in vain.

15. We are much fatigued by fortifying and guarding this post; but thou, O Lord, must be with us, and defend us and it—if thou be with us, the whole French army will not be able to dispossess us; if thou be not, ten men could chase us out of it.

18. Marching this day. Alas, we forget that it is Sabbath, for there is nothing like it to be seen, but the contrary, as if we were in hell, nothing around us but the voice of incarnate devils, cursing and blaspheming.

*April 10.* I went to Doway. I had a serene thankful frame of mind, sitting alone in my chaise, by the way, meditating on the goodness of God and his singular mercies to me. But Providence lets me see that all our earthly enjoyments are like Jonah's gourd; there is a worm at the root of them. I observe, that no sooner do I begin to rest or place any pleasure or satisfaction in any earthly comfort, than Providence gives some check, and lets me see there is nothing but vanity and emptiness in all; for when I arrived at home, the chaise going in at the coach-house gate, by some accident startling the horses, they broke it in pieces. The very time that we are hugging ourselves in the conveniency and pleasure of these kind of things, the Lord is preparing a worm to gnaw and eat out the comfort of them.

12. The armies are taking the field on



both sides, and probably will enter soon into action. I commit myself and all my concerns unto thee, O Lord; I flee to thee to hide me under the shadow of thy wings, to enter into those chambers which thou hast provided for thy people in a day of trouble. This is my refuge. I received orders from Doway to be ready to march in case the enemy make any attempt that way, as they threaten to do.

19. This place, which has been a quiet retreat for five weeks past, has now assumed the appearance of hell, for all the British cantonment is come here—nothing about me but cursing, blasphemy, violence, &c. All this while, I was glad to stay here, but now I would gladly march to get free of such company.

*May 11.* I came into Courtray, and bless the Lord who has given us a comfortable meeting with each other again.

15. There was a great alarm here to-day, expecting the French were on their way to attack the town, but their design was not here.

24. I came home safe from the army, to my cottage. I praise thee, O Lord, who preserves my outgoings and my inco-

nings; lets no evil befall me, no plague to come near my dwelling, and puts new songs of praise in my mouth.

*June 3. Sabbath.* Marching this day, which was one of the severest I ever saw, by excessive heat. Several men marching in the ranks fell down and died upon the spot—the whole fields were like a field of battle, men lying panting and fainting. Most of the regiments did not bring above sixty or seventy men to the camp with their colours. I bless the Lord for his mercies to me. I have got accommodation in a cottage, though it be in danger of being pulled down about my ears by the soldiers searching for wood and straw. If we looked more to those who are below us, and compared their condition with ours, it would make us more thankful and contented with our lot; for what makes us to differ? it is only the goodness of God which makes our circumstances better—they are every whit as good as we.

7. It is wonderful to see, and a humbling thought also, what thousands of accidents, or little trifling things, do disturb us, or put a wrong bias upon our under-

standing and judgment, upon our temper and humour, and upon our frame. O what a poor worm is man !

22. I went out upon command in the afternoon, and marched most of the night — was easy and thankful in my mind that I am not chained to that evil company I sometimes used to be on command with.

*July 2.* I find that conversation and opening of our minds to each other is a good means, by the blessing of God, to take away sourness and ill-natured humours. The scarcity of such company here makes my life more unpleasant, and my temper more sour and melancholy, than it would otherwise be. The disposal of me and my lot is in thy hand, O Lord.

4. Dining with a large company. This is a sad custom, which prevails through most part of the world, that people think there can be no good company or welcome without much drinking, and too many, even good sober men, have too warm a side to this custom. It is a great thing to get above the opinion of the world.

5. Riding alone all day to Lille. This Lille should be a continual Ebenezer to me whenever I see it, to bring to my remembrance the songs of deliverance I was compassed about with here. Sept. 12. 1708. *See pages 83. 86.*

6. In the afternoon. I visited the post I had at the attack, and was thankful for the deliverance I had there.

25. \* Last night we marched at nine

\* No atchievement of the Duke, and of the army under his command, has been more celebrated than this here recorded: Arleux, a town of the Netherlands with a fort, five miles from Doway, protecting the French lines which extended from the sea to the Maese, having been taken by the allies, but afterwards retaken by the French. the Duke collected his whole forces, and by rapid marches passed the lines unexpectedly by the French army, commanded by Marshall Villars. without any resistance or loss; an event which not only opened his way to the siege of Bouchaine, a strong town in French Flanders, but exposed even the interior of France. The Duke considered this as a deed of the greatest generalship, and we find it celebrated with perhaps too great enthusiasm by Mr Addison, Spectator, No. 139.

The wisdom of his subsequent conduct, in restraining the ardour of his army, flushed with their late unexpected success, ought perhaps to be more justly the subject of panegyric See Dr Somerville, pag. 441.

o'clock, and continued it all night and to-day, till three in the afternoon, and by the blessing of God have taken possession of the French lines without losing a man. This was performed by the excellent conduct and to the great honour of our General, being one of the finest projects and best executed which has been during these wars. Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thee be the glory; it is thy doing. It is thou who gives a spirit of judgment and conduct to those who have the direction and command, and a spirit of strength to those who are to execute these commands. Our enemies are taken in their own craftiness. We were long chained up, but when thy time comes, thou goest before us as the Captain of our host, and then we do great things. This was a fore fatiguing march of ten or twelve leagues. Most of the army fell ill by the way, so that in the afternoon when the French made a mien to oppose us, we had but a handful of men to oppose them; but the enemy retired, and we lay at arms all night. I bless the Lord I was very well, cheerful and thankful. The Lord makes

good that promise to me, Isa. xl. 29, 30, 31.

26. This morning we marched forward, the enemy being also on their march toward us. Their army drew up on a plain before us. We hear that it was very near carried in a council of war that we should attack them, but it was resolved otherwise to the regret of most part of the army. In such cases, *Vox exercitus, vox Dei*. Our soldiers were much encouraged by their success in passing the lines, and the enemy much discouraged. When God delivers our enemy into our hand, and we let them escape, he often allows them to be more troublesome afterwards.

On the other hand, we are not to be suspicious of our General's conduct; we have more reason to admire it, and to believe he knows a thousand times better what is to be done than we. Submissive obedience is our duty, and I give it heartily. If any man deserves implicit obedience, I think he does, both in respect of his capacity and integrity. The Lord be blessed for what he has done—direct and



guide by thy counsel in what is farther to be done.

We marched nearly the whole night, and bad weather. I slept a little in a soldier's tent till it was blown down about my ears, and the rain came in upon me. I bless God even for these little accommodations. We are more thankful in such circumstances for a small mercy than for much greater ones, when we are living at our ease and nothing to trouble us.

27. This morning we had a small march. I pored too much upon public matters, grudging lest the fruits of our good success be lost. This is not much my business; my duty is to be very thankful for the mercy we have received. Providence will dispose all for his glory. Our design seems now to be the siege of Bouchain; and though this appears but a small thing; and no such enterprise as we might have hoped from our passing their lines, yet let us be thankful it is so well as it is, that we are gaining ground of the French, and baffling them.

28. We are like to get a great deal of fatigue and trouble during this siege, the enemy's army being entire and strong.



30. We got a sudden alarm by the French passing the Scheld and coming over to us. Our army drew out in great haste, and marched to the right, to our line of battle, and there expected them; but it turned out only a feint to cover their design on the other side, and to amuse us till they should take post between us and Doway, which it is said they have done. I always thought they would make this siege troublesome, and that we should have fought them. I bless the Lord who gives liberal supplies of grace at such times. My mind was stay-ed, trusting in him. It is he who gives strength and courage. He is my fortitude, for of myself I am a poor faint-hearted creature and have no reason to boast, but in God I will boast.

The enemy retired over the river, and we returned to our camp. In the afternoon we marched again to the right of the line, to cover the General's quarters.

*August 1.* We are busy fortifying our camp, expecting alarms from the near neighbourhood of the enemy.

2. This is the day of Hochstat, the re-

membrance of which should strengthen my faith and make me cheerfully trust in God in all dangers, difficulties and troubles. He is a present help in time of need.

5. *Sabbath.* I spent much of my time in company and conversation unsuitable to a Sabbath. When alone, I found my heart dead, no life, no vigour. Alas how can it be otherwise, living in this army, where there is so much to choak the growth of grace, and so little to strengthen it! O Lord, pity me. Thou knowest what is best for me. I desire not to be fond of one way of living more than another, for I know not what is best. I commit all to thee. We were likely to have marched to-night upon some expedition about this siege, and it being referred to lot by throwing dice, Providence ordered it so that we stay here.

17. At court in the forenoon. He who is above me in the regiment has now got a greater post, which takes him in a manner out of the regiment, whereby my charge becomes greater. I do not now look upon it with the eyes of youthful vanity and ambition, as a step of rising

and pushing forward. I view it as a heavier charge and burden upon my shoulders, which the Lord knows I am not able for. But this is all my hope and confidence, that he who sends none a warfare on their own charges, will furnish me with needful grace. I have greater inclination to go out of this employment than to rise in it.

21. Getting an alarm this morning between twelve and one, we marched to our alarm post, and remained till five o'clock. I was calm and composed.

22. This post which the French have taken makes us uneasy. This night we were again at arms all night, and marched to our alarm post, where we lay till sun-rising. In the midst of all these confusions, God is a refuge. This is all my comfort and peace, for from all other quarters nothing but trouble. The humours of those we have to do with, and the society we live in, is among the greatest uneasinesses we have in this world. Lord, give me grace to have a conversation void of offence toward thee and man. If I have thy approbation, it matters not whe-

ther men approve or condemn. To thee I am to answer.

29. This day our regiment went into the trenches. I bless the Lord who made them safe and easy to us, and that we had no loss. I spent the day quietly, though among the noise of cannon, bombs, &c.

*September 19.* Making progress in my affair at Court, and the way opening up easier than I expected, and rubs taken out of the way. Well, I'll wait as Abraham's servant, Gen. xxiv. 21. and beg grace to follow the way of duty, whether it be to stay or go. I know my happiness, peace and comfort does not lie either in going or staying—it is thy blessing and presence, O Lord.

20. I am still the easier the more Providence does in this affair and the less I do, for I do not love to push and work through any business with a strong bent of my own will.

26. My business has taken another turn. I know not what will come of it. I commit all to thee, O Lord.

30. *Sabbath.* Came off command, which was both short and easy. I bless

the Lord for rest and accommodation after fatigue. I took a sudden resolution about twelve o'clock of going away tomorrow, and asked permission in the afternoon. I found ready access to all the generals, and found them so easy that I met with no difficulties, but all went smooth and well.

*October 1.* This morning I left the army at Bouchaine. The Lord only knows whether I shall ever return again. I refer my life to his will and disposal. If his presence go with me, I am glad to go; and if it be his pleasure I should return, I am satisfied also. Rather melancholy in the morning, parting with some of my kind friends, and the corps I have lived in these twenty-two years; but through the day I had a serene thankful mind while riding alone in my chaise. I applied that saying of Jacob's, Gen. xxxii. 10. I may say so. I am less than the least of all his mercies, for with my lieutenant's partisan\* I passed over to this country about twenty-one years ago, and

\* A weapon not unlike a halbert, then used by lieutenants of Infantry.

now the Lord sends me out of the army with abundance of reputation and the conveniences of life; for I was ashamed to hear of the kind and obliging things which my Lord Duke spoke about me to the generals with him, after I was gone out. I say not this to flatter myself, or to be fuel to vanity, but to stir up thankfulness. O the goodness and mercy with which God has followed me these twenty-two years since I came to this employment! How wonderfully and mercifully preserved, protected and honoured! in so much, that there has scarce been an action which I have been in, but Providence did kindly make some incidents fall out, which procured me greater reputation in the army. Not unto me, but unto thee be the praise; for hadst thou withheld thy grace, I should have misbehaved upon every occasion, and had contempt and shame instead of honour. I have seen officers more deserving in themselves, who have been toiling through fatigues and dangers for twenty or thirty years, and who had gathered a good stock of reputation; I have seen them lose it in one day, or in an hour. This



would have been so with me if the Lord had left me ; but thou, Lord, hast always furnished me very liberally, to the praise of thy free grace. I praise thee who enabled me to live in such an army, suitable to the profession of religion, though I confess in much weakness and with many failings on my part ; this is a great and wonderful mercy, and it is also remembered in the army, I hope to the honour of God and credit of religion.

