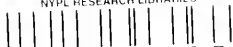


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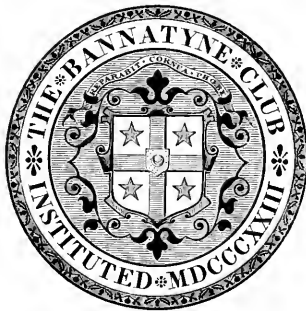
THE
LETTERS AND JOURNALS
OF
ROBERT BAILLIE, A. M.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.LXII.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME THIRD.



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LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG. JANUARY 26TH 1647.

DEAR COUSIGNE,

I WROTE to yow at length before I came from London; I have had a long and tedious, but, thanks to God, prosperous journey. I am now here weell. I have made my report in the Commission of the Church to all their contentment; our errand in England being brought near a happie period, so farr as concerned us the Commissioners of the Church; for, by God's blessing, the four points of Uniformitie, which wes all our Church gave us in commission to agent in the Assembly at Westminster, were also good as obtained. The Directorie I brought down before. The modell of Government we have gotten it through the Assembly according to our mind: it yet sticks in the hands of the Houses. They have past four ordinances at least about it, all prettie right, so farr as concerns the constitution and erection of Generall Assemblies, Provinciaall Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, and the power of ordination. In the province of London and Lancashyre the bodies are fett up. That the like diligence is not used long agoe in all other places, it's the sottish negligence of the ministers and gentrie in the shyres more than the Parliament. That the power of jurisdiction in all things we require, excepting appeals from the Generall Assembly to the Parliament, is not put in ordinances long agoe, it's by the [cunning] of the Independents and Eraftians in the House of Commons; which obstacle we trust will now be removed by

the zeale of the city of London ; fo much the more, as [from] our nation are taken away, fooner and more eafily than any did expect, all grounds of jealousie of our joyning with the King, the greateft prop of the Sectaries power in the Houfe. However, in the *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery,¹ printed by the minifterie of London, yow may fee that burthen taken off our foulders ; the body of the minifterie of England, not the Affembly and Londoners only, being fully leavened with our fenfe in all the point of government, and become willing, and able abundantly, to manage that caufe, without us, againft all opposites.

The third point [of Uniformity], the Confession of Faith, I brought it with me, now in print, as it wes offered to the Houfes by the Affembly, without confiderable diffent of any. It's much cryed up by all, even many of our greateft opposites, as the beft Confession yet extant ; it's expected the Houfes fhall pafs it, as they did the Directorie, without much debate. Howbeit the retarding partie hes put the Affembly to add Scriptures to it, which they omitted only to efchew the offence of the Houfe, whose praftice hitherto hes been, to enact nothing of religion on divine right or fcripturall grounds, but upon their owne authoritie alone. This innovation of our opposites may weell coft the Affembly fome time, who cannot doe the moft eafie things with any expedition ; but it will be for the advantage and ftrenth of the work. The fourth part of our defyred and covenanted Uniformitie is the Catechifme. A committee hes drawne and reported the whole : the Affembly ere I came away had voted more than the halfe ; a fhort time will end the reft ; for they studie brevitie, and have voted to have no other head of divinitie into it than is fett doune in the Confession. This ended, we have no more adoe in the Affembly, neither know we any more work the Affembly hes in hand, but ane answer to the nine Queries of the Houfe of Commons about the *jus divinum* of diverfe parts of the government. The Minifters of London's late *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery does this abundantly ; alfo a committee of the Affembly hes a full answer to all thefe Queries ready. The authors repents much of that motion : their aime wes, to have confounded and divided the Affembly by their infnaring questions ;

¹ “ *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici* : or, The Divine Right of Church-Government, asserted and evidenced by the Holy Scriptures, &c. : By sundry Ministers within the City of London.” Lond. 1646, 4to.

but finding the Affembly's unanimitie in them, the Independents principles forcing them to joyne with the rest, in asserting the divine right of these points of government whereupon the Parliament does most slicke, the movers of these questions wishes they had been silent. There is no more work before the Affembly. The translation of the Psalms is past long agoe in the Affembly; yet it slickes in the Houses. The Commons past their order long agoe; but the Lords joyned not, being solicited by divers of the Affembly, and of the ministers of London, who loves better the more poetical paraphrase of their colleague Mr. Barton.² The too great accuracie of some in the Affembly, sticking too hard to the originall text, made the last edition more concise and obscure than the former. With this the Commission of our Church was not so weell pleased; but we have gotten all these obscurities helped; so I think it shall pass. Our good friend Mr. Zacharie Boyd has putt himself to a great deal of paines and charges to make a Psalter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it received in our Churches; yet the flatteries of his unadvysed neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless designe.

When I took my leave of the Affembly I spoke a little to them. The Proloquitor, in the name of the Affembly, gave me ane honourable testimonie,³ and many thanks for my labours. I had been ever silent in all their debates; and however this silence sometimes weighted my mind, yet I found it the best and wisest course. No man there is desyred to speake: four parts of five does not speake at all; and among these are many most able men, and known by their wrytes and sermons to be much abler than fundrie of the speakers; and of these few that use to speake, fundry are so tedious, and thrusts themselves in with such misregard of others, that it were better for them to be silent. Also there are some eight or nyne so able, and ready at all times, that hardly a man can say any thing, but what others, without his labour, are sure to say also weell or better. Finding, therefore, that silence was a matter of no reproache, and of great ease, and brought no hurt to the work, I was content to use it, as Mr. Henderfon also did for the farr most

² In the MS. "Burton." The version alluded to is that by "William Barton, Master of Arts," which was printed in the year 1644, and passed through several editions.

³ Probably the Silver Cup presented to Baillie about this time, which remained in his family till a recent period, if it be not still preserved by one of his descendents, who resides abroad.

part of the last two years. My wrytes did conciliate to me credite enough, and my sence of inability to debate with the best, made me content to abstain; whereof I did never as yet repent.

We stayed eight or nine dayes at Newcastle. The King took very weell with me. I might have had occasion to have said to him what I pleased; but knowing his fixed resolutions, I would not meddle at all neither to preach nor pray before him. His unhappie wilfulness does still continue; and to this day he gets some mischievous instruments to feed his madness. Sundrie made us believe the Queen was content he should do any thing, finding her disappointment in France from all hands. There was some whispering of the sectaries plotting with him; but this I scarce believe; for each of them does reallie labour the others overthrow; the French Ambassador, for all his fair protestations, hes been no good instrument. But that which hes undone him, hes been his hopes for Scotland, to gett them, by one means or other, to espouse his quarrell: much dealings, some think, hes been both with the Army and Parliament for that end. It's very like, if he had done any dutie, though he had never taken the Covenant, but permitted it to be put in ane Act of Parliament in both Kingdomes, and given so satisfactorie ane answer to the rest of the Propositions, as easilly he might, and sometimes I know he was willing, certainly Scotland had been for him as one man; and the bodie of England, upon many grounds, wes upon a disposition to have so cordiallie embraced him, that no man, for his life, durst have muttered against his present restitution. But remaining what he wes in all his maxims, a full Canterburian, both in matters of religion and state, he still inclined to a new warre; and for that end resolved to goe to Scotland. Some great men there prestled the equitie of Scotland's protecting of him on any tearmes. This untymous excess of friendship hes ruined that unhappie Prince; for the better partie, finding the conclusion of the King's coming to Scotland, and thereby their own present ruin, and ruin of the whole cause, the making the Malignants masters of Church and State, the drawing the whole force of England upon Scotland for their perjurious violation of their Covenant, they resolved by all means to crosse that designe. So when others proposed to the Parliament the assistance of the King to recover his government in England, notwithstanding of any answer he might give to the Propositions, the better fort, before they should give answer to fo

high a question, desired a publick fast in the Parliament, and the advyce also of the Commission of the Church. Both with some difficultie were obtained. But after that fast, and the distinct answer of the Church, that it was unlawful for Scotland to assist the King for his recoverie of the Government in England if he approved not the Covenant, the Parliament was peremptor to refuse the King free access to Scotland, unless he satisfied the propositions. This much they signified to him by their commissioners, which we mett at Newcastle. It was easy to be grieved, and to find what to reprehend in this resolution; for indeed it was cloathed with many dangers and grievances; bot to fall at that nicke of time, on any conclusion, free of more dangers and grievances, seemed impossible. Notwithstanding of the great sommes of money, yet the disbanding of our armie in peace will be a great taske: to sett on foot six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, to the contentment of all, will be hard; and the intertaining of them will be harder. What the King or his English parliament will do next, there is no certaintie.

The pest increases in Glasgow: my heart pities that much misguided place; all that may, are fled out of it. The Lord be with yow. Forraigne intelligence to me must now be the larger; for all here lives in great ignorance, and neglect of things abroad. So I rest,

Your Coufigne,

Edinburgh, January 26th 1647.

R. BAYLIE.

A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. SPANG. JUNE 2D 1647.

WHAT Dr. Strang writes to yow in the inclosed,¹ I pray yow satisfie him therein with all diligence. I do not like his withdrawing from the Divine Decree the act and entitie of any sinne, much lesse of free and indifferent actions: In this I think he sways too much to the one hand. But I fear those he refutes shall be found in also dangerous errors. He indeed handles these Questions in such a way that I doe pryze the man's ingyne and learn-

¹ A paper by Dr. John Strang, Principal of the College of Glasgow, on the Divine Decrees and God's permission of the existence of Sin, is included in Baillie's MS. It is entitled "Dr. Strang's Stateing his Owne Question, 1647;" but "such subtil questions," as Baillie calls them in this Postscript, are not suited for publication in the present work.

ing much more than before, and thinks him now among the best schollars of the Reformed Church. It will be my endeavour that our Assemblée medle not with such subtille questions, but leave them to the schools. Always how some men may labour to carie it I cannot say.

After this letter lay a while beside me, I adde now, blessed be God, good newes. David Lesley and Argyle raise from Dumblaine, the 17th of May, with a very small and ill-provided army. He made very long marches over the mountains, in stormy weather, without houses or tents. Against the 23d he come to Kintyre upon the enemy, fought and dissipate them, took in all Kintyre; hes sent a partie after Allaster, who, with a few, is fled to the Isles. This quick and happie expedition, by God's mercy, may be to us of great advantage. If the Prince and Montrose should come over to raise new broiles amongst us, as some furnifes they intend, or if the King should put himselfe in the head of the Sectarian army, which is not yet disbanded nor quiet, David Lesley being free of the Highlanders, by God's help, will keep Scotland quiet for this summer with the little army he hes on foot. The pest hes dissipate the Colledges of St. Andrews, and kills many in the north. We had not so stormie a May these many years. Let me hear of your receipt of this letter. My service to your wife. I remaine

Your Cousine,

R. BAYLIE.

FOR [SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTONE OF] WARISTON.

MY LORD,

THESE are to congratulate your health, which I hope is now firm and good. I hear Dr. Bruce, Principall of Leonard's Colledge of St. Andrews, is dead of the pest; if it be so, I wish yow to consider if it were not good to endeavour a call for Mr. Morus of Geneva to that place. I know it was expected he would have been weell content to have accepted a call to the French Church at London: the man would be an ornament and good instrument in our land. If yow approve the motion, yow would see who presents, whether the Colledge itselfe, or the University, or the King, or Southesk, or the Generall Assemblée. It were good ye spoke with Mr. Robert Dowglafs about this purpose: no others comes in my mind meet for that place ex-

cept Dr. Stewart of Leyden. Be doeing good while yow have time: when yow are more states-man than before, be no less than yow wont God's-man. No man I know hes all they have so evidently from God as yow: learn witt from your predecessor.⁵ I hear he pretended to conscience and walking with God, when the most judicious did behold him in a corrupt way; that such a delusion should befall yow, what would be my sorrow! Beware of Traquaire: let not the desire of riches break in upon yow: leave not Church affaires; the Church wes the beginning and ground of all your advancement: fet on foot again the commission for the Church: division of great paroches, and feteing of stipends wes a good worke, which will fall if yow mind it not in earnest. As yow love the Chancelour's credite and respect in the countrie, keep him from meddling more with the Annuite; and make him short in his discourse at meetings; but I almost forgett myselfe. Farewell.

Your Mr. and Servant,

R. BAYLIE.

Kilwinning, June 2d 1647.

My service to your Ladie.

MR. HAAK'S LETTER TO ME: [IN 1647?]

THE business of the Dutch Bible Notes stands thus. T. H.⁶ having received in May last the two hundred pounds (which indeed came very seasonable to satisfy his creditors,) being it was the first and all the real encouragement he had since the work was first recommended unto him (in August 1644); to improve the same to the real prosecution and perfecting of that work, he address himselfe again to the friends and favourers thereof here, and by name to Mr. [Corbet?]; who took the opportunity soon after to make a motion in the House that something might be done for his further encouragement and support; which it seems was very well relished, and

⁵ Shortly before this, Johnstone had been appointed Lord Advocate.

⁶ "Theodore Haak, Esq." a native of the Palatinate, and one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, London, was the Translator of "The Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible." This work, owing to want of encouragement, was not completed till the year 1657, in 2 vols. folio, when it was dedicated to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth.

something ordered likewise; but through the multiplicite of affaires, and the said gentleman's frequent absence for his health's sake, there is nothing yet effected, though I am still put in hopes I shall not be neglected. In the mean tyme, I find myfelfe intralld in very great straites. I [loft] a world of time, and many excellent opportunities, both here and abroad, to live comfortable by honest employment, standing engaged for this, and finding of small encouragement here to second yeares [yours?], whereby I might be enabled to goe through with what I begane. Besides, I find whatever the ground may be, our ministers seem not to care to have the work advanced, and from the bookfellers I can promise myfelfe nothing at all. Moreover, some desiring to have only the bare Notes without the text, others the Notes and text together, seeing they comment upon their own reading, and the same much differing from the English, and much quoted throughout the Notes, and much clearing both text and notes; and I know not which sort I should most labour to satisfie, the former being loath there should be a new English text published:—And Mr. Blair indeed advysed me to publish the Psalmes by themselves for ane essay; and I have made them ready, the whole reading and text together interwoven. But there is ane great scruple (though I might find one to undertake the printing) why that also is deferred, namely, that a great number of notes throughout the Psalmes relate to other parts and notes, without which the reader must needs remaine unsatisfied:—And the misery is, there is none here with whom I might consult about these matters; and these [who,] one would think, should mind and further it most, remove it furthest from them: that, indeed, what to doe or resolve I know not, havinge adventured further in readines to serve the publick in this kind than I am able to bear. Nevertheless, if that I shall be any wayes enabled to goe through with the worke, I hope I shall give testimony that my desires and endeavours are still the same, and not to give it over, if, and as long as I can maintain it, without apparent hazard of my undoing. I have enough to shew that I meant sincerelie, and endeavoured reall performance. Had I mett more readie help the busines had been accomplished by this time; now both it and myfelfe are out behind-hand, nothing troubling me more than that thereby so many expectations are frustrated, or at least so long delayed. As soon as any better hopes appears I shall not fail to give further account.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG. EDINBURGH, JULY 13TH 1647.

DEAR COUSINE,

I RECEIVED yours, the 6th of July, this day, and another of yours, Aprile 9th, within these two or three weeks, together with your Honorius Reggius,⁷ for which we are all much obliged to your great pains in. That business which you so earnestly recommended to Mr. David Dickson and me, was not feasible, had we used all possible diligence; but the truth is, although I believe you know my willingness to do to my power in things that concern you, less than you wrote that matter did, yet it fell so out, that I could use little diligence to speak of; for your letter about that purpose came not to my hand till near three months after it was written; and when it came, our whole town of Kilwinning were kept up upon some suspicion of the plague; so I could have no effectual communication, neither by word nor write, with any; and therefore I came to Edinburgh. That matter was settled on Mr. Arnott, who had diverse of the chief Lords of the Session to assist him. For the great sickness of your good honest wife I am sorry; but glad for her grace and patience.

These matters of England are so extremely desperate, that now twice they have made me sick: except God arise, all is gone there. The imprudence and cowardice of the better part of the City and Parliament, which was triple or sextuple the greater, has permitted a company of silly rascals, which calls themselves yet no more than fourteen thousand, horse and foot, to make themselves masters of the King, and Parliament, and City, and by them of all England; so that now that disgraced Parliament is but a committee to act all at their pleasure, and the City is ready to fright the Parliament, at every first or second boast from the army. No humane hope remains but in the King's unparalleled willfulness, and the army's unmeasurable pride. As yet they are not agreed, and some writes they are not like to agree: for in our particular I expect certainly they will agree

⁷ "Commentarius de Statu Ecclesie Britannicæ hodierno," a tract published at Dantzick, 1647, under the name of 'Honorius Reggius,' the anagram of 'Georgius Hornius,' a learned writer who was a Professor successively at Harderwyk and Leyden.

weel enough, at what diftance foever their affections and principles ftand. Allways if the finger of God in their fpirits fhould fo farr dement them as to difagree, I would think there were yet fome life in the play; for I know the body of England are overwearie long agoe of the Parliament, and ever hated the feētaries, but much more now for this their unexpected treacherie and oppreffion. On the other part, the King is much pitied and defyred; fo if they give him not contentment, he will overthrow them. If he and they agree, our hands are bound: we will be able, in our prefent pofture and humour of our highly diftracted people, to doe nothing; and whom fhall we goe to help, when none calls but the King? Parliament and City, as their mafters command, are ready to declare againft us if we fhould offer to arme: But if the King would call, I doubt not of rifeing of the beft armie ever we had, for the crufting of thefe ferpents, enemies to God and man. David Lesley has gotten all Ifla, and old Collkitto, without quarters: He is now over to Mull, and purpofes within a fortnight to returne, having no more to doe in thefe bounds. That things goe weell abroad, it is comfort to us. That Leopold layes a little the French pride; that all the Dutch Princes, even Bavier, and the Ecclefiastick Eleētour, have left the Emperor, I am glad; but counts it a ftrange prank of ingratitude in Bavier, and of unkyndnefs in the Swedes toward the poor Palatine, at whofe charge moft that neutralitie, I fear, be concluded. I think your States wife in taking peace with Spaine.

MY SPEECH IN THE GENERALL ASSEMBLY [AT EDINBURGH,
GIVING ACCOUNT OF OUR LABOURS AT LONDON. AUGUST 6TH 1647.

IT is one of the Lord's promifes to us, that they who fow in teares fhall reap in joy; that they who goe out weeping and carry precious feed, fhall returne with rejoyceing and bring their fheaves. It was the Generall Affembly's pleafure fome four yeares agoe, to fend fome of us, their weak brethren and fervants, to that very venerable and worthie Synod at Weftminfter, to fow in that famous place fome of the precious feed, not of our Church, as enemies do flander, but of God, the Father of all Light and Truth. Our poor labours in that fervice were fo blefled by the good hand of our God, that although the fowing of the feed was often accompanied with much folici-

tude and perplexitie of mind, yea sometimes with great griefe of heart, and tears in a good measure, yet the visible appearance of a fair harvest, did bring a sensible joy not only to our selves, but to many thousands more on both side the seas. The last Assemblie wherein my present Colleague and I did appear in this place, we brought with us a bundle of so goodlie sheaves, as did revive the hearts of many in that very sad time. This day the Lord has sent us againe to the same place, loadened with more of these precious fruites, which we trust shall help to refreshe all honest spirits, though otherwise exceedinglie fadded with the late unhappie and much unexpected occurrences.

Right Honourable and Reverend, yow remember, that all your ecclesiastick desyres from your brethren of England, that all the commissions and instructions laid upon us your servants, were only for the obtaining of Uniformitie in four particulars,—in the Worship of God, in the Government of the Church, in a Confession of Faith, and Catechisme. For the first, the Directorie we presented in the forenamed Assemblie gave good and ample satisfaction. It was then your pleasure to cause both of us returne, for the assistance of our other colleagues, in pressing your three remanent desyres. As for the Government of the Church, the goodness of our God gave us to obtaine, not only these initial Propositions, whereof at our last appearance we gave an account to the good liking of all then present, but also a full and perfect modell of Discipline, which, by the blessing of God, may make in a short time the Churches in the three Kingdomes, in all considerable parts of government, not only uniforme, but weell near one; as yow may see, when you shall think it convenient to take that modell of Discipline into consideration.

In your third desyre, the Lord made our successe no lesse prosperous; a large Confession of Faith is perfyted with farr greater unanimitie than any living could have hoped for, among so many learned divines, in so distempered a place and distracted a season. I am confident, if the judgment of many my wiser do not deceave, this piece of work is so fine and excellent, that whenever yow shall be pleased to look upon it, the sight of it shall draw from the most censorious eye, a good acceptation.

For your fourth and last desyre, the Catechisme, my Reverend Colleague, I know, is instructed to give satisfaction therein. I staid till some good progresse was made into it; but long three years and sundry odd moneths peregrination from my countrie, and absence from my particular charge,

wakened, I confefs, in me, a great langour to returne ; yea, all of us fell very defireous to be at home, and joyntly did preffe the Commiffion of the Kirk for a libertie. At laft, it wes their favour to permitt to ourfelves the permiffion of fome one : by the providence of God, and equitie of the brethren there, the lott fell upon me. I was glad to be a carrier of a Confeflion of Faith ; alfo of a Pfalter, which to my knowledge had coft the Affembly fome confiderable paines, and is like to be one neceffar part of the three Kingdoms uniformitie. I brought likewise a good affurance of a perfect Catechifme to follow with all convenient diligence. This meffage made me, in January laft, to obtain from the Commiffion of the Kirk that welcome which is my earneft defire may in due time be ratified and approven by this Venerable Affembly ; for after the approbation of God and testimony of confcience, their allowance of my meane endeavours is that which I wifh ; not as a reward for fome labours and dangers I know I have undergone in your fervice, but as an encouragement to returne with cheerfullnefs to my private charge, after fo long a diverfion. This is all I defyre for myfelfe, which, if I may obtaine, I fhall be defyreous to be thankfull to God and your reverences.

For my Colleagues, may I make bold, with permiffion, to offer fome few of my thoughts. That glorious Soule of bleffed memory,⁸ who now is crowned with the reward of all his labours for God and for us, I wifh his remembrance may be fragrant among us, fo long as free and pure Affembles remaine in this land, which we hope fhall be to the coming of our Lord. Yow know he fpent his ftrengh, and wore out his dayes ; he breathed out his life in the fervice of God, and of this Church : This binds it on our back, as we would not prove ungrate, to pay him his due. If the thoughts of others be conforme to my inmoft fence, in duety and reafon he ought to be accounted by us, and the pofteritie, the faireft ornament, after John Knox of incomparable memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy.

For my other Colleague,⁹ who yet remains in the place of our long toyle, my defire is that this Reverend meeting may not forgett him, but, according to his very great worth and defervings, may take him to their wife confideration.

For my prefent moft dear Brother,¹ all I now intreat is, that he may find

⁸ Mr. Alexander Henderson.

⁹ Mr. Samuel Rutherford.

¹ Mr. George Gillespie. His fpeech to the Affembly at this time, will be given in the Appendix.

in this place such an open eare and ready attention as ordinarily, I know, he had in the English Assembly, where, indeed, no man was wont to find a greater attention and audience.

I hope the Lord shall enable him to give yow so clear an account of the true estate of affaires, whereof, since my departure, he hath been an eye and ear witness, as shall make it visible and palpable to all, that we have no reason to repent of any of the labors of our love towards our neighbour Church and Kingdome; that the great work we doe intend there is so well grounded, and so farr advanced among them, that the ports of hell, and the greatest power of man, shall never be able to overturne it; yea, that the present forme, how terrible soever, which the prime instruments of Satan, this day on earth, and our greatest adversaries, the Sectaries, have raised, shall, by the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, be turned over as the unreasonable rage and follie of the Prelates lately was, to be a happy mean of hastening the accomplishment of all our desires. I am very hopefull that the present earthquake, though it shake the foundation, and threaten the swallowing up of both Church and State, yet it shall prove ane near antecedent to the settling of all the three Kingdomes, and the Churches in them, in that peace and happiness which some cannot believe till they see and feell it.

It is my heart's wish, with which now I close, that the hands of our Church and State, which God hath made very instrumentall in the laying the ground, and helping up every part of the wall of this exceeding great and glorious work, may not now be deficient in the end, when the top-stone alone is to be laid: and deficient we must needs be if ever we open a doore to the devill, of division to enter in, especiallie among us of the ministrie. This evill is so great and destructive, that the fears of it in zealous brethren, though never so causeless, are very pardonable. It has often been my great comfort since my returne, that, when I have searched so farr as my mean knowledge can reach, I could find no reall ground at all for division in our Church as yet. It ought to be all our prayers that long it may so continue, for the old serpent is lying at all our doors; but the man with whom he shall first prevail to make himself a ringleader, upon whatsoever cause, to divide and trouble the Kirk of Scotland, let me speak propheticie unto him: Were he this day of never so high a price, and great fragrancie among us, yet he shall become a cursed soule, and his memory shall stinck to all generations. But

trusting that our God will avert this, and all other mischieves from us, I give place to that large and comfortable accompt which we expect from my Reverend Brother. FINIS.

I did not truly intend to give offence to any, and least of all to one whom I purpose, while I live, as hitherto himselfe knows I have done, to reverence as a Father² of high worth and deserving. I have caused write out the notes I scribled that morning and the night before, that he may consider at leasure if any thing I said was justly offensive. For the two passages I heard was excepted against, I make this Apologie:—

For the first, I conceive it is the priviledge of every member of the Assemblie to speak out, upon a fair occasion, that which he is persuaded to be a seasonable and usefull truth: this truly wes my case in that particular: If I be deceived, ignorance and charitie, not presumption, are ingredients in my fault. For the second passage, I intended, in truth, to give a caveat, not to our Father, but to these only with whom he uses to be offended: however, the thing is a truth undenyable, which Scripture, and all reason, will make good, and which, I am persuaded, no member of the Assemblie will deny.

If any other passage of my Speech was excepted against, I doe not know.

TO A FRIEND IN KILWINNING.

LONDON and the affaires of England lye fore on the breast of many honest men; yet the prosperitie of our own affaires here, both of Church and State, gives us some relief. Mr. Cheillie sent us word that he wes detained at Newcastle; which did much perplex us; for our State meeting did depend upon his message. It pleased God to make his detainers let him goe before the messenger of our State come to demand him. When he came, he gave us a full information how all affaires in England stood. The inclosed papers will shew the incredible change that a few dayes wrought. The City's declaration and diurnal declares in what a brave posture both the City and Parliament once wes in: the other papers shew how soon all wes overturned.

² Baillie here alludes to David Calderwood, who had taken some exceptions at the conclusion of his speech: *Vide infra*. page 20.

The armie marched through the whole city by way of triumph; but stayed not in it, did no violence to any; only three or four regiments keeps the forts about Westminster, and guards the Parliament still. For all that, the House of Commons votes fundrie things contrare to the mind of the armie: how long that courage will remaine I cannot say. It's thought that people, when it hes felt a little the burthen of the armie, will break that yoke by one mean or other. The armie's mind, much of it, may be seen in their propositions, a paper which I purposed to send, but now it's fallen by: By it they are cleare enough for a full libertie of conscience, a destroying of our Covenant, a setting up of Bishops, of intralling the King so far, as in my judgement, he and they will not agree, albeit many thinks they are agreed already. If this were, our case were very hard. Never more appearance of a great discord, both in our Church and State some few dayes agoe; but, blessed be God, the appearances are now much changed. Never Assemblée more harmonious than this yet hes been. Our declaration to England, a very good piece, is past without a contrare voice. An act against vagers from their own ministers, and a large direction for private worship, drawn by Mr. Robert Blair, for the correcting of all the faults in worship, which offended many here, is past the Committee without a contrare voice; and, I think, shall passe the Assemblée also, no less unanimously; which demonstrates the truth of what I said in my Assemblée-speech, That for all the noise some made, yet truly there wes no division as yet in our Church. Yesterday, and this night, our State, after much irreconcilable difference, as appeared, are at last unanimously agreed to send the Chancellor and Lanerick to the King and Parliament of England, to comfort and encourage both to keep our Covenant, and not to agree to the propositions of the army. No appearance, as yet, of any sturring in haste in this Kingdome.

I think our Assemblée may sitt all the next week. Mr. James Ferguthill may thank God, and his friends here, that he wes not sent to winter in Ireland, in the Derrie. My service to all my friends. I am sure the prayers of pious people, for the Assemblée, are answered; which should encourage them to continue to poure out their hearts unto God, in so sad a time, for the Church and State, and men imployed therein. The Lord, we hope, will aryse and blow away the present mist.

Edinburgh, August 20th. Friday at night.

[To MR. WILLIAM SPANG.] SEPTEMBER 1ST 1647.

COUSINE,

YOUR sad letters of your dear Wyfe's death, I received. I pray God comfort you. Publick sorrow does not permitt us to be so affected with any private grief, either of our owne or friends, as otherwise we would. London has lyen like a mylnestone on my breast now of a long time. The first week we came to this towne, my heart wes a little relieved. I thought the Lord had answered our prayers much sooner than I expected, and had put London in so good a posture for averting all our feares as I could have wished; but that joy lasted not full eight dayes. Stapleton and Hollis, and some others of the eleven members, had been the maine persuaders of us to remove out of England, and leave the King to them, upon assurance, which wes most lykelie, that this wes the only means to gett that evill army disbanded, the King and peace settled according to our minds; but their bent execution of this reall intention has undone them, and all, till God provyde a remeed. We were glad when Lisle wes recalled from his Lieutenantrie of Ireland, a creature of Cromwell's, who gott that great trust for no vertue at all but his serviceableness to that faction. This wes the first sensible grievance to that army. The second was the employing of Skippon and Maffie, in the Irish command, and giving to Fairfaxe such a command in England as made him not very formidable. But when the third stroke came, of disbanning the most of the sectaries, and cashiering of their officers, this put them on that high and bold designe, which as yet they follow, as, I think, not so much on great preconception, as drawne on by the course of affaires, and light heads of their leaders. Vaine and Cromwell as I take it, are of nimble hot fancies for to put all in confusion, but not of any deep reach. St. John and Pierpoint are more stayed, but not great heads; Say and his son, not [James?], albeit wiser, yet of so dull, and soure, and fearfull a temperament, that no great atchievement, in reason, could be expected from them. The rest, either in the armie or Parliament, of their partie, are not on their mysteries, and of no great parts either for counsell or action, so farr as I could ever observe. The follie of our friends wes apparent, when at the armie's first back-march, and

refusal to difband, they recalled their declaration againft their mutinous petitions. Eafily might all their defignes have been crufted at that nick of tyme, with one ftout look more ; but it was a demeritation to fitt ftill amazed at the taking of the King, the accufation of the eleven members, the armie's approaching to the city. Here, had the City agreed, and our friends in Parliament fhewed any refolution, their oppofites councill might even then have been eafily overturned ; for all this while, the armie wes not much above ten thoufand ill-armed fojors. But the irrecoverable lofs of all, wes the ill manageing of the City's brave engagement. Had they then made faft the chief of the Sectarian partie in both Houfes, and ftopped their flight to the armie ; had Maffie and Waller, with any kind of mafculous activity, made ufe of that new truft committed to them ; Mr. Marfhall, and his feventeen fervants of the Synod, for all Fowke's and Gibbs's fubornation, fhould never have been bold to offer that deftructive petition to the Houfes and Common Counsell, which, without any capitulation, put prefently in the armie's power, both Parliament, City, and all England, without the leaft contradidtion : ane example rarely paralleled, if not of treachery, yet at leaft of childifh improvidence and bafe cowardice. Since that time they have been abfolute mafters of all. Which way they will ufe this unexpected foveraigntie, it will quickly appear. As yet they are fetling themfelves in their new fadle. Before they got up, they gave the King and his partie fair words ; but now, when all is their owne, they may put him in a harder condition than yet he has tafted of. Their propofalls, a part of their mind, gives to the King much of his defyre in bringing back Bifhops and Books, in putting down our Covenant and Prefbytery, in giving eafe to Malignants and Papifts ; but fpoils him of his temporall power fo much, as many thinks, he will never acquiefce to ; albeit it's fpoken loud, that he and they alreadie are fully agreed.

Our State here, after long expectation to have heard fomething of the King's own mind and defyres, as yet have heard nothing from him to count of. Although he fhould employ their help againft his oppreffors, yet he being ftill altogether unwilling to give us any fatiffaction in the matter of our Covenant, we are uncertain what courfe to take ; only we doe refent to our Commiffioners to oppofe the propofalls, and to require a fafe-conduct to the Chancellour and Lanerick to come up to the King and Parliament. It coft many debates before it came to this conclusion. Our great men are not like to

pack up their differences. The Duke and his friends would have been thought men composed of peace in any termes, and to have cast on others designs of imbroiling Scotland in a new warre. But when all were weary of jangling debates, the conclusion whereto the Committee was brought, was so farr to espouse the King's quarrell in anie termes, that Argyle and Warrifone behoved to protest against our engagement in such termes. To avoid invidious protestations, both parties agreed to passe ane act of not ingadgement. The proceedings of some are not only double and triple, but so manifold, that as no other, so, in my mind, themselves know not what they finally intend. They who made themselves gracious and strong, by making the world believe that it was their opposites who had brought the country in all the former trouble, and would yet againe bring it into a new dangerous warre, when it came to the poynt, were found to precipitate us into dangers, and that in such termes as few with comfort could have undertaken. We have it from diverse good hands at London, that some here keep correspondence with Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, which to me is an intollerable abomination. The present sence of many is this: If the King and the armie agree, we must be quiet and look to God: if they agree not, and the King be willing to ratifie our Covenant, we are all as one man to restore him to all his rights, or die by the way: if he continue resolute to reject our Covenant, and only to give us some parts of the matter of it, many here will be for him, even in these termes, but diverse of the best and wisest are irresolute, and waits till God give more light.

However, David Lesley, with a great deale of fidelitie, activitie, and success, hes quieted all our Highlands and Isles, and brought back our little armie; which, we think, shall be quartered here and there, without disbanding, till we see more of the English affaires. The pest for the time, vexes us. In great mercie Edinburgh and Leith, and all about, which lately were afflicted with more of this evill than ever wes heard of in Scotland, are free: some few infections now and then, but they spread not. Aberdeen, Brechin, and other parts of the north, are miserablie wasted. St. Andrews and Glasgou, without great mortalitie, are so threatened, that the schooles and colledges now in all Scotland, bot Edinburgh, are scattered. By this means my studies and domestick affaires are clean disordered, and like so to be still, if the Lord be not mercifull.

While I had written this farr, by the packett this day from London I learn that the armie daily goes higher and higher, which to me is a hopefull preface of their quicker ruine. The chief fix of the eleven members, were coming to you: Stapleton, after⁵ Hollis the second gentleman for all gallantrie in England, died at Calice. I think it will be hard to the Parliament and City to bear these men long; and I hope, if all men were dead, God will arise against them. Munster is not like to be a schoole to them long. Cromwell and Vaine are like to run on to the end of Becold and Knipperdolling's race. Northumberland hes feasted the King at Sion-houfe; hence he went to Hampton-court. They speak of his coming to Whitehall. If he agree no better with the Sectaries than yet he does, that journey may prove fatal. He is not likely to come out of London willingly; and if the army should draw him, that violence may waken sleeping hounds. If they let him come to London, without assurance of his accord with them, they are more bold and ventorious than wife; and if the King agree to their state-designes, I think he is not so consonant to all his former principles and practises as I took him.

I know you expect some account of our Assëmblie. Take it, if you have patience to read what I have scribled in haste, on a very ill sheet of paper. I have no leasure to double; for our Commiffioners enters every day at seven, and we are about public busines dayly till late at night. At our first meeting, there wes clear appearance of formed parties for division; but God hes turned it so about, that never Assëmblie wes more harmonious and peaceable to the very end. The last year, a minister in the Merse, one Mr. James Simpstone, whose grandfire wes, as I take it, ane uncle or brother to famous Mr. Patrick of Stirling, a forward, pious, young man, being in fuite of a religious damfell, sifter to Mr. James Guthrie's wife, had kept with Mr. James Guthrie, and others, some private meetings and exercises, which gave great offence to many. When they came before the last Generall Assëmblic and Commiffion of the Kirk, Mr. David Calderwood and fundrie other very honest men, opposite to Malignants, were much grieved, and by that grief moved to joyne with Mr. William Colville, Mr. Andrew

⁵ Baillie's amanuensis had mistaken this word, and makes it "Stapleton, Esler, Hollis," &c. But the meaning is obvious, as on the 24th August 1647, Whitelocke informs us, there came "News of the sudden death of Sir Philip Stapleton, at Calais, of the plague."

Fairfole, and fuch whom some took to be more favorable to Malignants than need were. Thir two joynd together, made a great partie, especiallie when our Statefmen did make ufe of them to bear down thofe who had fwayed our former Affemblies. The conteft wes at the choyfeing of the Moderator. The forementioned partie were earneft for Mr. William Colville.⁴ Many were for me; but I wes utterly unwilling for any fuch unfitt charge, and refolved to abfent myfelfe from the firft meeting, if by no other mean I could be fhifted the leett. At laft, with very much adoe, I gott myfelf off, and Mr. Robert Dowglafs on the leetts; who carried it from Mr. William Colville only by four votes. God's bleffing on this man's great wifdome and moderation hes carried all our affaires right to the end; but Mr. David Calderwood having miffed his purpofe, hes preffed foe a new way of letting the moderator for time to come, that puts in the hand of bafe men to get one whom they pleafe, to our great danger. We fpend a number of dayes on fecklefe particulars. Mr. Gillespie came home at our firft downfitting: he and I made our report to the great fatiffaction of all. Yow have here what I fpoke.⁵ Mr. Calderwood was very offended with what I fpoke in the end; but my apologie in private fatiffied him.⁶ He, and others of his acquaintance, came with refolution to make great dinne about privie meetings and novations, being perfuaded, and willing to perfuade others, that our Church wes already much peftered with fchifme. My mind wes cleane contrare; and now, when we have tryed all to the bottome, they are found to be much more miftaken than I; for they have obtained, with the hearty confent of thefe men whom they counted greateft patrons of fchifme, all the acts they pleafed againft that evil, wherein the wifdome and authoritie of Mr. Blair hes been exceeding ferviceable. This yielding on our fide, to their defyres, drew from them a quiet confent to thefe things we intended, from which at firft they feemed much averfe. We agreed, *nemine contradicente*, to that declaration, which wes committed to Mr. Gillespie and me, but wes drawne by him alone; alfo, after much debate in the Committee, to the Confefion of Faith; and to the printing of the Directorie for government, for the examination of the next Generall Affembly; of the Catechife alfo, when the little that remains fhall come downe; likewife for printing, to that fame end, two or three

⁴ In the MS. the name "Coline," uniformly occurs for Colvin, or Colville.

⁵ *Vide supra*, page 10.

⁶ *Vide supra*, page 14.

fleet of Theſes againſt Eraſtianifme, committed to Mr. Gillespie and me, bot done by him at London, at Voetius's motion ; which we mind, when approven here, to ſend to him ; who is hopefull to get the conſent of your Univerſities, and of the Generall Aſſembly of France to them, which may ſerve for good purpoſe. We have put the new Pfalter alſo in a good way. In our Univerſitie correſpondence, we have made more progreſs in good deſignes than I expected. With much adoe, at laſt, I have gotten Doctor Strang's buſineſs to a good and a fair end, according to his mind. In all theſe things Mr. Blair wes my great aſſiſtant. If the Lord would be pleaſed to give us peace, our Generall Aſſemblies would be channells of great bleſſings to this Iſle.

We have this day very happily ended our Aſſembly with good concord ; albeit Mr. David Calderwood, ſerving his owne very unrulie humor, did very much oft provoke. He hes been ſo untollerable through our forbearance, that it's like he ſhall never have ſo much reſpect among us. His importunitie forced us, not only to a new ridiculous way of choiſing the Moderator, but, on a conceit he hes, that a miniſter depoſed ſhould not againe be repoſed almoſt in no caſe, he hes ſaſhed us exceedingly about the power of the commiſſion of the Kirk to depoſe a miniſter in any caſe ; yet we carried it over him. We have obtained leave to print all our Engliſh papers, Catechiſe, Confeſſion, Propoſitions and Directorie for government and ordination, our debates for accommodation againſt tolleration, our papers to the grand Committee. The Propoſitions for government, albeit paſt both in our Aſſembly and Parliament 1643, Mr. David oppoſed vehemently the printing, and his grand followers, Mr. John Smith and Mr. William Colville with him, becauſe they held forth a feſſion of a particular congregation to have a ground in ſcripture, which he, contrare to his Altar of Damascus, believes to have no divine right, but to be only a commiſſion, with a delegate power from the Presbyterie, tollerat in our Church for a time. With great difficultie could we gett the printing of that paper paſt for his importunitie ; bot at laſt we gott all, bleſſed be God.

An expreſs from London this day tells us, that the armie's parliament preſſes the concurrence of our Commiſſioners to ſend to Hampton-court the propoſitions to the King. This ſeems to import the King's reſuſall of the propoſalls, and diſagreeing yet with the army. And what they will doe with the King, if he reſuiſe the propoſitions alſo, we know not ; only

their last remonfrance shews their resolution to cast out of the Parliament many more members, and to take the lives of some for example. The spirit that leads them, and the mercy of God to that oppressed people, will not permitt these tyrannous hypocrites to rest, till, by their own hands, they have pulled doune their Babel. The Lord be with yow. Let me hear of the receipt of this; and help us with forraigne newes more liberally.

Your Coufigne,

R. BAYLIE.

Edinburgh, September 1st 1647.

FOR HIS NOBLE AND GOOD FRIEND POLONI ALMAN,⁷ AT DULOPOLIS
IN SLAVELAND. OCTOBER 13TH 1647.

I HOPE some man, for all his transgressions against my squeamish stomach, is at last weell payed, whom the old neat-driver hes lascht foe grievouslie in print, with your patience may weell be called a loger, a bull, or neats-head: heirafter yow know who hes the gift of a fair neats-tongue; but medle not with drivers so long as yow are near the Thames, least they make yow fwime, which my friend could never doe without bladders. Alwayes forget not that your one verie large man is not now at your back, therefore be verie toft. I have sent yow with this bearer, what I promised long agoe, my little Bible, without points, of Plantin's Antwerpen edition. I will not permitt yow to forgett your bargane for my Chrysofome. I trust neither God nor man will long permitt evill men to triumphe: in this confidence I rest,

Yours, &c.

We have at this time a good and full Commiffion of the Church: we have been unanimous in our Remonfrance; the Committee of Estates gave us thanks (but by the wisdom of their chieff who wes galled therewith) for our vigilance and care. We hope at present to carry our poynt bot with such difficultie, that now I conclude, (in which judgment I find the wisest I speak with concurr,) Scotland shall be unable for any reall service, without cureing of

⁷ This somewhat enigmatical epistle was most likely addressed to the Earl of Lauderdale: He was then in London, and had probably been abused in some of the Diurnals.

our divisions. We are very near to two or three equal parts. It's my heartie advice to you who still, I hope, may be a happie instrument as yow desire your one man to be able to doe anie service at all at this time, either for God or the poore and still (alas!) deluded King, or for our lamentable persecuted brethren and cause there, or for the defence of the religion, liberties, lives, of us here against a partie, who, I doubt not, at their first leasure, will stretch out their foot on our necks. Yet once againe doe your uttermost endeavours to unite your three friends, who latelie have visite yow from this. No means here are possible for that end: if God give not yow a mind and abilitie to doe it, that reconciliation is desperat, and we must give over to think of doeing any good abroad; and all our thoughts shall be how we may cut off one another at home, to the loud laughter of sectaries and malignants farr and near. I obtest yow in name of God and the poor King, and enslaved England, and Scotland readie to be wracked, setting aside all foolish injuries yow have gotten, either from one or other, yow will stirre up yourselfe to make two or three men one. If God help yow to doe this, when I come to paint yow the third time, I shall put a ray on your brow longer than any of Moyse's horns.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG: FROM EDINBURGH,
OCTOBER 13TH 1647.

WE gave in this day to the States a remonstrance of the hazard of Religion and Covenant, if our armie should disband. We hope that plott, long hatched, and with too great eagernes driven on, shall this day or to-morrow be broken. Our dangers of farder confusion are great, if God be not mercifull. The persecution at London is untollerable. I am very confident that partie, so much opposit to God and man, cannot long stand. Ere long, I may give yow, at my leasure, ane particular accompt of all our affaires.

What yow have of forraigne affaires, let me know fully and frequently. Gett to me, by Mr. Walter Bowie, Voetius's Theses, all collected and bound in one. If the auctions of schollars books there, be, as I hear, I think yow might provide, not only yourselfe, but your friends, with store of good and cheap books. I think, so soon as God frees us of the fear of the sword,

and peft, yow would doe weell to make a vifite of your friends for mutuall refreshment. The Lord be with yow.

I fee the little Hebrew Bible, with points, is printed at Amfterdam in Manaffes Ben-Ifrael's houfe: it fells here very weell. By fome of your acquaintance yow could perfuade him or fome other to print the Targum, onè book, with the points and the Latine verfion; alfo the Mafora, which Buckftorph's Bible hes on the margine, the fame way; and fome chief parts of the Talmud or the Rabbins wrytes, with the points and Latine expofition: they would fell weell, and doe much good. Send me Voetius's [Voffius's?] Bibliothecas; and let me hear what yow know of good Chronologers old or late. I wifh that the Arabick Bible and other books, which are come out in the late Paris Bible, were printed feveralie; for who will give a thousand merks for a Bible of ten volumes. There is diverfe manucripts in England of Erpenius's Arabick Diçtionary: I think Mr. Cheeflie hes one of them. If L'Emperour will not move fome there to print ane Arabick little handfome diçtionary, (for who will be fafcht with thefe four volumes of that Italian,) I wifh that of Erpenius were printed, till a better come. Our poor printers of old, the Stephens, etc. gave many a fair volume of new brave books, in all languages: fhall we now gett no new printed books of any note, but from the Popifh preffes at Paris only.

MISTAKES RECTIFIED, IN A LETTER TO A WORSHIPFULL KNIGHT, S. D. C.⁸
FROM A MINISTER IN THE WEST. EDINBURGH, MARCH 8TH 1648.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

FINDING your ingenuous profefion to be fully fatiffied with what I offered, the other night, for the clearing of the groffe mistakes which yow affured me were fleeing abroad of many the beft men of my coate, that yow may be confirmed in that opinion of good men, which their prefent innocence and former great deferving doth in juftice call for, I fend yow now in wryte, with fome

⁸ This letter was apparently addreffed by Baillie to Sir Daniel Carmichael: He was nominated by Parliament to be Treasurer Depute, 10th March 1649. A copy of it, in a contemporary hand, with fome flicht correçtions, (but not in Baillie's own hand,) is contained in Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. xxix. No. 33.

little enlargement, the heads, which then I proponed, for taking off what you told me, was the too common objection of men, otherwise not of the worst affections, either towards us or the cause.

I gave you assurance that my Brethren of the ministrie were so farr from that alledged avernesnes from all Warre against the Sectaries in England in any terms, that I knew these of them that were most aspersed with that slander, to be readie to goe alongst with ane army, and venture their persons against that enemy, if so be they might obtaine the question of the Warre to be stated, as, yourselfe did acknowledge, everie pious, wise, and unbiassed spirit would gladly admit of as most reasonable and necessarie.

We judge it indeed convenient, that ministers be verie warie of what they speak of any matter of state, and most of all, what encouragement they give to the raising of a Warre; yet everie subject of a kingdome hes so much to doe and suffer in his persone, estate, and friends, when a warre comes on, and warre is so great and weightie a case of conscience, that ministers, both as men and according to their calling in the Church, may well be admtd to deliever their sense of that which so much concerns the conscience, both of themselves and every soule of their flocke.

In the present case, three things are most considerable. 1. A conclusion. 2. The grounds thereof. 3. The impediments that lye in the way of its practice. Upon the first two, which are the maine, I conceive no difference at all: the debates on the third may be so easly accomodat, that if there should remaine any sensible discrepance amongst us about them, that very unhappie and most needles misfortoun must be imputed to many other things rather than to any designe of ours to impossibilitat that undertaking, which we profess ourselves most willing to further, with the hazard of all these things which on the earth are dearest unto us.

The conclusion, that Scotland at this time hes a just cause of Warre against the Sectarian army in England, and their adherents, none of us doth question; nor do we controvert the common and obvious grounds of this conclusion, whether you speak of them in the These, or of their application in the Hypothese. We grant the notorious violation of a National League in the most substantial parts, where there is no appearance of satisfaction for past breaches, or of securitie for keeping in the future, except only by delusorie words, gives a just right and call to the injured nation of vindicating their league by the sword.

We admit likewise the assumption, that while the Parliament and bodie of the Kingdome of England were upon very hopefull and promising endeavours to keep every part of their league with us, there is arisen a faction of sectaries and hereticks, now prevalent in the Army and Parliament, who openly and obstinately doe tread under foote the whole and every part of our Covenant, without any hope of redresse in any peaceable way; so farr are they from having it imposed upon any by a law, that no entreatie could obtaine of them to let it stand in the propositions to the King, where the hand of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes had fixed it, as the maine and greatest demand: their carriage towards the Covenant in words and deeds, these years past, in the fence of all, makes them most manifest destroyers of it.

This we take to be true of every part, as weell as of the whole: the first two articles are about religion and uniformity; this faction reformes religion by their advancing, to their power, and most industriously spreading abroad, of more errors and heresies than did ever in any one age lodge in any one place of the world. Their uniformitie is to guard, both by law and force, every man who pleases, in his maintainance, and practife for church discipline, of that which is most opposite to presbyteriall government.

For the third article, the defence of the priviledges of Parliament, and liberties of the Kingdomes, of the King's person and authoritie, they have turned their armes upon the Parliament, the City of London, and whole Kingdome of England, who opposed their wayes; all those they keep still under foote, groaning and trembling under the shaking of their sword: contrary to the declared will of both Kingdomes, they seized upon the person of the King, and carying him about at their pleasure, have at last clapt him up a cloffe and perpetuall prisoner, for his denyall of such bills, which gave the armie a power to be masters for ever of all the force, treasure, and lawes of the kingdome of England; neither have we any securitie but that their way is posting to the depriving of the King's posteritie, of their birthright, and changing the government of the State in the whole Isle.

For the fourth article, their punishing of evill instruments, for hindering the Reformation, for dividing one Kingdome from another, for making factions among the people contrare to the League and Covenant, is no other bot the setting of the most eminent of this kind in the highest places of honor, profite, and power in the Parliament, in the armie, in the navie, in the city, in all

the slyres, for that very end, that these their instruments may be encouraged to goe on in such evill services to both Kingdomes, against their sworn league.

For the fifth, all their keeping the two Kingdomes in union is manifestlie to breake and scorne the greatest bonds of conjunction and common interest of these two realmes.

For the last article, their protection of all who enters in the League, is openly to banishe, imprison, affright, keep under, and persecute the most eminent both of the parliament, city, and slyres, for nothing else but their sincere and cordiall endeavours to adhere to, and profecute the expresse ends of the Covenant.

That the Sectarian faction is notoriously guilty of such atrocious breaches of every article of the League, we doe not doubt; nor doe we pretend to the smallest hope of recovering them by words, messages, or any peaceable means from their paths of destruction; neither doe we contradict what is spoken of the evident and imminent hazard of Scotland to have their church and kingdome embroyled in all the miseries of England, the religion and liberties of both kingdomes being laid up together in the same vessell; and the spirit, the way, the interest, the safetie of the faction, dryving them on to the mastering of the utmost corners of all the three Kingdomes; yea, if the winds doe favour, to farr larger designs and higher interprises; for who can forget Cromwell's threatening with his army, in the face of Parliament, the very walls of Constantinople.

If thus farr we be agreed, what hinders us from getting presently up, hand in hand, to the way? Certainly the retardments come from ane other side of the House than that which is called ours; even from them who so willfully, and, as I am bold to terme it, imprudently, have refused all this while to give us satisfaction in three things which we esteeme most necessary for us to have, and easie for others to grant, without all prejudice to any of their avowed ends.

We desire that our Covenant, Religion, and Liberties, purchased of old and maintained of late at very high rates, may not by this new Warre be putt in a condition every way as hazardous as they stand in this day, which we think will be the case, if it be not provided for, after all the blood, losses, hazards, labours of the nixt warre, even when we have obtained our end, the totall overthrow of the Sectarian faction; for then the King, though nothing

changed in his mind, must be fet up, and enabled with his former partie of malignants to act more vigorously than ever in all the three Kingdomes. The yoke of tyrannie in the state, of poperie and prelacie in the Church, is lyklike to be put upon our neck, with alfe violent a hand as ever.

That we may be guarded against this apparent mischief, we require bot two things; and a third for securitie of these two when granted. First, That the King be not entrusted with the full exercise of his Royall power, till he have given all assurance, that is possible for him in his present condition, of his own consent and concurrence to fettle the solemne League, and Religion according unto it, in all the three Kingdomes. We require not this as a previous condition to the King's rescue, or to the putting of him in as good a condition as he was in before the faction seized on his person. We are not against any honor, freedome, or safetie which the Parliaments of both Kingdomes shall think meet to grant him for a treatie, before a full settlement; nor doe we speake of capitulations for keeping of Monarchick government in the King's posteritie; only we require the foresaid condition to be previous to his Majestie's exercise of Royaltie, who hes declared his willingness to putt upon himself a harder condition than this in hand, the renouncing of all power in the militia, and nomination of officers of state in England and Ireland, with diverse other things of great importance dureing his whole life.

This our first Demand is no other than that which both our Kirk and State hes oft craved before in expresse tearms; and, that which some men compted the great rock of this demand, we are content to remove for a demonstration of our earnestnes to comply: we are willing to change the negative expressions of our Kirk and State into affirmatives; we insist only upon the thing it self, a real securitie for our Covenant and Religion. This we trust will not be so much stuck at by the King himselfe, for readilie his Majestie is not so much here pinched with conscience as some talks of: We know what laws he hes been content to passe in Scotland for the Covenant and Presbytery, also what was promised to Ireland for Popery, and what in England for libertie to Sects and Errours. We are very hopefull that all we presse for the Covenant and Presbytery shall be obtained, if our State can be but constant to crave what all reason urges to be granted.

Our second Demand is, that the Malignant partie of papists, prelates, and others opposite to our Covenant, may not be permitted to rise to such a

strength as may enable them to give us the law; for this end we crave that all of them who are willing to joyne in armes with us, doe joyne likewise in the Covenant. We are persuaded that many of them are not impeded so much by scruple of conscience, as reasons of state and opposition of humour to take that oath; and we verily hope the most of them (if dealt with in earnest) would readily joyne with us in our way for the love of our common end, to doe right to the King, and pull down the oppressing faction of Sectaries. These of the Malignants, who will not joyne with us, let them sit still and wait on till God change their minds: In this their quietness we are not to trouble them.

We trust the unanimity of Scotland, and the concurrence of the Presbyterian party in England, by God's blessing, will be abundantly able to doe the service; only we desire not to be impeded by the rising of malignants in distinct armies of their owne, for if armies arise to pursue ends contrary to our Covenant, and destructive to our maine designe, though in some things they goe along with us, how can we take them for friends, and not be justly affrayed that so soon as they find it time, they will turne as bitter enemies to us as sometime we have felt them, since their principles remaine unchanged.

In the matter of these two Demands, all I meet with professeth a great deale of reason; if there be any scruple in the third and last, let us shortly consider:—Here we doe only require a security for keeping what shall be promised in the two former; we have been so foully deceived by many men who of late did make us very solemne promises of constant friendship, that our scrupulosity in any new undertaking might justly be excused, yet all the security here we crave, is but a verie simple one as the affaires of the world now goe. What less can we require of men who avow their full resolution to performe all we crave, than their oath to be constant: When we have agreed on all the rest, shall we differ in this? What is it that stumbles in our third demand? Is it the matter of the oath? There shall be nothing here but what themselves doe grant, and use to profess to be reasonable. Is it the forme of the oath? What needs any scruple to swear what they profess to be just for the matter, and themselves firmly resolved to performe. If this be stood upon, will it not give us just cause to fear that all which is now promised, is but for ane allurement once to ingadge, and then

to difappoint us of all our expectation? Is there not a militarie oath required of all armies? What prejudice were it if to the ordinary articles of the warre, fome few more were added for our securitie in our two demands, at least for the officers and committees, with a declaration of Parliament and Generall Affembly, injoyning fo much.

I remitt it to your ingenuity if our sticking upon these so few, fimple, moft neceffarie Demands, deserve the feveritie of that censure, which the unadvised-ness of some is pleased to put upon us; also whether it be not a great temerity in them, who rather than to give us satisfaction, choose to goe on without us to present action, though they know that without our assistance, a great part of the people will neither have heart nor hand to concurre with them. We are extreme sorry for this precipitation, and affrayed of its issue. Where are either their men, money, or ammunition, requisite for such ane undertaking? Is not the enemy ready to receive them, and wayting on upon their first too well known designe? If they should be repulst at first, would it not extreamlie discourage their friends in England, and hazard the ruin of all the remainder of the King's hopes? Were it not good to stay but a little, till a more wise and patient dealing did unite us at home, and we had some time to forme and furnishe ane armie with things neceffaire, and to strengthen our correspondences abroad, in England, and elsewhere. The advantages of a little delay seem to preponder all we can expect by too suddan a motion; the breaking of that handfull, which for the time we can send into England, may make the Presbyterian partie there to faint, and give over all acting more for themselves; may draw in upon Scotland so much of the Sectarian armie as will overrun all our plaine countrey, and in a short time infect our Church with the leaven of their doctrine, and change the government of our estate. When wise men will not be pleased to goe on in a way of reason, to avoid apparent dangers, occasion is given to fear their designs, and of driving them on for some purposes of their owne. Certainly the picking of quarrells with ministers, and moving of controversies betwixt the Parliament and Commission of the Church, at this nick of time, to the eyes of the most beholders, proceeds either from little wisdom, or lesse sincerity to promote really the intended designe of restoring the King. Shall it be thought that wise men can intend to make warre abroad for any good purpose, when, in the beginning of their enterprize, they keep up and increase old divisions, and make more new

quarrells at home. Men of judgment use to be persuaded of reall intentions, not by great words and deep oathes, but by confonancy of actions.

It were all the pities of the world, that, when we are so near to a full unanimitie for a cheerfull atchieving of so brave an enterprize as is now in hand, we should by the malignant influence of any evill counsellors, most need leslie fall a-pieces, and lay, by our owne hands, in the ruins of our Church, State, neighbours, King, and posteritie; the advancement of the Sectarian army to a higher pitch of power than yet they have attained, or scarcely dare expect. Wayes of faction, of proud and haughty disdaine, mindfullness of wrongs, resolution to have all at under who stand in the way of our overruling, are unfitt medicines for our fore-sick and dying patients, whether the King and Royall Family, or our brethren of England, or our own much weakened and exceedinglie endangered Countrey.—So much of our other day's discourse have I drawn up for your memorie, that ye may know how ready I am to serve yow upon all occasions.

Edinburgh, March 8th 1648.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. MARCH 27TH [1648.]

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSINE,

IT'S now long since I heard from yow: in my last by the London post, I defyred yow to write allwayes what of mine yow receive, that I may know what miscarries; also to try, with all the diligence yow can, who that Jean Dalyell, spouse to James Reid, can be, who gott a testimoniall from the ministers of Gorcome of the birth of her son. I deadly suspect she is a whore who is retired to bear her child to some man of quality near us: it were good to find it out. That book you wrote of, *Res Geste Marchionis Montis Rosini*,⁹ let us have it. It's a mervail to me that any there should be taken with De Cartes's way: Revius demonstrates him a very ignorant atheist. I have diverse of his former pieces; send to me what he has writ-

⁹ The well known work by Dr. George Wishart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, containing a History of the War in Scotland under the conduct of the Marquis of Montrose, which was published in 1647, under the title of "*De Rebus &c. sub imperio illustriss. Jacobi Montisrosarum Marchionis, &c. præclare gestis, Commentarius.*"

ten this laſt yeare ; alſo the laſt decade of Strada ; with the ſoume of all my compt I am in your debt : though I oft offered, yet did your Mother never call for a pennie from me. She and all friends are well. Your Nephew, I hope, ſhall prove a gelly ladd ; but how all is in Glaſgow, I doe not know, for theſe fix weeks I have been in Edinburgh. I thank God I have gotten the differences betwixt the Principall and Mr. David, reaſonable well compoſed ; this halfe year no diſpleaſure betwixt them.

In our great perplexities at home, it's ſome comfort to us when we look abroad, that your churches, and theſe of France and Suits [Switzerland], enjoyes a happie quietneſs, both eccleſiaſticall and civill. I am glad there is ſo little dinn of Ameraut's new queſtions. Alſo we bleſſe God that the Swedes yet can keep the fields in Germanie, and that cruell perfecutor and oppreſſer of Bavier is yet likely to be taken order with by the Swedes and French ; and that the old cruelties of Spayne are now come to remembrance ; that Portugall with all its appurtenances, that Catalonia and Naples doe ſtill preſerve themſelves : It muſt be the juſtice of the great revenger upon that proud and unjuſt croune. If Modena could bring Millaine lykewiſe to revolt, Italy would be quite of all forraigne yocks ; but I fear the fall of Spayne ſhall lay open theſe parts of Chriſtendome to the Ottoman invaſion ; yet that the Venetian alone for ſo long a tyme heſ been able to ſuſtaine the warre in Creta, againſt the whole ſtrength of that enemy, puts me in hope that the danger of them is not ſo great as ſometimes it heſ been. The ſpoill of Heſſen and continuance of the Palatine's miſeries, afflict us. We have no more of theſe forraigne affaires, than what yow and the London moderate intelligence furniſh us.