I came safe to Tournay at night. I have not had more serenity of mind and thankfulness than I had all this day. I take this for a good omen, that thy presence, O Lord, shall go with me, and give me rest.

3. Came safe to Courtray. I bless the Lord for carrying me through, and giving us a comfortable meeting, and bringing the campaign to a comfortable issue.

17. We were to have sailed early this morning, but by an accident of a rope breaking, we were stopped all day, which at first made us uneasy, but afterwards we saw great mercy in it, for there came on a great storm which might have put us in danger if we had gone. It frequent-



ly happens that things which make us uneasy, and which we reckon to be crosses, are by the wise providence of God made to be our choicest mercies; wherefore, we should always trust all very cheerfully to him.

18. Sailed this morning, and arrived at Rotterdam at twelve o'clock noon next day.

30. Concerned about my wife, who is taken ill of a fever.

31. She continues badly. O Lord, sanctify all to us, to bring us nearer to thee, and that the fruit of all be to purge away sin.

*November 2.* I got notice that the day I came to Sas with an escort only of twenty men, there was a party of French thirty strong upon the canal, almost at the same time we passed. They chased back a party of ours who came out only an hour after us. O Lord, thou frequently followest us with great mercy when we know nothing of it.

4. Much alarmed last night to find my wife's fever much increased. She was a little delirious—her discourse was, what great manifestations she had got of God,

his mercy in Christ, and her interest in him. I was earnest at a throne of grace for her, that the Lord would be merciful to her and to me in sparing her. I trust in his mercy that he will hear me, and put a new song of praise in our mouth.

5. Her fever abated. O Lord, make us thankful for every mercy, and what thou hast begun ; please perfect, and continue to rebuke the distemper. Say but the word, and thy servant shall be healed ; for diseases are thy foldiers, under thy command who art the Lord of hosts. Thou sayest to them, Come, and they come ; and biddest them go, and they go. I believe both in thy power and thy mercy.

9. She is still dangerously ill.

14. Blessed be the Lord who continues his goodness ; he has rebuked the disease and strengthened the poor patient to bear—everlasting arms were underneath supporting.

16. Lord, sanctify this providence to us. Teach us what thou wouldst have us to learn and do, for it is not the rod alone which can do us any good.

*December 25.* This day we left Rotter-

dam, and O how thankful we ought to be for the goodness and mercy which has followed us here ! May thy presence be with us during this voyage and journey ! We put ourselves under thy protection and direction, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea and the dry land.

28. This forenoon we embarked in the yachts which carry over Prince Eugene and the Prussian ambaffador to London \*. We met with impediments next day ; however we stood out to sea, but not finding the man of war that was to convoy us over, we were obliged to come back to an anchor before Helvoet, where we lay tossing all night.

30. In the afternoon our convoy came out, and we weighed anchor and prosecuted our voyage till midnight with a good wind ; but the wind then turning rather contrary, we changed our course more northerly towards Yarmouth, and both of us were very sick.

31. In the afternoon we came to anchor between Yarmouth and Harwich.

\* Prince Eugene came to Britain to excite a spirit for carrying on the war, but failed in his object.

1712.

*January* 1. We wrought up to Harwich, though the wind was contrary, and landed there. I bless thee, O Lord, for thy mercy in bringing us safe.

Now thou hast brought us to Britain again; O Lord, let us have thy blessing and presence here, as we have had abroad. Lead us in the right way, guide us by thy counsel, and dispose of us by thy mercy for thy honour and glory, and for our good.

2. A pleasant voyage up the river, and came to Ipswich.

5. Arrived safe at London.

9. No place ever I was in gives me a greater idea of the vanity of the world than this city. Most walk in a vain shew.

13. *Sabbath*. Heard two good sermons suitable to the times we live in. Good men seem to be affected with apprehensions of approaching wrath and judgments hanging over our heads. O Lord, thou art a sovereign God, and canst work in a sovereign way of mercy, and

prevent our fears, but we have so abused thy long-suffering patience, that we may be justly afraid that abused patience will turn at last to fury, for there are no signs of repentance or reformation; but, on the contrary, hardened in sin and heaven-daring wickedness. O Lord, raise up many, and let us be in the number, who are mourning for the abominations committed in the place we live in, and let us not be partakers of their sins, that we may not be partakers of their plagues and judgments.

16. This day appointed by authority to be kept a fast for imploring the blessing of God upon the present negotiations.

*February 27:* In all steps of my life, I see upon the one hand much weakness in my own management; but, on the other, a kind Providence making all I do to prosper better than those who have much more wisdom and prudence. I have good reason then to commit my way to God, and trust in him. He will bring it to pass.

*March 23.* This day we finished our bargain about my post, according to

a previous appointment; and, having made my demission, I look upon myself as out of the army. I observe the kind dealing of Providence with me, that two days hence, (the 25th) is the day which by Act of Parliament I would have lost my post if I had gone to a Presbyterian meeting \*; now, by the goodness of God, I am delivered out of this snare, for this law does not touch me, having no post. I knew not this, nor did I suspect it last summer when I entered into the agreement; but God, who leads the blind by the way they know not, was

\* This was the bill *for preventing occasional conformity*, the restraints of which were far more extensive than its title seems to imply. After having been moved and rejected three times in former years, and no steps taken to renew the motion for seven years, it was carried through in this session of Parliament. By this law, all persons having places of trust or profit under government forfeited these, who should be present at any meeting for religious worship consisting of more than ten persons, besides the family, where the Book of Common Prayer was not used. The law took effect on the 25th of this month, and was carried without any opposition from those who had hitherto in Parliament divided against it.

leading me by the hand, and taking me out of the army in the best and fittest time. I desire to adore and admire the mercy and goodness of God to me in his Providence, and to trust in him cheerfully in time to come. Make thy way plain to me, that I, who am a way-faring man and a fool, may not err in it.

25. Going about an affair this morning which lay much in the managing of tempers. I knew before hand I would lose it. I am not a match for the men of this world; they are wiser in their generation. I did what was my duty, I can do no more, and this makes me easy.

*April 5.* I see that the service of God does not hinder business, but promotes it, for yesterday, being employed in his service, and having several affairs yet to be dispatched, I was afraid I should have too little time; but Providence brought my business to my hand, and also made it smooth and easy, so that it was well done and soon over.

7. Left London. May thy presence be with us, O Lord; we commit ourselves to thy divine conduct.

16. Arrived at Newcastle—next day



our coach was overturned, but we escaped unhurt.

21. Came to Dunbar in the evening; I stepped out, and walked toward the sea side in sight of the Bass island, which occasioned serious thoughts, and a thankful frame of mind, to think of the train of goodness and mercy these many years since I was there\*.

22. Arrived at Edinburgh.

24. Came to Stirling.

*May 3.* Much of the day in public worship, being the preparation sermons before the sacrament. I complain that I was preached more dead by being too much in public; I think that is the fault of the custom here. There is too much time employed in public, and too little left for private devotion. And also upon such occasions, there is too much pains taken to work up the affections and frame to a height, without taking equal care of a suitable growth and improvement in the judgment and conversation, which makes fanciful rather than solid Christians. We are frequently more ear-

\* See the preceding narrative of the Colonel's father.

neft to have the confolations and fmiles of Chrift, than careful to take on the whole yoke of Chrift, or to walk in a fteady courfe of obedience, mortifying and fubduing our own wills and tempers.

5. I fee that a humble needy dependence on Chrift muft be our daily work. I fee a constant need of it, that a Chriftian muft never leave his fentry poft.

7. Heard a good fermon. O learn me to live fo as I heard—a ft ranger and pilgrim in the world. I thought my affections more warmed and raifed by this fermon than they were at the Lord's table; the fpirit is free and bloweth when it lifteth. I defire not, as many do, to meafure my Chriftian growth by the workings of my affections, but by folid refolutions of the will, guided by a found judgment and underftanding, and that guided by the word of God. We came to Craighforth\* at night. Thy prefence be with us here, O Lord, and blefs our habitation and company.

\* The feat, near Stirling, of his wife's father, James Callander, Efq.

8. Blessing God for his goodness in bringing us safe home through many dangers and difficulties to this quiet peaceable habitation among our friends; but all this is nothing unless thy presence be with us and give us rest.

15. Here I complain of idleness as before I have done of hurry. So that in this world there is nothing satisfying—always something wrong.

*June 5.* In company all the day by strangers coming to the house. This is a kind of life I do not love, to have all my time stolen from me and trifled away. I could not well live so without intervals of retirement. A country life I see is subject to this inconvenience. Lord, direct us as to our place of sojourning, where we may have time and grace to serve thee for thy glory and our own peace and comfort.

*August 6.* Abroad all day at a burial in the country. Most of the conversation and company there was not desirable. It is wonderful to see what a perverse malignant spirit is gone out, among the gentry especially, against all that is good. O the madness of people that would sacri-

fice religion and liberty, and all that is valuable, to satisfy their humour; but, *Quos perdere vult, &c.* \*

25. United to a religious society, where I resolve to go. I have much need of such means of upstirring.

*September 1.* This morning I attended a fellowship meeting for prayer. O Lord; pour out a spirit of prayer, of grace and supplication upon us, and upon all thy people.

10. In company, where too much heat was shewn in debate. Indeed, I suspect that much of that which some people call zeal, proceeds from heat and violence of temper which is natural to many people, and I am afraid we are often led by our own humours instead of the Spirit of God. It is the *meeke* thou guidest in judgment; the *meeke* thou clearly teacheth thy way. Lord, make me so. Keep me from extremes both on the right hand and the left. Let me not act, or suffer for any thing but what

\* At this period, a very great number of the gentry of Scotland were in the interest of the Pretender.

is clear duty, wherein I may have thy approbation, and the peace and testimony of a good conscience. I dare not give up myself to be directed by any man or set of men. Guide me thyself!

1713.

*February 3.* SURPRISED at the sudden illness of a friend who seems to be dying. Lord, fit and prepare for a change. Let her soul be bound up in the bundle of life. I find that the sight of a dying person makes a deeper impression upon me now in cold blood, than ten thousand did in Flanders at battles.

4. In the house of mourning all day. My niece died at night. Lord, sanctify the providence to those most concerned, and to us all. I perceive, that in a dying hour an interest in Christ, and the sense of it, is worth ten thousand worlds; for all earthly comforts are then tasteless and useless.

*August 2.* This is still a day I incline much to remember for the battle of Hochstadt, which I should never forget.

*September 10.* I hear that our regiment is gone for Ireland. They cannot serve there unless they take the sacramental test\*. O I admire and adore the

\* The test act, which passed in 1672, similar in its object with the corporation act of 1663, but much

goodness of God to me, who brought me out of the army just at the right time; who allowed me to stay in it while service was to be done against his enemies, and honour to be got, and gave me a bountiful share of it, and of profit also. And I could never have managed my demission right, and got the difficulties removed which are frequently in the way

more extensive, is still considered, not only as the great grievance of Dissenters from the Church of England, but even by many members of that church as profane and oppressive. But it ought to be remembered, that this was equally a measure of the Presbyterian party as of the Episcopal, in order to exclude Catholics from offices under government. Dissenters indeed had secret assurances of being afterwards excepted from its operation, but having served a turn by deserting the fair ground of uprightness and consistency, it is to be remarked, that they have been disappointed from that time to this, in obtaining any legal security from the provisions of this law. It may now be considered as the only limitation of religious liberty in England, the toleration act of 1690, with its enlargement in 1779, having deprived all the other laws against Protestant non-conformists of force and effect. The test act was not extended to Ireland till 1706, and is now repealed there. Even in England, acts of indemnity annually passed, have rendered the corporation and test acts a dead letter.



of such bargains, but Providence made me almost passive in it, and sent a man who was fond of my post, and acceptable to those concerned, which made it easy.

1714.

*January 1.* DINING with a large company. I do not now love the bright sparkling conversation of the wits so well as of the wise and prudent, whereby we are made better and wiser.

30. I laid me down in peace, I awaked, for God sustained me. I will not be afraid, through God's strength, of ten thousand encamping against me. I have resolved this morning to eat the Lord's supper to-morrow. Heard two good sermons. As to my own frame, I cannot say my affections are very lively, but I hope I have some hunger and thirst after Christ. What is upon my heart most upon this occasion is, that the power of corruption may be more broken, every weight laid aside, and the sins that so easily beset me. That I may get more love to Christ to carry me through difficulties.