He is wyſer than a man who can informe what courſe our affaires here will take. This is the ſeventh week that I have been forced to attend in Edinburgh ; and yet we ſee ſmall appearance of any good concluſion ; but as they are I make yow the accompt of them. After that the King found himſelf diſappointed of all the fair hopes made to him by Cromwell and his partie, whether on their repentance, or their feare from Lilburne, Rainborough, and their levelling friends, our Commiſſioners made more ſerious applications, and were more acceptable than before. At the Iſle of Wight, his Maſteſtie did live with them very lovinglie ; and upon great hopes on all hands, Traquair, Sir John Cheeſly, Callander, and all that came home

before them, gave it out confidently, in the generall, that the King had given to our Commissioners full satisfaction. This caused great joy, and a readines in all to rise in arms quickly for his deliverance. But when I found all bound up by oath, [not] to reveale any of the particular concessions till the Commissioners returned, I feared the satisfaction should not be found so satisfactory as was spoken. The too long and strict secrecy bred prejudice in the minds of the wisest : and when we heard the report from the Chancellour and Lauderdale at their returne, our suspicions were turned into griefe : for we found the concessions no ways satisfactory, and the engagement of some to the King upon them so great, as did much blemish their reputation with many of their most intime friends. Our debates more than a fortnight were to come to the bottom of these offers, and to find way how we might be free of them. We were malcontent with our Commissioners : their scurvey usage by the Parliament of England, their compassion of the King's condition, Lanerick's power with Lauderdale, and both their workings on the Chancellour, made them to accept of lesse, and promise more to the King, than we would stand to. They were content we should declare our unsatisfaction with the King's offers as we thought fitt, both by the Church and State, on condition we would consent to a leavie against the faction of Sectaries. To this we were not unwilling, provyding we might be satisfied in the state of the question, and might be assured, that the armie should be putt in such hands as we might confide in. Both these were promised to us in private ; but while we found no performance, the buisness is retarded to this day. Betwixt the Chancellour, Duke, Argyle, Treasurer, Lauderdale, Lanerick, Balmerino, Warristone, Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. George Gillespie, Mr. David Calderwood, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Samuell Rutherford, many meetings have been had, night and day, private and publick ; but as yet our discords increase, and are ready to breake out in a fearfull rupture both of Church and State. Our meetings were long in private for a state of a question ; we required peremptorily to stand to our former principles and Covenant ; " To have religion settled first ; and the King not restored till he had given security, by his oath, to consent to ane Act of Parliament for injoyning the Covenant in all his dominions, and settling religion according to the Covenant." We stuck many days on that negative expression, " The King not to be restored till he had sworn the Covenant." Thus much had both

our Parliament and Affembly preffed upon him at Newcastle ; yet at laft we were content of affirmative expreffions : “ Religion and the Covenant to be fettled, and thereupon the King to be reftored.” The next difficultie in the queftion was about the Malignants : we were peremptore to have none of them in our armie who fhould not take the Covenant, and to have all of them declared enemies who fhould aryfe in armies by themfelves for any end contrare to our caufe. Here we had great ftugleing : In the wryte, which we called ane Agreement and Engagement, they the King’s Offers, too great favour, was fhewed to Malignants : we refolved to beware of them fo much the more. The greateft ftick of all was on the oath : we refolved to have thefe things put in a formall oath, to be taken folemnlie by all the members of Parliament and officers of our armie ; they declined ane oath by all means. While we are like to come to no agreement about thefe things, the pulpits found loud againft the dangers from Malignants, but more foftlie againft Sectaries. We prepare alfo a Declaration of dangers and duties, wherein we exprefle to the full our difatiffaction with the King’s conceffions in matters of religion. This gave a great offence to our Commiffioners. We had put them to it to give us in wryte the report of what paff between them and the King concerning religion ; for his Majefte in his letter to us had faid, he had offered to them what he was confident would give us fatiffaction. While they are neceffitate to give us in wryte thefe private conceffions, and be content to have them, and our reafons againft them, published to the world ; they were not a little offended : but there was no remed. To our fence, they had paff the bounds of their dutie, though both the Committee of Eftates, and Parliament itfelfe, had, in a faire generall, without examination, approved all they had done. We thought it deftructive to our caufe and Covenant, and ourfelves abfolutelie impeded from all motion for the King till thefe grounds of motion were publickly difclaimed. It increafed our offence, that fo many noblemen did vex us with debates and votes openlie in face of the Commiffion, after we had changed, in private, for the fatiffaction of the Chancellour and Lauderdaill, many paffages of our wryte ; alfo that they had laboured to their power to make a partie among the minifters to oppofe us, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. Andrew Fairfoyle, Mr. Robert Laurie, Mr. Andrew Affleck, and diverfe others ; but efpeciallie Mr. William Colville, who had in private objected againft one paffage, inferring

the necessitie upon conscience to restore the King presentlie to the exercise of his full regall power in all his dominions, notwithstanding of all he had done, without any condition, either of Covenant, Religion, or Propositions; that we were obliged to doe this duetie unto him, and never more to oppose till we found him abuse this power; and then we might resist, albeit no more but the abuse of this power. I did think it enough in our sub-committee to bring him to acknowledge so shamefull a tenet, all of us thinking he would not have the boldness any more in publick to speak to such a purpose; yet in the face of the Commission, in a very jeering insolent way, being a little provoked by the indifereet challenge of Mr. Rutherford, he did offer to reason for such a conclusion. We had not failed to have called him to an account for his malapertness, had not the intervention of other greater affairs diverted us.

By this time the Parliament was sett. Never so many noblemen present in any of our Parliaments; near fiftie Earls and Lords. Among whom were found but eight or nyne for our way; Argyle, Eglintone, Cassillis, Louthian, Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Ross, Balmerino, Cowper, Burleigh, and sometimes the Chancellour and Balcarras. All the rest, with more than the halfe of the barrons, and almost the halfe of the burgeses, especiallye the greater townes, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Linlithgow, ran in a string after Duke Hamilton's vote. That partie, besides the advantage of the number of two at least to one, had lykewife the most of the ablest speakers. For us none did speak but Argyle and Warriston, and sometimes Cassillis and Balmerinock; but they had the Duke, the Thefaurer, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Traquair, Glencarne, Cochrane, Lee, all able spokesmen; yet the other partie had the advantage of reputation, having from the beginning been constant in our cause: also all the assistance the Church could make was for them. The first bickering was for our Declaration: when, contrary to their minds, we had past it, they were earnest it might not be published; but we had given order, as ever had been our custome, to print it, even before we had communicate it to the Parliament. They had diverse purposes, either by perswasion or violence, to have kept it in; but we let it goe out on Monday, and ordained it to be read on Sunday thereafter in all the Kirks of Edinburgh, and about. That which hastened it out was our irritation by the Thefaurer's challenge of Argyle on the Monday

morning; an unhappie accident, that was ready to have kindled the fire amongst us all, had not the Lord prevented it. Argyle's enemies had of a long tyme burdened him, among many slanders, with that of cowardice and cullionrie. On the Fryday afternoon in Parliament, discourfing merrilie with the Thefaurer, he said, He heard of a meeting whereat the Thefaurer had been the other night. Speaking a little of this purpose, he apprehended, that the Thefaurer had said, not only that the best men of the kingdome had been at that meeting, but also that himfelfe was a better man than he. Upon this, Argyle goes out of the House in anger, and calls for Major Innes, who had sitten at both their feet, and heard their discourfe, to know if he had heard the Thefaurer say, that himfelfe was a better man than Argyle. Innes did not avow the words; but being sent to the Thefaurer from Argyle, to try if he had spoken so, he said, He would not make account to Argyle what he said; but whatever it was, he would make it good with his sword. Upon this, Argyle desired him to appoint tyme and place; and on the Sunday, a publick fast-day, the Thefaurer sent back word, after both sermons, that on Musleburgh Links, at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, he should meet him, and bring a nobleman for a second. Innes, albeit no great friend to Argyle, not only offered himfelfe to Argyle for a second, but told him he would repent it as a wrong if he were not admitted; so Argyle with no flesh but Innes, the Thefaurer and Lanerick his second, did meet. Incontinent all were missed, and many rann out to all quarters to search them; and, by God's providence, before they began their pley, some fell on them, and made them part without a stroke. The counsell that night, with much adoe, gott them to a professed coldryfe friendship. We had resolved in the Commission of the Church, to have made both before the congregation acknowledge their fault; so much the more, as Sinclare and David Lesley, Eglintone and Glencarne, some dayes before; and some dayes after, Kenmure and Cranstone, had been on the like engagements: but other matters put that out of our heads.

The publishing of our printed Declaration put some of the Parliament on many hard thoughts of us; but the result of all was, the calling of six of us to conferr with six of their great committee upon a state of a question. For them were, Lauderdale, Lanerick, Humble, Lee, Archibald Sidserfe, and Sir Alexander Wedderburn, with the Chancellour; for us, Mr. David Calder-

wood, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. George Gillespie, Craighall, Libbertone, I, with the Moderator Mr. Robert Dowglafs. They produced to us a draught of a declaration, penned with a great deall of deliberation, by the counsell of many, but specially by Lanerick's pen. They had slandered us exceedingly, as opposite to all warre with the English Sectaries in any termes. To clear that mistake, I wrote, and put in diverse hands, Lanerick's among others, the paper which herewith I send yow. Their draught did endeavour to give pretty good satisfaction to most of our doubts; yet, after one day's advyement, we found it so unsatisfactorie, that themselves were content we should take it to our consideration to be corrected as we found expedient. Mr. Gillespie and my Lord Warristone had drawne ane oath of affociation, which pleased themselves well, but their opposites extremely ill, and their best friends but so and so, when best corrected. In our draught we took so much of their declaration, and our friends oath of affociation, as we thought made a state of a question which should be satisfactorie to all; and here, to my great joy, were we on the very nick of a cordiall agreeance: but behold ane most unhappie accident, which did put us to, and yet hes kepted us in, a discord almost irreconcilable. There was a great desyre in the cheife that were for ane engagment, to seafe on Berwick and Carlisle, both for the extreme great advantage of these places, and also to beginne the warre, for the encouraging of our friends abroad, and wakening our people at home. This they counted no wrong, nor invasion of England; their quarrell being only against the Sectaries and their adherents, for vindicating of our Covenant, for the rescue of the King, and Parliament, and oppressed Covenanters. Ane indiction needed not against this enemy: the townes of England, for our passing and safe retreat in the prosecution of the common cause, ought to be patent; yet the most of us were averse from this designe, and had long kept it off. In a few dayes we found the Parliament, two parts for one, otherwise affected than we wished. So soon as it was constituted, there was ane inclination to make a close committee for the greatest affaires: six of every state were named. So long as their power was not determined, we were not startled; but so soone as they gott ane absolute power to doe what was fitting for the safetie of the Kingdome, in relation to Berwick and Carlisle, incontinent all was alarmed. Forty-seven of the trustiest members of Parliament did protest against that vote. The protestation was not admitted:

you have the copy here ; but the protesters thereafter did keep themselves together ; and albeit the least, yet they kept the reputation of the best part of the Parliament. Privately and publicly we gave warning, that the passing of such a vote would break us irrecoverably ; but we were beleev'd too late. My Lord Callander's partie were so furiously earnest to possess Berwick, and to begin action, that they threatened to desert Hamilton and his friends if they did delay that vote any longer : so it passed, notwithstanding our earnest intreatings, and our friends protestations to the contrary. The issue was, we refused to conferr any more on the state of ane question. The protesters confirmed their union. Many of the shires sent in to supplicat against all engagement, unless the Kirk were satisfi'd in the state of a question. David Lesley, and Holborne, with the rest of the officers, declared their resolution, not to move without our satisfaction. After some dayes contest, we found a great change. The Chancellour, that had hitherto been too farr for the engagers, offended with their unreasonable proceedings, came almost wholly off them to us his old friends and best. The chieff of the Duke's friends came to entreat us to accept all we could desyre, to state the question according to our mind, to be assured to have such in our armies and committees as we lyked, to give over the surprize of Berwick, and all acting by the close committee. These things, by the Thesaurer and others, were offered to us, with many faire and earnest expressions. As yet we are not satisfi'd by words, and some of our leaders are likely never to be satisfi'd, and resolves to trust to nothing which their opposits can doe or say, so long as this Parliament, which they pronounce unfound, is in being. The danger of this rigiditie is lyke to be fatal to the King, to the whole Isle, both Churches and States : we mourne for it to God. Though it proceed from two or three men at most, yet it seems remedieless : if we be kepted from a present civill warre, it's God, and not the wisdom of our most wise and best men, which will save us. I am more and more in the mind, that it were for the good of the world, that Churchmen did meddle with Ecclesiastick affaires only ; that were they never so able otherwise, they are unhappie statesmen ; that as Erastiane Cæsaropapisme is hurtfull to the Church, so ane Episcopall Papa-Cæsarisme is unfortunate for the State. If no man were wiser than I am, we should not make so many scruples to settle the throne, and pull down the sectaries. Never more high and more dan-

gerous questions in Scotts hand: what the conclusion shall be, a few days will declare.

While we are sticking in these labyrinths, one of our number, not of the most rigid, falls on the overture to propone the Commission of the Generall Assemblies desires altogether immediately to the Parliament, wherein, if we gott satisfaction, we were to goe on as they desyred us, to state a question. The motion was approved. His draught of eight articles, after some changes of it to the worfe, was past, and presented, in name of the Commission of the Church, by Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Robert Ramfay, and I. For answer, the eighteen of their first great committee, with the addition of six more, twenty-four in all, the prime members of Parliament, were appointed to conferr with us on these our desyres. The Commission, to these seven who had mett before with the sub-Committee of Parliament upon their Declaration, added Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. Andrew Cant. On the Thursday, before noon, they went through the first five of our desyres. All the sticking was on the fyfth, wherein we pressed to have the Malignants who should ryse in armes by themselves declared enemies, as well as Sectaries. This was contrare to the King's agreement with some, and their intentions, who, without the help of Malignants, made the worke impossible. At last we carried the article. In the afternoone we had almost differed on the sixtb, the King's oath to consent to ane Act of Parliament for enjoyning the Solemn League before his restitution to the exercise of the royall power. We pressed him not to take the Covenant; but whatever his conscience was, we conceived him bound to consent to the necessarye lawes of the Kingdome. Thus his good-dame Queen Mary assented to the Acts of Parliament for the Reformed Religion. This also did passe for the substance; only a committee was appointed to smoothe some expressions about the King's restitution. We had no power to recede from any word, and so would not be at any committee for changing any expression, but believed the Commission of the Kirk would not flick at words, if the matter were well secured. On the seventh article, for managing the war by confident hands, there was not much debate. We could here fall on no words which might not be granted, and yet little for our advantage; albeit on this was the greatest of all our difficulties. Upon the constitution of the army depended all our human safety, hope, and securitie of whatever else was granted. It

goes now fo, that no truſt remains to any words or oathes ; except therefore force were in the hands of our friends, we reſolved not to flurr ; and yet we could not crave any ſuch particulare, but had neceſſitie to have it done one way or other. Some underhand did move to have the Duke Generall. Callander and his friends were carefull to free us of this feare ; for generally all but the Duke's owne followers doubted much the ſinceritie of his intentions, either for Religion or for the King ; albeit I confeſſe, when ever I heard him or his Brother ſpeake in earneſt, they ſeemed to me to give ample ſatiſfaction ; but as yet they have not the fortune to be much believed by many. Ochiltrie's buſineſs ſticks ſtill in the throats of ſome. Upon too great probability, Callander, by his owne partie, which is great, is wiſhed Generall : but his inflexibilitie to ſerve againſt Montroſe, upon the ſenſe of private injuries, whereby indelible marks of diſgrace were printed on the face of Scotland, and his very ambiguous proceedings in England at Hereford and elfewhere, make us that we dare not put our lives and religion in his hand. David Leſley and Holborne are more beloved by us. The old Generall, for all his infirmitie, is acceptable ; alſo Middleton, and the Generall of the artillery, will not be refuſed. In private we were aſſured theſe ſhould be the Generall Officers ; but we will not be aſſured without fight, and our maine difficultie will be upon the committees to govern the State and Army in the intervalls of the ſeſſions of Parliament. If herein they permitt them whom we count truſtie, to have full power, when they can carry what they will in Parliament, it's a great wonder ; yet if in this we gett no ſatiſfaction, nothing elſe will ſatiſſie : we expect little debate on the eighth article, to have ane oath for all this ; but herein we were peremptor, and hopes to obtaine. It was my wiſh, that only the Parliament and officers of the army ſhould ſweare, and that the body of the land ſhould be put to no more oaths ; but it ſeems this aſſociation muſt be no leſſe ſworne than our two former Covenants.

While thus farr we had proceeded on Thurſday, I thought we were as good as agreed ; fo I reſolved to go home to-morrow ; for the opening of our provinciall Synod lay on me as the laſt Moderator ; alſo a new very dangerous infection was broken up in Glaſgow, and come to my very gates. Upon theſe reaſons, after eight weeks ſtay, I gott leave from the Commiſſion to returne ; albeit very hardly, for our buſineſs wes not fully cloſed, and I had immediate acceſſe and truſt with fundry of the moſt leading men, with whom

I was esteemed to do no evill service ; while others, by their way, did irritate more : Also we had resolved to have reason of Mr. William Colvill and his followers for their great and dangerous infolency, not so much in their open contempt neglecting to read our Declaration, as in their sermons and private negotiations, both with noblemen and ministers, to frame a faction for dividing of our Church, wherein the peremptor rigidity of some, the too great simplicity of others, and the evill talents of more, gave them occasion to make too great progresse ; but having staid till I declared myselfe abundantlie against these men, and helped to bring them low, and put them in a way either to recant or be censured, I came away on the Fryday morning, and to my owne house at night, with one shower from Falkirk, a wearie Monsieur. The Colledge was almost totally dissolved for fear of the plague. My little dady was extremely sicke, of a suddenn, so I found great appearance of the pest in my house ; yet against the morrow, the Lord, on as great a suddenn, restored my child to her full health. Since, we are waiting on the Lord's pleasure, what he will doe with Glasgou, whether yet it may be spared from the plague, whereof I am not desperat ; and what shall be the next act of the long tragedie among us. Much speech of the Prince's coming : as yet our affaires are not in a condition to receive him as I could wish ; but ere long he may be welcome. I cannot, of certaine knowledge, hear any thing of that youth, whereby I can conjecture, on any hand, what to hope or feare. His Mother's unkindness to the Queen of Boheme and her sones is visibly retaliate in the eyes of all Europe. My best wishes are for the restitution of King James's family : before this, I see no appearance of any solid peace, either to Germany or Brittain. This long letter shall be a ground of a challenge, if yow wryte so rare and so short as this while bygone. Farewell.

Glasgou, this 28th of March 1648.

I have oft proponed to yow, which yet I repeat, that it would be a good service to schollars, and profitable for printers, if yow could, by yourselfe and friends there, stir up some of your Amsterdamm and Leiden stationers to print by the alone, the Chaldee Bible with a Latine version interlinear, or otherwise, in one or two volumes ; Buxtorph's Bible, and the new Paris one would furnish good helpe for the right printing ; also ane Arabick Bible and

a Syriack Bible interlinear, and well printed, would not fail to sell; and the Paris Bible, which few doe or may buy, would furnish a good prototype. It would likewise doe much good if young Buxtorph would print over his Father's *Mafora* and Rabbin commentares, in one book, in common Hebrew letters, with the points and Latine exposition. Give me an account if any thing may be gotten done of this kind.

FOR MR. Z[ACHARY] B[OYD.]

WE are to intimate that this present Engagement, as it is stated in the Parliament's Declaration, is holden by the Kirk to be unlawfull upon these three grounds especially:—

1. That the end of it is to bring the King to London with honour, freedom, and safety, without so much as craving from him any security for Religion, though he still declares himselfe as much for Episcopacie, and averse from our Covenant, as ever.

2. Because all the Maligants in England and Ireland are permitted to rise in all many armies as they can, and we refuse to take them as before for enemies, except they profess to oppose us or the Covenant; this quicklie makes our former enemies our masters.

3. The managing of this Warre is putt in the hands principallie of these men, whose bygone life and known professions declare they mind not religion; and they who have hitherto, in our bygone troubles, been most eminent instruments of God and the countrey, for the advancement of the worke of religion, and the liberty of the land, are shuffed by, and all power plucked out of their hands.

These and many more reasons make us, (who were most cordiall for a Warre, against the Sectaries of England and their adherents, for the vindication of our Covenant, for the delivrance of our oppressed brethren in England, for the rescuing of our King from his unjust imprisonment, and restoring of him to the exercise of his royall power, upon his performance of these necessary duties which the Parliaments of both Kingdomes did require from him; and for the preservation of our Church and State from the violence of that evill faction of sectaries, whose principles drive at the evert-

ing of the foundations of all government, both of Church and State of the whole Isle : We are hindered notwithstanding,) that we cannot joyne in the present Engagement, which is said to be against them, since it's evident that the course now taken is either not truly against them, but will tend to their establishment, as many fear, or else for setting up in their place our former enemies, for the overthrow of all we have been doing these eleven years. So in our judgement, none who will seriously mind religion and a good conscience, will joyne either in person, goods, or counsel, in this undertaking ; and if by violence they be drawn to give any assistance, they must be content presently to suffer what may be put upon them, rather than to act any thing that may promote that which they esteem unlawfull.

FOR MR. M[ATTHEW] B[RISBANE.]

IF the discord goe on, it's humanly impossible to eschew either a grievous persecution, or a civil warre at home, and a total neglect of the pretended welfare of the King. For a remeed, I with the Parliament gave a good answer to our supplications, and suspended the levy for a fortnight, and appointed a conference betwixt a dozen of the wisest of both sides. I think we must have satisfaction in four things, in an explanatorie Declaration : 1. That the State will not take from the Church the antecedent judgement in any matter of religion. 2. That before the King's full freedom, they will crave of him security for Religion. 3. That we declare, as before, against Malignants in armes, without If's or And's. 4. That in the Armie and Committees, men of constant integritie may have much more power. Some things of this kind, I wish were offered, and that so soon as may be.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. JUNE 26TH [1648.]

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSIN,

SINCE my last, March 28th, I have heard nothing from you, nor long before. Our affaires since have had a great progress, but no inch to the better ; all appearance of any possibility to agree, daylie does more and more

evanith. A spirit of bitternefs, jealoufie, and mutuall contempt, grows on all hands, and the ftronger partie is begun to perfecute the weaker; and that evill is lyke much to increafe quicklie. The courfe of affaires may draw both, befide any intention, to doe the worft of that which has been objected to either as their defigne. The fectaries and malignants may fhortlie divide the whole Ifle, to the great danger and hurt of the King and the honeft Prefbyterians in both kingdomes. Our ftorm is yet but waxing; we can make but fmall judgement of its end.

When I clofed my laft to yow, as then I wrote, there was fome good hope of concord, a pretty good anfwer was expected to our eight defyres; but fome unhappie men made all thefe hopes to flee away. The Committee of twenty-four framed their anfwer, and gott it paff in ane Aët of Parliament, before it came to the Commiffion of the Kirk. They to whom the confideration of it was committed, looked fo narrowly into every word of it, that they found fnares in every other line, and not one of our eight defyres fatiffied. This much the Commiffion represented in a new paper, [and] added a new defyre, to declare againft the negative voice of the King, which the Commiffioners papers in England had fo much preffed. This draught of Mr. Ja[m]es G[uthrie's,] in the abfence of Mr. George G[illefpie,] was as ill taken when it came to the Parliament as any other, and fo was as good as laid afide, till in the large Declaration they gave it ane anfwer. In the mean time, they putt out the aët of pofture for fetting all the Kingdome in a defence againft invafion; but in few dayes comes out the aët of leavy, which, incontinent, allarumed all. The firft narrative was ill taken, a danger from the Malignants that had taken Berwick and Carlifle. The world knew there was no danger to us from them, for they had been with us in Edinburgh, and their enterprize upon Berwick and Carlifle was generally beleaved not to have been undertaken without fome of our privities. The aët therefore, before publifhing, was helped, grounding our leavy on the danger from the army of fectaries, which thefe furprifes would draw downe on our Borders; and in this there is lyke to be no falfe prophecy.

Here it was where our difference began firft to be irreconcilable. We flood on the managers of the warre as much as any one thing. The committees of fhyres, and crowners for the pofture, were indifferent; but when it came to the leavy, generally all the crowners of horfe and foot were

chofen as my Lords Hammilton and Callander lyked. Our friends here gott very little of their will; but the cope-stone was putt upon our despaire, when we found Hammilton and Callander, how much contrare foever one to another, yet at last, after there had been much speech and dealing of either to joyne with Argyle, and that, through whose fault I know not, had miscaried; at last I say, Hammilton and Callander did joyne too friendly to our prejudice, and that in these termes, besides other, that the Duke should be Generall, and the Earle his Lieutenant. Both of them to that time had been opposed to the employment of either; and so long as they had any hope of our compliance, both professed a great deale of willingness to continew the old generall officers, without any change, and each offered to marre the employment of the other; but when they could not draw our friends to ingage in any termes lyking them, then peremptorie they strooke hands, and went on without much more notice of us.

With threats and promises they moved old Lesley to lay downe his place. For a long time we had hopes the army, which wee had keepest from dissolving, should have been firme to us; but Middleton spoiled that our hope. All the officers had joyned in a supplication to the Parliament backing the desires of the Kirk. Had this been stood to, the designs of others had soon been broken; but Middleton, who long had shifted subscription, at last was willing to joyne, with an addition of a short postscript of the subscribers willingness notwithstanding to obey all the Parliament's directions. This commentare did so enervate the text, that our friends persuaded the officers to lay aside their petition, as that which was profitable for nothing, being clearlie emasculat by the postscript. From that day we lost the Army. David Lesley, by much dealing of many, was made willing to keep his place; yet afterward he repented, and gave it over; and so did Holborne, and diverse more of the most gallant of their officers, when they saw the Church's advyce totally neglected.

These things did grieve much the spirits of many, and I believe few more deeply than my owne, so that my health by griefe for many dayes was impaired; yet, by the importunitie of many, I was (before fully recovered) drawn back againe to Edinburgh. Then I found that matters totally were desperate. Lauderdaill with greif, the Thefaurer with many tears, told me, how fore against their heart they went the way now they were in, casting the

wyte on others ; who yet assured me, for their parts, that they found never any truth in the faire generall offers was made them, when it came to any particular. However, then the dyce was cast, every side were ingaged to go on in their own way.

The Declaration, long and well studied, and penned most by Lanerick, in very plausible termes, was offered to us. We appointed a committee for it. It was my advice to be short in observing, and to pitch but on the maine exceptions. On sundry we agreed, and what some offered of their own concepts I gott out ; yet falling to take physick, I was forced to keep my chamber ten days with a dangerous superpurgation. In this intervall Mr. Gillepsie, without much contradiction, gott in[to] his representation whatever either himfelfe or W[arritone] or G[uthrie] had collected, which made it tedious long, and in sundry things needlesse quarrellsome, and to come so late, that the Parliament, after ten days waiting for it, at Lauderdaill's cankered motion, commanded their Declaration to goe out without any more notice of what we had to say against it.

At this time a messenger went to the Parliament of England with fyve demands, craveing an answer peremptorie in fifteen dayes. That which they feared most was to ingage in any treaty. This we ever pressed, but they thought it needlesse, since they quarrelled not with the Parliament, but with the army and their adherents, with whom they were not obliged to treat, and losse the season of the English motions at home. The rumour of our warre made great sturrs in many parts both of England and Ireland, and put the Parliament to alter much of their former way, to grant London their militia, the Tower, the guard of the Parliament as before, the freedome of their imprisoned Aldermen, the recalling of the eleven members to their places, the restoreing the impeached Lords, the making Warwick Admirall of the Navy : the Army also was forced to divide ; Cromwell to Wales, where yet he sticks ; Fairfax to the north ; but in his march he was recalled to suppress the Kentish : The most of the shires were on their feet. Had not our unhappie discords marred our expedition ; had we with a small army, with any unanimity, but appeared on the Border in time, appearandy, without strokes, we might have gotten for the King, for our friends, for ourselves, what we pleased ; but our fatall discords were as well known at London as at Edinburgh, so leasure is taken by Fairfax to quiet Kent and Essex, and

by Cromwell to hold down Wales, and by others to keep in Cornewall. Lambert in Yorkshire had time to keep back Langdale from York and Lancashire; and great pains are taken to joine the Presbyterians and the Independents against all the ryfers in the shires, and our army, as against Malignants. If this conjunction goe on, both the King and our Nation is in a hard taking.

In the mean time the Parliament and Commission proceed in their paper-differences. Their Declaration and our Representation are both printed. They goe on to act, we to preach, against the lawfullness of the Engagement as it was stated. The randevoufes are appointed for the shires against the 21st of May. Many presbyteries, synods, burghs, shires, gave in supplications the first of June, to delay the leavy till the Church gott satisfaction. Our poor towne, still singular in that unhappines, is made the first example of suffering. All of us, the towne-ministers, went up to supplicat the Duke in Hamilton, in the name of the Presbyterie, to delay the lifting of our people till our supplications were answered by the Parliament. I spoke oft, and at length, to his Grace and Excellency, as Moderator of the Presbyterie. We gott courteous and civill words enough; but deeds very bitter. Incontinent all our magistrates and towne-counsell, that same night, were summoned to answer to the Parliament, for not keeping with their men the randevous; a fault common to them with all their neighbour townes and shires, yea with the whole kingdome well near; yet they were all cast in the tolbooth, and kept there diverse dayes; and because they professed scruple of conscience to further the leavy, they were all deprived of their places, and a commission sent to the old counsell that before was removed, to elect new magistrates; who made lesse scruple, than I wish, to sitt downe and name Colline Campbell Provost, John Anderfone, James Tran, William Neilson, Baillies; and these, for a counsell, took the old casheered men with a very little change: so great greefe is amongst the new faction in our towne, and too great contentment in the old, to see themselves restored to their places by the same men and means they were casheered, the Parliament putting them in, and others out, only for following the advyce of their ministers and Commission of the Church.

But this is not all our misery. Before this change, some regiments of horse and foot were sent to our towne, with orders to quarter on no other

but the magistrates, counsell, and session, and their lovers. These orders were exercised with rigour: on the most religious people of our towne, hudge burdens did fall; on some ten, on some twenty, on some thirty fojourns, and more, did quarter; who, besides their meat and drink, wine and good cheer, and whatever they called for, did exact cruelie their daylie pay, and much more. In ten dayes they cost a few honest, but mean people, above forty thousand pounds [Scotish money], besides plundering of these whom necessity forced to flee from their houses. Our losse and danger was not so great by James Grahame.

No relief gott we, but by a greater mischief. Many yeomen in Clydesdail, upon fear to be leaved by force, had fled from their houses to Loudoun hill, and their had mett in a body of some hundred horse and foot. Sundry of the fojourns who had left the army, joyned with them. Much speech began of a resistance in the West. Too many ministers, both east and west, were said to be for it, if there should appear a lykelihood of a party. For my selfe, I was cleare against all such thing: I thought we had neither a just cause nor a good authority for any such matter, and the furthest we might goe was no more than suffering. While we are on these debates, Callander and Middleton comes west on the Saturday 10th of June. About a fortnight before, Argyle had mett with Eglintoun and Cassillis at Irwin: this meeting gave a shew to the talke of a resistance in the West; Fyfe also seemed to look that way: but it appears now well, that the named noblemen, whatever they mett for, did conclude of no such thing; for Argyle presently went home to Inverary, and Eglintoun declared himselfe willing to let his men be leaved. However, Callander made haste to make the West secure. The Clydesdail men came, on the Saturday, to Mauchline to communicate: that night Callander lay at Pasley. On Monday he made a randevous at Stewarton, of one thousand six hundred good horse, and above two thousand foot, at ten houres; from thence he marched to Mauchline, sending Middleton before him with three hundred horse. The noblemen and gentlemen of the sherrifdom of Aire had sitten late on the Saturday at a committee in Riccartoun: finding that Fyfe had yielded, that Argyle was farr off and quiet, and Callander with ane army in their bosome, they resolved to lay aside all thoughts of resistance, and of this advertised the people at Mauchline. They notwithstanding would not dissolve, but after the sermon

in the morning of Monday, some twelve hundred horse and eight hundred foot, with eight ministers, goes out to Mauchline-moore; gentlemen or officers very few was among them. While they are about to choyse some, Middleton appears: they expected no enemy in haste, so they were amazed at the sight. The ministers went to Middleton, and capitulated for the safety of all, except the sojourns who had left their colours, whereof were one hundred or two. This written capitulation the ministers did carry to the people, and persuaded to their power their disbanding. The most of the men of Kyle and Cunninghame were content to goe, but the sojourns and Clydesdail men would needs fight. While they are more than an houre in this confused uncertainty, and sundry crying to fight, Middleton makes a few of his horse to charge; but the people presently fled. His sojourns abstained from killing, only fell a taking horse, armes, and purses. A troupe of the people fleeing to a bridge, and missing the way, were forced to stand; they turned on the sojourns and fought very stoutly. Here was the most of the slaughter; near forty here fell: some say as many of the troupers as of the people. Middleton himself was sore put to it by a smith: he gott some wounds; and confesses, had he not stabbed the smith, (though not deadly,) while he was bringing on him too great a stroke, he had undoubtedly killed him. Many of the people were wounded. By the time Callander and the army came up, the people were dispersed. They speake as if the Clydesdail horse were gone to Galloway, with a mind yet to fight; but I believe it not. There is indeed in our people a great animosities put in them, both by our preaching and discourse; also by the extream great oppression of the sojourns; so that, it fears me, if Lambert be come to Carlisle with fresh men, and have put Langdale into the town, as they say, so soon as our army shall be intangled with the English, many of our people rise on their backs. To prevent this, they have past a severe, and, as I think, an unjust and tyrannous Act of Parliament, to put all the subjects of the Kingdom to subscribe their readines with life and estate, to further the execution of the acts of this Parliament, meaning above all, the act of the levy, which the Church hes so much contradicted as unlawfull; also to declare that the execution of the acts of this Parliament, are the most necessary and fittest means to remeedy our troubles, and preserve religion: and that all who shall not subscribe this much, without delay, are justly to be holden enemies to the common cause, religion, and coun-

they. We think the best part of the land will never subscribe this, and so that all of us who shall refuse shall be at their mercy. If I be put to this subscription, as readily I may shortly, I think I may once more come to you, and that to remaine longer. A service to any of your regiments, or any company of English merchants, will be very welcome to me; which you will be thinking of; for however yet they let ministers alone, and I have as much favour as any other, yet I think our troubles may so increase, that I may be glad to be out of Scotland. It seems many of our people may incline to venture their lives, either alone or with the English army, if it come near, against them who now are employed; I am not for any such matter. For feare of Sectaries, we have not joynd with Malignants; if for feare of Malignants, we should joine with Sectaries, it would be to me abominable: we who resolve neither to joine with malignants nor sectaries, may fall into great inconvenients; but the Lord's will be done.

Our approaching Generall Assemblies is like to be a dangerous one. The Moderator's task will be hard: I am in doubt if I shall be at his election; the last time I was neare it; I am feared more for it now; I incline by absence to eschew it. You have here the posture of our affaires as now they stand: I think they shall be much worse before they amend. It's some refreshment to us to look a little abroad. If Melander's death, and the working of the Bavarian army, near Augsburg, be true, I will be glad: no prince in the world I wish more to be humbled than that wicked fox of Bavaria. I pity the great and unexpected misfortune of Guise in Naples. What means your Zealanders to dissent from the peace with Spaine? Dreame they that the French would be a better or so good a neighbour? You never wrote to me so rarely as these twelve moneths: help this fault.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. AUGUST 23D 1648.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSIN,

WHAT is become of you since your journey to Dantzick? I long much to hear, desyring earnestly to know your safe return, and understand how affaires goe in these bounds. How things goe here since my last, I give you this account. So soon as the motion in the West was crushed, which now I

find had proven a very high and dangerous commotion, had Callander delayed but two or three days to see to it, the Duke with diligence did draw his forces together to the Border, both to ease the poor country of their free quarter and grievous oppression, as also to put Lambert from hazarding the regaining of Berwick and Carlisle. The leaguer lay long about Penrith and Appleby before the Irish troops, and foot-regiments from the north, came to him. At last they became a very considerable force; the greatest that came from Scotland since the beginning of these troubles, though far from the number, as I conceive, of twenty-two thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, which common report made them. Never ane army was so great a charge to the countrey; the foot-fojour for leavy-money, cloathes, and armes, costing generally one hundred pounds, the horsemen three hundred merks, and their free quarter, being ane unlimited plundering of many very good and pious people. Our State hes now found, which scarcely could have been believed, that, contrare to the outmost endeavours of the Church, and all their friends, they can raise and maintain ane army, and doe what they will at home and abroad. The wisdom of some of us has made that practick to passe, and the mystery of our weakness to be divulged much sooner than needed. All-ways what the end will be, a little time will try. They are now in Lancashire; Lambert hes no force to look upon them; the trained bands of the shires joyne not with him. Cromwell, with the few he could bring from Pembroke Castle, having marched mid-way, is forced to returne to Wales, where the Lord Biron did raise a party so soone as he had left it. Fairfax is yet at Colchester. It seems the Houses, and City, and Committee of the shires, have of purpose withdrawne assistance, that Fairfax at Colchester, and Cromwell at Pembroke, should lye till their forces might melt away, and become contemptible. If London permitt the Prince to lye still in the Downes, and be master of their trade, it cannot but breed great alterations quickly. That the cursed army of Sectaries should evanish in smoke, and their friends in the Houses, City, and Countrey, be brought to their well-deserved ruine; that the King and his family should be at last in some neernes to be restored to their dignity and former condition, I am very glad: but my fear is great, that his restitution shall come by these hands, and be so ill prepared, that the glorious reformation we have suffered so much for, shall be much endangered, and the most that shall be obtained be but ane Erastian weak Presbyterie, with

a tolleration of Poperie and Episcopacie at Court, and of diverse sects elsewhere. We, who might have been the cheefe instruments to have stopped this evill, are for the time so farr at odds with our State, Army, and King, that the despight which I feare all three hes at us, is lyke to further much that evill in England, and draw it ere long on Scotland also; but the Lord can easly disappoint our fears. Our State, on pretence to attend to the Prince, whom, by my Lord Lauderdale, according to the agreement at the Isle of Wight, they are inviting hither, but really to keep downe infurrections of people in the West, are leavying one thousand five hundred horse more. They suspect deadly, that the dissenters in Parliament, with the help of the Church, may raise the countrey, if their army were once deeply engaged or worsted in England. Of this I know no ground; bot men who are conscious of occasioning much griefe to many, falls in needlesse feare, and by the means of preventing, draws on their deservings. Our condition for the time is sadd: The pestilence in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh also; the continuance of very intemperate rain upon the cornes; the irreconcilable differences of Church and State, looking towards a very great persecucion of them who have been the best instruments both of Church and State, are great signs of the wrath of God; especially the hearts of the body of people being evidently hardened, and the minds lykewayes of the ministerie diverted from pressing that humiliation and mourning, which the times call for above all things else.

But leaving the State, our General Assemblie sat down on Wednesday July 12th. On the Saturday before, I had been tormented with a paine in my tooth, more vehemently than ever with any other paine: this put me from preaching on Sunday, and ryding on the Monday. This farr I was glad that I had a true excuse for my not appearing the first day in the Assemblie, whence I had resolved, however, to have been absent. Mr. Robert Dowglas and Mr. Robert Blair preached well at the fast. The Assemblie sat till near eight at night choising their Moderator. Every man's addition of three to the Moderator's list, albeit a equall and satisfactory way, yet it proves very longsome. Mr. Robert Dowglas named for his two, Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. George Gillepie; the Assemblie added Mr. David Dickson, and Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. John Smith. Many named me; but I was well away. Mr. Robert Blair was doubtles the meetest man;

but because lately he had moderate, he gott few votes ; Mr. Andrew Cant gott two ; Mr. David Dickson none : it went betwixt Mr. George Gillespie and Mr. Smith. Mr. George did much deprecate the burden, as he had great reason, both for his health's sake, and other great causes ; yet he did carry it.

The Session on Thursday was spent on the nomination of the Committees. In all prior Assemblies, some few of us mett the night before the Assembly in Warristone's chamber, with Argyle, the Chancellour, and some others of our wisest friends, to consider about the choosing of the moderator, committees, and chiefe points of the Assembly. This preparation was now to our hurt necessarily omitted : Argyle and the Chancellour were both absent in their owne houses, to eschew the subscription of the bond of maintainance ; Warristone did not appeare, not only for that cause, but also lest he should have been pressed to have pleaded against the ministers :—for the eight [seven] ministers present at Mauchline-moore were summoned to answer as raisers of that tumult : Mr. William Guthrie, Mr. Matthew Mowat, and Mr. Thomas Wylie, were dissuaded to appear ; Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, Mr. John Nevay, Mr. William Adair, Mr. Alexander Blair, did appear, and under their hand protested, that, directly nor indirectly, they had not persuaded the people to meet there that day. When for diverse weeks they had been putt off from day to day, they were at last dismissed to a new citation. Allways the good Advocate, being resolved in his mind, if he had been put to it, to have pleaded for the ministers, and not against them, was, with much ado, moved by his friends to lurk for some time till the storme went over.

The want of these private preparatory meetings, which the Moderator's health permitted him not to attend, did make our Assembly needlessly long, and very tedious ; for besides that the Moderator's way of enquireing at so many before every voice, was not for dispatch, his unacquaintance with the affaires of the committees before they came to the face of the Assembly, made the reports unrype and unadvysed, and so oft needfull, after much debate in the Assembly, to be recommitted. The committee of prime importance was that of publick affaires. Upon this the prime men were putt ; but so mixed, that the farr most part was of the most rigid disposition. When Mr. Robert Ramfay, and some others, were moved to be added to the Moderator's list of this committee, it was peremptorily refused, upon

this pretence, that he was upon another committee. By this means, were got out of that meeting whomever the Moderator pleased, and on it whom he would.

For examination of the proceedings of the late commission, Mr. John Moncrieffe, and Mr. John Row, and some who had not before been commissioners, were named. Upon the feare, that they who had corrupted the Parliament, should have been alyke active to have procured commissioners to our Assemblée conforme to their mind, it was carefully provided, that in all Presbyteries they should be chosen who were most zealous for the Covenant, and for the proceedings of the Commission of the Kirk, and for the maintainance thereof: so this Assemblée did consist of such whose mind carried them most against the present Engagement, which was the great and only question for the tyme. The ruling elders were, Cassilis, Louthian, Balmerinoch, Cowper, Torphichen, Kirkcudbright, Angus, Creigh, Moncreife, Nether-Pollock, &c. Southeske and Loure were also commissioners; but Loure appeared not, and Southeske finding himself putt on a mean committee, appeared no more. The chief contest betwixt us and the Committee of Estate, was lyke to be about the work of this committee for the Commission-book. They sent in Glencairne to desyre us delay to approve the proceedings thereof, till they had prepared their considerations against them. The custome of the Assemblée, according to prior acts, was to examine with the first the Acts of the Commission of the preceding Assemblée. The exceptions the State took at their proceedings were such as made their persons incapable to voice in the Assemblée till they were cleared: now the men were a great and chief part of this Assemblée; also the matter in question, the Engagement, was of a great concernment, and had for many moneths been in agitation betwixt the Church and State; so that long time needed not to sett down any thing concerning it. So soon, therefore, as the report of that committee was ready, it was thought meet, without longer delay than ane night or two, to receive and vote it: All without a contrary vote was approven. This angered our Statefmen, and made them see, that all hope to make the Assemblée divert from the way of the former commission, was desperate.

The first ten or twelve days we had but one session in the day, the afternoone being given to the committees to prepare work for the Assemblée. In our committee for publick affaires, at our first meeting, I found more work

cutted out, and putt in other hands, than I well lyked. I did agree, that we should goe on as far as the Commiffion of the Church had done againft the Engagement; but I wifhed no further progrefse; yet it was proponed, and carried, to make a new publick declaration againft it; yea, to have a declaration to England for the fame effect. The drawing of thefe was committed to a fub-committee of fix, whereof I was glad to be none; but I was not content, when, to Mr. David Catherwood, Mr. Robert Kerr, and Mr. John Smith, were joined Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. John Livingftone, and Mr. John Macklelland; Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Dickfon, were afterward added; and I was required to be added, but peremptorly refused; for my mind was not very forward for the wrytes they were to draw.

Fryday and Saturday were fpent on trying the commiffions. Thefe of the Presbyteries of Dunfe and Chirnfyde were rejected; the one had chofen Mr. Samuell Dowglafs, moderator, the fame day that a complaint of him had come to them from the Commiffion of the Church, for his never appearing there but once, and that to difsent from the Church's declaration againft the Engagement. The other Presbyterie's commiffion was rejected, becaufe they had putt in a ruling elder, who had entered a wrytten proteftation in the Presbyterie againft the cafes of the late faft, relating to the Engagement. The difaffection of thefe two Presbyteries was much fpoken of; therefore it was thought fitt to appoint a vifitation, confifting of the moft zealous brethren of Edinburgh, Lothian, and Merfe, to cognofce and cenfure their carriage as they found caufe. The lyke courfe was taken with the Presbyteries of Stirling and Dunkell: they had not been exact enough in trying the alleadged malignancy of one of their number. This occafioned a vifitation of them lykewife. Mr. Harie Guthrie, a very bold man, but in this and the late Affemblies very quiet, gave in a petition againft this courfe; but rather than to make dinn in vaine, took it up againe. In our committee we had, thefe dayes, fome reasonings about the commiffions from Burrows: none of us was much for the thing, but all for tollerating of them, for fear of offending the Burrows at this time; only the commiffion of Edinburgh was thought to be wrong; but none offered themfelves from that towne. The difcord betwixt their Magiftrates and Minifters was much more than I defired to fee: their spleen againft one or two of their minifters was great. The wilfullnefs of fome rafh men to have Sir John Smith out of his place hes coft us deare.

Since they have gotten the Magistracy of that Towne, who, to their power, hes carried all things there to the mind of them whom we little affected, one of their great cares hes been, to keep their kirks rather vaiking, than to plant them with any whom they lyked not. In choifing of minifters and commiffioners they took a new way: their commiffioners for the Affembly they named in their Towne-Councell; their minifters alfo, as patrons, they elected there: they were content to propone the men elected, to the Seffion of that church where they were to ferve, but to no other. Much debate there was with them in a committee appointed for that end; but the refult was, that the commiffioners elected in their Councell fhould have the confent of their great Seffion, which is their fix Seffions joined; alfo the minifters whom they name in Councell, as patrons, fhall have the confent of the fix Seffions before they be prefented to the Prefbyterie. And in regard of their neglect to fupply their vacant places, now of a long time, the Affembly did vote fix, whom they recommended to the great Seffion to choife four of them, and to obtaine their orderly transportations from the Commiffion of the Church. The men were, Mr. John Macklelland, Mr. George Hutchefone, Mr. Hugh Mackell, Mr. James Ferguffon, Mr. James Naefmith, and Mr. Robert Traile. All this hes added to the towne of Edinburgh's offence, and is thought will not further the plantation of their vacand places.

One of the Affembly's committees I have ever been againft, though yet without fruit. The towne of Edinburgh is fupplied with the ableft men of the kingdom; their chiefe fervice fhould be in Affembly-time. The cuftome ever has been, that fo long as the Affembly fitts, all thefe men are idle, and all their kirks muft be provided by members of the Affembly. This makes many weake and ill-accomodate countrey preachers to fill thefe eminent roomes, at moft confiderable times. This made the pulpits of Edinburgh be provided for on the Sundays, and week thereafter, worfe than needed.

On Monday allwayes we have the forenoon free, becaufe many goes out on the Sunday to the churches about. That tyme I fpent in a meeting with the Univerfities, and gott them to meet twice or thrice more, where we debated, and concluded the moft part of the overtures, whereof yow have here a double. I intreate yow read the preface of Burgerfdick to his Logicks. I find, that twenty yeares agoe, the profeffors of Leyden, with the confent of the fynods of Holland, have agreed on a courfe, to be taught, both

in grammar-schools and colledges, which the magistrate hes commanded to be every where but one. I pray yow try at Apollonius, or the school-maſter of Middleburgh, or ſome other, if it be ſo, and what that courſe is, which yow will ſet downe, and ſend over here to me in your firſt letter.

The three or four next ſeſſions were ſpent much of them in votes and debates upon papers betwixt us and the States. Glencairne and others preſented to us a petition from the Duke and the army for miniſters, which they ſeconded; lykewiſe they offered all ſecurity for religion they were able; and for removinge the preſent differences, they required a conference with us. To all this they required a preſent anſwer; at leaſt before we paſt on the tryell, in order to approbation of the Commiſſion-book, againſt which they profeſſed they had diſerſe new exceptions. To all theſe we gave anſwers in wryte. The proceedings of the commiſſioners were unanimouſly approven; a conference was appointed; eight miniſters named, and ſome elders; the army's letter referred to our committee. The State neglected the conference, ſince we had approven the proceedings of the Commiſſion, and had reſolved, that no ſecurity to religion was poſſible ſo long as the Engagemēt did ſtand; only they mett once for a faſhion, and gave in a paper craving ſcripture from us for the unlawfullneſs of the Engagemēt, and our meddling with matters of warre and peace. This paper was referred to our committee. In ane afternoone ſome few of us mett, and ſett downe our ſcripturall grounds for both theſe points; but thought fit to put them in the Declaration rather than in a ſeverall paper.

Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. John Smith were willing to draw the declaration, leiſt it ſhould fall in Mr. James Guthrie's briſk hand. I obteſted Mr. Blair, that he would be carefull of two things; one, to be full againſt the ſectaries; another, to beware that his draught carried any thing which, directly or indirecſtly, might carry us to a reſiſtance of the State. I knew, that the moſt of the leading men thought a reſiſtance by armes to the ways in hand lawfull enough, if the diſſenters in Parliament, or any conſiderable part of the Kingdome, had courage and probable force to act; but it was my greateſt care, that nothing ſhould be done or ſaid by the Aſſembly which might bear any ſuch thing; and this I obtained to my great contentment. There were two points ſomewhat fibb to this that I obtained alſo, but with much difficulty.

1. Sundry at diſerſe times moved to have it determined, if it was lawfull to

pay any monethly maintainance, ſince avowedly it was preſſed for the uſe of the army, which was unlawfull. I avowed the lawfullneſs of it, as of a tribute agreed upon by the State before this army was in being; and that Cæſar in conſcience muſt have his tribute, let him employ it to what uſes he thinks fitt. Alſo, if this were refuſed, the exciſe, the portion of annuelrents, and all other dues, which were employed for the ſervice of the army, behooved to be denied; which could not but make the State to take it by force, and the people to fight againſt their ſpoilers. At laſt we agreed to lay this queſtion aſyde. It was lykewiſe much preſſed, that ſuch as had been active for the Engagement ſhould be kept from the holy table; and, as I did think, the deſigne of ſome was to have our Stateſmen put under Church cenſures for their diligence in this Engagement. My mind in this yow have in a paper here by itſelfe. I gott it, by much ſpeech and private dealing, carried according to my mind.

But other things were carried over my head. It was moved, for the further clearing of the wickedneſs of the warre, to make a collection from the Com-miſſioners of all the Preſbyteries of the chief inſolencies committed by the ſojourns before they went from among us, and to put theſe in our declaration. I was willing they ſhould be collected to be complained of both to Church and State, and cenſured by both ſo ſeverely as poſſible; but was averſe to have them regiſtrate, for the infamy of the very nation, into our publick declaration. In this I was not heard. Alſo, when it was preſſed that miniſters ſilent, who did not preach againſt the Engagement, ſhould for this be depoſed, I wiſhed, if men were modeſt, and otherwiſe offended not, that this fault might carrie no more but ane rebuke; but not only it was made depoſition, but, by the motion of two or three men at moſt, it was carried againſt my mind, and of diverſe others, that the prior acts againſt depoſed miniſters for Malignancy ſhould be made more ſtrait: 1. That none of them ſhould be ever admitted to any Church whence a man for Malignancy was depoſed; but alſo, that they ſhould be kept from preaching till a Generall Aſſembly did open their mouth; and out of the miniſterie, while ane other Generall Aſſembly did find them fitt for a Church; alſo, if after their depoſition they meddled with any part of the ſtipend or glebe, it ſhould be excommunication to them. It was preſſed by ſome, that the not paying of the ſtipend to the next intrant, ſhould be excommunication to the patrons or tennants, who,

upon the Act of Parliament, paid it to him who was deposed for adhering to the State. This hardly was gotten avoided.

It was against the minds of fundrie to make a declaration to England at all; but this behooved to be. I was feared for Mr. James Guthrie his hand; and so I found I had reason: His draught was wanting of that which I thought was the chief thing it became us to say to them, if so we said any thing, a sharp complaint against the Sectarian army, and the Parliament's negligence to performe their part of the Covenant, which had brought on us all our present troubles: also it had some dangerous expressions, which I thought imported the rock I defyred to evite, calling our State, "A faction; yea, the mixed multitude that came out of Egypt; but the dissenters from the Engagement, the nation, and the Israel of God." With very much adoe I gott these helped, some in the committee, and others in the face of the Assembly.

I found the bent-faile of the spirits of some so much on the Engagement, that all things else were lyke to be neglected; therefore I pressed, that the Doctrinalls, as most proper for us, which the last Generall Assembly had recommended to all the Presbyteries, might be taken to consideration. I gott in the Catechise; but no more: we passed this, both the Larger and Shorter, as a part of uniformitie; but we thought the Shorter too long, and too high for our common people and children, and so put it in Mr. D. Dickson's hand, to draw it shorter and clearer. Of this he was carefull, and presented us with a draught before the end of the Assembly, which truly was very good and exact; but yet so high and long, that it was recommitted to Mr. John Levingstone: he was purposed to remitt it to the ministers of Edinburgh.

We had three things more of great concernment to have past, and might easily have concluded them all, had not our time been worse spent, the Directorie of Government, the Theorems against Erastians, and the Psalmes. The first, a very excellent and profitable piece, the fourth part of our uniformitie, was shuffled by through the pertinacious opposition of Mr. David Calderwood, and two or three with him. Four or five things we all agreed in to except, in that wryte, from our consent; but that which grieved Mr. David was the matter of Church feffions, which he maintains to have no divine right in particular, but to be only as a committee from the Presbyterie, to execute these acts of jurisdiction which the Presbyterie thinks fitt to committ thereto.

Leaft in the end of the Affembly, when many were gone, we fhould come to fo grave a debait, or rather, leaft at a time of our fo great strife with the State, we fhould fall a jarring among ourfelves, it was thought beft to refer the whole wryte to the next Affembly. Upon the fame ground, the Theorems were alfo remitted. The Pfalmes were often revifed, and fent to Prefbyteries: had it not been for fome who had more regard than needed to Mr. Zacharie [Boyd]'s Pfalter, I think they had paffed through in the end of the Affembly; but thefe alfo, with almoft all the references from the former Affemblies, were remitted to the next.

One feffion was fpent on encouraging Mr. David Calderwood to perfyte his Church ftory,¹ and to confider Mr. Andrew Kerr² for his good and great fervice to them. Both gott a teftimonie of our favour:³ eight hundred pounds yearly for Mr. David Calderwood, and one thoufand yearly to Mr. Andrew Kerr, with a gratuity of five thoufand merks for bygones, were appointed by the Affembly to be payed to them out of the Church's five hundred pounds penfion; but we cannot, for any requeft, gett one penny payed by the Thefaurer, and have little hopes to gett any more in hafte. Much fpeech we had of a [Hi]ftory of the late troubles. In every province fome were named to gather materials to be fent in to Mr. John Smith. The publick papers, in wryte or print, were defired to be all put together; but I expect no good from all thefe motions. If you would goe on with your Hiftory, I fhould be very glad of it.

We were fafh'd with the opening of the mouths of depofed minifters. Poor Mr. Patrick Hamiltone, in the very nick when the Affembly was to grant all his defire, was rejected by his oune unhappinefs. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too invective againft the Church's proceedings.

¹ His History of the Church of Scotland: *Vide* vol. ii. p. 374.

² Mr. Andrew Ker, Advocate, fon of John Ker, Minifter of Prestonpans, was for fome time Warriston's depute, and then his fucceffor, as Clerk to the General Affembly. There was another perfon of the fame name, alfo an Advocate, who was appointed one of the Commiffioners for the Administration of Juftice in Scotland, under the Protectorate of Cromwell.

³ "This modification (as it is called in the Index of the printed Acts of Affembly) to Mr. David Calderwood for his publick employments;" and to "the Clerk of the Affembly for his fervices," was of course in Scotch money, or equivalent to £66:13:4 Sterling for Calderwood, and £83:6s for Ker: the 5000 merks amounted to £277:15:6½ additional; but in all probability thefe fums were never paid.

This, by mere accident, had come in the hands of Mr. Mungo Law, who gave it to Mr. James Guthrie, and he did read it in the face of the Assembly, to Mr. Patrick's confusion. Also when the Assembly was to have at last, after three or four years refusal, shewen favour to your old colleague Mr. James Row, Mr. Patrick Gillepie, and his own cousins, did so farre marre him, upon tacit surmises, as I suspect of small importance, that it's lyke he shall never be permitted to preach: yet honest John Gillon gott permission to preach, and for this I confesse I was forward; for the man, though he want letters, is very pious and well-gifted, and strong against all sectaries. The preparative is not dangerous, for I believe few in ane age will fall to be in his case; and if many should, I would grant them the like favour, though some misinterpret it.

The Assembly spent diverse sessions, for small purpose, upon transportations. These I love dayly worse and worse; the most are evidently packed businesses, little for the credit either of the transporters or transported. Mr. John Livingstone, refused to Glasgow, and designed for Ireland by the last Assembly, though earnestly futed by my Lord of Airds, and much stucken to by my Lord Cassillis, who, for his respect, had made a constant stipend for his church, most out of his owne rent, though his parishioners had not been cited, yet was, at my Lord Louthian's fute, transported to Ancrum, where the benefice was great, and the way to Edinburgh short. Dr. Colvine, called by Edinburgh to the divinity profession, so willing to come as it became a wife and modest man, his colleagues willing to dismiss him; yet the private respects of a very few, made him to be fixed to his station, which I regretted. Mr. George Hutcheson, orderly appointed by his Presbyterie to goe to Ayr, yet he, lykeing better to goe to Bruntisland or Edinburgh than to joine with Mr. William Adair, and Mr. William absenting himselfe when the action came in, was appointed to byde in his place. I think the misorder of transportations will not be gotten helped, till some honest men doe peremptorie refuse to obey, which, I think, some at last will doe; especially since the filling of so many places is referred to the Commission of the Kirk, with a power almost arbitrary, to neglect all the rules before appointed by Generall Assemblies for transportation.

We were fashed with Patrick Lesley of Aberdeen: his intemperate zeale for the leavie had made him overhaile. Mr. Andrew Cant gave in against

him a foule libell : he gave in another againſt the miniſters. It coſt a committee very much diligence to gett this matter accomodate ; for it was manifeſt that Mr. Andrew Cant could hardly live in Aberdeen, if that man were enraged ; ſo for the miniſters cauſe he was much ſpared, and that matter packed up as it might be : ſome men are borne, if not to raiſe, yet continually to live in a fire. We had in our committee ſome debate about conventicles : ſome of them we had heard of in Edinburgh, in the characters of ſectaries. Mr. Robert Knox gott them in, to my great contentment, for I found ſome too ſpareing of them ; and yet I feare how farr in their own time they may extend their duety of mutuall edification.

The whole two weeks following were ſpent on theſe things. The moſt were ſaſhed for the Moderator's want of diſpatch, and too much ſticking willfullie to his owne ſenſe : Mr. Robert Blair in the moſt, Mr. Robert Ramſay in all, was of my mind ; Mr. Robert Dowglaſs miſlyked ſome mens carriage. The Aſſembly of Divines wrote to us a generall letter : to this, Mr. Robert Blair his anſwer was good and uncontroverted. The ſubſcryving of the Bond was much againſt all our minds ; but ane Act was drawn up againſt it in my abſence, which I much miſlyked ; for it carried cenſure againſt the preſſers of it. This directly aimed at our ſtateſmen, the contrivers of it ; but, in the face of the Aſſembly, I gott it to be exponed only *ad futura*. Some of my neighbors before the Aſſembly were ſo farr in love with this ſubſcription, that I was forced to wryte to them arguments againſt it, as yow may ſee herewith. Though in ſome parts of the countrey the ſubſcription goe on, yet in the chiefe and moſt parts it is not required of any.

At this time I was grieved for the ſtate of Glaſgow. The peſt did increaſe. My brother ſon's houſe was infected ; my brother's houſe incloſed many in danger : one night near a doſſen dyed of the ſickneſs. Some good, but unadviſed people, were not much grieved for the calamity of that Towne ; and if it had fallen only upon their oppoſites, their inſulting had been grievous, yet the Lord hes been marvellouſly gracious to my brother and his ſon : no harme at all hes come to them ; and the danger of the Towne, bleſſed be God, is much diminifhed. The long great raine for many weeks did prognoficate famine ; but theſe three dayes bypaſt there is alſo a great change of weather ; the Lord continue it.

Our Aſſembly drave over to the end of the fifth week : many, dwelling

farr off and superexpended, flaid away. I fufpected the Moderator drew long of purpofe, waiting for a letter from the Parliament of England, which came not. We hear now the Houfe of Commons paff a declaration to us; but the Lords contented not to it. I did not love to have any correffpondence with them now, but others loved it too well. Ane other motion in our committee I loved not, a letter to be written to the King: the motion was fathered on Mr. James Hamiltone; and the drawing of it put on him, though no Commiffioner. I knew there would a heavier load be laid by us on his Majeftie than was expedient to be meddled with; alfo that we fhould not exprefse fuch a fenfe of his unjuft fufferings as the world would expect; and fo I was earneft to let all alone; but the Moderator carried it: and though the draught of that letter came never to our committee, but at the firft was taken in to the Affembly, and fome hours fpent in the Moderator's publick correctng of it, yet the thing behooved to paffe, and the wording of it to go to the Commiffion. Many good overtures againft the fins of the time did lykewife paffe. One of them I was feared for; it was firft, that all Minifters converfing with Malignants fhould be cenfured by Prefbyteries. This would have fnared many; for the notion of the Malignants now by the Engagement, is extended to very many: I gott it fome way qualified, but not fo as it will be found needfull.

That which fome dayes in the end of the Affembly troubled us, was Mr. Andrew Ramsay and Mr. William Colvill's proceffe. Mr. Andrew had, in preaching, oft fallen out into diverfe impertinencies, and contraditions to his brethren; he had been oft admonifhed; but the man's weaknefs and age, and diverfe who reforted to him, permitted him not much to amend. Not only he had fpoken for the Engagement; but in prejudice of our proceedings, and Prefbyteriall government itfelfe. Much he denied which was proven: he untimeoufly had fallen on an unhappie queftion, the Magiftrate's power to remitt blood. The generall Thefe which he profefled to maintaine, "That the fupream magiftrate, when the fafety of the commonwealth does require, may difpenfe with the execution of juftice againft shedders of blood," many of us declined to meddle with; but the Moderator gladly would have had the Affembly determining the negative expreffie, which was efchewed; only the man for his doctrine and carriage was fufpended to the next Affembly. Mr. William Colvill was referred to us only for his filence about the Engagement.

The man was generallie reputed too buſie to countenance and encourage our ſtateſmen in their way, and the chiefe mover of Mr. Andrew to his courſe; however, he himſelfe walked very cannily. I was indeede offended at his malapert carriage in the commiſſion of the Church, and for it, albeit it was not libelled, I conſented to his ſuſpenſion; but it was againſt my mind that Doctour Barron ſhould have beene cenſured for mere ſilence, yet it was carried. One or two of your friends in our Presbyterie had beene, for their ſilence and ambiguity about the Engagement, referred to the Aſſembly, had I not diverted and gotten that evil kept off them; for had they come before us, readily they had never come off.