31. *Sabbath.* I cannot say my affections are lively, but I hope I have got a discovery of the matchless love of God, and of Christ shedding his precious blood for

the remission of sin. At my time of life I do not expect an high frame, and indeed when I had it in my youth, I think it was more for my own comfort and pleasure in religion, than that it tended to any solid growth.

*February 10.* Waiting on the Presbytery all day. Gave my opinion and vote not with the side with whom I had voted before. It was according to my conscience. I think it is a weakness to have the conscience tied to any party, but free and disengaged to receive light. I hope I am well directed; at least I hope I am disinterested, and without bias in the matter.

*March 17.* I am chosen by the Presbytery to be a member of the ensuing General Assembly. Lord, give me grace faithfully to discharge my duty, so that I may have thy approbation, and the testimony of a good conscience.

26. I either mistake religion myself, or many in this country do. I think the best evidence of our sincerity, and of our being partakers of grace, lies in subduing our tempers and those sins which most easily beset us. But I see many place their

religion in strict opinions, a fiery temper and forward practice conformed thereto. It grieves me to see so much profession of strict religion and other things not conform\*.

*April 13.* Met this day with our sessions about chusing a minister. We sought counsel and direction of God, and I hope we were well guided. There was great unanimity.

*May 8.* Obligated to go out at night and sup, where we were kept intolerably late—vexed at it, and out of order. Lord, pardon, and give grace to employ time better.

17. This forenoon the Assembly rose, and a pleasant sight it was. Such unity and harmony! I hope the Lord's presence has been with this assembly. I was much affected while singing the 133d Psalm.

*June 2.* We left Edinburgh, and bless the Lord for his mercy and goodness which has followed us since we came to it. Came safe to Craigforth at night.

\* It may be proper for many, who so highly extol the times of our forefathers, to consider this impartial testimony respecting the kind of religion then so much in vogue.

*August 3.* This day getting surprising news of the Queen's being extremely ill put a damp upon my spirits, and stunn'd me at first; then, going alone, and committing all to God by prayer, my heart was somewhat quieted and established. Lord, disappoint the designs of malignant restless enemies, and get glory by all events. Met in the afternoon with the magistrates and friends here, to concert measures for our security. Let our eyes be towards thee; and give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man.

4. Heard the Queen is better. I rejoice in it, and wish her recovery if it be God's will. We have had peace and truth in her time, and also liberty under the wings of her government to lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty. If we have had hardships put upon us of late years, they must be attributed to the violence and rage of parties, and not to her temper. She has been virtuous, sober, clement, and devout in her own way. All this we ought to acknowledge with thankfulness to God, and also to her as the means.

5. We do not hear yet of the Queen's

death, though her life be despaired of. Lord, prepare her for, and receive her to, an immortal crown of glory. I am thankful that all is going on quietly and peaceably, all seeming to go in heartily with the Protestant succession.

6. I came up in haste from Craigforth to Stirling, hearing the Queen is dead. I assisted with the magistrates in proclaiming the new King George. Lord, send him over to us filled with the graces and gifts that may make him a great and lasting blessing to these nations.

7. We hear from all places of peace and quiet, and that there appears not a dog to move his tongue against the Protestant succession. This is the Lord's doing and wonderful in our eyes, as what we did not expect. May the goodness of God lead us to repentance, else he can soon turn our hopeful beginnings into a sad end. He has many arrows in his quiver.

*September 23.* I bless the Lord who delivers out of temptation and restores peace and serenity of mind. This afternoon we received the good news of the king's safe arrival. O Lord, make us thankful;

thou dealest mercifully with us. Lord, make him a long and lasting blessing to these nations and thy church, to break the balance of anti-christian power in Europe. Assisting at night at the solemnity with the magistrates and officers of the regiment. We may see the moderation and lenity of a just and good government; those who have been the greatest enemies to it are protected, and may appear in as great security as its best friends; but if a pretender had come in, I doubt not but the country had become a field of blood, malice and vice triumphing, and good men hiding themselves; but the Lord be praised, the snare is broken, and our soul has escaped as a bird out of the snare.

*December 31.* I bless thee, O Lord, who adds to my days and years, and that I enjoy them in peace, contrary to my expectation. Lord, give me grace so to number my days as to apply my heart to wisdom. I set up my Ebenezer.



1715.

*Note.*—Col. Blackader having been appointed Deputy Governor of Stirling Castle, he had an opportunity of serving his country very materially in assisting towards the suppression of the rebellion which broke out this year in Scotland.

*June 20.* THERE was a dreadful storm, with thunder and lightning, this morning. O the comfort of having this God who thunders in majesty and power, for our God and father!

*August 9.* Out seeing a rendezvous; but, alas, a poor defence. Lord, give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man. Our trust be in thee alone, for indeed we have no arm of flesh to trust to; but perhaps I despise these small things too much, having seen fine armies; but it is our sins, I fear, make us weak. I know, if God be not angry with us, he can make one of us (as we are) to chase a thousand.

23. This day was kept a fast, appointed by the commission of the General Assembly. I am sure we have good reason to keep days of humiliation. Lord, pour

out a spirit of repentance, grace and supplication, that we may turn unto thee before thy wrath break out. Lord, hear the prayers which have been put up to thee to-day by thy people. I hope there are strong batteries raised up this day in Scotland against an antichristian, wicked jacobite party, who are enemies to God and his cause.

24. The alarm renewed again of an invasion. I cannot say but it always casts a damp upon my spirits when I hear of it, though it need be no surprize, for I have a melancholy view of that dismal scene of confusion, bloodshed, famine and pestilence, and all the calamities of a barbarous intestine war. God can in mercy disappoint our fears; as he has often done.

We have got account of the death of the King of France. We have been long looking for it, but God's time is the best time. It is observable at this nick of time, when he had been long laying plans, and was on the point of sending a Pretender to invade us. Perhaps this may defeat their design. Follow what will, he was the main pillar and support of

antichrist's kingdom. We hope it is a good omen that antichrist shall get a deadly blow, and is near his end, though he rage so much \*. But now, this should teach us to be humble and modest in judging. We are too apt to interpret God's providences and judgments according to our humours and passions. We thought he could never go off the world without some remarkable judgment, and now he died as a lamb, and with-

\* Louis XIV. whose inordinate ambition had kindled and long supported the flames of war over a great part of the world, died in his seventy-seventh year, on the first of September, amidst the flatteries, or rather adorations, of poets, orators and priests. His conscience to the last was preserved in peace, amidst all his public and private iniquities, by these and the stupifying effects of the superstition he professed. He died recommending to his grandson, Louis XV. *the obligations to God*, in the constant violation of which he had himself lived; gently confessing, merely, that he had been *too fond of war and lavish in his expences*, against which he admonished him—considering his conduct as his *misfortune, not his crime*. His dying advice, as we know, had the effect which might have been expected. In what light do the exploits and the death of such persons appear, when set beside such descriptions and truths as we read Isa. xiv. !

out any horror that we hear of, but with great presence of mind and composure. God's ways are not as ours. We measure Infinite by our own little understanding.

*November 12.* This morning the army marched out\*. I got my orders from the Duke, and received many compliments for my success in training the West country battalion. I went out with the army a little way—sent my best wishes

\* The rebellion in Scotland having by this time attained considerable height, and the Earl of Mar, at the head of the Highland army, having marched from Perth towards Stirling, apparently with the design of passing the Forth by the bridge there, John Duke of Argyle, Commander in Chief of the forces in Scotland, having first secured Edinburgh, marched with very inferior force to Stirling, and gave him battle near Dumblane.

The town of Glasgow, always zealously attached to the Hanover succession, and to the constitution it was called to maintain, raised on occasion of this rebellion a battalion of six hundred men, and supported them for sixty days at their own expence. The Duke of Argyle made a requisition for these men on the 14th of September, when they immediately marched to Stirling, joined the king's troops, and were disciplined by Colonel Blackader.

and prayers along with them. O thou Lord of hosts, go out with our armies; and thou great Judge of right, judge between them and us. I should have had less fatigue to have been out with the army, but the post which Providence allots to me is always the best.—Alarmed at night by the enemy, and putting all the town in arms; I went down to the bridge with the Glasgow battalion, and remained there all night, and it was a peaceable night. I bless God for it.

13. *Sabbath*. I slept two hours in the morning, and then went to church. At the dismissal, we were alarmed. Upon going out, I saw one of the most melancholy sights ever I saw in my life—our army flying before their enemies\*. O

\* The right wing of the army under the Duke of Argyle completely routed that wing of the rebel army to which they were opposed; but the right wing of the rebels defeated the left of the royal army with great slaughter. General Whetham, who commanded them, fled before the rebels to Stirling, and spread the news of the army being completely defeated. But the Duke of Argyle returned from the pursuit, and supported that part of the army who were attacked in the rear by the Highlanders, who had returned from putting Whetham to flight. The rebellion however was not

Lord, what shall we say when Israel\* turneth their backs, and fly before their enemies?—We have sinned. Going down to the bridge with a heavy heart, the runners away coming fast in, and every one giving a worse account than another, that all was lost and gone; indeed seeing is believing. All the fields were covered with our flying troops, horse

suppressed so much by this battle, which was not decisive, as by the seizure of Inverness, and the dispersion of the clans in the North, and the surrender of the rebel army at Preston in Lancashire.

\* Colonel Blackader appears here to labour under the same prejudice with the rest of his religious countrymen at that period, viz. that Scotland, as a covenanted nation, had the same sort of peculiar relation to God as Israel of old. But according to the Scriptures, the people, who are the anti-type of that nation, corresponding in peculiar spiritual privileges to the earthly privileges of Israel, are there said to be gathered out of all kindreds, nations and languages, having the name of Israel after the spirit, Rev. v. 9.; Jews, though not outwardly such, Gal. vi. 16.; the circumcision, or circumcised, who worship God in spirit rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh, Phil. iii. 3.; the holy nation, the peculiar people, &c. 1 Peter ii. 9. All, in every nation, who fear God and work righteousness, are now equally acceptable and related unto God, Acts x. 35.



and foot, all the appearance of a routed army: O what dismal views had we, expecting to see the rebel Highland army at their heels! Filled with such thoughts as these—Lord, thou hast turned our sword's edge, and hast not made us to stand in battle; thou hast poured shame and contempt upon us; thou goest not forth with our armies. Give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man.

I took down all the Glasgow battalion to the bridge, and posted them in some entrenchments there; but indeed I had no great hopes of keeping them out, for thinking our army routed, I thought they would pass the river Forth at some ford, and soon become masters of Stirling. Thus we spent all the afternoon very melancholy, till the evening, when a better prospect began to open. We got intelligence that the Duke was still on the field of battle, and afterwards that he had been victorious.

O what a surprising turn! We could not believe it. We were as men that dreamed; but it was confirmed to us by eye-witnesses. O how thou hast turned



our fears and grief into joy and songs of praise! Providence has now so managed it that no flesh shall boast. Our right wing did beat their left, and their right wing beat our left; but our left was attacked before the line of battle was formed, and so every regiment, upon the long march, broke and driven back one upon another. We were also too vain and conceited, and despised our enemies too much, and rested too much upon the arm of flesh. God humble us, and let us see that all flesh is grass; yet he takes care of his own cause, and lets not our enemies triumph, at the same time he humbles and mortifies our vanity.

I now see Providence was kind to me and those who remained here. We should have been posted on the left or centre, and so have been surpris'd and broken as the rest were, and perhaps lost both life and honour. My prayer was, If thy presence go not with me, carry me not up hence. He has heard me. Success was not to attend the left wing. I was not to be there. All is well order'd.

14. This day it is expected there will

be another engagement, that the Duke will attack them if they remain where they are.

We hear the rebels are retired. Lord, be praised, who puttest a bridle in their nose and hook in their jaws, and turneth them back by the way they came. O what a merciful surprising turn of providence! Yesterday we were expecting a barbarous and cruel enemy at our gates by this time, and to be flying before them. God is our defence, our shield and buckler.

The army came back in the afternoon in much better condition than we expected. Lord, be blessed for this respite, and sanctify this providence, this check, to make us humble, and to depend on thee; to repent and turn to thee.

Fifteen regiments are cantoned round about us, consequently the company here is very bad—swearing, blasphemy, vile creatures, the scum of the earth. No wonder though our carcases be made to dung the face of the earth. God can be glorified upon us, and work his own work without such vile instruments. But, O Lord, reform us.

17. Last night, we escaped an imminent danger by fire from these sad neighbours of ours. Lord, thou keepest us from terrors by night as well as dangers by day; thou puttest a hedge about us, allows no evil to befall us, or plague to come near our dwelling.

19. In the morning seeing the Duke review the regiments of foot; some of them are sore shattered. They who stood and did their duty best, have suffered least. It is generally so.

22. The Glasgow regiment marched home. I convoyed them part of the way, and we parted with much affection on both sides. I bless the Lord who has sent them home safe, and that they were not exposed or suffered as others. They were committed to my charge, I committed them to thine, and thou hast been their defence.

25. I have great cause to complain of the strength of corruption. Alas! this way of life injures holiness and spiritual mindedness; the heart loses its right sett, turns remiss, light, vain. Lord, sanctify my soul, let me not grieve thy Spirit; throw out the uncleanness of my heart

which serves as fuel for Satan to work upon. O I may say my heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Through grace I resolve to trust in Christ and to strive against sin.

26. Still complaining; O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?

*December 5.* I desire to adore the riches and power of grace, for I believe there are many in hell who have not had such strong corruptions, more of the seeds of all wickedness, than I have. Lord, subdue them.

13. Went out in the morning with the Duke and Generals to view the field of battle. It is folly to lay blame upon each other, right wing or left wing. Time and chance happeneth to all. They who fled, would likely on another occasion have done their duty, and behaved well; and they who stood, might, in the same circumstances, have fled as well as they did. The glory and praise of all belongs to God, and no cause of boasting to man. All flesh is grass.

29. Among the great folks through the day. O for a spiritual habit of mind

among company, and that my mind may not be made vainer and lighter by it. I see vanity in all these things. O to be living as a stranger and pilgrim, in sight of death, judgment and eternity.

*END OF THE EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY.*

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LETTERS.

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LETTER I.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST,

*Near Treves, May 15.*

WE are now come within two days march of Treves, and are resting this day, which gives me the opportunity of writing these letters. It is said we are to join Prince Lewis' army on the other side the Moselle, and what we are to do next I do not pretend to tell thee. Perhaps the French will be so strong, that we will not think it advisable to attack their lines, and you know Prince Lewis is not thought rash of fighting; but all this is but poor comfort and not to trust to, I confess; so I recommend you to go for comfort and support where you have always had it. The name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous flee to it and are safe. I told you before, that I in particular, beyond many others, need not fear to go to the Moselle, for God is a tried God to me there already. I have my Ebenezer there before me.

I bless God I am well, easy and cheer-

ful, more than I have been since I went to Scotland. He has graciously removed that melancholy and chagrin that some time troubled me there, and now, except my being absent from my dearest joy on earth, there is almost nothing else troubles me; but in that, as in all things else, I desire to trust God cheerfully, hoping a comfortable meeting in God's own time. All things about me have been right and well ordered. My company is very well, my horses holden out well upon this long march, &c.

At writing this, we have the worst weather I have seen at this time of the year; it is just now showering snow and hail, and so cold that I am forced to lay aside the pen, to draw on my boots.—The Lord's blessing rest with thee. I am,  
dearest love, thine, while  
J. B.



## LETTER II.

*To Mrs Balderstone, Edinburgh.*

*Troos, May 19. 1705.*

I HAVE never had the time before now to salute you and your kind husband by a line, for we were not well in our

garrison till we had orders to march out, and we have been marching now this month almost every day. The Lord was merciful to us on our voyage, for though we had the French privateers about us almost every day, and sometimes within cannon shot, yet, by the goodness of God, they did us no harm. My wife and I were both very sick at sea as ever we had been. Dear friend, I invite you to extol the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together. I trusted in him and I am helped; he has made good all his promises to me, particularly that "my presence shall go with thee," which both of us got. He has in mercy removed much of that melancholy and chagrin that I was sometimes troubled with in Scotland, and helps me to trust in him cheerfully by faith, and to cast all my burdens upon him; the sweet experiences also of the last campaign, and the wonderful deliverances I met with then, do help much to bear me up, and strengthen faith, for he is a tried God, and I am no way afraid of going into Germany again this year. I have many Ebenezers there already set up before me, and come of our army

what will, I know it shall be well with me. We have indeed a very wicked army, which is a very great discouragement, and I am weary of dwelling in the tents of wickedness. I see not how good people can well pray with confidence and in faith for success to it, only that we have a good and just cause, though we be foul-fingered hands that manage it, and we see by our last year's success that God can in his sovereignty use any instruments he pleases for carrying on his own work, and I doubt not but he shall get glory by us, either one way or other. We know not well yet where we are going, or what we are to do. I know I need not bid you mind me, for, as you tell me, I am laid on you as a charge, that you must mind me; and pray go on, for you are well paid for your pains; you serve a good master, and get something for yourself when you ply the throne of grace for your friend. Pray write me, and tell me what you have got for me now, for I am sure you mind me. I think I feel frequently the effects of it, the Spirit of God influencing, directing, and guiding me in all my ways, putting a hedge of protec-

tion about me and all that I have. I have left my wife at Rotterdam a melancholy creature; the Lord comfort her. I bless him who helps her to live by faith and patience; the Lord has put many songs of praise in our mouth, and compassed us about with many deliverances, and shall do, I doubt not. He has fulfilled all the 91st Psalm to me, and I trust he will do; at least I have no fears of the campaign, but desire cheerfully to put a blank in his hand who has performed all things for me.—The Lord's blessing rest with you and family; continue to serve him cheerfully. I am, &c. J. B.

P. S. *By his wife.* I bless the Lord I am very well as to my health, but yet to learn to live by faith; all the experience I get, without new supplies, will not do my business. Every new campaign has enough to do; the sense of misimproven mercies mars my confidence, though I dare not say I mourn like those that have no hope. I bless the Lord that helps me to hope in his mercy, and to plead for his own namesake; all must run in this channel, "Not unto us, but to thy name be

the glory." O to be helped to be a needy humble supplicant at his throne, where we have an advocate with the Father ! I hope you will never forget us at that mercy-seat, &c. . . . A. B.



LETTER III.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

*Camp near Treves, Sabbath,*

*May 20. 1705.*

MY DEAREST,

I WROTE to you from Treves on Friday last. That same night, when I came home to the regiment, I found a letter from your dear hand, dated May 5,—8. wherein you tell me of the Colonel's lady going to Coblentz, and the inclination you had of going with her, or following after, if you had any orders from me ; and that you think I consult your ease more than my own inclination. My dearest, for answer, you need not doubt but my inclination would lead me to have you always near me ; and if both of us had our wills and wishes, we would never be parted at all. But consider, my dear, it is not by inclination we are to be led, but by duty. You know that your going

to Rotterdam and staying there, was not a resolution taken up rashly or in haste, but that both of us sought God seriously, that he would guide and direct by his counsel and Spirit. He did determine it so, that you should go and stay there, and both of us had most peace in your being there ; so that I am afraid the changing of resolution in this, would be “ after vows to make inquiry.” Whether it be duty or not to others, I shall not inquire ; but I am persuaded it is your duty to stay still at Rotterdam, considering that you have the gospel there, good company, edifying conversation, time and opportunity to serve God, advantage of living by faith and trusting a tried God with a husband who is far from you. On the other side, you will find no solidity or weight in reasons for coming up the country, but fond inclinations of seeing that which we love. My dearest, there is no pleasure in living in a popish country without the gospel. Make good use of it ; it is a mercy not to be slighted. You know you are not fitted for travelling, and should you meet with any accident by the way, you would not have peace. But I would not use so



many words, when I know you would obey the very thoughts of my heart if you knew them ; and I hope, my dearest, you shall be no loser by being in your duty. You will remember last campaign, how Providence gave a comfortable meeting to us several months sooner than others who travelled many miles to see their husbands.

Considering the rich experiences of the last campaign, I go on in this one through dangers more cheerfully and resolutely than any campaign before, only in the Lord's strength, for the right hand of the Lord shall ever do valiantly. I have got much comfort from Psalm lv. 18. " He hath delivered my soul in peace from the battle that was against me ; for there were many with me." Blessed be God for the performance of it last campaign.

We are lying still here near Treves, and what we are to undertake I know not, nor care not. There is no great probability of much fighting this summer that I can see. This is not to make you secure. It is all one for God to preserve from danger or in danger.\*\*\*\*\*

The Lord's blessing rest with you, and

let me hear that you are easy in your mind, cheerfully trusting God with thy all. He will give you a good account of all committed to him. I am, your dearest  
 J. B.



## LETTER IV.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST, *Camp near Syrk, Saturday,  
June 2.*

I RECEIVED your letter with the inclosed, to Captain Lawson. I must quarrel with you for quarrelling with me for not writing oftener and longer letters. I have taken all occasions upon the march to write, and sometimes after fatiguing marches, when others lay down to sleep, I sat up and wrote to you. Many of my fellow officers write their wives only once in two months. My dearest, I ought to wish, both as a soldier and Christian, that it were so that I loved earthly enjoyments less, and that I kept a looser hold of them. I think I could part with all other comforts pretty easily without much regret beside thy dear self. I wish I may not provoke a holy God who seek-

eth the whole heart, and ought to have it all.

I bless the Lord who supports and helps me to encourage myself in him. My earnest suit to him is, that he would in like manner support you, that you may encourage yourself by faith in him, for he has done great things for us. Let us not bind up his hands by unbelief.

There is no news since my last. We are lying still here, expecting more troops to join us. We must look above all human help to that God who hath hitherto covered my head in the day of battle; he only is my sure defence. We hear the French are making progress in Flanders, besieging Huy. Brigadier Hamilton's regiment is in it.

Let me know, dearest, what you are at present reading. I find Mr Rutherford's books very sweet and comfortable. Though you have the world\* up in the garret with you, yet I hope you take care to keep it out of your heart, and that you get better errands, better employment, better entertainment in the garret than with the world. May the experi-

\* Probably a map.

ences of the goodness of God to us both make you cheerful and easy, and trust in him generously without fear or doubting; he will give you a good account of all, and put songs of praise in your mouth. You will always find that God bestows mercies on his people proportionably as they believe on him, according to the trust they put in him. According to your faith so be it unto you. David fought no better; for he says, "Let thy mercy be unto us according as we hope in thee." O then, having such a liberal Lord and Master, let us not stop the course of our own mercies, nor bind up his hands, by misgiving fears, by doubting, unbelief, or narrowness of heart. My love to all who are kind to my dearest. I am thine,

J. B.



LETTER V.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST LOVE, *Camp near Treves, June 7.  
Thursday.*

WHEN I wrote to thee last, I had no news; but now this is to acquaint thee with news which I believe will not be displeasing to thee. We are upon our

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march back, down to Holland, the French are so strong there, and making such progress. My dear, it is all one to me, up the country or down, for the earth is the Lord's; and wherever he gives his presence, I care not what place of the earth it be. I bless the Lord who hath been with me hitherto, and that I can set up my Ebenezer upon the banks of the Moselle. My dear, I received just now thy dear letter. The Lord be blessed who bears up thy faith, and that thou hast now more peace. Be not troubled, dearest, that you think you do not render to God according to his goodness. I hope thou art making conscience of doing it in sincerity; but we must take care not to put any duties in Christ's room. I take thy submission off thy hand, wherein thou beggest a thousand pardons for quarrelling me without reason. I pardoned thee before thou sought it. You know I have that in my breast that you need never fear my resentment, though indeed I take it ill to be quarrelled upon these two very heads that I piqued myself most upon, writing often and writing kindly. But I see I should not make an idol of any.

thing I do. My dearest, there is always most ease and satisfaction when we are found precisely in the way of duty—then we are kept in perfect peace, or else the being sure that we are in the road of duty makes troubles easy. My dearest, I am very thankful to God I have such a wife that needs not commands nor authority to oblige to duty, and needs no more but to have duty pointed out to thee and to be advised to it; and I do thee but justice to say, that I have always found that duty, and the sense of duty, pleasantly determines both thy judgment and will to whatever side it calls, though inclination should murmur against it. My dearest, there are excellent supports and refreshing cordials always to be found in the King's high-road of duty. There are magazines of grace and sweet promises, store-houses for armour and through bearing; and when the weary traveller faints, there are choice cordials to revive their fainting spirits. Go there, and draw out largely by faith. He is a liberal Lord. Open thy mouth; he will fill it. The Lord prepare thee for that solemn occasion: doubt not but that I shall

mind thee. Grip needily to Christ; go out of thyself and all thy duties. Have exalted noble thoughts by faith of the Master of the feast, of his liberality and bounty, and that nothing can hinder thee from a good meal but narrowness of heart; then thou shalt taste and see that God is good. \* \* \* \* \*



LETTER VI.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

*Camp near Louvaine, July 12.  
Thursday (1705\*).*

I WROTE you on Monday last the good news of our having passed the lines, but now I write to you again in an advanced post near the enemy. Yesterday we had a bickering with them, but the water was between us, and it was only the picquets of regiments that were engaged. Lieutenant Dalrymple was wounded in the head, but not badly. We have not lost one man in the regiment as yet. We are all fretting that we have made such a mistake in not improving our victory to better advantage, as we might easily, in all human probability,

\* See Diary, page 39.



have been masters of this country; but we are fools. Let men be seen to be but men—vanity, and let God get glory, and let not the arm of flesh share with him. Let God work his own work in his own way, as well by mens mistakes and weakneses as by their great actions.