We appointed viſitations for Univerſities and hoſpitals, and put on them the ſharpeſt men we had. Lykely Edinburgh will not ſubmitt to have either Univerſitie or hoſpitals viſited, though they have moſt need; and I preſſed their viſitation before any other; ſince, as yet, they have ever declined it.

The Commiſſioners for uniformitie with England were continued without change; only Lauderdaill, to my greefe, was juſtly omitted. I was ſcarce reſolved to have ſeen him; yet my Lady Warrifone ſent me to him, as truſting in his friendſhip for her huſband's buſineſs. He told me, that, however, to his beſt knowledge, there was no deſigne either on his place or perſon for the time; yet that he could not anſwer what might be ſhortly, eſpecially when in debate and diſcourſe theſe things might eſcape him which might irritat. Upon this good Warrifone, leaſt by his unfriends he might be brought in by violence, thought meet to retire to Cantyre, where, for the preſent, he paſſes time with Argyle. Lauderdaill continues kind to me, and regrates much the difference betwixt us; fears it become a fountaine of great evils, either the overthrow of the deſigne for the King againſt the Sectariſts, or the putting up of the Malignant partie ſo high, that they will hardly be gotten ruled; at beſt, the making of the government of our Church, as we exerciſe it, to be abhorred by all in England and abroad, and intollerable to our owne State at home. I find the Theſaurer in the ſame mind, but both of them faſt enough, for ought I can ſee, to our Covenant and perſons, except to one or two whom they eſteem the prime cauſes of the difference. In Mr. William Colvill's cenſure, Mr. David Calderwood raſhly had ſaid, "He was the painfullſt miniſter of Edinburgh:" this the Moderator exaggerat ſo farr, as ſome did ſpeak of his removeall for cenſure. The

Moderator before had taken him up for his impertinencies indeed : yet too roughly, and more, as I thought, than became. After this ranconter, Mr. David went home, and came no more to the Assemblée. At this I grieved ; it may doe harme.

The State, on the Fryday before we rose, gave in a large paper of Observations on our Declaration : I take them to be Primrose their clerk's draught. We appointed the Commission to fitt and answer them : they are but poor ones. That same day we renewed the Commission of the Church. There is too great a change of the persons, and too great addition of men who never have been members of any Assemblée ; also their power is too much enlarged, even to proceffe all who oppose their orders, as well as of the Generall Assemblée. I find diverse in the mind, that if once our army in England had gotten any sensible successe, our State are resolved totally to suppress the Commission of the Church, as a judicatorie not yet established by law ; and it's feared they will trouble the persons of some of us : but the Lord's will be done. I think indeed the carriage of some is too high and peremptor ; but if the State begin to trouble any of us with imprisonment, it will be a great ill of long and dangerous consequence.

On Saturday August the 12th we arose. In the morning I went away, desirous, after much toile, to be at home that night, unwilling to wait on the Commission, to jangle more with the Moderator. I was glad we had all ended in peace. The matter of this unhappie Engagement I hope will not last, and so the ground of our difference with the State shall be removed : but new grounds of division may possibly arise, which may make our contentions greater. This much I have written to yow, to oblige yow to wryte offer and larger ; so much the more as our intercourse with London is stopped, and we know not what is doing either there or abroad. What yow learn weekly by your Gazetts, I pray, once in the moneth at least, let us have it's summe, as yow shall have occasion to send it. So I rest,

Your Cousine, to serve yow,

August 23d [1648.]

ROBERT BAILLIE.⁴

⁴ " The consequences of the Engagement were fatal. The army was totally routed in Lancaster by Cromwell, the Duke [of Hamilton] taken prisoner, carried to London, and there executed." In the printed copy 1775, this passage, which occurs as a postscript to the above letter, is evidently an explanation added by the Editor.

FOR MR. SPANG. FEBRUARY 7TH 1649.

COUSINE,

YOUR bygone letter, 12th, I received, and thanks yow for it. Yow com-
plaine of my long filence; but gives no satisfactiōn for your longer. In
my nixt I shall give yow contentment about all your inquire: this is upon
a particular and great occasion. One Act of our lamentable Tragedy being
ended, we are entering again upon the scene. O! if it might be the Lord's
pleasure to performe more happy and comfortable actions than have appeared
these years bygone. To the great joy of all, in the midst of a very great
and univerfall sorrow, we proclaimed, on Monday last, the Prince, King of
Brittaine, France, and Ireland. We have sent the bearer,⁵ a worthy gentle-
man, to signifie so much to his Majestie at the Hague: We purpose speedily
to send a honorable Commission from all Estates. The dangers and diffi-
culties wherewith both his Majestie and all his Kingdomes at this time are
involved, are exceeding great and many. The first necessare and prime one
(as all here, without exception, conceive) doth put his Majestie and his people
both in a hopefull proceeding; and his Majestie's joyning with us in the
Nationall Covenant, subscribed by his grandfather King James, and the
Solemne League and Covenant, wherein all the well-affected of the three
Kingdomes are entered, and must live and die in, upon all hazards:—If his
Majestie may be moved to joyne with us in this one point, he will have all
Scotland readie to sacrifice their lives for his service:—If he refuse, or shift
this duety, his best and most usefull friends, both here and elsewhere, will
be cast into inextricable labyrinths, we fear, for the ruine of us all. We
know Satan will not want ill instruments to keep him off from a tymeous
yielding to this our most earnest and necessare desire; bot as it is, and
will be, one of all Scotland's strong petitions to God, to dispose his heart
to doe his duty without delay; so we will acknowledge ourselves much
obliged to any, whom the Lord may honor, to be the happie instruments
of his persuasion. Many here remember, and are sensible of your great

⁵ Sir Joseph Douglas, who carried a letter of the same date to the King, from the Commis-
sion of the General Assembly. *Vide infra*, p. 71; also the Appendix to this Volume.

and happie labours, for the clearing of our proceedings, from the very first commotions among us: We trust ye will not refuse to be at any needfull paines, at this so hard a tyme, for the service of God, your King, and Countrey, and all the Churches here, in their great distres. I wish yow made a voyadge to Hague, and dealt with our good friends, Dr. Rivet and Dr. Spanheim, to infinuate to the King their wholesome advyces. I know Somais [Salmafius], Voffius, Apollonius, and others there, understand so much of our proceedings, that a small desyre from any interests would move them to contribute their best helps for his Majestie's information.

I recommend it therefore most earnestlie to yow, to bestirre yourselve in a private clanculary way to further this work. If yours, or any other men's labours be blessed of God to work the present, you will find all here (I shall answer for it) readie to acknowledge, as becomes your pains, by such testimonies, in due time, as shall give yow satisfaction. What yow doe must be done quicklie; for every hour's delay prejudgeth (we know not how much) his Majestie and all his dominions.

Your Cousine,

Edinburgh, February 7th 1649.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

MR. WILLIAM SPANG TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.⁶

REVEREND COUSIN,

SINCE May last, the first letter I have seen of yours was of the 4th December, very concise, and most of it in complaint of my long silence; of which ye could have had no reason, if these to whom I entrusted my letters for you have been honest; for I never let any occasion slip with which I have not written, and that at large. I am affrayed least the freedom I have used in them may beget trouble to me, if they have fallen into any invidious hand; and yet what I writ was but a rehearse of the judgement, which the godly

⁶ This and the two following letters are printed from the originals contained in Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. LXVII. Nos. 83, 84, and 85. Spang, it will be observed, writes in the name of Anderson, and refers to Baillie, as Jameson. The orthography of the originals is usually retained; but the final *e* has been added to such words as *Prince*, *large*, *place*, *these*, &c. to make them intelligible. Spang's long residence abroad, offers some excuse for such peculiarities.

and wyfe, who ever affected our caufe, did profefs to me both by word and letters. Moft of my letters to yow wer inclofed in pakkets to Mr. George Gillefpie, of quhoes death, to my great grief, I have latly heard. Certainly he was as able a man as our Kirk had; of a clear judgement:—that which fome miflyked in him, wald eafely have been bettered by experience and years. I fee he hes had a better opinion of thefe Seētaries than he wald have had, if he had lived till now, and had heard their vile perjured treacheries againft al bands: Alace! for that reproach caft upon our religion, and the treuth of God, by thefe mens unparalleled proceedings, and for the prefent danger of religion in al the thrie Kingdoms; yea, and the civil liberties of al who will not rune to the fame exces of madnes with them.

Let Scotland chuis what fyde they pleas, that poor land fal be the feat of war, by al appearance, this fummer; for a confiderable army is marching northward againft yow; and Cromwel affurs his brethren in evil, of a more eafy conqueft of that Kingdom than al the Englifh Kings ever had. His ground is, as I have heard from one who is of their council, that the bitternefs betwixt thefe who wer for the laft engadgement into England, and thefe who wer againft it, is fo great, that ther is no means left to reconcile parties, and he is able to crushe thefe who hes authority now in their hand, if they be alone; fo that our domestik divifions is the cheif ftay of that party, and which will mak us either fal into their hands as a conqueft, or hinder us from being able to doe any thing to purpofe. They encurradge themfelves in thefe their hopes, by ane alledged diflent entred by fom of the eminenteft of our nobility againft the proclaiming of our new King, which, though it be moft fals, yet it is enough to flander thefe noblemen; and becaus their authority is fo great in our Kingdome, to mak many fufpect al runs not fo fsmooth and fair as is given out by us; fo much the more, fince no publik Declaration is emitted by our cleargie, to vindicat themfelves from having given a precedent quhilk thefe perjured Independents have followed.

I am fure it hes bein a matter of unconceivable grief to yow all, when ye heard of that bloody murdering the late King; and it is reafon, that following the example of the zealous preachers in London, ye teftife your utter abhorring of it, that ther may be extant a teftimony to the world of the loyalty of your hearts, whereby the foul mouths of Papifts and Malignants may be ftopped, as Jacob did, Genesis xlix. 6; and David, 2 Samuel iii. 35, 36, 37.

All the ministers in this province doe publickly declar their abhorring of it, and many has chofen fele&ct texts for that purpose, and ever with that tender respect to our countrey and their proceedings, as was matter of joy for us to hear. Now ye have proclaimed the Prince to be King; and blis&sd be God, who hath put it in your hearts so to doe! this maks your names like a fragrant smel; and if ye be put to any hazard for the maintenance of that a&ct, if ye will manadge your credit weel abroad, ye will find real friends. But first, all wishe that cair were taken to cement at home with you, and for that purpose to remit of that rigour, in the which, if ye continew, no man sees how ye can subsist; for, be assured, the party that now is under will rake hell to vindicat themselves, and put yow to that necessity, that ye must joine your forces with these murtherers, and bring them again into the bouels of our kingdom, yea, and to be subservient to them, and to recal what has been done with such absolute agreement. It wer to be wishe&d that men of all fydes wald now learne to deny themselves, if they wald approve their former professi&ns for Religion, King, Countrey.

There is arriv&ed at Rotterdam some Commis&ioneris from Scotland to the Prince, upon the 2d March, new style, amongst whom there is one Sir Joseph Douglass, who entreated Mr. Alexander Petrie to writ to me in all haist, that I sould com thither, or to the Hague unto him; for what errand I know not; yet I mynd to-morrow, God willing, to goe thither, so much the more, becaus I hear my Lord Chancellor is upon his way thither in a ship, quhair, if I can serve them for any use, I sal not be fayling.

We have no news more than what your English moderat Intelligencer printeth. Germany is in *statu dubio*, al hankering for the effect of that Munster treaty, yet not willing to quyt their posts till they see performance. France is in a fyre for that unhappy Mazarin: both parties ar resolut, and they have met several tymes in parties, fomytymes with los&f of the one, fomytymes of the uther. Spain, whatsoever he mynd, yet he is arming a grit Armado, of which we can see little use, except it be for Irland. If peace be made in France, England will feel the smart of it; and when parties sal be then engaged, uthers ar lying in wait also.

I do fend yow, for the Colledge, al of Amiraut's that I could get; his Apologie in 4to, et Specimen Animadversionum contra Spanhemium, bound, his treatise De Absoluto Reprobationis Decreto, in 4to. unbound, his uther

final treatises bound together in Svo. : Item, Ludovic de Dieu Animadversiones in omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti, bound in 4to. ; Rivetorum Fratrum Apologia contra Calumnias Amirautilij ; Cocceius de Fœdere et Testamento Dei ; Linfchotani Itinerarium Indiæ Orientalis, in folio, Amstelodamensium Historia, Pontani, both rare books, fit for Bibliotheks.

I sal be looking out for what our freind did writ of his removal. Alace ! that matters fould be brought thus far ; but a wyfe man seeth the evil day, and fleeth from it : When I return out of the Hague, I sal give Mr. Jamefon ane account of it. I am glad my nephew pleafeth yow so weel ; keep him in a modest opinion of himself. I see he is hinkering after his old conceit, and shaues more inclination to uther studies than Divinity, by reffon of the little hopes of preferment for one who will not easly enslave his judgement to uther *δοκονομασις*. Ye know what is the best way to put that out of his head. Grit will the account be of these who, by such imperious and partial courses, goe about to smother the graces God puts in such young sprots.

I fend yow a new peece of that Eraftianisme against the worthy servant of God, Jodocus Larenus, minister of Flushing ; who hes ane anfuer to it under the pres, whilk ye sal have when it comes furth. Marezius at Groning hes begun his virulency again against honest Voetius, whom he accuseth of poprie, socinianisme, and what not. The divel is not idle, and the Kirk is like to receive, as in former tymes, mor damage by such than by publick enemies. My wyf hopes, if ye wer acquaint with her, that ye fould tak revengde upon yourself for having such a opinion of her, as if by her my deuty to my freinds fould be neglected : of this I may purge her, becaus I have, as I have writen, left no occasion unpaft. And I am fure ye will find my letters, if ye have not got them alreddy, in Mr. George Gillespie's chalmer : His feiknefs and death hes bein the hinderence. I wish, if ye have not got them unopened, that they had perished ; for we live in dangerous tymes, wherein a man is made a transgressor for a word, and whatsoever freedom I use with my freinds must not be misinterpretate. Let your bedfellow, children, freinds, be saluted in my name, especially your brother-in-law, Dr. Strang. When I returne out of Holland, ye may expect, God willing, a large letter, and that with the first. The good God comfort yow, and direct yow in the right way, that ye may enjoy the fruit of your labours in peace. If our King will not tak the Covenant, and separat himself from the counfels of

these who hes driven his Father to that misery, I forsee he and we al sal be miserale. Let our eyes be toward God; he rulis al: To his mercy ye ar recommended by

Your Cousine,

At my Duelling place, 7th March 1649.

ANDERSON.

I have no leifure to writ to any else at this tym. Commend me to my mother and my freinds.—Let my coufine have use of such books in your Bibliothek, as he has need of. Sie how familiar I am with yow.—I sal anfuer Mr. David Dickson's letter, when I gett ane anfuer out of Amsterdam.

(*Addressed*) For the Reverend and much honored Mr. Robert Baillie, Professer of Divinity in the Univerfity of Glasgou.

M.

With ane bundel of books, marked R. B.

By ane noble freind, who will direct them to William Cunyng-
ham, merchant at the Custome-hous in Edinburgh.

MR. WILLIAM SPANG TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.⁷

Tibi foli.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSIN,

AFTER the clofing of my last letters, which goe alongs with the fame bearer, my Lord Conservator, I received ane letter from Mr. Alexander Petrie, requiring me, in all haift, to com to the Hague: and that in the name of Sir Joseph Douglas, a commissioner then aryved from Scotland, with letters to the King's Majestie; but about what errand he did not writ, neither could he. Though the weather was very unseasonable and stormie, and my health not the best, as usually it falls out with me in March, yet I chuifed rather to rune these hazards then to be wanting to that gentleman's defyre. When I come to the Hague, I enquired for him, and asked what was the errand for which he had sent for me. He told me, that he had brought over letters from the Commission of the Kirk, and delyvered them to Mr. Alexander

⁷ The envelopes or addresses of this and the next letter. are not preserved.

Petrie, to be sent to me; so I sent a expres to Rotterdam for these letters, which, when they come to my hand, I found them a pakket from you of the 7th February, whereby ye desire me to hasten to the Hague, and deal with such who are likely to have credit with the King's Majesty, for persuading him to do what ye require of him, viz. to joyne with Scotland in both the Covenants. The persons whom ye designed were either absent out of Holland, as Dr. Rivet, Apollonius, or such who are not of credit with courtiers, or such who are known to make only use of the Court favour for their private ends; and therefore I did bethink my self of another mean to effectuate that end, which was by addressing my self to the Prince of Orange his Highness.

For this purpose I took pains to informe my self, the best I could, of the present posture of counsels suggested to the King's Majesty, and the reasons for them; and I found, that all these designed by our late Sovereigne to be his Son's counsellours, while he was Prince of Wales, viz. Cottington, Andover, Culpeper, Hyde, advised, that he should goe directly for Ireland; this did James Grame [Marquis of Montrose] urge also in grittest vehemency; and if that could not prevail, others were of advice that the King was to come to Scotland *armata manu*, because no trust could be given to such who were leading men in our Parliament; partly because they thought there was reason to suspect the sincerity and reality of some who used such a fair invitation, only to get the King in their power, whose advancement they never thought more to procure than they did his Father's, partly because they thought that though these who invite him do really intend, yet they are not able to maintain him against the English usurpers, if they do not recal their late acts against such who have had a hand in the engagement, and joine all their powers together: "But (this say they) they will never do, and so they shall not be able to protect the King; but being straitned by the English, will be content to buy their peace with quytting the King." And here, to make this probable, pregnant instances are brought in of my Lord Chancelours papers against the delivery of the King to the Parliament, pressed by unanswerable reasons which yet was neglected altogether, by delivery of the King within few months thereafter. The other instance was of the treating of our Commissioners with the late King at the Island of Wight, and our not performing our promise accordingly. But there was a third party, who, though they be not of the King's counsel, yet, out of love to him and their coun-

they, rejected the two former projects as bloody, tending to the utter ruining of the King and all Protestants, and did by all means labour to persuade his Majesty to go to Scotland upon the very same terms they did require. That if he did not goe, and that lastely, with a resolution to seal the Covenants, he wald alienat the hearts of all the Protestants in al his kingdoms from him : and this was pressed by the Erls Lauderdale, Calender, Lanrick, with such evident self denial of ther oune interests, as being grievously censured by this present Parliament, that had the King bein left to himself, it was thought he could not but follow their advyfe. This honest cariage of these thrie Noblemen I can bear witnes unto, as having heard them protest it in privat, and understanding from utthers also, who are our enemies, and do curse the hour that they have bein cast heir to spoyle the game they thought sure. Beleive me, I doe acknowledge the good providence of God in casting them heir at this tyme : they have done more good for the countrey than if they had bein sitting in Parliament.

My next was to find out wherto the Prince of Orange was inclined. For this purpose, I went to tuo of the States General, of whose intimacy with the Prince's counfels all men did speak : I fand them not only declaring their aune judgement for the King's going to Scotland, and embracing the Covenant ; but that that also was the Prince's mynd. From thence I went to fundry utthers, but from none did I get furer information then from the Lord of Beverwerd, governour of Bergen, natural son to Prince Maurice, a nobleman treuly pious, and of a public spirit, resolute to imploy his credite for religion, and of high account with the Prince, in whose counfels he bes chief influence ; as in speaking to some of the Estates and utthers, the Conservatour joyned himself with me, so heir also, for which it will be weell done to thank him, for ye may be assured he was both faithful and diligent even at that nik of tyme, when the bussines was in a crisis. Now having found whereto the Prince inclined, my nixt thoughts wer to understand so much out of his oune mouth, and to confirme him in what good resolution I fould find in him, especially to remove some scruples and objections wherewith many told he was dayly assaulted. For this end, a contreyman of ours promised to bring me to the Prince ; bot performed it not, or at least wald have me to wait so long upon it, that I fould be made to think it some gritt favour. For this court policy I learned, which made me resolve to goe in my old way,

and by the mediation of one of his Highnes counfellers, I was brought in to him, and had the freedom of a long hour's speech, where I fand God's affiftance and blessing; his affiftance, in inabling me both with words and matter, for it was in Dutch; and his bliffing, in making the Prince fo attentive to what I faid, fo defirous to know the trew grounds of things, fo apprehenfive, and fo fully refolved with us for his Majefty going to Scotland upon the conditions proponed. I fal give yow a fhort and compendious account of what paffed then.

After I had thanked his Highnes for his favour in granting me fo redly audience, and defyred to know if I might, with his good lyking, propone what I intended in Latin or Englifh, rather than Dutch, and he defyring me to doe it in Dutch: Then I firft condoled the parricid of our late King his Father⁸: fhew how it was abhorred by the Eftaits of our Kingdom, how contrar to our Covenant, whofe end, among uther things, was the faifty of the King's perfon; how not only the State had proclaimed his Son to be their King, bot the miniftery of the kingdom alfo according to their places, had done their deuty, and had given affurance of their loyal affection to our prefent King, by their letters to him; and by their cair that he may be perfwaded in tyme to fhun that wicked counfel, whilk drove his late Father to fuch courfes, that they had given me ordour to deal with al who could contribute any thing to the advancement of this good work; and that I could look upon none from whom I had reafon to expeft more good than his Highnes, who, by being inftrumental heirin, wald gaine gritter honour then by gayning of touns, &c. He anfuered, "That ther was nothing more acceptable to him, than that he was looked upon as one who fould employ himfelf for the advancement of religion, and that now, if ever, the Reformed Relligion was in danger; that ther was no probable means to prevein the utter extirpation of it, but by efpoufing the young King's quarrell; and that he, for his part, could not but pittly the young King, torne as it were betuixt fuch contrary counfels; that reafons produced by all parties feemed to be fpecious, yet how fair foever men did fpeak, he thought it madnes for a Proteftant to chuis rather to trust to a Papift, than a Proteftant who mynded treuely." "And if ever (fayd I) any State mynded treuely, it is our prefent State; their

⁸ William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, married Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles the First: He died 6th of November 1650, aged 24.

haftines in proclayming, that cheerfulness of all joining together, doe witness this; and now their readines to espouse the King's causes, if he first will espouse God's causes, though they know any undertakings of that kynd to be joynd with great dangers." "But what (sayd he) may be expected of the ministers? And heire he spok much of the great influence their advyse lies in the Estait. To this I answered, that whatsoever any Prince can expect of good subjects, that may our King look for at the hands of the Ministers, if he employ his power for the honouring of C[hrist]; and that all the power they have in the hearts of the people will be for the King's advantage. Heire he spok something of the great precisnes of our ministers, who could not be content with that about religion, whilk our late King had granted, and wherewith the Parliament of England itself was well neigh satisfied. Heire I was ready to have answered; but he passed this, and spok of the conditions we require of the King, viz. his accepting and entering into the Covenants. And I, at his desire, having explained what these Covenants were, and how distinguished: "Then (sayd he) he will be easily brought to subscribe the Covenant, whilk concerns Scotland alone; (he meant our Nationall Covenant;) but that other Covenant betwixt Scotland and England, he feared would find greater difficulty: 1. Because all the King's counsellors, to wit, these four English would be against it: 2. Because it required a delivering up to justice these who are called malignants. 3. Because, as by subscribing it the King would please us, so he would displease the Papists in Ireland, and all forraigne Popish princes, who will not be so foolish as to favour him whose advancement is the ruine of their religion in his dominions. Other reasons (sayd he) are urged, and I shall propose them ere ye goe." So I began to answer; and, first, I shew that the first Covenant of Scotland only provyds as great security for religion as the second doth, and therefore the King's counsellors who advyse him to subscribe the one, and not the other, for fear of displeasing Papists, speaks they know not of what, for there is not a Papist who is not more displeas'd with the first than the second." And he asking me, Why are the King's counsellors so much against it? I answered, "That they durst not doe otherways than dissuade our young King from the Solem League, since they had ever dissuaded his Father from it; if they would now change, the young King, and your Highnes, who is so greatly interested, would have reason to look upon them as men whose conscience did condemne them for

the abusing the father." Heir I took occasion to represent to his Highnes the grit inconvenience of the aboad of such counsellors about the King's person; that if a course were not taken to banishe them from his prefence, they wald reddely prove as unhappy instruments to the Son as they have been to the Father; and that they are they who advyse the King to flight the presentation of Scotland, and to go to Irland, chusing rather he should not reigne then that they should not reigne also with him; men, of whose religion the world, to this hour, was never satisfied. So far as I could mark, his Highnes seemed not to be displeas'd with this. "As for the King's delyvering up of all malignants to justice, (I answered,) the Covenant doth not requyr that all malignants shal be punished, but only tryed, and left to the judgement of the Parliament." "But (fayed he) ye cal any man a malignant whom ye pleas, though he profes he adhers to the Covenant, and all his aims are for the ends of it." Heir he brought in, for instance, the Acts of our present Parliament, declaring all who had ane hand for the engadgement uncapable of any place of trust ther whole lyf: And yet, fayed he, "The world did read their declaration, quihilk spak very fair, and the Parliament did all that work: I wald therfor gladly know who are the Malignants, for I find that ther is no argument that so works upon his Majestie as that." Heir, I profes, I was at a strait: for to have given him such a character of a Malignant as the Commissioners of the Generall Assemblie did give some two yeers since, wald not have served the turne, the case being now altogether altered, in so far, that he is to be thought more a malignant who doth approve the bloody acts of that treacherous crew, now usurping the name of a Parliament in England, then any who did ever fight against them; and therfor I came to the distinguishing of malignants, some whose aimes appeared evidently to be for their aune selfs, either that they might abyd in a capacity to tyrannize over their fellow-subjects, or to raise their fortunes, already disperat by the publik troubles. Such malignants were justly unpardonable, and they had none to blame for the ruine of themselves and their families, but their aune obstinacie. As for others, in whom it doth appear that privat and by-ends hes not, set them a work, their case is pitied; and it hes ever bein the custum of the Parlements of Scotland, to fail rather in too grit clemency then cruelty. "Weil, (fays the Prince,) if ye that are ministers will not employ your utmost credite for uniting of all your contrey (I mean not, fays he, of such who have bein bloody obstinat

enemies to yow,) ye may lofs both yourfelfs and the caufe; and I know ther is nothing that fould more confound the counfels of al your enemies than to fee yow forget quarrells amongft yourfelfs; for this, they always fay, How can Scotland, thus divided, be able to doe any thing of moment, fince the forces of the party who now rules, is but waik enough to fupprefs their enemies? I therfor doe as earnestly recommend this to yow, that ye wald acquaint your minifters with it, as they by yow do recommend their buffines: If I did not think it tending to the inabling of yow to make your party good, I fould not open my mouth about it." Heir he enlarged himfelf very pertinently, and fel upon the project of ane aët of oblivion, and told me " That the party who now rules, will not be fo evil advyfed as to rejeët this motion, if they but wald confider how fuddenly things may be changed." I affure yow he could tell me faults committed in our prefent governement, whereof I was wholly ignorant; which he fayeth he learned from the King's Englifh counfel, when they were debating the very lafulnes of our Scottifh Parliament, whither lafully indyted, mantening ftrongly that that Committee quhilk called it, had no pover becaufe they had not fubferyved the aëts of the former Parliament; " but (fayed he) I quikly crufted fuch a motion in the very fhell."

" But (fayes he) the King by fubferyving that Covenant will difengadge al Papifts from his fervice, both in Irland and elfwher, and al but Prefbyterians; for it obleidges the King to root out Papistry every wher in his dominions, quhilk he is not able to doe in the condition wherein he is." I anfuered, " That fame argument our late Sovereinge ufed; but how dommadgful his going about to pleafour papifts was, doolful experience hes taught, for Irland fpecially: it lies bein that quhilk hes withdrawen the hearts of the Proteftants from him, more than any thing elfe. And what advantadge took thefe Irifch papifts at the King's weaknes? When they capitulated with him, what little performance did the King find of their big promifes, and fince ever he began to meddle with them, did not his condition decay dayly? That the condition of Proteftants called Prefbyterians, in Grit Britan and Irland is not fo mean, but if the King wald chearfully joine himfelf to them, as *Caput et Vindex Fæderis*, ther wald be no doubt of grit and good fucces. As for the particulers, how much they could doe, I durft not take it upon me to fpeak: only I was fure that in al Scotland ther was not a man who

wald not be for the King ; and in England, for one Independant, ther wald be found thrie Presbyterians ; and the rest, being either Hierarchical men or Papists, if they wald not assit the King, they wald far les assit the traitorous sectaries." " I perceive (fayed his Highnes) what ye mean, but how many Presbyterians fo ever ye be, if ye live at a distance, as I hear ye doe now in Scotland, ye will be able to doe nothing at all. It is a work fitting your callings to unite the hearts of all your grit men, whom ye know to be Protestants." And heir, I suspecting that it might his Highnes did mean Montrose, as they call him, who is frequently at Court, and more hemly with many than welcome, I fayed, " I hoped his Highnes did not mean of that man, whom apostacie, perjurie, and unheard cruelty had made so odious to all in our contrey, that they could not hear of his name." He presently gave me to understand that he meant not him, or any fuch ; for by the comportment of our Scottissh noblemen at Court now, he perceives how odious James Grame most be at home ; for they will not salute or speik to him ; nay, not look where they think he is, and this I have observed with my auine eyes.

At last, having answered al his questions, I repeated my desire, and humbly prayed his Highnes to continew in that holy and wholfome resolution ; and to improve his credite with our King, that a satisfactory answer may be given with all haist, shauing the danger of delay. " But (says he) when will your Commiffioners come to his Majestie ? I answered, " I thought not until the gentleman returned with ane answer to Scotland." He asked me If I knew who they sould be ? I answered, that I knew not. " Will any ministers come ?" fayed he. I answered, " That I questioned not but some sould come, who sould be able to satisfie al his Highnes's scruples better then I possibly could." " I wishe (fayes he) some ministers sould come for sundry reasons." I replied, " That they sal come the more cheerfully when they sal understand how much your Highnes doth engage yourself for persuading the King's Majestie to go to Scotland, with a resolution to subscribe both the Covenants." " Then (fayed the Prince) ye may confidently assure them that I sal doe my utmost endeavour ; and come ye to me to-morrow, and I sal tel yow what ye may expect."

So away went I, and to-morrow, being admitted to his presence, he told me, " He had made it his work yesternight to persuade the King's Majesty ; that the resolution was taken to satisfie the desires of the Parliament of Scotland ;

and that in al haift letters were to be written of, in anfuwer to what the King received." And heir againe he recommended the cair of uniting all our noblemen in one, in palling by what faults hes bein the laft yeer; and told me, it fould be moft welcom news to him, if I fould let him know that any thing were done in reference to this. And

Thus, Coufine, ye have the fubftance of that difcourfe, by which ye may fie I have obtained the end of your letter, and that in a fitter way then ye prefcribed. I moft earnestly entreat yow, that ye would reprefent to the Reverend Brethren of the Commiffion how much the fame of rigidity, ufed by them againft the laft yeer's engadgers, is lyke to endanger the reputation of our Kirk abroad, and lyke alfo to make presbyterial governement hatefull. My heart trembles when I think of this; for I am certainly enformed, by a printer, that that infamous perfon who goes under the name of Grallator,⁹ hes a big volume reddy, of the late praëtifes of the Scottifh Kirk in the exercife of difcipline, which ye may think are willingly furnished to him by fome banifhed Scottfmen. Secondly, That all lovers of our caus and nation do unanimoufly judge that ther is no probable means of our faifty if we unite not and pack not up all quarrels amongft our felfs; if ther be not ane *amneftia* for the laft yeer's engadgement; for that fuch had reafon to challenge the Englifh army overpouring the Parliament, for breach of Covenant; and that their feares of mifeheif againft the King were not caufes, he is blind who fees not. If ther were faults in the compaffing that work, as I doubt not but ther hes bein very grit ones, yet let not defyre of juftice againft thefe circumftantial faylings, lead us to feek the ruine of thefe men; or by excluding them from governement, deprive the kingdom of their abilities, and waiken our felfs fo, that we fall not be able to oppofe thefe treacherous and bloody Sectaries to purpofe. If any of our Reverend Brethren had been heir to have been ear-witneffes what thrie of the Lords now put in your firft claffis, did heir, in oppofition to the Englifh counfel and Montrofe, and all uthers who were for Irland, fure I am they wald have bleffed God who brought them hither in this nick of tyme.