My dearest, I believe you will be pretty much concerned for me at present, considering the circumstances we are in, and the news you will be hearing daily; but, my dearest, be not afraid for me, be not concerned, I am in a good hand, in good keeping. The Lord is my defence, I shall not be moved: He is my fortress, he is my shield and buckler, and my strong tower. My dearest, it was not for nothing you got so much at the communion. When we get much grace, we ought not to quarrel though it be well tried; and when he makes his own grace to hold out, he gets glory by it, and we get a rich stock of experience. He increased the grace of faith because he was about to try it. Now, do you ply the throne of grace that it fail not, and that you faint not, nor give way to unbelieve-

ving, misgiving fears. I hope you have engaged, through his strength, that we shall yet pay our vows to him when he deals bountifully with us, which he will yet do; and that you have taken it as a cup of thanksgiving for what he has done, and as a cup of salvation for what he shall yet do; for since the time you took it, he has done great things for me, and put songs of praise in my mouth, and will yet compass me about with songs of deliverance. Continue to trust him cheerfully. You must not only believe when all goes fair before the wind, when any body may believe, but you must believe when all is in hazard, and there must be a time between the promise and the accomplishment; and this is the season of the trial of faith. I am truly comforted by your letter and diary; he is faithful who hath promised so much, and he will also surely perform. My soul rejoiceth with you that our blessed Lord Jesus becomes more and more lovely in your eyes. O that we could love him more, and delight more in him, for he is altogether lovely. My dearest, what could you desire more than to have

the magazine door and storehouse of Christ's fullness opened to you, to take as much as you will? But, dearest, our desires are scanty and narrow; we cannot take out so much at once, but we must come again to-morrow, and live daily upon him. My best advice to you after all this, is, be humble, be watchful, be circumspect, be self-denied. And that, 1 Thes. v. 16, 17, 18, 19 22. 23. Phil. iv. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Eph. vi. 10,—18.

My dearest, I was on command two of these days which you have in your paper, and must tell you what I observed, for I desire to observe all providences to me. I had the charge of the artillery horses, 1400 or 1500 of them grazing—it was an alert post, and parties thick about. I committed myself and all my charge to God's keeping, for I was sensible that it had been easy for a party of fifty men to have taken away hundreds of them; they were so far scattered, that I could not protect them all. However, I came off safe; but the very next night, an officer relieved me, and a French party fell in among them, and took away a hundred of them. Now, I own that it was nei-

ther my care nor conduct that prevented it in my time, but purely the goodness of God to me, which I desire thankfully to observe in all his providence.

I can give you no account of our operations, or what we are to undertake next; probably we must try to make farther progress, and to reap some fruits of our passing the lines. Be not you anxious about it, but commit all to God. Take no notice of reports of news or stories going about. You are too much impressed with these. I observe generally that God works by disappointing expectations, and going against probability. When every body says there will be fighting, ordinarily there is none. So it signifies not a button what people, even the wisest of them, either think or say.

To-morrow is appointed here by the Duke to be a day of thanksgiving through the army for our victory and success. The Lord's presence rest with you, my dearest. I am thine. J. B.

## LETTER VII.

To Mrs. Blackader.

Camp near Louvaine, July 16.

MY DEAREST,

(1705) Monday.

I SHOULD think myself cruel to you if I neglected any opportunity I can have to let you hear from me in the circumstances we are in, still lying so near the enemy, though we be at as much ease, and lying as peaceably, as if no enemy were near us. All the army seems to be uneasy at the mistake we have committed in not improving our victory to better advantage, so that we have reaped little or no fruits as yet of our being masters of the lines, for the French are got before us again and stop us. I desire to look to Providence, who laughs at mens projects, and says to armies as to the waves of the sea, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther." Let God alone get glory, and let man be seen to be but vanity. My dear, let us trust in God, for we shall yet praise him who is the health of our countenance and our God. Thou must be living now in the strength of that meat and feast thou got at the table of our

Lord. But that will not do neither; thou must be employing Christ daily for continual fresh supplies of grace to help in time of need. Dearest, I intreat you to have no anxiety about me at all, for I am very well every way; I bless the Lord, well supported and guided, and I tell it thee to the praise of God and for thy encouragement. I was never better supported or carried through in all the campaigns that ever I made; faith more in exercise, and no thanks to me. I have a rich stock of experiences, of mercies, and deliverances. God is a kind God, and whosoever trusts in him shall not be ashamed.

The French and we were both upon the wing yesterday to march, but it is altered again. I cannot give you any guess where we shall march next, or what we shall attempt, perhaps our generals cannot. With the blessing of God, a small army can do great things; and without that, a strong army can do nothing at all. The weather is so hot I am unable to write more. The Lord's rich blessing rest with thee for ever. I am thine own

J. B.



## LETTER VIII.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

*Monday, July 23. 1705, Camp  
near Tirlemont.*

MY DEAREST LOVE,

I BELIEVE you have been pretty uneasy these four or five days by-gone, by not hearing from me since our late action with the French ; though I comfort myself in the hopes of this, that the manifold experiences you have of my preservation and deliverances, and the supplies of grace you have got of late, makes thee trust God more fixedly, without mistrustful unbelieving fears, than before. But still grace has enough ado when tried. I could not possibly write to you on Thursday, the post-day, for that was the day of our action, and we were in arms from Wednesday night at ten o'clock, marching all night, till Thursday at eight o'clock. But I look upon all God's ways of dealing with me to be mercy and goodness, and bless him for new deliverances, new mercies. I desire to set up new Ebenezers. He puts new songs of praise in my mouth, and carries me well through all difficulties. Especially I am



thankful that he makes me so easy in my mind upon these occasions; keeps me in perfect peace, by relying on the well ordered covenant; and no sooner the prospect of danger appears, but he strengthens faith so, that I believe myself to be as sound and safe in the chambers of his omnipotence, faithfulness and love, in time of action, as if I were with you at Rotterdam. That night that we marched was a sweet and pleasant night to me. Prayer and faith were at work in the silent watches. On these occasions particularly, I desire to be very diffident and distrustful of myself; and bargain that all my supplies of grace, strength, courage, and whatever I need, I shall draw out of the fullness of Christ, and the stock that is in his hand; and, to the praise of his grace, I find him a bountiful Lord that supplies me liberally.

My dearest, I hope, this letter shall come seasonably to your hand, though I flatter myself you are another woman than you was the first or the second campaign for a masculine and strong heart; for I hope you have now more grace,

more of the exercise of faith, more reason, and more experience of God's goodness and deliverances. I will not add a fourth, that you begin now to be an old married wife, that should be settled and calm. Let me know, dearest, what helps to calm thee most. I hope it is faith, and a firm trust in God.

Now, dearest, the blessing of the Lord, and much of his presence, rest with you. I am, dearest, thine own J. B.

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LETTER IX.

To Mrs Blackader.

*Meldert, July 30. (1705.)
Monday.*

MY DEAREST LOVE,

I RECEIVED yours of Wednesday last, from your dear hand, and desire to bless the Lord with you, that supports and bears you up so well, and helps you to trust in him; and I take it as a token for good to us, that he will yet do greater things for us, that he helps us both to trust him so cheerfully, and that we are better born up this campaign than any of the preceding, and not so troubled with unbelieving anxiety as before. We have

more experience of his goodness, that he can deliver out of the greatest dangers and difficulties. You observe sweetly, that Isaac was the son of the promise, and yet the knife was at his throat to slay him; so the last campaign, I had promise of protection and deliverance, yet the bullet was at my throat, within half an inch of death. Let us trust him without fear or doubting. * * * * *



LETTER X.

To Mrs Blackader.

Thursday, August 23. Tirlemont
 MY DEAREST ANNIE, *Camp.*

I RECEIVED your long and sweet letter. I bless the Lord I am very well, though I must confess that grace is neither so lively, nor my spirits so cheerful, as when occasions of action and dangers were frequent. My dearest, there are both natural causes for these things, and also the Lord does not give such allowances and charges when he is not sending on difficult and hard errands; so that I desire to wait on him by faith and patience. O that I could get my heart

and thoughts full of love and gratitude, and my heart and tongue turned to praise him, for the wonderful deliverances and signal mercies he has bestowed upon me of old and of late! for all his dealings are mercy and goodness to us, and, as you say, very well, Why should not a Christian be content when he takes as well as when he gives, especially now when he gives so much and takes so little? I hope the time is drawing near, when he shall add to our other mercies that of a comfortable meeting, with his blessing and grace to pay our vows; and that in our dwelling shall be heard the voice of joy and salvation, that the right hand of the Lord hath done so valiantly.

Now, my dearest, be cheerful. Live by faith and patience, casting thy burdens upon God who has borne us up hitherto. The Lord's blessing rest with thee for ever.

LETTER XI.

To Mrs Balderstone, Edinburgh.

Buffe, Nov. 7. 1705.

I RECEIVED your soul-refreshing letter that you wrote to me in summer, and I cannot but observe how seasonably it came first to my wife's hand just at the communion of Rotterdam, and then to my hand. It came just upon our march, when we were gone to attack the French, and the army was halting in fight of the enemy. This gave me opportunity to retire for an hour or two alone in the fields, at a hedge side, out of the noise of company; and there I looked over all the scriptures that you had sent me, and was helped to act faith, leaning upon those sweet promises; but I thought some of them gave such high titles that I blushed to take them, though as to the spiritual part and accomplishment of a promise, I think no promise so large or great, but the believer, though mean otherwise, may grip to it. I wrote you to rejoice and bless God with me for his mercies to me and my wife this campaign, for we have a new Ebenezer to set up—another cam-

paign brought to a happy issue. He has compassed us about with new deliverance, and put songs of praise in our mouth; and especially I have reason to bless him, that I was never better borne up in a campaign; faith—lively trusting in him—cheerfully and well supported by fresh supplies of grace always as my needs and occasions required it—particularly when there was any appearance of fighting and action, then I got more than ordinary, and he gave me liberal allowance according to the errands he sent me, so that fighting days were the best days I had. I could have wished all the campaign to have been made up of those days, to have had such bountiful allowance as I had, for I was helped to secure myself in the chambers of covenanted mercy, in the omnipotency, love, and faithfulness of God, so that I thought myself as secure as if I had been a thousand miles from danger. I must confess, at other times, when we were idle and had no business, I was as it were becalmed, and grace at a stand; but still new providences, especially surprize and danger, stirred up new vigorous acting of grace,

for I confess I cannot win to your way of being always cheerful, always lively, always grace in vigorous exercise. I will not envy you either; long be it so that you continue to serve God cheerfully, and that you have your heart lifted up in his ways; may your heart be more and more warmed with the love of Christ, who is altogether lovely and desirable. You write me that you were sure I got something the 10th day of June. It is very true I got something that day, for I looked back to my diary, and found that though we were marching all that day, down from Germany, and company and noise round about me, yet I was spiritual, my thoughts and affections more heavenly than at other times; so pray continue to mind me, for I find it good to have a friend at court. I have got many sweet promises from your hand, and the hands of others, and you will be no loser when you get daily errands to the throne of grace, and be always getting something for yourself. Our Brigadier is dead, Lieut. Col. Borthwick is putting in for the regiment, Major Cranston to be Lieut. Colonel, and I, as oldest Captain, to be

Major. I know not how it will go, but I desire to be very easy, go as it will. Providence will order all well that concerns me. I commit my way to God; I must confess I am grown weary of living in the tents of wickedness, in a place of so much profanity as an army is, especially now that I am growing grey-headed in following an army. I would desire a quiet retreat out of the noise of drums and oaths, but a wise God knows what is good for me; I desire to cast all upon him, and trust him cheerfully with all that concerns me. Remember us kindly to your honest kind husband, and pray let me hear from you soon, and send me over what you got for me; seek counsel and guiding for me in these my present circumstances what I should do. That day we were going to fight, I got that promise powerfully, Josh. i. 9. which encouraged me mightily. The Lord's blessing rest upon you and yours, &c.