If any Commiffioners fal come, I intreat yow, fie that fome of the ableft of our miniftery come alfo, who may be able to ftand againft Dr. Steuart and fuch lyke, if occafion fould ferve, and may ferve for the honour of our Kirk

⁹ *Grallator*, one who walks on ftilts or crutches.—Spang here alludes to Dr. Bramhall's publication, *vide infra*, note page 87.

with the Dutches also. If the lot fal on yow that ye most come, ye will let me know so much, that I may attend yow. Ye may be sure I fal most willingly contribute my little myte for the advancing of this so good a work. Oh! if the Lord wald blifs it, so might we yet hope for light in the midft of this darknes wherewith we are threatened. Ye writ to me that Mr. James Hamiltoune hes ordour to keep correspondence with me. He hes begun, I hear, with Mr. Alexander Petrie, but forgotten me; yet salute him, together wit hall the reverend brethren of the ministry of my acquaintance; especially Mr. David, Mr. Robert Douglas, and our freinds in the West.

The $\frac{9}{13}$ th March 1649,

Your Cousine,

In my Chalmer at Hague.

W. ANDERSON.

MR. WILLIAM SPANG TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

Tibi soli.

COUSIN,

THE inclosed will acquaint yow with my diligence in what ye recommended to me. I have reason to be glad that the honest party at home with yow have such a good opinion of me, as of one whom they conceive willing to imploy himself for the publict: Let me never live longer than whilst I have a desire to improve what is in me that way, which makes me more curious in asking for the grounds of your actions then utherways I wald be; and my doubts are meerly proponed that I, getting satisfaction, may be able to satisfy uthers. With all whom I have conferred with about the buffines for which I went to Holland, I fand none complayning less of the rigid severity of the Kirk and Parliament's proceedings with yow than these thrie Noblemen, whom it most concerned, as being these who are made to leave their countrey, and to suffer the plundering of their goods by these severe acts. I will not question what equity is in your dealing so with them; but ye will find it had conduced more for the publick to have used gritter lenity: Neither (so far as wyfer men then I am doe fee,) fal ye ever have any sure peace without rescinding this last act, of your ranking, whom ye have pleased to call Malignants, into four classes: passion hes bein too grit in that act; for it is judged a gritter sin not to protest against that late Engagment than to be a ordinary drunkard, since

it is declared punishable with a more severe punishment. Both friends and enemies told me, that that favoured much of the Romish severity, where eating of flesh being a breach of man's law, is more heavenly punished than notorious transgressions of God's; and be assured that our enemies will proclaim quickly this, with much more to the world, by print. Yet, as I have written, these three Noblemen digest patiently all what is done against them, and are most vigilant and active for promoting of your ends. Ye are not disappointed in your hopes of noble Lauderdale and Lanrick, and, I assure you, of the Earl of Calder, who told me, in plain terms, that the King may with griter assurance confide in these who now rule with you than in others: ye know whom I mean. If ye come hither, and do not bring a full rescinding of what the Parliament has decreed against them, ye will be looked upon as most ingrate men; and none shall be gladder of their misery than the English malignants and James Grame, because they do and have so opposed their plots. Lykwife, it would be needfull that ye remitted much of that rigour which, in your Church Assemblies, ye use against ministers who have proven your grit friends ever before. It will be better to let the sails fall somewhat laigher in tyme, before a storme compel you; or these who think God so highly glorified by casting out their brethren, and putting so many to beggerie, making rume through such depositions to young youths, who are oft miscaried with ignorant zeal, may be made, through their own experience, to feel what it is, which now, without pity, is executed upon others. Generally, the grit power which the Commission of the Kirk exerceth displeaseth all: It is but an extraordinary meeting, and yet sits constantly and more ordinarily than any Synod; yea and without the knowledge of provincial Synods and Presbyteries, deposes ministers, enjoyns, *pro autoritate*, what writs they please to be read, inflicts censures on these who will not read them. If the Kirk of Scotland look not to this in tyme, we will lament it when we can not mend it. They say four or fyve rule that meeting; and is not the liberty of the Kirk come to a fair market thereby? We have an act that nothing shall be brought to a griter meeting which has not first been treated of in a smaller; but now your commend of the Generall Assembly, or rather deputies of it, at the first instance, judge of matters, which might be better handled in lesser meetings. For God's sake, look this course in tyme be stopped, else the Commission of the Kirk will swallow up all other ecclesiastick judicatories; and such

minifters who refide in and about Edinburgh, fall at laft ingrofs all church pouer in their hands. I know ther is a peece of prudence herby ufed, to get the pouer in the hands of thefe who are good; but what affurance have we but they may change, or uthers, following this courfe, creep into their places? We meet with dayly regraits that the antient minifters are contemned, and the infolency of yong ones foftered, the very forrunner of Jerufalem's de-
struction. The Lord mak us wyfe in tyme.

Mr. Samuel Rutherford is called to be Profeffor of Divinity and the Hebrew tonge in the new Univerfity of Harderwick. I have prefently received a letter from Dr. Valkenier, Profeffor of Divinity there, with one inclofed to Mr. Samuel; he writes to me that the States of Gelder, to whom that Univerfity doth belong, hes fent him his letters of call fome moneths fince, and defirs me to write alfo to him to haften his coming: This is by Dr. Voetius and Steuart's ftiring. Ye moft be weil advyfed at home what to doe, if our Kirk can want fuch a man, in the grit fcarfnefs of fuch. It is not his Englifh writs that commendeth him fo much, as his Latin treatife againft the Jefuites and Arminians. If ye had published any thing in Latin ye wald not be fuffred to ftay where ye are, but then ye fould have loft your place in yeerly Provincial Synods. Scottifh minifters are generally looked upon by the Englifh to be fo rigid in difcipline that there is no hope for any of our nation to have a place among them. Befides, the diffention of the nations, what a fearfull judgment of God is this upon us, that what we thought fould have joynd the nations unfeperably, is lyk to be the great feperator of them: it fears me many of our hearts in the perfute of it have not been upright. I know not how this my freeness may be taken by fome; but it comforts me that I am affured ye know it comes from a heart addicted to the weelfair of our Kirk, no wayes difcontented, that the godly party have fuch a fuey; only I wifhe we ufed prudence, leift we open a door to tyrannie, whilft we think to fhut out tyrants out of the Kirk. The Divil hes many wyles to mislead men. That monfter of Papacy walked modestly at firft, and it was good but imprudent men that led the way to it.

Ye will not doe weil to refus coming hither when our Commiffioners come: I wifhe both wyfe and moderat godly men come with you: all the cuntry's eyes will be upon yow more than upon thefe whom the State fend. I hear much of Mr. Robert Douglas's moderation, (Oh! we mifs

now that precious fervant of Christ, Mr. Alexander Henderfon): he wald be a man fitt for this purpose: whofoever comes, see that ye come, and byde not behind. If ye think I can be useful for yow, let me be informed at your first arryval to Holland. Ye will find our yong Prince of Orange, one of the hopfullest youths that ever Europe brought forth, and willing to doe al good offices for the cause: but more of this if God bring yow hither, and I be alive. My wyfe hopes to see yow heir, and to clear your mynd from these doubts ye conceive that she is the cause of my silence. Salute yours with your hopefull family, and all our freinds, both your colleagues in the Colledge and Ministry, and our blood freinds: the Lord direct yow al by his Holy Spirit.

When ye fend Commissioners of State, let them be such as speak good French, if not Latine. It will be no great wisdom that who are sent must be directed or made to depend upon any but ther auine prudence. Ye will doe weil to consider weel of the letter, quhilk *anno* 1646, the Assemblée writ to our late King; for the Independents makes it a part of the rule they walked by. And, 2dly, they say, that in your last Assembly ye have declared that these words of the Covenant wher ye speak of defending the King's person and authority, in the defence of religion and liberties, are explained to be a limitation and excluding your obedience to him and defence of him, except in such acts: And then says the bloody Independant, "Their putting the King to a violent death is not against the Covenant; for they have put him to death not for his defending religion and the Parliament's liberties, but for going about the overthrow of both:" Think of this. 3dly, Be ready to clear your late practises against the resolution of a lauful Parliament, and that by some few, from being a ground of the army as privat men doing the lyk in England.

I mervel where Sir Joseph Douglas staved so long, that we doe not hear from him these eight dayes. The ship of war quhilk our Conservatour got for himself, he procured a letter from the Prince to cause it stay for Sir Joseph; and when it comes to Scotland it must stay the Parliament or my Lord Chancellor's ordour: it is reddy, and the winds fair, but Sir Joseph is yet at the Hague. Certainly our cuntry is much oblidge to our present Lord Conservatour, Thomas Cunyngham. It is a pity they let him be so great a loser for his grit reddines to furnishe them in their need.

That wretched committee of your former Parliament, by the Lord Cochran's malice, were going about to wrong him gritly; if he get not contentment now when honest men rule, ye will find less credite heirafter. Let him know how reall I am for him, as ye know I am to all to whom I profess friendship.

Since the wryting of this, and the uther letter of this fame dait, I bethought myself to write another letter, quhilk, if ye think fit, ye may communicat it to uthers, yea to the Commission, but upon condition that no man misconstrue my meaning. I know how reddy men will be in thir ticklesom tymes to intertane jealousies of their brethren, and to make men offenders for a word; and therfor I remit the publishing of it to uthers to your prudence. I only relate what I have from uthers, and these not malignants, but freinds. Moderat counfells used to be of account, and *festina lente* was a advyse never a man repented of.

I write this thrid letter since Sir Joseph his coming hither, and that I heard such a change in the King. I entreat yow not to spair any occasion in wryting to me: with our Conservatour, or the ship of war, ye will have a fit opportunity. Tymous and ful information how matters stand with yow in good earnest, may do much good, and since our Prince of Orange is fo earnest, from tyme to tyme, to know the estait of our effairs, that he may be able to help us wherein he can, it is reason we satisfie him. I have promised to give him notice of what I fal know.

Your Coufin,

W. ANDERSON.

19th March 1649.

For your self only.

MR. ROBERT BAILLIE'S SPEECH TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND, MARCH 27TH 1649: SPOKEN AT THE HAGUE IN THE KING'S BED-CHAMBER, TUESDAY, THREE O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

In this very sad and calamitous time, THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND hath sent some of us, who are here, Ministers and Ruleing Elders, and others who are yet behind, in Commission to your Majestie, to declare, in their

name, not only the sincere and deep griefe of that whole Church for your Majestie's most lamentable afflictions, but also their reall and great joy for your Majestie's succession to the Throne, and their confident hopes, by the blessing of the Most High on your royall person and government, now at last to come up out of that pitt of grievous confusions, calamities, fears, and dangers, wherein long they have been sinking.

According therefore to this our trust, we doe declare, what in our owne breast often we have felt, and generally in the people among whom we live, have seen with our eyes, and mournfull sorrow for that execrable and tragick parricide; which, though all men on earth should passe over unquestioned, yet we nothing doubt but the great Judge of the world will arise, and plead against every one, of what condition soever, who have been either authors, or actors, or consenters, or approvers, of that hardly expressible crime, which stamps and stigmatizes, with a new and before unseen character of infamy, the face of the whole generation of Sectaries and their adherents, from whose hearts and hands that vilest villany did proceed.

We doe also profess, in name of them who have sent us hither, the great joy of all sorts of men in our land for the immediate filling of the vacant Throne with your Majestie's most gracious and hopeful person; earnestly praying, that the light of the Lord's countenance may shine so bright upon your Majestie's reign, that the very thick clouds of our present dangers and fears may fly away, and a new morning may spring up, to all your three Kingdomes, of greater peace and prosperitie, of more righteousnes and virtue, especially of more religion and piety, than hath been seen in the days of any, the most pious, the most just, the most prosperous, of all your numerous Ancestors.

For the present, we are loath to take up more of your Majestie's precious time; only we present the Letter¹ of our Church; and what further most loyal desires we have in commission, we shall, God willing, be ready, in all humility, to offer so soone as we shall know of a fitt opportunity, to stand againe in your Majestie's most gracious presence.

¹ The letter from the Commission of the Church is dated the 7th February 1649. It will be given in the Appendix, along with a copy of "The Report of the Commissioners of the Church of their Proceedings with his Majesty at the Hague, made in the General Assembly, July 10, 1649."

OUR LETTER TO THE COMMISSION. APRIL 3D [1649.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED BRETHREN,

THIS is the first opportunity we have had of making to you any accompt of our proceedings. On Thursday, at night, March 22d, the Lord brought us all safe to Rotterdam; on the Fryday we went to Delph. There we thought meet to rest till the Monday, both because of our own resolution to keep one day of humiliation in our familie for making our first addresses to God, as also because of our information, by some of our friends who mett us at the Delph, that his Majestie would be taken up with his Easter devotions till Tuesday following. We therefore, on the Sabbath, did preach and pray in our familie, and found the goodnes of the Lord with us; and on the Monday did put our papers and affaires in order. At night we came to the Hague, and spake with some friends, who were not many here. On the Tuesday, the second afternoon, we went to the Court, and had a favourable reception. My Lord Castillis did speak to his Majestie in name of the Parliament and Kingdome, and Mr. Robert Baillie in name of the Church. So farr as we could learn, what was spoken was taken in good part by all who heard. We then delyvered our letters to his Majestie. The rest of that day, and the following, was spent in visiting the Queen of Boheme, the Princefs Royall, the Prince of Orange, the Princefs Dowager, and the Estates Generall.

The Commissioners of Parliament found it necessary to give in, as previous to their desyres, a paper, for removeing of James Grahame from Court. His Majestie's answer, under his owne hand, was, "That he desyred and expected all our propositions together; to which he hoped to give a satisfactorie answer." With this we were not content; bot pressed againe our desyre, the Commissioners of Parliament by ane other paper; and we also by one, second theirs. a copie whereof we fend yow herewith. The King's second answer was an abyding in the first. We had all of us some discourse with his Majestie about the equity and necessity of that our desyre; bot James Grahame hath so many and so powerfull friends in the English Council, that as yet we cannot gett the King to discourteage him.

On the Saturday morning we delyvered to his Majestie the Nationall

Covenant, the Solemne League and Covenant, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, the Catechise, the Propositions of Government, bound together in a booke so handfome as we could gett them. We spoke something on the matter, and desyred of his Majestie more frequent and private conferences; who shew his willingnesse, and promised to send to us to advertise of his fittest opportunities. On the Sunday we preached in our own house. We thought not meet to go to the English congregation; their distractions amongst themselves for the present being so great, that our going there, we conceive, should have given offence, and prejudged our affaires.

On the Monday we purposed to have given in our desyres, in the paper which herewith also we send, but his Majestie was abroad in the afternoon, so we delayed till this day. We cannot yet make any judgement of the successe. The most part of the Council are averse from our desyres; yet we have our friends. His Majestie is of a very sweet and courteous disposition: it were all the pities in the world but he were in good company. We hope he is not so far rooted in any principles contrarie to us, but that, by God's blessing on our friends labours, he may be gotten to doe us reasone, whatsoever our fears be for the present. There is a very evill generation both of English and Scotts here, who vomite out all their evill humour against all our proceedings. The peace of France, and ane unhappie book, *Eizōn Βασιλική* does us much prejudice. Also the supposed death of Huntly² is wrested to our disadvantage. Doctor Bramble³ of Derrie has printed the other day at Delph a wicked pamphlet against our Church: We have no time, nor doe we think it fitt, to print ane Answer; but by the grace of God, shall indeavour, with all faithfullness and diligence, to goe about our instructions. We had much need of your prayers. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with yow, and protect that Church and Kingdome from all the mischiefs that the instruments of Satan on all hands are preparing to

² George second Marquis of Huntly, one of the Royalists who suffered at this time, was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh, 22d March 1649.

³ Dr. John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. His tract here mentioned, bears the title of "A Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, &c." 1649, 4to. Baillie, notwithstanding the remark that follows, published a reply to it, under this title, "A Review of Doctor Bramble, late Bishop of Londonderry, his Faire Warning against the Scotcs Disciplin. By R. B. G. Printed at Delf, 1649," 4to.

bring upon us; bot our hope is in the name of the Lord, to whose protection we committ yow, and rests,

Your Brethren and Servants in the Lord,

CASSILLIS.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

GEO. WINRAHAM.

JAMES WOOD.

Hague, April 3d 1649.

MY FIRST LETTER TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLASS. APRIL 3D [1649.]

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

By the inclosed to the Commission of the Church, yow see the state of our affaires here. I wrote to Warrifstone from Rotterdam what was the posture of our affaires, as then we were informed. As yet our fears are great of a fore storme to Scotland; yet yesternight I learned from a great person here, that our affaires, blessed be God, are not desperate. There is no Scotfman that is on the King's council: the five or six English that are, Cottington, Culpepper, Hyde, Long, and some more, are divided. The most are of Prince Rupert's faction, who careffes Montrose, and presse mightily to have the King to Ireland: Culpepper and some bed-chalmer-men, as Willmot, Byron, Gerard, and the master of the horse, Peircie, are of the Queen's faction, and these are for the King's joyning with us; bot all of them are much averfe from the League and Covenant. The Prince of Orange, and by him all the Nobles here, are for the last; and by their means we are somewhat hopeful yet to cary his Majestie to our Covenant, and the most of our defyres for Religion; bot I dare not promise so much: yet the greatest stick, I suspect, shall be our severe Acts of Parliament. It seems all here, even our best friends, will be peremptor for a greater mitigation than, I fear, shall be granted by yow here. It were verily a great pitty of the King: he is one of the most gentle, innocent, well-inclyned Princes, so far as yet appears, that lives in the world; a trimme person, and of a manlie carriage; understands prettie well; speaks not much: Would God he were amongst us. I send yow herewith a copie of what I said to him. Because it was bot a tranfient speech, I give out no copies of it here at all; yet that we spoke fo, it did us much good; for heavy flanders lay upon us here, which the report

of our speeches helped to mitigate. Our enemies have great confidence, by the French peace, to gett powerfull assistance from France. I verily think, if the King and we shall agree, assistance shall be gotten from this State, and the Marquess of Brandenburg, and some others, for good purpose. I pray God guide you there to put no more impediments to our agreeance than are necessary. My heart bleeds to think of a necessity for Scotland to have any friendship with the English sectaries, the worst of men, and a warre with our King and countrey men in our own bowels. What relaxation you may grant with conscience, and safelie, let it be done freely and publickly with this expresse: It will admit upon no longer delay. Ye will communicat this to my Lord Warristone.

Your Brother,

Hague, April 3d 1649.

R. BAYLIE.

MY SECOND LETTER TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLASS. APRIL 17TH [1649].⁴

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THOUGH I have nothing at this time for the Commission of the Church, yet to you I give this account of our further proceedings. After we had given in our chiefe paper, a double whereof you had in my last, it was thought meet we should speake with the King severally and privately. I went to him first. He gave me a long and very favourable audience, from ten at night till near eleven. The contents of our free conference possibly I may send you on a fure occasion: at this time it is scarce safe, for there is an English man-of-warre near the Brile that searches all letters comes from this: as yet we cannot gett it helped. In this conference I found the King, in my judgement, of a very meeke and equitable disposition, understanding, and judicious enough, though firme to the tenets his education and companie has planted in him. If God would send him among us, without some of his present counsellors, I think he might make, by God's blessing, as good a King as Brittain saw these hundred yeares. Finding the great sticke to be upon the League and Covenant, his own taking it, and assuring to passe it for England and Ireland; of his persuasion that his pass-

⁴ In Baillie's MS this letter is repeated; but the second copy only has the postscript.

ing all the Acts of Parliament, passed or to be passed in Scotland, for taking of it there, would be satisfactory, I strove by many reasons to shew the unsatisfactoriness of such a concession; and the day thereafter, putt in wryte, the chiefe of these my reasons, which I gave in wryte to the Prince of Orange, whom, after two long private conferences, I left, as it seemed to me, satisfied with every one of them, and promising to press them as hard as he could on the King. I find he had caused translate them in French, and had the substance of them by heart. I found a way to acquaint his Mother with them, who is a wife and religious lady, and promises to hold her Son right. The most of the counsellors are for Ireland, and all, both they and the bed-chamber-men, even they who are very great and real friends, are yet against our desire of the Covenant in England; yet I am not desperate to get some satisfaction therein. We are looking daylie for an answer. I feare I must engage with Doctor Bramble; for his Warning, it does so much ill to the King and all about him. We marvel ye write nothing to us. We have been vexed these eight days with constant reports here of the North's ryeing, and David Lesley's retireing. However it be, ye should not leave us so long without all information. No scrape has any of us gotten, since we saw yow, from any man. In haste, I rest,

Your Brother,

Hague, April 17th 1649.

R. BAYLIE.

By a good friend of myne, a Dutch Statesman, I gott this double of the two papers the King gave in to the States-Generall; as yet he has gotten no answer. The particular Provinces are acquainted therewith, but has not yet returned their mind. Surely, if his Majesty and we agree not, I see no human way either of his or our preservation; but God is great and good. It were a thousand pities that so sweet a man should not be at one with all his people.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. SEPTEMBER 14TH 1649.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

Your letters are much rarer than they wont to be. Except that with Captain Gorcum, I saw none of yours since I was with yow; only I have

heard these yow sent with the young man Thomfon of Edinburgh were taken with his trunk by ane Irish friggat. I hope yow gott my old long ones, which my nephew David Donald delivered to my Lord Lauderdale to be sent to yow; let me know if you have them, and these I gave to the Conservator, to be sent back with Gorcum, wherein was my letter to Mr. Nivein of Dort, to deliver yow fourtie cros-dollers. For his negligence to send them, as he promised when I was there, I have payed to their owner thirty Scotts pounds. When yow have gotten these fourty dollers, and the twelve rex-dollers I gave to your mother, let me know what yow want of three hundreth merks in cros-dollers which I gott from the Colledge. In your first letters to the Colledge, tell them yow have that much of me, for which yow shall compt. Shew me what I am resting, and if I shall send it in cros-dollers to yow with the first occasion, or what other way yow will. Caffillis and Warristone lykes weell of your intelligence: let it be continued.

I thought to have sent yow a particular accompt of this Generall Assembly as I had done of some others; bot the diary I wrote in the time, I lost; so I cannot now doe it; neither were there much in it worth the remembrance. The liteing of two for the moderation fell to Mr. Robert Douglafs, the antepenult moderator: Mr. Gillespie, the last, was departed, and Mr. Blaire, the penult, never thorough weell since his English journey, was not able to come to Edinburgh, whereof I was very forry. The two Mr. Robert lited were, Mr. Andrew Cant in earnest, and Mr. Mungo Law for a fashion. The three the Assembly added were, Mr. Robert Douglafs, Mr. John Livingston, and, by equall voyces, Mr. David Dickfone and me; but neither of us two would remove upon equall voyces; so, without question, the voyces for moderation, fell on Mr. Robert Douglafs, whereof my heart was exceeding glad; for I was very feared for it, and it had done me great hurt. The committees were framed according to the custum by the Moderator and Clerk in private, and read at the next session, without any change considerable. We spent very much time; whole five weeks: I thought a fortnight less might weell have done our turne. Transportations took up much tyme, and depositions of ministers. There had been diverse commissions, east, west, south, and north, who had deposed many ministers, to the pitie and grieve of my heart; for fundry of them I thought might have been, for more advantage every way, with a rebuke, kept in their places; but there was few durst professè

fo much ; and I, for my ingenuous freedom, loft much of my reputation, as one who was inclining to malignancie.

My Speech to the King, ſpeaking fo ſharplie of his Father's death, and the commendations I gave to himſelfe in the preface of my book, but eſpecially a paſſage of a letter I wrote from Holland, wherein, to a familiar friend, I ſpeak of the act of Claſſes as fo ſevere, that it will be needfull to diſpenſe with ſome part of it for the peace of the countrey : for theſe things, before the Aſſembly, fundry ſpake of me all their pleaſure ; yet I comforted myſelf in this, that I knew I was farr from the calumnie impoſed, and that all the wyfe men I knew profeſſed their agreeance with me in the three things named. My unacquaintance with obloquie made my ſkin, at this firſt aſſay, more tender than needed ; for I had fo oft in print declared my ſenſe againſt, not Sectaries alone, bot Malignants alſo, and that fo liberally, in my laſt book, that I thought in reaſon I ſhould have been reputed above all ſuſpicion of that crime ; yet I was neceſſitate to drink more of that cup than I did truly deſerve ; for whoever in my Sermon to the Parliament, I was as clear as needed, and in my Report of our treatie did obtaine the unanimous approbation and thanks of the whole Aſſembly, now in print ; yet I behoved, in fundry voices of the Aſſembly, either [to] quitt the libertie of my mind, or endure the whiſperings of my malignancie to continue. This laſt, though to my great grief, I behoved to choyce. I could not vote to depoſe Mr. William Colvill upon his libell : The man indeed had, in my judgment, been ane evill instrument in tyme of the Engagement, yet all was libelled againſt him was mere ſilence in that Engagement. For that alone I could depoſe no man, for the reaſons I gave in the committee of the former Aſſembly, when that act did paſs to depoſe for ſilence alone, if continued in : My mind did never goe along with that act ; though therefore I knew the whole Aſſembly almoſt was otherways minded, and foreſaw the miſtake of my voyce by ſome, yet I behoved to voyce his ſuſpenſion to continue, and no farder. As for Mr. Andrew Ramſay, more was libelled and proven againſt him, and all this year he carried himſelf in a cankerd untoward way ; yet I told, I could not voyce to depoſe a man of ſuch age and parts : ſo in that vote I was ſilent, to the peace of my own mind, though ſome of my friends wrote ſharp letters to me for it. I had alſo ſome conteſt with my neighbours in Mr. William Wilkie's proceſs, whom I judged more hotly perſued than there was cauſe. But my ſharpeſt conteſt was for the

Principall, whom I fand some men to perfew still without any ground at all confiderable: contrare to their defigne, I gott him reasonably faire off. Thefe contefts, and wrak of my friends were very bitter to my mind, and, joyning with the obloquie in the ear againft me by fome, did fatch my fpirit fometye, till I gott my grief and wrong vented and poured out to God; for there was no other whom I fand able and willing to help me. It was a piece of confort to me, that I knew the beft of the land were more (and on more probable grounds,) taxed for compliance with Sectaries, than I with Malignants, whom yet I knew to be innocent; and that I remembered the cloud of infamie under which fuper-excellent Mr. Henderfon lay, to my knowledge, till God and tyme blew it away. I have been ofter and forer feared for the woe of Chrifft to them whom all the world love and fpeak good of, than I was grieved for any reproachfull fpeeches which fome were begun to mutter againft me; bot this now is our condition, that the cheife men both in Church, State, and Army, how innocent foever, are whifperit to favour either fectaries or malignants.

In our Report, when I had ended what yow read in print,⁵ my colleague Mr. Wood, of his own motion, truelie gave a very ample testimonie to my Lord Lauderdale and yow, for your fervice. What was fpoken of yow, all did take weell; but fundry were pleafed to miftake what was fpoken of Lauderdale, albeit my Lord Caffillis, in his report to the Parliament, had faid as much of him; bot fome men fearing a defigne to bring Lauderdale in employment at this very tyme, was not pleafed with any motions in that kind, otherwayes I had debaited in the grand committee much to have the fatiffactioun of the Engagers much fairer than it ftands; and once I had gotten Mr. Livingftone, with the good lyking of the committee, to a draught near to Lauderdale's mind; yet thereafter that was cancelled, and the act framed as [it] ftands, to my grief. I wifhed earneftlie, and fo did the Chancellor intreat Mr. Robert Douglafs, but out of tyme, that the frameing of the declaration fhould have been committed to ane other hand than that it fell in; who, how able foever, yet was generallie thought to be among the moft fevere of the company to the King: but this could not be helped. Only many claufes we gott altered in the committee; yet, as it ftands, I much fear it fhall prove a divifion wall betwixt the King and us for ever.

⁵ "The Report of the Commissioners of the Church," &c. 1649: *Vide supra*, p. 85.

We were alwayes expecting the promised expresse from him, and for that end, some of us held off all we could, determinations of every thing concerned him; but while none did appear, and when at last Will. Murray had come, but without any letter or instruction, either private or publick, then there was no remedie, but the declaration and letter, in the style you see it, and the Act about the Engagers, went out without contradiction; which, as I foresaw and foretold in the Hague, puts harder and more peremptor conditions on the King than there would have given satisfaction.

We had greatest debate for an act of election of ministers. Mr. David Calderwood was peremptor, that according to the Second Book of Discipline, the election should be given to the Presbyterie, with power to the major part of the people to dissent, upon reason to be judged of by the Presbyterie. Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Wood were as peremptor to put the power and voices of election in the body of the people, contradistinct from their elderthip; but the most of us was in Mr. Gillespie's mind, in his Miscellanies, that the direction was the Presbyteries, the election the Sessions, and the consent the peoples. Sundry draughts were offered: Mr. Wood's most studied, was refused; Mr. Calderwood's also; Mr. Livingstone's came near our mind, yet was laid asyde: mine came nearer the mind of all, and almost had pass; but for avoyding debate, a generall confused draught (avoyding indeed the present question, but leading us into so many questions thereafter as any pleased to make) did pass with my consent. But Mr. David Calderwood and Mr. John Smith did reason much against it in face of the Assemblée: where, against my mind, the Book of Discipline was pressed against them, and a double election made, one before tryall, and another after, as if the election before, and the tryall, by the Second Book of Discipline, were given to the people, and that after-tryall, before ordination, to the Presbyterie. This I thought was nothing so, but was silent, being in my mind contrare to Mr. David in the maine; though, in this incident debate of the sense of the Book of Discipline, I was for him. However, already we find the defect of our act; for, as I conceive, and expressed it, so in my draught, so much direction in this act is due to Presbyteries, that they ought to recommend to the Session men to be elected, without prejudice of their libertie to add whom they think fitt: but I find it the designe now of leading brethren, that the Presbyteries shall not meddle at all with any

recommendations, but leave that whollie to any particular buffie man of the Presbyterie, to whifper in the ear some leading perfon of the parifh, to gett voices to any young man, though never heard in privie exercife, that he, by defyre of the people to the Presbyterie, may be put on tryalls for fuch a church. This I find will be the way of our elections, which I think unorderly. However, Mr. David Calderwood entered a very fharp proteftation againft our aēt, which he required to be regiftrate. This is the firft proteftation we heard of in our time; and had it come from any other, he had not efcaped censure.

There was a defigne, at the laft Affembly, to have gotten the hands of many minifters to a fupplication for moderating, in fome things, the power of the Commiffion of the Church; which was expounded by this Affembly truly to have been ane overthrowing, in favour of the malignant partie, the power of the Kirk. Great dinn was made for this Supplication, to try what was the bottome of it, and a very fevere aēt was made againft the thing; yet Mr. Douglafs caried it fo, that no man at all, even the chief contryvers, did fuffer any thing for it, upon what ground I could never learn to my fatiffaction; whether, becaufe to Mr. Robert Laurie, the confefled penner of the principall Supplication, impunitie was promifed for his ingenuous and early confeffion, and he being feure, others lefs guiltie could not be gotten punifhed; or becaufe others, forefeeing what neceffitie there might be for themfelves to doe more than fupplicate a Generall Affembly, had no will that any fupplication whatfoever, efpeciallie being only intended, and never offered, fhould be a ground of Church-censure. However, albeit a terrible aēt was made againft the thing, contrare to my mind, yet no man was to this day called to any account for it, nor, as I hear, ever fhall be.

I was much afraid that the fubfcription requyred of the Engagers fould have made many prime men in our land desperate; but I am now very glad that fo many offers themfelves to doe all that is requyred: as I expect there fhall be very few who fhall ftick upon it, fo I wifh from my heart that Lauderdaill may be moved to doe what I fand Callander and Dumfermling ready for, when I was there with yow; and what I faw in the Affembly, Middleton very near, and others, as Galloway, Lithgow, Ogilvie, Baylie, Innes, Cochran, Kenmuir, Fleeming, &c. actuallic to offer. I doe not expect now above three or four perfons in Scotland who fhall make fcruple of that fub-

cription, which, I hope, may be a means to teach that man (for whom alone my love makes me afraid,) some more wisdom. Mr. Harie Guthrie, in his appeal to the Assembly, had used some sharp and reflecting reasons, for which they summoned him to appear, resolving to have excommunicate him, if they did not find submission: but quickly his spirit was daunted; in all humilities he appeared, and passed from his appeal, which obtained him favour not to be farther proceeded against. Mr. William Colvill took his sentence of deposition submissively; Mr. Andrew Ramsay professed his suffering; some would have been at the present proceeding of both, as guilty of all the blood, and all the consequences of the Engagement; but Mr. Robert Douglass did quash these motions, which otherways easily had been carried on.

It was all our minds to have had transportations better regulate than they had been; for indeed their needless frequency was intolerable, yet Mr. Robert Douglass got all that shifted till Edinburgh once againe be provided both of ministers and professors. For their University they moved for Mr. Rutherford, but that was thought absurd. It seems they would be at Dr. Colvin, but he will not be given them, as a man demi-malignant. They who judge so of that man, would give them Mr. James Wood, or Mr. David Dickson; but in my mind, neither of these may be transported without greater hurt to the places they are in than benefit to Edinburgh, if they could get them. But as yet Edinburgh defies neither, and on whom they will fall yet, it does not appear: we fear they trouble us one way or other.

One day I escaped, to my sense, one of the greatest burdens ever was laid on me. Our committee, after many motions, had resolved for drawing up of the Story of the times, to propose to the Assembly a list of three or four; Mr. James Wood, Mr. John Livingstone, Mr. James Guthrie, and me. My profession made me secure of all danger, as I thought; and I minded it no more: but in the end of the Assembly, when it came to be voyced, it ran wholly betwixt Mr. John Livingstone and me; and had not the opinion of my malignancy diverted some voices, I had undoubtedly been oppressed with that charge. As it was, I eschewed it but by two three voices; but I blessed the Lord most heartily for it; for to me it had all the days of my life been a burthen intolerable, for many causes.

The Assembly, for the full purgation of the Church, as in former years, fo in this also, has appointed diverse committees; one in Angus, one in Stirling-

thyre, one in the Merse, one in Ros, one in Argyle, with most ample power. On these committees the most zealous men are put, that some few can choyce, even of very young men lately admitted ministers, for deposing of such as Presbyteries and Synods does spare. I acknowledge the disinclination of my mind to so frequent depositions of ministers, and to all courses that furthers that, to me so severe an action; but this is a great part of my malignacie.

I think at last we shall gett a new Pfalter. I have furthered that work ever with my best wishes; but the scruple now arises of it in my mind, the first author of the translation, Mr. Rous, my good friend, has complied with the Sectaries, and is a member of their republick: how a Pfalter of his framing, albeit with much variation, shall be received by our Church, I do not well know; yet it is needfull we should have one, and a better in haste we cannot have. The Assembly has referred it to the Commission⁶ to cause print it after the last revision, and put it in practise.

These were the chiefe things of our long and tedious fyve weeks labour; only we appointed a letter to be drawne for our brethren of England for their encouragement. The draught was Mr. James Durham's: it was his first; it did not so fully please as to pass, but was referred to the commission to perfyte. Our brethren of Ireland had sent Mr. John Greig to us, to have our advyce about their carriage in my Lord of Aird's defection. No publick advice was given; but Mr. Livingstone, and Mr. Macklellan were appointed to conferr with him on all his propositions.

All this while the Parliament did sitt, though ready to ryse at our first down-fitting, more than at our ryfing. Their main cause of fitting was to see what we brought from the King. Thereafter, being to ryse, constant reports, week after week, of Cromwell's purpose, to bring down the armie on us before it went to Ireland, made them sitt still to see to the defence of the country. To encrease the leavies, was to put the country to a farther burthen, while the present was so great as could be borne, and caused dan-

⁶ This version of the Psalms, by an Act of the Commission of the Assembly 23d November 1649, confirmed by an order of the Committee of Estates 8th January 1650, was accordingly authorised for public use throughout this Kingdom after the 1st May 1650; and the same version still continues in use by the Established Church, and the great body of Dissenters in Scotland. Some further particulars respecting its history will be given in the Appendix.

gerous grumbling every where; also, if ane greater army had been on foot, the world would not keep them out of England, which we did not intend, being farr from any agreeance with the King; so nothing considerable was done or could be done, though the English had come on us. They had writtten a letter, with a messenger, to desire a Treaty with us. Our answer was, if they returned to their duty according to the Covenant, we were readie to treat with both the Houses of Parliament; but could not acknowledge the present authoritie. This drew from them a printed paper, in reasonable soft words; but clearly enough renouncing all former Treaties and Covenants, as broken by our Parliament's invasion, ane advantage which they would openly make that use of, as to have it a breach of all their obligations to us. To this we made no reply; for what needs paper-debates at such a tyme?

While there is nothing to doe in our Parliament, they make themselves buffness enough. Our Westland shyres had, in the rates of monthly maintenance in bygone tymes, been burthened above other shyres. Oft they had complained; but no redress; they resolved therefore, now or never, to have it helped. Cassillis, Cessnock, Sir John Cheislie, and others, got it so contrived, that ane act passed for their ease, with the burthening of the Eastern shyres. Against this they entered a protestation, especially the Commissioners of Lothian and Fyfe, and well near the half of the Parliament, having Burleigh, Balcarras, Libberton, Louthian, to countenance them: with their protestation they arose and left the House. This division was very factious and scandalous: it continued near a fortnight; but was at last accommodat; yet so that the Westland-men had their desyre. This was not well settled till the Burrowes fell out amongst themselves in a great heat. Sundry of the burrowes had been long grudging that Edinburgh should bear so small a proportion of the common burden, judging that for their trade and their wealth, the one-half of the whole burrowes burden might be laid on them, fifty of a hundredth, whileas they payed but a twenty-seventh part, or thereaway; so in their Convention, at the Queen's ferrie, they advanced them towards a thirty-sixth part, and diminished Glasgow, St. Andrews, Irvine, and some others, a part of their proportion. This the Provost and Counsell of Edinburgh took in ane exceeding evill part, and stormed much at it, yet could not remeed it. But the most bitter difference was the last day of their sitt-

ing. Caffillis and others, of a long tyme, had a great defyre to have the annualrent fo low as might be. Many wayes had been projected for the payment of your Lamfons; bot all had failed. The money had payed to the publiēt of the eighth that was due in the hundreth, one and a half; it was moved to put it to fix in the hundreth, for the time to come, bot during the troubles to keep it at eight, whereof one and a half to be payed as of before, and the other half-merk to go to the Lamfons. When this was going, the whole Burrowes, except two or three obscure ones, protested, with a high passion, and went out; the rest satt still, and for no dealling of Warristone and Mr. Robert Douglafs, would fo much as delay the clofing of the Parliament that night, for they feared, if they had delayed till the morrow, that the people should have been fett on them with tumultuarie supplications; fo the Parliament closed without the Burrowes; yea, the Committee of Estates was made of a quorum, which should subsist without them, if they should persist to absent themselves, as they threatened they would. Much high language passed on both fydes; yet some days thereafter, the Burrowes were made content to sitt in the Committee of Estates: But all these grudges sticks in the stomacks of many, waiting but ane opportunitie to disgorge them.

By William Murray's private dealing, it seemes Louthian was made willing, with Argyle's consent, to have been sent to the King, bot alone. Argyle therefore, off hand, moved in Parliament, in the absence of Warristone, and without the privitie of the Chancellor, or any other of his friends of the Church, to have ane new Address to the King, and carried it without any opposition. Bot incontinent many thoughts began to aryse about the matter: some began to be jealous of Argyle, that he was inclyning to a new trinketting with the King by himselfe; others, that the manner of his proceeding was to marr the matter of purpose. However, the rashness of that unrype motion did no good: Louthian's employment was shifted: All it ended in, was a new letter to be carried by a gentleman; and, in the last day, he was voyced to be Libbertoun⁷; who finding the letter, drawne by Sir John Cheiflie, though much smother than the Church's drawn by Mr. James Wood, yet to be fo hark, and the instructions fo scabrous, that there was no

⁷ The "Act appointing Mr. George Winrame of Libbertoun one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice to repaire to the King's Majestie," &c. was passed on the 7th August 1649. The letter of the Committee of Estates, is dated 12th September, and with his Instructions, will be found in the Acts of Parl. vol. vi. p. 506.

hope of doing any good with the King thereby, has to this day shifted to goe for all his call. Yet I think it not unlyke he may be moved to goe now on the great change of the Irish affaires. His Majestie's chiefe hope was Ireland; and indeed it looked once prettie fair for him. Ormond had taken in all the South but Dublin, which he had straitly besieged. Cromwell, for all his diligence, had delayed very long to come over. My Lord of Airs, in a very subtill false way, had put himselfe in the government of Ulster. Sir Robert Stewart and George Monroe had joyned with him, and laid sledge to the Derrie. If Derrie and Dublin had been gott, there was no more adoe, bot to have sent for the King, and come over with him, first to Scotland, and then to England: This was the King's great snare all this yeare, to keep him off ane agreeance with us. But behold how soon all this hope evanished; Jones, having gotten some supply of men from England, makes an eruption on Ormond's camp so prosperously, that he well neer raised the siege. However, he encourages Cromwell, without more delay, to come over, shewing Ormond, for all his great force, so easie to be dealt with. Mackart, in the meantyme, joyned with Sir Charles Cutts [Coote], and coming towards the Derrie, made all our besiegers gett away, because the ministers before had preached so much against Aird's treacherie, that few of the people had heart or hand to serve him, but generally all deserted him; wherefore he and his party, as it were by Ormond's command, began to threaten the ministers, which made them altogether leave the cuntry, and come over to us. In the meantyme, Cromwell, in the South, hes put Ormond, without stroke of sword, to his garisons, and keeps Prince Rupert with his ships in Kinfail. Mackart, with his army, plunders at his pleasure in the North; and shortly it is expected Cromwell shall be clear master of all Ireland, as he is of England, and then have at the third poor broken Kingdome, more easy than any of the other to be swallowed down.

This being our case, lyklye our Committee of Estates may haste Libertoun to the King, to see if, when the rotten reed of Ireland is broken, he will think better of our propositions than he did before; so much the more as the Presbyterians in England, by a very pithie supplication, which they sent to me, and I to our State, doe press the same point. If either we neglect to seek him, or he continue to refuse our conditions, the ruine of both seems to be near; and though he were joyned with us in our terms, yet he

hes delayed fo long, that our difficulties and his would be infuperable bot by the hand of God. Allwayes, we would suffer all hardships with the greater comfort, that he and we were conjoynd in God againſt the common enemy of God, of his houſe, and our country. If we make ane new application, who ever hinders the King to condeſcend to any terms we ſhall or can propoſe, I ſhall conclude them in my heart, moſt unhappie, and either very malicious or very fooliſh men. My laſt to Libbertoun, yow have here the double of it; and to my friend at London. In your next, let me know where the Duke, Callander, Seaforth, Sinclair, James Grahame are; but above all, what Lauderdaill minds [to do.] What is become of Willoughby, Maſſey, Bunch? Alſo try to your power if there be any ſuſpicion of Capitaine Titus's compliſſance, either with Sectaries or Malignants: it concerns me to know his quickly, if yow can learn. If your intelligence to Caſſillis and our State be fo rare as it is to me, it will be little worth.

In my laſt, I wrote for Bochartus, and Petavius's two volumes De Doctrina Temporum, fail not to fend them; alſo all Voetius and Mareſius's late things. I pray yow fend what can be had of Chronologie that is worth; Apollonius or Morus will informe: we have Scaliger, Calvitius, Lanſbergius. Haſte to us Petavius: I purpoſe to teach ſome of it this year; and to aſſiſt me, write to me what yow know of Morus, and what is become of Spanheim and Salmafius's pieces for the King. When ye write to me ye uſe not to look on my letters, fo yow forgett to anſwer fundry things I require: help this: ſhould ye not alwayes fend to us Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus. Try, by Mynheer William, (to whom recommend me heartily,) the ſtate of the peace of Germanie, and of Spain with France; and if any hopes from Denmark or Swedden for our King. I wiſh we had ſome treatiſes of the lawfullneſs of confederations, as of yours with the French and Swediſh, for it's lyke we muſt preach againſt the King's taking any help, either of Papifts or Lutherans, or any Malignants: if there be any Latine or French books of that ſubject, let me have them. My beſt affections to your every way good wyfe. I hope my next may be to your nurſe and ſon. Read and cloſe what I write to Voetius and Mr. Walter. If there be no danger in Morus for Ameraut's tenets, if he and Apollonius, by your means, can be made to agree weell on it, I hope he may doe much good: while I know by yow the man's temper, I wald not know him.

FOR CAPTAIN TITUS.⁸

SIR,

MASTER TROTTER fent to me what ye wrote to him August 28th, September 3d. It came this afternoon to my hands: I was glad of it. I think we will now quickly fend our letters with ane honest bearer. All with us is in a deep quietness and silence. It seems Ireland is lost; I think we shall be next tryed. James Grahame cannot come hither for the King's good: If he think to have any service of us without If's and And's, he must come up, and that shortly, to our demands; which if he doe, he may have us yet to be his servants against all his enemies, without exception, whatever it shall cost us. Whatever ye fend to John Trotter it will come safe, though sometimes late to me. The Lord be with yow, and all your friends there.

September 7th [1649.]

Yours.

FOR MY LORD LIBBERTOUN.⁹

MY LORD,

WHAT yow and my Lord Warristone fent to me, on Monday the 3d, came not to me till Fryday the 7th in the afternoon, because given to a cadger; but if it had been to a barker, or any merchant, it might have come farr sooner. What I answer ye will read and close. I marvel ye are so long in fending your letters. It seems ye will stay till Cromwell perfyte his Irish conquest; which I think will not take long tyme, and then I expect him or his deputies in the heart of Scotland. Who thinks not so, or is not feared for this, I must have leave to suspect much either his prudence or his

⁸ Captain afterwards Colonel Silas Titus, well known as the author, under the assumed name of William Allen, in 1657, of the celebrated tract, "Killing noe Murder, briefly discours in three Questions," which is said to have occasioned so much alarm to Cromwell during the later period of his life.

⁹ George Winrame of Libberton, one of the Commissioners sent by the Estates of Scotland to Charles the Second, at the Hague. After his return from Holland, he had been appointed a Senator of the College of Justice, and was admitted 22d June 1649. He was employed on a similar mission to the King, in September, (*vide* p. 99;) and again at Breda, in March 1650. He was present at the battle of Dunbar, 3d September, 1650, where he was so severely wounded that he died within a few days.

honestie. In our present condition of heart-division, for all our quietness, and subscriptions to any thing ye will, I think him blind and foolish who sees not our defence against the poorest invader is inconsiderable. I would bless the man that could shew the possibilitie of any reall reunion of our nation, for their own defence against any common enemy: but the grounds of union, as matters now stand, are to me maine dreams. My hopes are in God only; but for any help in man, not only our King and royaltie, but religion, libertie, and all that's dear, seem to me weell near lost, without recoverie, for a long tyme. O, if my fears were vain!

Yours,

September 7th [1649.]

[R. BAILLIE.]

POSTSCRIPT.

If yow have any thing to say to Inchequein or Ormond, I think Sir Patrick Weems, who is in Edinburgh, could agent it better than any I know. I think both would [should] be tryed, if they would renounce their Popish associations, and be instrumentall to bring in all their Protestant friends to our Covenant. Why doe yow fend none to lye¹ for yow at the Court of Sweden? Haste some away to the King, if it were but to understand what he is doing. Yow our watchmen should not sleep, though all the land be in a deep slumber, when a fearfull storme, as I take it, is so imminent from the Sectaries to our Church and Kingdome and lives of some who mind to be honest against them, which I believe all mind not to be.

CLARISSIMO ET DOCTISSIMO VIRO D. GISBERTO VOETIO, SACRÆ THEOLOGIE
IN ACADEMIA ULTRAJECTINA PROFESSORI.

REVERENDISSIME VIR,

Ex literis dilecti fratris Walteri Bovii nostratis, vicini tui, nuper cognovi studium curamque tuam ut meus contra Doctorem Bramblium jam Belgice loquentem libellus transferretur etiam Belgice, et de novo apud vos typis mandaretur. Agnosco fraternum officium, et multum hoc etiam nomine me tibi debere profiteor, nec leviter devinctum probis illis piisque viris qui te auctore

¹ Here *to lye* evidently signifies *to reside*.

id sibi oneris imponere voluerunt, ut opusculi mei cum translationem tum editionem, haud parva sua nullus dubito cum molestia, procurarent. Quam vellem mihi daretur aliquando occasio exprimendi vel tibi vel ipsis partem faltem aliquam gratiarum quas in praesentia multas animo meo vobis conceptas sentio. Docebit, si voles, D. Bovius ex meis ad D. Spangium literis quis sit rerum hodie nostrarum status, et quam ingens nobis imminere videatur tempestas, qua a Malignantibus quos vocamus, si pergat Rex pessimis ipsorum consiliis utramque suam prout haecenus aurem praebere, qua a Sectariis, quorum res mirabili adhuc etiam in Hibernia, non Anglia tantum, successu fluunt. Utraque haec factio pari in nos odio aestuat, et ab utraque extrema omnia metuimus. Unica nobis in Jehova spes est. Ut multum egemus, ita valde desideramus transmarinorum fratrum in feriis ad Deum pro nobis precibus perseverantiam. Ab initio usque nostrorum motuum tot in nos nostramque causam a tua pietate sincerissimae charitatis specimina comperimus, ut fideiorem nobis in rebus quantumlibet arctis operam ab exterorum Theologorum ullo non polliceamur. Quare unice nobis in votis est ut velit Dominus ad extremam senectam te incolumem fervare, ut in domo Dei insignis illa tua lux diu fulgeat ad multos, quod facis quotidie, illustrandos, et ad dissipandos non eos tantum errorum fumos quibus Pontificii, Arminiani et Sociniani vestras pro viribus ecclesias offuscare conantur, sed illas etiam tenebras quibus Independentes, Anabaptistae, Chiliaetae, Antinomiani, caeteraque Sectariorum turba nostrae Britanniae caelum maximo jam nisu obscurare moluntur. Hoc voto supplic tuo nomine Deum veneratur

Addictissimus tibi Frater,

ROBERTUS BALÆUS.

Plurimum salvere cupio doctissimum collegam tuum D. Dematium, cujus magnam erga me humanitatem licet, in acuti morbi fervore, non fas est oblivisci me. Salvere quoque peropto heroinam illam vestram Annam Mariam,² quam quod non salutaverim dum tecum esset per sepe dolui.

Glasgae, idibus Septemb. CIO.LOC.XLIX.

² Anna Maria a Schurmann. This learned lady, whom Baillie regrets not having visited when in Holland, had obtained very high reputation by the publication in 1648 of a volume of Letters and Poems: "Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, Gallica; prosaica et metrica," edited by Frederick Spanheim, and republished in 1650, and again in 1652. She was a native of Cologne, but was then residing at Utrecht. She died in the year 1678.

MR. ROBERT BLAIR TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

IF it had been the Lord's will, I with we had mett for many caufes. I hardly think that Dr. Strang can be in any hazard for what was before toffed and fettled by the authoritie of the Afflemble, except there be fome new matter; and if foe, let him anfwer for it, and doe not ye, by intermedling in that kind, defyle your confcience and deftroj your name, which already fuffers not a little. Your folitarie vote concerning the two mislead-ers² of that finfull Engagement, with wings flees abroad, to my no small grief: I think Lauderdaill and Middleton, and many of that rank, nothing fo culpable; and I affure yow, had I been there, I would have cordiallie caften them out. They have been more instrumentall to advance that wicked work, both by their filence and fpeaking, than fuch as I have now mentioned. Get yow to your book and your work, and meddle not unhappilie to your prejudice. The Spirit of truth and grace reft upon yow: So heartily prays,

Your loving Brother,

St. Andrewes, 29th July 1650.

R. BLAIR.

LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, UNDER HIS ASSUMED NAME.³

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

THE letters of our friends, thir to Mr. Douglafs and to Mr. Jamifone, alfo

² Colvill and Ramsay: *Vide supra* p. 92.—As Baillie, in his MS. has inserted scarcely any letters addressed to himself, it is singular he should have made this one, containing some sharp but not unfriendly advice, an exception. It is to be regretted that his own letters for twelve months at this period should not be preserved.

³ This letter has no address. The Editor in 1775 supposed it "to be wrote to Mr. Christopher Love, beheaded on Tower-hill for corresponding with Argyle and Mr. Baillie." Love was an eminent Presbyterian divine, and was one of the London Ministers who signed the Declaration against the execution of Charles the First. It appears from Love's Trial, that a material part of the evidence rested upon a letter he was said to have received from Col. Bamfield, which enclosed others from the Earls of Argyle, Loudoun, &c. and one from "Mr. Bailey,

two to the Generall Affembly, the one of ane old date, the othier since the defeat at Dunbar,⁴ came but latelie to our hands. For feare of your hazard then, we thought it expedient to communicat them but to a few. At firft were called together, the Lord Chancellour, the Marquifs of Argyle, the Earles of Caffillis and Louthian, with Mr. Douglafs, Mr. Blair, Mr. Jamifone, and Mr. Wood. One and all were very much refreshed and encouraged by the two publick moft gracious and moft feafonable letters. The anfwer to them was remitted to the nixt meeting of the Commiffion of the Church the laft of this moneth, where we purpofe to make more publick ufe of thefe, if we fhall then find [it] ftand with your fafety. In the mean time, Mr. Jamifone [*i. e.* Mr. Baillie] was appoynted to give yow fome fhort accompt of affaires here; which he pleafed to receive.

This whole eight days before the defeat at Dunbar, the Lord had foe difpofed, that, to the apprehenfion of moft in both armies, a victorie feemed to inclyne to our fide. When, contrary to all appearance, the Lord, by our owne negligence, had overthrown us, we have ftill lyen under that ftroke, not fo much by any active profecution of the enemie, as by the Lord's hand now upon us, our divifions. A ftrong partie in the North, whom we have excluded from our armie for the late Engageing, did putt theirfelves in armes without publick order: It coft us fome time before we could quyet them. That danger was fcarce over, when ane other partie in the Weft, whom we have permitted to ryfe, and from whom we expected readie and happie fervice againft the enemie, fell in wayes of their owne, to our great and long difturbance; which we fuppofe Cromwell long before this has caufed print there. Unto it very myld answers were given, both by Church and State, as yow will read here in the copies fubjoynd: A while, notwithstanding, they perfued in their diverfe way; the enemie fell on, and putt them to a totall routt, whereby he enlarged his quarters now where he pleafes

in Scotland;” but thefe letters had no other address than a large *L.* on the back; and when brought to him by one of the witnesses for perusal, they had been opened. Love, moreover, moft solemnly denied, both at his Trial and Execution, his having had any correpondence whatever, either “with the King, the Church, or State, or any particular person in Scotland,” fince the War began between the two nations. But for fuch alleged conspiracy to affist the Scotch army in advancing Charles the Second to the Throne of England, Love was condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill, 22d August 1651.

⁴ On the 3d of September 1650.

be-fourth Forth. However our grieffe and shame for this defeat be great, yet the los of men was much within a hundred, and the prifoners are not foe many; and among neither, any man of note, but (who is now prifoner) Collonell Kerr. Strachan indeed, the chief author of all this mifchieffe, had before foullie betrayed his trust, and fince is gone unto the enemy.

Thefe mifchieffes have laid us now lower in the duft before the Lord. On Sunday nixt, the 22d of December, we have a generall humiliation, moft for contempt of the gofpell, the fountaine of all our plagues. On Thursday thereafter, the 26th, we have another, for the finnes of the King's familie, old and late, which we feare may have influence in the Lord's controverfie with us; yet for all this, we have not caften away our hope and confidence in the Lord; but with more vigour than ever we purpofe, with all poffible fpeed, to make ufe of all the remainder of our forces. The Parliament the other week did call together the Commiffion of the Church, to be refolved, how farre it was lawfull to imploy, in this cafe of extreme neceffitie, thefe who, for fometime, and while we had choife of men, were excluded from the fervice. The unanimous anfwer be them prefent yow have here fubjoyned. By the bleffing of God this may be a greater beginning of union among ourfelves, and of a more happie acting againft the enemy, than formerlie. There is indeed fome among us againft the imploying of thefe who before were excluded; but we hope that in a little tyme this fhall change; fo much the more, as in very few, in whom it is greateft, there yet appeares the leaft inclination to comply with the enemy. And to guard the better againft this evill, the Church, the other day, did paffe the fubfequent Act, which the Parliament is about to confirme, with a fevere civill cenfure againft all tranfgreffors.

After our forefaid applications to God on the 22d and 26th of this infant, we have appointed to Crowne our King, the 1ft of January, at Scoonc, the ordinarie place of our old Coronations; and thereafter, fo foon as we are able, to march, with the ftrength we can make, under the conduet of our King, with all our nobilitie and gentrie to Stirling; where it will be refolved, whether to goe with the body of our army to England, leaving fuch a partie here as to keep and guard the paffes of Forth againft the enemy; or, with the bodie [of our army], to attend Cromwell here, and to fend Maffey to England with fome thousands of horfe and dragoons. To

the former the most part inclynes ; but yow, with the next, shall be acquainted with our conclusions. But, in the mean time, the necessitie is apparent for the extraordinarie diligence of our friends there to procure to us their possible assistance in this our foe necessarie undertaking for the common safetie. The particular way we are thinking on, I leave to ane other letter, sent herewith, and to the instructions given to the bearer, C. B.,⁵ whom we have found a faithfull, wife, and diligent agent for your desires to us, and whom we hope shall be no less such for our desires to yow. We have great need of your earnest intercession with the Lord of Hosts for his powerfull concurrence with us in this our great extremitie. Expecting this dutie of love from yow and our dear Brethren, I add but this one word, that the brethren there would be carefull, as we have been, and purpose still to be, to lay, at this their new beginning, such foundations for their Armie and Parliament, that the leading men in both may be firme and zealous to preserve the Covenant, and our former principles, entire without violation : Also, if it shall seem good in the Lord's eyes to blessè our mutuall endeavours, that our friends there may be zealouslie conscientious, that what progress was made in the Assemblie of Divines for the reformation of religion be not lost, but procured untill a finall conclusion and all be ratified by King and Parliament. I rest,

Your Brother and Servant in the Lord,

JAMISONE.

Perth, Fryday, December 20th 1650.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSONE.

I SENT to my Lord Argyle and yow the two Remonstrances, in my judgement very insolent and scandalous pieces. If yow connive with them, and permitt two or three bold men to carry the Commission of the Church to allow any such wryte, I think yow consent to put upon our Church the foulest blot that ever yet it got : This will be a fore tryall to yow : if either yow side with, or be a conniver at the wayes of the Remonstranters, it will be to me a great griefe, a great disappoyment : had I either been on the Commission of

⁵ Probably Col. Bamfield, who appears from Mr. Christopher Love's Trial, to have been employed at this time in such negociations.

the Church, or been written for by any at Stirling, or, on the Commissioners generall letter to our Presbyterie, I had been defyred by our Presbyterie to ryde, and not through Mr. Patrick's comeing been expressely thifted, I would have certainly come to the Commission of the Church, and told freely my mind of these injurious invectives, invented only for division, and increasing of our present miseries. I hope the Lord will afflit you to help our Church, our King, and State, when, by the designs of the Devill, and, at best, the imprudence of some men and simplicitie of others, all are lyke to be overthrowne with our owne hands: The hands of lurking Joabs will in time be discovered. This much to you to whom I use to open my most secret thoughts.

A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. D. D.'S LETTER.

IF my Lord Argyle at this strait should desert the King, and verifie the too common surmises of many, which I trust shall be found most false, and shortly shall be refuted by his deeds, I think, and many more with me of the best I speak with, that it would be a fearfull sinne in him, which God will revenge. We are not without our fears that the King's flight has been procured by Hamilton's greatest friends, expressely for the King's ruyne. But if Argyle should have any hand with the Remonstrants for the same end, his sinne would be no less: That man my heart has loved till now: I hope he shall give me cause to continue.⁶

Your Brother,

Glasgow, November 18th [1650.]

R. B.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOUGLASS.

HOWSOEVER the want of a call, either from the Commission or our Presbyterie, keeps me from the Commission at this tyme, yet I am bold to tell you my mind of the Western Remonstrance, that in my sense it is a very scandalous piece, and exceedingly injurious both to the King and State; which, if our Kirk should countenance, would bring exceeding great griefe to the hearts of many, I am sure to the heart of one. I have knowne you keep the

⁶ Baillie's fears were unfounded, as the Marquis of Argyle was the person who crowned Charles the Second at Scone.

Commiffion from going the way of fome peremptorie men ; howfoever I have been grieved, at other times, to fee yow let things goe with them which I fup-
pofed was contrare to your mind. If at this time yow fuffer yourfelf to be
drawne over or to connive at fuch an infolent paffage, I think you will con-
tribute to give our Kirk and State a wound which in hafte will not be gotten
remedied. It is an eafe to me to have fignified fo much of my mind to yow,
whom I know by God's help to be able enough to doe good yet in this
matter. If it goe further I will prepare myfelfe, as God pleafes, for fuffer-
ing, but withall to give the world ane accompt of my difsent from the Re-
monftrants wrytes and wayes. The Lord be with yow.

Glaſgow, November 18th [1650.]

FOR SCOUT, MR. BUCHAN. [1650.]

IF great words would putt our State from crowning the King at this time
and make them fubmitt to the commands of our Remonftranters, they may :
If they will keep promife to the King, and tell us our duety, with any vigo-
rous authoritie, I doubt not of our fubmitting in a ſhort time to all their
juſt commands.

FOR MR. D. DICKSON, AND MR. W. SPANG.⁷

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I SENT the inclofed to yow by Mr. Robert Ramfay, thinking yow ſhould
have been at the meetings of Stirling and Perth, whither I was reſolved not
to goe, notwithstanding of many earneſt intreaties to the contrare ; yet, after
the diſſolving of the meeting at Stirling, I followed to Perth, upon fundry
letters from Stirling to me for that effect. Your abſence wes not weell taken
by many ; though I verily think your preſence would not have had more
influence on the Remonftrants than that of Mr. Douglafs, Blair, Cant,
Rutherford, Durham, Wood, and others, who could in nothing prevaill

⁷ This letter was at firſt deſigned for Mr. David Dickson, but, as we learn from the letter
itſelf, it was enlarged and ſent to Spang.

with them. Of the whole matter, as it comes in my mind, I will give yow a simple accompt, but to yourself alone, and after to the fyre; for, as in all the meetings I was silent, and a meer spectator, except one forenoon, wherein in some things I declared my mind, so I would desire to meddle als little as may be with this unhappie strife.