P. S. *By his wife.* We may now say with the Psalmist, "Come, and we will tell what God hath done for our souls;" and with the prophet, Isa. xxv. 9. "O

that we could exalt his name together, for he has done great things for us ;” and blefs the Lord that helped me. I have no caufe to bring up an ill report of the way of God ; he never fent me that errand, but he bore me and my burden both. O if I could fpeak to the commendation of the riches of his free grace ! but I may fay as of Hezekiah, he rendered not unto the Lord according to the mercy received. Providence has ordered it beyond my expectation, that we have been now two months together, which I have reafon to be very thankful for.***



LETTER XII.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST HEART,

September 1. Thursday,

(1709.)

I DOUBT not but this has been a time of great anxiety to you, but now I fend you a new Ebenezer, and one of the greateft of my whole life.

Yesterday we fought a battle*, and by the great goodnefs and mercy of God

* See Diary, page 102.

have obtained a great and glorious victory. The battle began between seven and eight in the morning, and continued till about three in the afternoon. It has not been a cheap battle to the army, especially the Dutch foot have suffered much. We attacked them in strong entrenchments. The most that we suffered was by their cannon. Our loss is considerable, but the greatest is poor Colonel Cranston. He was killed by a cannon ball (sitting upon the head of the regiment) shot in at the left pap, and out at the back. He spoke not a word. Captain Shaw also is killed, his thigh bone being broke, and also Ensign Inglis. You will have heard that Captain Lawson and Lieutenant Simpson were wounded two days ago at another cannonading, when we came up first to this camp, for our regiment happened to be posted in a place which was most exposed to their cannon of any in the army. Lawson's is very slight; it is a contusion in the chin, but no bones broke. Simpson's is in the body, but not dangerous.

Ensign Burnet also got a more dangerous wound in the neck, which I am afraid

of, and Lieutenant Cockburn is shot through the body. Serjeant Wilfon is wounded in the arm. I have three men killed. We buried the Colonel, Captain Shaw and Inglis, yesternight at the colours. It is put upon you to prepare Mrs Cranston, and to give her the doleful news; every body sympathises tenderly with her, and none I am sure more than me; none more universally regretted than he.

My dearest, what reason have we to adore the Divine goodness, who puts such songs of praise in our mouth, while others are employed in mournful lamentations and sorrow! Go as soon to her as you can, for she will be suspicious at not getting a letter with the first. We find a letter to her in his pocket, which he wrote that same morning I wrote the inclosed, but none of us could send it away. You are almost the only wife in the regiment who will not be in tears and anxiety either with grief or concern about their friends and husbands. Let us have our hearts the more filled with thankfulness, and our mouths with praise, to the God of our mercies, and who gives us such

signal and frequent deliverances. *Jehovah nissi!* For as busy a day as it was, and hot action, I never had a pleasanter day in my life, for all was well with me. My mind stayed trusting in God, I was kept in perfect peace—frequent ejaculations in the intervals of action; and, applying to the throne of grace, I received bountiful supplies for whatever I had to do—faith was in lively exercise, and I had communion with God sometimes by prayer, sometimes by praise, according to the various turns that affairs took; for the French stood stiffly to it, especially their horse—they behaved well, and repulsed ours several times, but our foot sustained our horse. Brigadier Lalo is killed, and poor Captain Monro. Argyle's and theirs have suffered most of the English and the Guards. Lord Tulibarden is killed, and Colonel Swinton, Colonel Holburn and his Lieutenant, Colonel Hamilton, and their regiments almost ruined. Brigadier Douglas ill wounded. In short, it has been a very dear victory, but it was a glorious day. The Lord of hosts went on upon our head as captain of our hosts, and all the army followed

with great courage and resolution. I never saw troops go on with more hearty briskness in my life.

I cannot yet tell you what will be the fruits of our victory—I hope a lasting peace. We are now lying in the field of battle, and I have been this morning riding through the entrenchments getting a very edifying preaching from the dead. In some places they are lying so thick, that for a good way we cannot pass through without treading on them. We are going to march back this afternoon to our camp near Mons, from which we came before the battle.

The Lord be with you, and make you thankful, and give us grace never to forget the last day of August. I am, my dearest love, thine
J. B.



LETTER XIII.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST LOVE, *Sabbath, September 4.*

I HOPE by this time you have received mine of Thursday, the day after the battle, which I hope will turn your melancholy and anxiety into songs of praise,

and while many others are sobbing in the anguish of their spirits, with lamentations and tears, the Lord compasseth thee and me with songs of deliverance. I never had more reason to bless God than at this battle. I was never more bountifully supplied with through-bearing grace, and never was I more signally delivered. He made good all his promises to me. A thousand fell at my side, and ten thousand at my right hand, but it did not once come near me to do me any harm. He gave his angels charge over me, and carefully kept all my bones while the cannon balls came so thick among us, and took away whole files of men, crushing their bones as one would crush a worm.

I heartily sympathise with poor Mrs Cranston. The Lord support and comfort her, and be a father to the fatherless and a husband to the widow. That day has made many widows. I believe it is the bloodiest battle which has been fought either this or the last war. I pray God the fruit of all this may be his honour and glory, and a good peace. I believe our campaign may end with the siege of this town. We lay our account to be

one of the regiments that besieges, so that there is nothing in the world but one wave upon the back of another. The just must live by faith. The Lord of hosts is the God of battles, and has preserved me many a time there. He is also the God of sieges, and has preserved me as wonderfully there. I desire to put my trust in him. When you grow anxious and thoughtful, take my riddled hat and hang it up before you, and trust in God who has delivered, and doth daily deliver, and in whom I trust that he will yet deliver.

My dearest, as to my advancement, I shall say but little about it. I bless God I am very easy, go as it will. I am using the ordinary means, and have promises enough. If it be good for me and for God's glory, I shall get it; if it be not so, I do not seek it, I have no business with it. It is a crisis of my life, as I hinted in mine before the battle, though I did not know how it would be, yet I had impressions that the campaign would take another turn, and that it would not be idle.

This day was appointed to be a thanksgiving for our great victory. We had

fermon. We had a *feu de joy* at night. The Lord's peace rest with thee, my dearest love. I am thine J. B.

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LETTER XIV.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST LOVE, *Friday, September 9.*

I HAVE received yours of September 4. The Lord has been very gracious both to you and me, that he so supported you by faith trusting in him, and you see it is not in vain to trust in him, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; there is none ashamed that trust in him. What a mercy is it that Providence did not pitch upon thee to be the melancholy widow, as others are, who stand so much in need of the sympathy of their friends, and that you are serving God cheerfully, lifted up in his ways, while others are sitting disconsolate and desolate.

This has been a very bloody battle, a dear bought victory. We have great reason to be thankful that our regiment came so well off as it did, when it has fallen so heavy upon others. Every day

we have new funerals of some friend or other; Major Row died yesterday, who was a kind friend to me.

Lord Orkney told me to-day, that he had spoken in my favour about my advancement. I praise God I am kept very easy about this matter. My inclination stands in a kind of poise or balance, either as to my staying in or leaving the army. What is most for God's glory and my good, let him do it. I trust that mercy and goodness, as it has done, shall follow me either the one way or the other. Lord, give grace to be found in the way of duty, to do what may be acceptable to him, and that wherein I may have peace.

Give my humble service to poor Mrs Cranston; if there be any thing she would have done, let her signify her mind to Captain Dickson. The Lord's presence, blessing and peace rest with you. I am, dearest heart, thine

J. B.

## LETTER XV.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST LOVE, *Sabbath, September 11.*

I HAVE complied with your desire, my own duty, and charitable office, to write poor Mrs Cranston. The Lord bless and sanctify the rod to her; and O what songs of praise have we to sing in extolling the Lord for his mercy to us, that he deals with us in quite a different manner! He brings us in by mercy, goodness, and singular providences; working great salvation and signal deliverances for us, while he is scourging in others with sharp rods. O let us be as a towardly kindly child, who needs not be whipped into his duty, but that the seeing the rod upon others, and shaking it over our heads, may be sufficient to bring us in to him. O let us, my dearest, as you write me, serve him cheerfully, and have our hearts lifted up in his ways. Let us not be like the children of Israel, who sang his praise, but soon forgot his wondrous works. They tempted him; but his grace must be sufficient for us—his strength must be perfected in our

weakness. Through him we can do all things; without him, nothing.

We have still the hope of being free of the siege, by these regiments turning out of garrison. The providence of God is kinder to us than we could have expected, for we laid our account so firmly for the siege, that we thought nothing could put it by us; but kind Providence you see has fallen upon a way to put it past us. The Lord's blessing and peace rest with you. I am, my dearest heart,  
thine  
J. B.

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LETTER XVI.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Sabbath, June 24.

I RECEIVED yours this forenoon, which was written yesterday. It is a satisfaction when letters come so soon to hand. I shall write to your father (God willing) when I get leisure. You have done well in writing. I am hopeful he is not so anxious about seeing you and me as you apprehend. I suppose I know his temper as well as you do. He has affections which are strong enough, but they

are masculine and reasonable, and which shew themselves more in doing good offices for them he loves, than in fond desires of seeing them. This is certainly the first sort of love, and the most disinterested; for the other may rather be called self-love, the indulging of our own soft inclinations. But you must become a philosopher to enter into these sentiments and this way of reasoning, for the most of wives judge of their husbands love by how often they see them in the campaign. * * * * *



LETTER XVII.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Monday, July 4.

I RECEIVED yours to-day. I am sorry I gave you any occasion of anxiety, but I quarrel with you for being so anxious, there being no reason for it now when we are lying in a quiet settled camp. We should lay aside these weaknesses; human life is already but too much clogged and oppressed with real unavoidable troubles, and we ought by all means to take care not to torment ourselves by imaginary

ones; but we do not always master our temper, though we should make much more progress herein than we do, by grace and right reason.



LETTER XVIII.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Villers Brulin, July 24.

I WROTE to you on Saturday of my arrival in the camp. We rested the Sabbath, and marched yesterday a small march, still nearer the enemy, and we are resting this day again. All this makes me think there will be nothing of all this; for by our slow marchings and haltings, we seem rather to give them the opportunity to join their army with their detachments, which is perhaps the thing we desire they should do. This way of proceeding does not look as if we would surprize their lines.

However, my dearest, these are but broken reeds to trust to; you have a more sure ground of confidence—the faithfulness and promises of God; and we ought never to grudge when Providence orders our lot so, that we must live

by faith. It is better for us, and indeed a sweeter life, than to be in the full and constant possession of all our enjoyments. The Lord's blessing and presence be with you. I am thine
J. B.



LETTER XIX.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

*July 27. (1711 *).*

I HAVE had no opportunity till now to give you the agreeable intelligence that we have passed the French lines at Arleux without losing one man. The project was so well laid, and so well executed, that it will be a lasting monument to the Duke of Marlborough. We have had abundance of fatigue for these three or four days, but I bless God I am very well. How we shall improve this success, time will shew. I suppose the first effort will be the siege of Bouchaine. We are passed the Schelde below Cambray, and are lying here in the plains of Cambray, our right at the Schelde.

The French marched near us yesterday, and there was a council of war held,

* See Diary, page 156.

wherein (it is said) it was very near determined that we should fight them, but it was otherwise ordered. I own that I am of the opinion that we should have done it, and though I do not like fighting, yet when Providence gave a fair opportunity, I would put it to the decision of heaven; but yet I cheerfully submit to the judgment of those who know much better what is to be done, and we have good reason to do so, when we have such excellent conduct and superior genius in him who is at our head. I hope Providence shall order all for the best, as shall be most for the glory of God.

My dearest, be you easy, trusting in God. I confess I am so weary of the war, that I would willingly venture one day for a decisive stroke; but God's time and way is the best. I am thine,

J. B.



LETTER XX.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

August 13. (1711).*

THE trenches were opened on Saturday-night on the side of the town; there

* See Diary, page 150.

is to be an attack also on this side, and we would have been upon it, but it is otherwise ordered. The whole army who lie on this side are to be concerned and to carry it on, which will make it easy to us all. There are to be three regiments in the trenches every day; there being sixty, it will not come above once to our turn. We broke ground last night on this side with four battalions of guards covering, with little or no loss. I was on command on Saturday, which was both short and easy, having gone out at nine in the morning and returned in the evening. We were perfecting the lines of our army in front; they are so strong that we do not think the French will try them.

Monfieur Villars is reckoned to have lost much reputation since our passing the lines. They say most of his generals are much discontented.

Let us be living by faith, cheerfully committing future events to the direction of God, possessing our souls in patience. We are too hasty, and would have all great events crowded into our time, that we might see God's enemies destroyed by

battles and victories. But we should consider that providences run in a parallel line to the time of the world's duration, some accomplished in one age, some in another, but all in their right and proper season, which shall make a beautiful and comely prospect when all is perfected. I am yours

J. B.



LETTER XXI.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

August 28. (1711).

THE siege goes on briskly. Our batteries opened on Sabbath morning, and we hope soon to be masters of the place. It does not come to our turn to go to the trenches for eight days; but the more dangers and difficulties, the more experience we have had of merciful deliverances.

The Brigadier's commission we hear is come over with Brigadier Panton. By this there falls a greater charge and burden upon me than before, and I do not look upon these things now with the youthful eye of vain ambition as perhaps sometimes I have done. I look upon the

commanding a regiment as a charge too heavy for me; but I desire in this, as in other things, to cast all my cares and burdens upon him who careth for me, and when he employs me in any service, I trust he will bear me up; for he sends none a warfare on their own charges. He has hitherto given liberal supplies of his grace always when I needed it. I trust he will continue to do so.

I have still greater inclination to leave the army than to rise in it; but in this also we must wait on him, and be directed by his Spirit and providence.*****

J. B.

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LETTER XXII.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST,

*August 23. (1711).*

WE have had one alarm since I wrote you, which has given some trouble and fatigue. On Monday, about twelve at night, the French gave the alarm at this village where we lie, by firing upon a redoubt and battery. We turned out immediately and marched down to our alarm-post, but the French retired, and in the mean time they attacked Hordain

and took some of our Generals there, but the regiments repulsed them; then they came upon our side of the river, and attacked a post we have at Etrum, which they took, and fortified themselves in it; but, to prevent any trouble from them, we have made a strong line between us and them, all the way from this to Hordain. On Monday and Tuesday nights we lay at our arms upon our alarm posts, and our picquets are to lie at arms at the lines every night while the siege lasts. This has turned out to be one of the most troublesome sieges we have made, occasioned by the near neighbourhood of the French.

I bless God who strengthens me for fatigue, and enables me to do my duty. You will easily guess that the want of sleep is the greatest fatigue I have. However, what I want in the night I take in the day.

You are in the right not to be thoughtful or concerned about our going or staying at such a time as this when the events of the campaign are at such an uncertainty. I desire to be altogether indifferent about these things. I am not bent one

way or another, but hope that God will guide us by his counsel, and direct us by his providence to what shall be our duty.

I am thine

J. B.



LETTER XXIII.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST,

*Sabbath, Sept. 2. (1711).*

You will probably have heard before this reaches you, that the town has at last fallen into our hands\*. They began to capitulate yesterday about two o'clock. They are to be prisoners of war, which still seems to throw the greater discredit upon Marshal Villars, to see a garrison taken prisoners in his fight, and that he could not relieve them. We have reason to bless God it is so well over, for our army has been in very critical circumstances—had many posts to defend, and many accidents to fear; but the goodness of God has mercifully brought us well and honourably through, and to him be the praise, where it is originally due.

It is thought we may lie here eight or

\* Bouchaine.



ten days, till we repair the works, and put the town in some posture of defence. What we shall do after that, time only can discover.

*Sept. 3.* The garrison is marched this forenoon. The soldiers go to the French army, for we were in debt to them about 1500 men, but the officers are prisoners till they be relieved.

I am sorry that you are complaining. Take care of yourself. Be not anxious or melancholy, for you have no reason. God deals bountifully and kindly with us, and grants us the same blessing that he did to Jabez: He keeps us from all evil that it may not grieve us—and what would we have more? Should we complain that our enjoyments are out of our sight, and lying at the mercy of Providence? No; we should rather rejoice that there is an occasion of exercising faith and dependence, and a larger field of experiences of the goodness and faithfulness of God in fulfilling his promises to us. We have need of all these things; if we look into our own hearts we shall find it so.

We hear that Lord Albemarle is gone

down to the Hague to advise about the further operations of the campaign.

The Lord's presence and blessing rest with thee my dearest heart. I am thine  
J. B.

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LETTER XXIV.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

September 8. (1711).

THERE is no news since my last. We are busy about this town, and would as gladly have it up now, as before to throw it down. I believe we shall yet lie ten days here. We are at an utter uncertainty still about our future operations. Some are wagering we shall make another siege, others that we shall not, and every body wishes the last may gain. I see none so public spirited in the army as to wish for another siege.

I am very well pleased with your scheme, sent in your last letter, for the rest of the campaign, to go and lie where the most and best forage is; it is very naturally expressed, and one can see from your style, that you profit by the conversation of men of business and command-

ants of frontier places. But if we should take your advice, to go and lie where there is best forage, what if that should prove to be about Ipres and the neighbourhood of the poor Chalellenie of Courtray ; then I am afraid some of your family would wish us back again at Cambray and Valenciennes. But, without jesting, there is such a talk, that our army, if we do no more, may come to lie there about to consume the forage about Ipres. So you had best advertise the boors to bring their corn to the town ; it will be an act of charity done to the poor boors, and the governor will be no loser.

I shall also consider of your other scheme, which seems to be pretty well laid, except that of running over in a dogger, which I do not like. I know you mean only of taking that occasion of going to Ghent. I can give no resolution on that head till we see farther about us. I am ready to determine whatever way duty calls, which I think is a better temper than to be bent upon any thing ; in such a case, I generally find there is a snare. I desire to be seriously concern-

ed to know what is duty, and beg grace to follow it when discovered; and I hope the Lord shall direct by his Spirit, and cause us to walk in a right way wherein we shall not stumble, Jer. xxxi. 9. and be as a voice behind us saying, This is the way, walk ye in it.

To-morrow is ordered to be kept a day of thanksgiving for the taking of Bouchaine. We have good reason to be thankful to God for his goodness to us. It is to be wished that repentance and reformation were joined with it more than we see yet. I am thine

J. B.



LETTER XXV.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Sabbath, Sept. 16. 1711.

I RECEIVED yours of Wednesday. There is no news since my last. It is thought we may lie here two or three weeks longer. Our Brigadier will, I believe, name the recruiting officers in a few days, and I shall speak to him about going to Scotland. If I do go this winter, it is only from the opinion that it may be

duty, and to please you, not any inclination to the journey. I hope Providence shall order all for the best. As to the other affair, Lord Stair promises to do any thing in it which I may desire him. I believe the Brigadier is against it; if so, I will not insist. Perhaps I may be too positive in trifles; I am not so in weighty affairs. Probably it is my infirmity that I balance too much, and my judgment hangs in suspense too long in a matter, without being able to come to a clear resolution. But in this affair, if my heart deceive me not, a persuasion of duty shall determine me; and that moment I am persuaded, whether keeping or quitting be duty, by the grace of God I shall follow it. I can say no more. As it is of the greatest consequence as to the future period of my life, I am as serious as I can be in asking counsel and direction from God that I may be led in the path of duty. Let us hope that He who leadeth the blind by the way they know not, will guide us in the right way, wherein we shall not stumble, and that he will be a voice behind us saying, This is the way, walk in it. The Lord's blessing and presence rest with you. I am thine—J. B.

LETTER XXVI.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

September 23. (1711).

I AM very glad to find your thoughts so just and moderate on the subject of my last * ; it is also but what I expected from one who is so reasonable, and so resigned to the will of God. It is a mercy that both of us are so easy upon the head, for this is the frame of mind I greatly desire, and for which I have often prayed—to be as it were in an even balance, without any wrong bias one way or other, till the Spirit of God and his providence clear up to us the plain path of duty. Then through his grace we shall walk in that with peace, and the testimony of a good conscience.

I have related all the steps which have been yet made in our affair. I can say nothing yet about my obtaining leave to go, but the Brigadier himself is yet undetermined about his own going.

Now, my dearest, let us put all our concerns into his hand who has performed all things for us, who taketh care of

* Selling his commission.

us, and knows best what is good for us, and say, Here are we; let the Lord do with us what seems good unto him.

I have just received yours and your father's letters. I own I have not foresight enough to foresee or answer all the difficulties that can be proposed in the affair, and I believe it were easy enough to find flaws and failures in all human securities and determinations, because such is the nature of human affairs, that they are not capable of an infallible security. All we can do is, to act according to the best of our judgment; but when things come to an anxious perplexity, that they must be managed by a cunning dexterity, they are then above my reach and calibre. Every one has their proper talents. I see no better footing to put it on than this: At such a day as I give, you are to pay me such a sum of money; and then you are to be Lieutenant Colonel; if you fail in payment, then I have my post, and you have your money. The Lord direct and guide by his Spirit and providence, for I will not break my heart about these affairs. I am thine

J. B.

LETTER XXVII.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Monday, May 8.

I WROTE you upon Saturday, which was the day we came out of the trenches. You see I deal very ingenuously with you in every thing. I inform you when we go into the trenches, and when we come out. I tell you when they make fallies from the town, and every thing which happens. I think it is the best way, and not to treat a wife as a child, as some do, to make them believe stories, and what makes for them. But I think myself obliged to do it on a Christian account, that I may not disappoint, but second the designs of God's spirit and providence towards us, that we should be suitably exercised. For it is the voice of the rod; and I trust also God's design to us in it is, to bring us nearer to himself, to purge out some dregs of corruptions, which a course of prosperity has made too rank and strong. Indeed the seeds of all our corruptions grow under the sunshine of prosperous circumstances. But the rod,

troubles and crosses, are sent to nip these, and to make a solid Christian growth of grace. By this we get a rich stock of experience ; our vain, frothy, formal, earthly hearts are made more humble, seriously exercised and heavenly, weaned from the world, and we are the more concerned to profit in the time of the rod. When the rod goes off, the exercised thoughtful frame ordinarily goes off with it.

We, in particular, above many, should not grudge the rod, for we have always been thereby furnished with new Ebenzers—new songs of praise put into our mouths—to let us see that God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. My dearest, I trust in him still, for yet we shall find him to be such, if we do not bind up his hands by our unbelief and sinful anxiety. Strive against this, my dear ; be cheerful and easy, by faith and humble dependence upon him alone.

I have just now received thy dear letters, the one of Thursday, the other of Saturday. I bless the Lord who helps you in any measure to live by faith, and to encourage thyself in the Lord our

God, and that he gives peace in believing. Continue to trust in him. Cast all thy cares and burdens upon him, he shall sustain thee, and yet put songs of praise in our mouths. Such a time as this is indeed a thoughtful time, both to you and me. Let us fall in kindly with the designs of God's providence, which I hope are to make us solid, serious, exercised and experienced Christians; and these things shall bring forth in us the peaceable fruits of righteousness, if we be exercised thereby. I have this also to mourn for, among many other things, viz. Conformity to the world. The Lord's blessing and peace rest with thee. I am thine J. B.

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LETTER XXVIII.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST,

*Monday, Sept. 19.*

NOTHING new has occurred since my last, nor can I give you any further account of my affair. Let Providence work its work for me. I am satisfied that it is not greatness, nor any thing else in the world, that can make us more happy; and that gentleman, as you observe, may give us

an edifying lesson of the vanity of ambition—how, in a moment, our designs and prospects may be extinguished, and vanish away! Happy they, who have God for the portion of their inheritance and cup; they have a goodly heritage, and the lines fall to them in pleasant places. The four garrison regiments are now yoked to this siege, and we give no more detachments from the army. The weather begins to grow very cold, and to break. The rainy weather makes the trenches a very uncomfortable post; yea I find a tent begins to be a cold lodging. But I have reason to be very thankful for the good accommodation I have had all this campaign.

I must change the day of writing, for we lie a day's journey from the Duke's quarters. I am just now at his quarters, but only to make my bow. The Lord's peace rest with thee my dearest heart. I am thine  
J. B.

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LETTER XXIX.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST LOVE, *Wednesday, Sept. 14.*
 I HAVE no news since my last. I spoke to the Duke yesterday about my ad-

vancement, and told him I did not like to importune his Grace, for I depended entirely upon his word; he told me that I might do so. There is no help for these delays, but patience. I am ready either to stay or go, as Providence shall see best for me, to whom I commit all my ways. I dare hardly own it in a public company that I am so easy; for they do not think a man deserves any post in the army, who either gives himself rest, or any other about him, general or other, till he get what he is seeking. But as I do not look upon ambition to be any Christian virtue, so neither do I look upon that carking, anxious care to be any greatness of mind, rather the contrary.

Faith is a grace to be exercised at all times and on all occasions; it keeps the soul in its seat, in a sedate composed temper. The mind stayed on God is in peace; it makes not haste, but is patient.

Our regiment does not go to the siege, if no new regiments be called for. This is a mercy we were not expecting, and God presents us daily with his mercies, but detachments may go from the army. I do not say this to frighten you, but the

contrary, that we should humbly depend and trust in God, and rejoice that he puts us in a necessity of dependence; for we would gladly have all our enjoyments out of the reach of hazards and dangers; but it is not good for us that they be so, we may easily see that when they are so we turn secure.

The weather begins now to be somewhat cold. I lie in my tent, for houses are difficult to be got, but I am very well, and lie very warm. This is my birth-day, as I think; but the 12th is a day that I remember more, and ought never to forget. I am thine,

J. B.



LETTER XXX.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Wednesday, Sept. 21.

I RECEIVED yours of the 16th. It troubles me much to find you are so indisposed, and that melancholy preys so upon your spirit. I know, my dearest, you are more reasonable than to indulge yourself in it. But such is the composition of our machine, that these things do

not depend upon us,—we cannot keep our spirits in that temper and frame they should be in, or as we would have them. You are very sensible that none in the world have less reason than we to be melancholy—none in the world have more reason to be cheerful, and to have their hearts lifted up in the ways of God, for while he is writing bitter things to others, and giving them occasion of mournful and melancholy lamentation, he is putting new songs of praise in our mouths, and compassing us about with new songs of deliverance. To that great mercy and deliverance he gave me at the battle, he has added this other, which indeed we could not have expected, viz. to keep us free from this siege, which I would have looked upon as ten times worse than the battle, for that is my nature. Danger, though it be great, yet, being soon over, and nothing in it to occasion anxiety of mind, seems to me a small thing in comparison of a constant tract of fatigue either of body or mind. The first rouses the spirits; the other sinks them. It is very probable that your room may be partly the occasion of it;

for I always did think it melancholy and not good air. Do look out for a better.

Our affair here begins to train out in length, and like to weary our patience. The Duke seems to be uneasy at the pressing of him to fill up the commission, as if it were taking something from him, and indeed he was never better stated with any than with me, for I hate as much to importune as he does to be importuned; and except when my friends push me, and rouse me, and hector me to go, I'm never inclined to go near the Court, for I always had that bashfulness of nature that I cannot endure to be where I think I am troublesome. Let others, whose talent it is, get places and posts by assurance and forwardness, I shall have mine by modesty, or want them, for I cannot force nature. I still leave it submissively in his hand who knows what is best for me, and I'm persuaded he will give what is best; this makes me very easy. I know promotion comes not from the east nor the west; it is he who has the disposing of our lot, who has promised, that neither grace, nor glory, nor any

good thing, will be withheld from them that fear him.

My dearest, I hope Providence shall give a comfortable close to this campaign, and that there is not much of it now before our hand, but the Lord shall give us in his mercy a joyful meeting, with hearts filled with thankfulness and love to our kind benefactor. The Lord's blessing and peace rest with you, my dearest heart.

I am thine

J. B.



LETTER XXXI.

To Mrs Blackader.

MY DEAREST,

Sabbath, Sept. 25.

I RECEIVED yours, and bleis the Lord that you are no worse. I intreat you not to give way to melancholy.—I'm sure neither you nor I have reason for it, but much to the contrary ; and if grace were stronger and sanctification more deeply rooted, it would be more our element to serve God with delight, and more natural to us. It is his grace which can work this in us. We have great cause to be thankful that we have missed this siege, for such judgment-like weather I have hardly seen in

a camp—just now it rains and blows so hard that it is like to throw down all our tents about our ears. I have got the shelter of a house, which I reckon no small mercy in such weather; though it be but a sad house, for I am sitting in water at the fire-side, which blows in, the soldiers having unthatched one side of it. However I am very thankful for what I have.

If I can get time I shall answer Mrs. Cranston's letter. There seems to be a work upon her spirit—a sense of sin, and of the wrath of God contending for sin, and great doubting and fears as to mercy and pardon. I pray the Lord may carry it on with his Spirit, and make her flee to Christ. Give my love to her. Let me know, as soon as you can, what you design about a lodging. As yet it is not altogether certain whether Ghent will be our garrison—some speak of Bruffels; and it is more than a month to garrison time yet. We do not know how things will be. I have seen much of the vanity of far forethought projects, how they are ordinarily disappointed. So that, as we are directed to seek our daily bread

from day to day only, so I seek direction from day to day, without grasping at long tracks of time.

The roads are become very bad, and our horses harrassed with foraging five or six leagues;—every thing looks like garrifon, and every body longs for it, but the great ones of the earth will fight against Providence. I pray the Lord to give a comfortable close to the campaign, and send peace and truth in the earth. The Lord's peace and presence be with you, my dearest love. I am thine,

J. B.

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LETTER XXXII.

*To Mrs Blackader.*

MY DEAREST ANNIE,

*Monday, Sept. 3.*

I DID not write to you last post; but it was not done, as you say you did to me, to try me, for I was on command that day, and could not write. My dear, I am as little afraid of the trial as you are, and I believe you can be as easy without hearing from me as I can be in not hearing from you, for all the difference of our circumstances, I in a camp and you in a town; so take you that for

your trial.—My dearest, I own I have not so much good humour now as I have had through the by-past time of the campaign : my spirits are grown more sour and flat ; and there is no man in the world has more reason to be earnest in seeking the Spirit of God to dwell and lodge in his heart continually, and to influence his temper and actions, than I have ; for I confess, when I want that, I know neither the exercise of grace nor good nature. You may be very thankful, that you have always a fund of good nature ; and indeed I know not what is in it, but have wearied more, and my temper has been more sour, since the thoughts of business were over, than all the campaign before, which I found sensibly those two or three days I was on command ; though it was a great deal of fatigue, and an alert post, yet I was much better the time I was out than when I am lying in the camp. Where the Spirit and presence of God is, that brings heaven into the soul ; and when the mind is staid on him, he keeps it in perfect peace ; when he withdraws that, there is hell ; and Satan without, lusts, passions, and affections, within, drive the soul

as in a hurricane. O that the love of Christ were the predominant, ascendant flame of the soul ! that would create a heaven there, and make us happy. I confess it is my sin and unhappiness that I would still draw so much comfort and happiness from earthly enjoyments, when there is none to be had without the blessing of God ; and if I were weaned from these, and if Christ had his due, and the world but its, then were I a happy man. If you be guilty this way, dearest, pray help it ; that so we may not provoke God to make us a plague and a cross to one another.—God grant us his blessing in our family, and we have enough, and that our house may be a Bethel, where the melody of joy, and praise and salvation may be heard. The Lord's blessing and presence rest with thee. I am thine own

J. B.

P. S. My dearest, I should not have wrote this post either ; for when I read this letter over, I find there is not that sereneness in my temper that should be when I write to a pleasant, sweet wife ; but thou must pardon that, among many

other faults I am guilty of, and sympathise with me.



LETTER XXXIII.

*To Mrs Balderstone, Edinburgh.*

*Stirling Castle, Dec. 5. 1720.*

THE account of your dear husband's death was a surprize to us, having never heard of his illness. Probably it might have been so to yourself, and thus the stroke the heavier, but even in that case you must with Aaron hold your peace. His God hath done it, and whatever nearness to himself, he pleases to admit any of his own to, yet he always reserves a liberty to himself, in the midst of the greatest familiarity, to shew some strokes of sovereignty, and he is not bound to reveal to us either what he is about to do with us, or the reasons of it, at the time. Elisha was a man who lived near God, and in much favour with him, yet he says, "Let her alone, for her soul is vexed within her, and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me." God hath not given us absolute promises about temporal things, so neither should our faith go out



peremptorily about them : but you have an absolute promise, that all things shall work together for good to them that love him. You may take that, and I hope you find already in your sweet experience that this *bitter cup* has that *blessed effect*. But what I write of your being surpris'd with it is mere gueffing, for perhaps as by his indisposition before, you got outward warning, so it may be you got some notice and intimations of it also upon your own spirit; but whether the one way or the other, be perswaded the way God has taken is the best for you. You need not doubt of mine and my wife's tender sympathy with you ; but indeed, I almost thought it needless for me to trouble you on this sad occasion, or to offer any thing for your comfort : for you must go to the fountain of all comfort for that, and you live nearer the fountain-head than I do. You have also many dear and worthy friends about you, through whose hands the divine consolations are more likely to be communicated than by mine ; but the long and intimate friendship between us prevails with me to throw in my mite

among others. Your own melancholy will make you ready to pore too much on the dark side of the providence, but allow me to turn up another side of it which is brighter; you have reason to be very thankful, and even to think with pleasure, that you have had a long tack (*lease*) of one of the best of husbands, with whom you have lived easy and comfortably as true yoke fellows, and helps meet for one another, as heirs of the grace of life, strengthening one another's hands in the way of God, and in that good way you have led one another by the hand, even to the verge of life, to a good old age; and if he has got the start of you, and stepped in before you, why should you grudge at that? you are fast following, and will not be very long behind him; and this sharp providence will (through grace) wean you more from the world, make you sojourn in it as a stranger, and finding nothing in it to set your heart much upon, your affections will be more set upon the things that are above, where Jesus Christ is, and so by this sharp trial, you will be made more meet to be a partaker of that inheritance

of the saints in light, and being made meet, you will desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, where your heart and treasure is, and will, as a shock of corn fully ripe, fall into the grave. The time is but short in this valley of tears, joy will come in the morning, and faith, at one view, can soon look over the few days or years of sorrow that are before you in time, into that fulness of joy that is in his presence, and those rivers of pleasure that are at his right hand for evermore; but as I said before, you are more capable of practising than I am to shew it you, and when (I hope) you have such access to the fountain of comfort yourself, you need it not from my hands. Yours, &c.

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*The Conclusion of a SPEECH in the General Assembly 1716, from Notes written after it was delivered, and printed from these as in his Diary.*



—— Moderator, We call ourselves a Venerable Assembly---this is in every body's mouth---*the Venerable Assembly!*--- What is it that makes this, or any assembly, venerable? It is not a great company of gentlemen in black coats and bands, and some of them with grey hairs, (and by the bye, Moderator, would that there were more grey hairs among us!) It is not passion, heat and wrangling. Moderator, you know, and can tell better than I, what it is that makes an assembly venerable. I shall name only two characters, which I find in one of Paul's epistles, ---two lists---and set the one of these against the other. The one is called the works of the flesh; anger, wrath, malice, hatred, variance, strife, envying, emulation, seditions, heresies. To be purged of these, Moderator, will make an assembly venerable. The other list is the fruit of the Spirit; love, peace, joy, long-suffer-

ing, meekness, gentleness, goodness, faith, temperance : to be endowed with these will make an assembly venerable, and answer the end of our coming together, *to consult for the glory of God and the good of the church* \*. Moderator, I beg pardon for using so much freedom with this Venerable Assembly ; I am sensible it does not belong to one of my coat : but I waited to hear if grey hairs would speak, and finding nobody do it, I was pressed in my conscience to say what I have said. Moderator, let not the reverend brethren consider the insignificant person it comes from ; but every one of us lay our hands on our hearts, and see if it be true : then---  
*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis, et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.* If it be not true, I humbly beg pardon of this Venerable Assembly. \* \* \* \* \*

\* The words of the commission to every Member of the General Assembly.

THE END.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education since the last meeting of the Board. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames.

Mr. J. H. Smith  
 Mr. W. B. Jones  
 Mr. C. D. Brown  
 Mr. E. F. Green  
 Mr. G. H. White  
 Mr. I. J. Black  
 Mr. K. L. Gray  
 Mr. M. N. Blue  
 Mr. O. P. Red  
 Mr. Q. R. Purple  
 Mr. S. T. Yellow  
 Mr. U. V. Orange  
 Mr. W. X. Silver  
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