After the woefull rout at Dunbar, in the first meeting at Stirling, it was openly and vehemently pressed to have David Leslie laid aside, as long before was designed, but covertly, by the chiefe purgers of the tymes. The man himselfe did als much presse as any to have libertie to demitt his charge, being covered with shame and discouragement for his late unhappines, and irritate with Mr. James Guthrie's publict inveſtives against him from the pulpit. The most of the Committee of Estates, and Commission of the Kirk, would have been content to let him goe; but finding no man tolerable able to supply his place, and the greatest part of the remaining officers of horse and foot peremptor to lay downe, if he continued not; and after all tryalls, finding no mal-administration on him to count of, but the removeall of the Armie from the hill the night before the rowt, which yet was a consequence of the Committee's order, contrare to his mind, to stop the enemies retreat, and for that end to storme Brocksmouth House so soone as possible; on these considerations, the State, unanimously, did with all earnestness intreat him to keep still his charge. Against this order, my Lord Warristone, and, as I suppose, Sir John Cheislie, did enter their dissent; I am sure Mr. James Guthrie did his, at which, as a great impertinencie, many [were] offended. Colonell Strachan did offer to lay downe his charge, being unwilling more to be commanded by David Leslie. Some more inclined to doe soe: but all were quieted by this expedient.

Mr. Patrick Gillespie, by his diligence with some Brethren of the West, had procured a meeting, at Kilmarnock, of some chiefe gentlemen and ministers of the sheriffdomes of Ayr, Clydesdale, Barenfrew, and Galloway, where he persuaded them, for the present necessitie, to raise a strength of horse and dragoones, as they had designed in their Association, but farr above the proportion of any bygone leavie. This conclusion obtained, he persuaded next to put them all under the command of four colonells, the lykliest men to act speedilie against the enemy, Ker, Strachan, Robin Hacket, and Sir Robert Adaire. They made their account to make

up the old broken regiments of these four to the number of near four thousand, besyde volunteers. With this voluntarie offer, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, Sir George Maxwell, and Glanderstone, rode to Stirling. However many did smell, and feare the designe of a diviſione, yet the offer wes fo fair, and promifes of present acting fo great, that easly, even by the Chancellor and Mr. Robert Douglafs's procurement, they obtained ane Act of State for all their defyres. By this they stopped all mens mouths, and forced them of Barenfrew and Carrick to joyne with them. The committee of Barenfrew seeing the vast expence of the enterpryse, (for the very first outreek would amount to five hundred thousand pounds,⁸ and the daily charge to four or five thousand pounds,⁹ upon the shyres foresaid,) were generally averse from the motion. My Lord Cassillis kepted off Carrick; Galloway also did disrelifh the matter; but the committee of Clydesdale, consisting of a few mean perſones, who were totallie led by Mr. Patrick and Sir John Cheiflie, being very forward; the committee of Kyle and Cunynghame being perswaded by Mr. John Nevay, Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, and a few more ministers, the Act of State superveening, did quashe all farder opposition. All of us in pulpit, myself alsmuch as others, did promote the work. In a very short tyme three thousand five hundred horse are gotten together, with hopes, by volunteers, to make them above five thousand. We were all in expectation of ready and happy acting, by infalls on the enemies quarters, but behold how all our hopes were soone most miserablie blasted! Colonell Strachan his scruples were not only about David Leslie's command; for in this his friends had procured him ample enough satisfaction, getting assurance, from the Committee of State, that David Leslie should gladly permitt the forces of the West to act apart, and never trouble them with any of his orders; but Strachan's scruples went much higher. Since the amendment of his once very leud life, he inclyned much in opinion towards the Sectaries; and having joyned with Cromwell at Preston against the Engagers, had continued with them to the King's death. At that tyme, by Mr. Blair and our Commissioners at London, he was somewhat altered; yet not so farre as to joyne with us in Covenant, till, by the great labours of Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, his doubts were so farr satisfied or smothered, that he was brought to content the Com-

⁸ £41,666:13:4 Sterling.

⁹ £1000 Scots, was equal to £83:6:8, Sterling money.

million of the Church for that, and diverse other scandals against him: yet it seems that importunity has made him profess large as much compliance with us as his heart did yield to. His eminent service, first against Plufcardie, and then against James Grahame, got him the Church's extraordinarie favour, to be helped with one hundred thousand merks out of their purses, for the mounting him a regiment; the greatest offering which ever our churchmen made at one tyme. This did not a little lift his spirit, and gett him the farr best regiment in the armie: with the Western recruite, it became stronger than any two regiments in the kingdome. At this tyme many of his old doubts revives upon him; which, by the knaverie of his Capt.-Lieutenant Govane, and frequent messages of his late friends, Cromwell and these about him, became so high, that though extraordinarie paines were taken upon him, yet he would receive no satisfaction, so farr as to act any thing against the enemy, except there might be a treatie. And it did appear therein, that Cromwell was not willing to retire, upon our assurance not to molest England on the King's quarrell, whom he professed to be so farr fallen from all his right to England, that, for his wrongs to Scotland, he ought at least to be banished the land, or made ane perpetuall prisoner.

Strachan's axiome and debates did put the whole armie and committee of the West in such confusion and discouragement that all acting against the enemy was made impossible. Bot the matter stood not at this point. In our debates, at the time of the Engagement, our publick professions were, of our clearness to fight against the English sectaries, for vindication of the Covenant, and the King's just rights, on the Parliament's grant to us of some few defyres. Messrs. James Guthrie and John Livingstone their whisperings a little in the eare to the contrary, were not then audible: It was strange to me thereafter, when I heard Waristone and Mr. Guthrie speak it out, that it would take a long debate to cleare from the Covenant the lawfullness of ane offensive warre against Cromwell and his partie; yet in a short tyme it appeared, that the quarrell of the King or Covenant or any quarrell tending to warre with the English, became to diverse more questionable than it went to be. Whether a fear of the troubles of warre, or despair of conquering the King to the publick or their owne personall interests, or a defyre to keep the government not only in the forme but in the hands it was in, or truly judgement of mind, did draw men to those changes of former profest princi-

ples, I cannot say; only a great deale of zeale wes begun to be practifed againft all who did fmell in any exceffe of favour towards the King. What strict acts of Kirk and State were made againft malignancie? What numbers were caft out of their charges both in the church, ftate, and armie? What barrs were putt to their readmitting? Yow know too much pleading wes for the juftice of beheading the King; what ever fault was in the actors. Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Gillespie's debates were paffionate againft the proclaiming of the King, till his qualification for government had firft been tryed and allowed. You may remember the labour wes taken to hinder the addreffes to the King; and how lyke it was to have prevailed, had not the reafon, authoritie, and diligence of Argyll, overfwayed it; and, for all that could be faid, the voteing of Meffrs. Guthrie, Gillespie, Hutcheffone, and Durham that no commiffioner fhould be fent till a change in the King fhould appeare: and when it was carried to fend commiffioners, I will not forget the great ftudie of fome to make their inftructions fo rigid, that few had any hope the King would ever affent to them; and when (above hope) the King had yielded to all the Commiffioners had requyred, the induftrie of thefe fame men to gett new inftructions pofted away to Holland, which, if they had come thither before the King's imbarcking, were expected by all fhould have ruyned the Treatie. Yet when, by the extraordinare favour of God, the King wes brought in Scotland, to doe what either Kirk or State had requyred; and, upon this agreeance, the noyfe of Cromwell's march towards us wes growne loud, Sir John Cheiflie, Hoptone, and Swintone, kept off, by their debates in Parliament, the raifeing of our armie fo long, that we were near fupplyed; and when our armie wes gotten together at Leith, the fame men helped, by their continuall croffe debates, to keep all in confufion; their ftrange affronting of the King at Leith; the putting of him to a new declaration; and, when he ftucke but at fome hard expreffions concerning the perfons of his Father and Mother, their procuring from the Kirk and State that terrible Act of difclaiming his intereft, of the 13th of Auguft; that fame night, without the Kirk's knowledge, printed it, and fent to Cromwell with a trumpet: All thefe things bred jealousies in the obfervers, what the intentions of fome men might be; yet all wes difsembled, till after the defeat at Dunbar thefe intentions brack out in their actions.

Soe foone as they faw it probable that they were to have a force to be

ruled by themselves alone, it became their work to have that armie fo great, and the other at Stirling fo small, as they were able. Then, in these meetings with Mr. Patrick Gillespie, where Sir John Cheiflie and some three of our burgessees did meet oft and long, propositions of a strange and high nature were in hand, as Robert Lockhart, who sometymes wes present, did shew to Argyle and others. The first vent of their motions wes at the Provinciall [Synod] in Glasgou, where Mr. Patrick, Mr. G., Mr. Hutchefone, Ker, Strachan and others, with much night-wakeing, did bring forth that strange Remonfrance of the synod, where Mr. Patrick obtaining a Committee to consider the finnes procuring the wrath of God on the land, did put such men on it as he lyked best, and by them the frameing of the draught was put upon himselfe, who quickly begatt that prettie piece which I sent you. It doubtles had been the subjeect of more discourfe, had it not been drowned in the subsequent more absurd one [by] the same hand, in name of the Armie; for at the very first, it fell on the face of the Generall Assemblie and Parliament, and condemns both for their first treating with the King, and for the renewing of it in a second addresse; but most for closeing of it without evidence of his reall change. Then these most bitter invectives against the State, for which Mr. Patrick had used soe high language with yow and Mr. Douglafs, in face of the commissiion, at Leith, are all brought in, with large additions to any thing was then heard. I have oft regrated of late to see the Judicatories of the Church soe easily ledd to whatever some few of our busie men designed, but never more than in the particular in hand. I am sure the most of that wryte wes without the knowledge of the most, and against the fence of many, of the Brethren; yet all wes voted, *nemine contradicente*, except honest Mr. William Russell, Mr. Robert Ramfay, and Mr. John Bell, spoke a little to some words, but on the matter let all goe. Fearing what was in hand, I could speak little. The night before I expected nothing more should have been pressed but a keeping out Engagers from the armie: I loved not to appear in contradiction to some violent men; yet my heart being against their conclusion, I wes, after much solliciting and prayer, brought to a necessitie of contradicting, and had thought on some reasons for that poynt to have been mainly proponed for my dissent; although I doubt not but my impatienee and canker had broken out, if I had heard, which I never dreamed of, their invectives against the Treaties; but the Lord, in a very fen-

fible way to me, caryed it foe, that neither the Synod wes troubled with me, nor the peace of my mind by them. I once inclyned to abfent myfelfe, and had indeed gone out, but behooved to return, not daring to take that courfe. But behold, when I was ready to goe to the Synod at that dyett when the Remonfrance came in, my Lord Caffillis fent his man to call me to fpeake with him at his lodgeing. While we are a little ferious about fundry of the publick affaires, I found that more tyme had gone than either of us had obferved, and telling him that my abfence from the Synod might be miftaken, I took my leave, and with all the hafte I could make I gott up to the Church; where I found, at my entrie, that all the debates on that paper were clofed, and after thrice reading, it wes goeing to the vote. I adored Divine providence, who truly befylde my purpofe, but much to my content, had given me a faire occafion to fay nothing of a wryte, whereof I never heard lyne read. This, for the time, and fince, wes a fatiffactorie ground for my filence, to my owne mind, in that Remonfrance, which brought to the confenters, let be contryvers, but fmall credit; the commiffion of the Church having fo farr difavowed it, as for no request they could be induced to countenance it towards the Committee of Eftates; but Mr. Patrick behooved to prefent it himfelf, without the companie of any from that meeting, which would have occafioned a noyfe, had not the fecond Remonfrance filled the eares of the whole kingdom with a louder found.

Mr. Robert Ramfay and others had preffed in the Synod that for removinge of jealousies from many who were then fpeaking their doubts of fome men's intentions, the officers of the Armie fhould putt forth a declaration of their defignes. To me the motion favoured not; fince the raifeing of thefe forces wes allowed by the State, all declarations from particular officers feemed needlefs: yet, on the Synod's motion to Colonell Ker, a declaration by him and his fellows wes promifed, and prefently gone about by Mr. Patrick and the chieffe associates then prefent. But, as Mr. Patrick told us, it wes laid afide by the advyce fent them by Wariftone from Stirling and Mr. James Guthrie, (betwixt whom and them the pots then and thereafter runne very thick night and day,) not fo much on that ground he told us, that they thought it illegall for fuch private perfons to make publick manifeftoes, as for that, as I fufpect, which he told us not.

About this tyme the King's head wes filled by fome unhappie men about

him, especially Doctor Frazer and Henry [Jermyn,] with many extreme fears. After the affront at Leith, they had raised suspicions in his mind, which, upon the defeat at Dunbar were increased, but by the separate rising in the West brought near to the head of a designe to break the treaty with him, and agree upon his expenses with Cromwell. Upon these motions the Malignants in the North stepped in, and by the forenamed persons began a correspondence for the raising of the North, under the conduct of Middleton, for his present service. So many Noblemen were on this unhappy enterprise: Craufurd was given out for its head and contriver, albeit he professed to me his opposition to it: Lauderdaill knew of it; but he has said so farre to me, that I believe him, he opposed it to his power. However, the thing was so foolishly laid, and the King, by the counsells of these about him, was soe various in giving order for that rising, sometimes commanding and then countermanding to rise, that all the party was put in a confusion; yet, by the information of these foresaid fooles, the King being put in fear, that Lorne, goinge timely to bury a sojour, was drawing together his regiment to lay hands on him, contrary to his former resolutions, he took horse with some two or three, as if he had been for to goe for a haulking, but crossed Tay, and stayed not till he came to Cloue [Clova] in Angus. By the way he repented of the journey, and meeting with Lauderdaill at Dudhope, and Balcarras coming from Dundee by accident, was almost persuaded by them to returne; yet by Dudhope and Buchan he was kepted into Cloue. But when he came to that miserable accommodate house, and in place of the great promised forces, he saw nothing but a small companie of Highlanders; he presently sent for Robert Montgomerie, who was near with his regiment, and without more adoe, did willingly returne, exceedingly confounded and dejected for that ill-advysed start. When it was first blazed abroad, it filled all good men with great griefe, and to my owne heart it brought one of the most sensible sorrowes that in all my life I had felt. Yet his quick returne of his owne accord, and his readines to give all satisfaction for that failzie, and his kind receiveing by the Committee of Estates, among whom he ever satt after his returne, (though never before,) did turne our griefe suddently into joy, his absence not lasting above two full dayes. Yet all men were not so soone satisfied. Sundry of them who had been on the plott, fearing a discovery and punishment, lapped to armes; Lewis Gordon, Ogilvie, Athole,

and others, under Middleton's command, putting out a number of faire pretexts for their ryeing. This might have destroyed all; yet, by God's mercie, all wes quicklie quyeted. David Leslie, with all his horse, marched towards them; the King wrote earnestly to them to lay downe. The Committee of Estates sent a faire act of indemnitie, and soe without more adoe they went home. Mr. James Guthrie had weell near marred this peace: he moved Middleton's summar excommunication. Mr. Robert Douglass, and most number present, were against it; yet Mr. James and Mr. Patrick, by two or three votes of elders, did obtain it; and though the Committee of Estates, by ane earnest letter, intreated Mr. James to delay a little the execution, yet on the next Sabbath he did execute the sentence, to the regrate of many.

When the Northern storme wes ended, the Western winds began to blow the louder. I told their declaration wes kept in by advice from Stirling, as many thought, to make vantage of the new failings at Court; for these wes looked on with a greedy eye, and exaggerate to the height of truth. When, with a great deall of expenses and trouble, our forces in the West were levied, and present action against Cromwell promised and expected, the very first march is to Dumfreis, the fardest place they were able to choise from the enemies quarters. The pretence was, to attend the motion of the enemye coming from Carlile; but when the partie who went from Edinburgh to fetch them, neither in the going nor coming, wes looked upon, nor any good at all done by that long march, but the hazarding of the country, and the spoyling of a number of noblemen and gentlemen of their fadle-horses, and lying still at Dumfreis, while Cromwell took up Glasgow; this made it visible they had something other in hand than to mind the enemye. By their earnest missives they had brought Warifstone from Stirling to Dumfreis. There, after some debate, the draught of the Remonstrance is brought to some perfection, you see. It seems one maine end of both Remonstrances wes to satisfie Strachan, and for that end they did come up weell near to his full length both about the King and the State, the Malignants and England. For in this last paper they are cleare in condemning the Treatie as sinfull, and notwithstanding of it, to suspend the King's government till he should give satisfactory evidence of his reall change, whereof they were to be judges, who were never like to be satisfied,

although they were not like to be troubled with the judging of these signes; for the King, who had started away upon the suspicion of these things, upon the flight of them in an Army-Remonstrance, was not like to stay; so on this escape the government of the Kingdome, and the distribution of the Royall rent in new pensions, all the former being voyd, fell in our own hand; and if the King should have ventured to stay, then an effectually course was moved to be taken with him to keep him from joyning with Malignants, which could not be but by a strong guard or imprisonment; albeit this was needlesse, if the course against Malignants had been taken to putt them out of all capacity to hurt the people and cause of God; for this could not be but by executing, forfaiting, and imprisoning of the chiefe of them, as we thought fitt.

As for our present state, so many and grosse faults was pressed against Argyle, the Chancellour, Louthian, Balcarras, and others, that in all reason, they behooved to be laid aside, and our State modelled of new; so that no active nobleman should have had any hand therein; and as for England, they might rest secure of our Armies, not only till Church and State should agree on the lawfullness and expediency of that warre was found, but also a cleare call from England should appeare; and if we could not marre the one, and Cromwell the other, yet we behooved to move nothing of bringing this King to England, whom we had found unmeet to governe Scotland, and though thereafter he should change never so much to the better, yet it was injustice for us to medle with a Kingdome not subordinate to us. Thus farre the Remonstrance went on, and closed with a solemn ingagement on all their hearts, (if God blessed their armies,) to see all these things performed. I have oft marvelled that Strachan remained dissatisfied for all this; for I verily think, whatever he or Cromwell could have desired in Scotland, would easily have followed upon the former premises.

While these things are a-doing at Dumfreis, Cromwell, with the whole body of his army and canon, comes peaceably by the way of Killyth to Glasgow. The ministers and magistrates flee all away. I got to the Isle of Comray, with my Lady Montgomerie, but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his sojourns that they did lesse displeasure at Glasgow nor if they had been at London, though Mr. Zacharie Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High

Church. I took this extraordinarie favour from their coming alone to gaine the people, and to please Strachan, with whom he was then keeping correspondence, and by whom he had great hopes to draw over the Western army, at least to a cessation with him; as indeed he brought them by his means to be altogether usefles; though on a report of their marching towards Edinburgh, he left the west in a great suddentie and demi-diforder.

So soone as the Remonfrance was perfected, and all present at Dumfreis professed their assent to it, except Strachan, conceaving it to be too low for his meridian, Mr. Patrick and Mr. John Stirling, with some of the gentlemen, went along with it to Stirling, and Waristone in their companie. The Commission of the Kirk refuses to medle with it; only Mr. Robert Douglass writes to the Presbyteries to send to the next meeting at Stirling, with their commissioners of the Church, some more of their number, of greatest experience and wisdom, to advyse in matters of great importance. The Committee of Estates, by Waristone's means, at their first presenting, put no affront on it; but what was a verie dangerous error, gave too good words to the carriers; and, to allure them to action against the enemy, increases their forces, by joyning with them the dragoons of Niddesdale and the Lennox; and overseeing also the feathers which they had drawne out of the Stirling's wing, the putting them in hope to gett the Stirling's nest, which made them march quicklie west to Partick, in order to Stirling, thinking that Leslie and Middleton should have been in others flesh in the north. But to their open discontent, the northern storme being composed, and David Leslie returned to Stirling, they turned their head ane other way.

When, after my return to Glasgow, I did see their Remonfrance, and Cromwell's letter thereupon, on the occasion of Strachan's Quæries, requyring a treatie, which at that same time he sent his prisoners Mr. Jaffray and Mr. Carstairs to agent, I was sore grieved, but knew not how to help it; only I sent the copies of all, with expresse bearers to Argyle and yow at Innerary, and to the Chancellour at Perth, and Mr. James Fergusone at Kilwinning, with my best advyce to yow all, and resolved myfelfe to keep the next meeting of the Commission, on the call of their letter, to declare my dissent, if I could doe no more. But behold, the next Presbyterie day, when I am absent, Mr. Patrick [Gillespie] causes read again the Commission's letter, and had led it foe, that by the elders votes, [the] men of greatest

experience and wisdom of our Presbytery were the two youngest we had, Mr. Hew Binning and Mr. Andrew Morton. Then when it was pressed that I might be but added to them, it was, by a vote, refused upon supposition it was needless, being clear I would doubtless goe howsoever. These despytefull votes wrought foe on my mind when I heard of them, that I resolved not to goe, for all that could be said to me by many of the brethren; yet the clerk of the Commission, at the Moderator's direction, writing to me from Stirling a pressing letter, I went along to Perth; where, by God's good providence, I have staid since for many good purposes.

At the meeting of Sterling, there was a conference appointed of the chief members of the Committee of Estate and Commission of the Church, on the Remonstrance; wherein there were many high words about it betwixt Waristone and Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Ramsay and Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. James Wood and Mr. James Guthrie, and others: no appearance there was of any issue. The time of Parliament at Perth drawing near, the King, by his letter, invited the meeting of Church and State to Perth. The desire of many was but to have some agreeance before; if no other way were possible, as none appeared, that the Remonstrance might be laid aside, and much of the matter of it be pressed in an orderly way by the Commission of the Kirk, and the forces of the West be joyned with these at Stirling; since for so long a time, they had acted nothing apart, and never like to act nothing for any purpose alone. The Remonstrants were averse from these motions; so all was laid aside till they came to Perth; at which time a new conference was appointed, and four whole dayes kept in Argyle's chamber. I then, and thereafter, was witness to all, and little more than a witness; for not being a commissioner, I thought meet to be silent. For the one side, Mr. Patrick and Waristone spoke most; for the other, Argyle, the Chancellour, the Advocate, and Mr. Robert Douglafs; but Mr. Wood spake most, and to best purpose. Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Durham said some little for fundrie points of the Remonstrance. Mr. James Guthrie most ingeniously and freely, did vent his mind, for the principal point, (as he avowed he had oft before maintained,) "That the close of our treatie was a sinne, to promise any power to the King before he had evidenced the change of his principles; and the continuing of that power in his hand was sinfull till that change did appear." Though it was visible, that every day the kingdome lan-

guishes, under these debates, which impeded that action, there was no remedy: by no persuasion the Remonstrance could be taken up; yea, the gentlemen gave in a petition to the Estates at Perth, in the presence of the King, urging the answer thereof; from which petition they would not pass: yea, when they were most earnestly dealt with to conjoine their forces, all that could be obtained, both by publick and diverse private intreaties, both of their best friends, Argyle, and others, there was a willingness to joine on two conditions: The first was, an expresse laying aside of the King's quarrell in the state of the question; the other, to keep none in the armie of Stirling but according to the qualifications in the act of Parliament. When in these two all of the gentlemen and officers were found peremptor, the conference on the Fryday, the fourth day of it, was broken off as fruitless; though, for their satisfaction, the Parliament had been shifted from the Wednesday to the Fryday, and from the Fryday to the Tuesday againe, for all the issue of blood, and starveing, that was every day over the Kingdome.

Before the meeting at Stirling, the Remonstrants had a solemne meeting at Glasgow, by Mr. Patrick [Gillepie's] call, where, the subscribing of the Remonstrance was much pressed on the great committee of gentlemen and officers, by the ministers, who did sitt apart in the Tolbuith, and called themselves the Presbyterie of the Western Armie. That subscription was generally declyned, and by no persuasion any more could be obtained nor a warrant, subscribed by Crosbie the president of the committee, to some few commissioners, to present the Remonstrance to the State. Mr. Robert Ramsay, fore against my mind, did offer, in his owne and my name, once and againe, to come and debate, in their presence, with the brethren, the injustice of that Remonstrance. This offer was told in the committee: all the answer it gott was, that no man was excluded to come and propone what they pleased. Upon such intertainment we let them alone. Here it was where Strachan, before having laid downe his charge, was commanded to goe no more to the regiment; bot he told them expresselie, he could not obey. Some would have been at laying him fast, for feare of his going to the enemy; but lest that Ker and many more should thereby have been provoked, they let him alone. Govane, for his known correspondence with the enemy, was cashiered, and their skout-master Dundas also. Sundry of the officers were suspected to be of Strachan's principles, albeit the most went not beyond the Remonstrance.

When the conference was broken off, the Committee of State went about their answer to the petitioners; and there began debate; the most found the matter high treason: the divesting the King of his authority; the breaking of the Treatie closed and approved by Kirk and State; the sclander- ing highly of the Judicatories; and ingadgeing of private men to change the government: the deepness of these crimes did trouble the judges; the respect the most of them had to the persons guilty, moving them to goe farr lower than the wryte's deserving; and all of them being resolved to make no more of it than was in the Committee's power to pardon, they went therefore no higher in the censure than you have in the sentence; from which yet near fyfteen dissented for one or other word, though all professed their disallowance of the wryte. This dissent was in the King's presence. If he had been absent, as some would have persuaded him, the dissent might have been greater; for Waristone was very long and passionate in his exhortation to wave it simply, which had been very unhandfome, since the parties peremptorie refused to take it up. At the sentence, the gentlemen did storme, but the ministers much more. It came next to the Commission of the Church; the States had given in their sense to them, and requyred the Kirk's judgement. Here came the vehement opposition: The Remonstrants petitioned to have the present consideration thereof laid aside, lest the parties should be discouraged to act against the enemy: Mr. Rutherford prest this with much more passion than reason, and Mr. James Guthrie also. Here it was where I spoke but so much as declared my sense against the thing. Much dealing was still to take it up: Messrs. Cant, Blair, Rutherford, Durham, were sent to persuade them; but Mr. Patrick was peremptor to shew their willingness to quit their life rather than their testimonie. So when there was no remed, at last, by Mr. Robert Douglafs and Mr. James Wood's industrie most, it came to that mild sentence which yow see here subscribed. With it the parties were highly offended, and entered their loud protestation. Mr. Robert Blair came in the hinder-end. He and yow, by your letters, had signified your judgement much averse from the Remonstrance; which in a scolding way was cryed out by Mr. John Neavy in Mr. Blair's face: to which he replied nothing. Mr. David Bennet and Mr. Hugh Peebles exprest themselves bitterlie, and were answered accordingly by others. Our Provost, George [Porterfield,] spoke in his protestation of

something like fealing the Remonfrance with his blood. All of them went out of town highlie miscontent ; though als little occasion was given them as possible could be, either by Church, or State, or any persone. I thought the separation exceeding unhappie, both to our West countrey and to the whole Kingdome, but remeedilefs, God giving over the chiefe misleaders, who had opprest, to my grieft, many others, to follow their owne sense in that which the rest of us thought a high and dangerous sinne. Mr. Patrick [Gillespie] and Mr. James Guthrie, where ever they came, uttered their passion. I heard one who had married Mr. Patrick's sifter's daughter, report to Mr. Robert Douglafs, that Mr. Hew Binny [Binning], with Mr. Patrick, in Kirkaldie, had spoken like a distracted man, saying to Mr. Robert Douglafs's owne wife, and the young man himfelfe, and his mother-in-law, Mr. Patrick's sifter, " That the Commission of the Kirk would approve nothing that wes right ; that a hypocrite ought not to reigne over us ; that we ought to treat with Cromwell, and give him securitie not to trouble England with a King ; and who marred this treatie, the blood of the flaine in this quarrell should be on their head ! " Strange words, if true. Allwayes behold the fearfull consequence of that pride of stomacke.

The State sent Colonell Robert Montgomerie west, to joyne the best part of the horfe they had with the Western forces, or any part of them that would joyne with him. For this end, he spoke with the commiffioners of the West, at Stirling, who had been at Perth ; but they shew great averfness from any such junctiō. He wrote also to Ker for this effect, and marched towards Glasgou. On the Sunday at night he came to Campsie ; but on the Saturday, Ker, with all his forces, lying at Curmunnock, resolves to prevent Colonell Robert's approach, and by themselves to make ane infall on the English before day. Our intelligence wes, that the English at Hamilton were but twelve hundred ; though Lambert lay there with above three thousand of their best horfe. They called ours fifteen hundred ; but some doubles the number : for of all their forces, there wes not above four or fyve of Strachan's troupes away. Some speak of treacherie ; for Govane, for all his casheiring, wes re-admitted by Ker on fair promifes : Strachan was not farr off. It is certain when, at four o'clock in the morning, December 1st, our men came to sett on, the enemie wes ready to receive them, having founded to horfe halfe ane hour before, as it were for a march to

Glasgow. All speak of a great rashness, as in an anger, or what else, to cast away these forces. Lieutenant-Colonel Ralstone, with a small party of a hundred horse, entered Hamilton, and most gallantly carried all before him, killed sundry; some spoke of hundreds, others are within scores; however, he cleared the town of the enemy. Colonel Ker, with fewer than two hundred, seconded him well; but at the end of the town, where the body of the English drew up againe in the field at the back of a ditch, when Ker saw it not easy to pass, he retreated a little, which they behind took for a flight, and all turned their backs; yea, the whole rest fled apart; not one would stay. The English pursued as far as Paisley and Kilmarnock that day; yet very few were killed, some say, scarce twenty; not above eighty prisoners, whereof Colonel Ker made one; as some say, deadly, as others, slightly wounded: Argyle said to me, he heard he might have escaped if he would. The next day, two or three hundred, who did rally in Kyle, by Strachan's persuasion disbanded; and himselfe, as fearing to be taken by us, went in to Cromwell, with Swintone, whose first work was, to agent the rendering of the Castle of Edinburgh, with their dear comrad young Dundas, who most safely, and, as yet it is taken, treacherously gave over that most considerable strength of our kingdom. But of this more certainly afterwards.

The miscarriage of affaires in the West by a few unhappy men, put us all under the foot of the enemy. They presently ran over all the country, without any stop, destroying cattell and cornes, putting Glasgow and all others under grievous contributions. This makes me yet to sticke at Perth, not daring to goe where the enemy is master, as now he is of all Scotland beyond Forth, not so much by his owne vertue as our vices. The loss of the West, the magazine of our best forces, put the State presently to new thoughts. We had long much debates about employing malignants in our armies: some were of opinion that the Acts of Church and State was unjust, and for particular ends, from the beginning. All agreed, that common sojourns, after satisfaction to the Church, might be taken in; but as for officers, noblemen, and gentlemen volunteers, that we were not to take them in at all, at least not without an eminent degree of evident repentance. The most thought they might be employed as sojourns, on their admittance by the Church to the Sacrament and Covenant. As for places of counsell and trust, that

this was to be left to the State's discretion. However, when the case was clearly altered, and now there was no choice of men, the Parliament wrote to Mr. Robert Douglass to call the Commission extraordinary: A quorum was got, most of these of Fife. The question was proposed, of the lawfulness of employing such who before were excluded. The question was alleged to be altered from that which Mr. Gillespie writes of, and that whereto Mr. Guthrie had solemnly engaged, a defence of our life and country, in extreme necessity, against sectarians and strangers, who had twice been victors. My heart was in great perplexity for this question. I was much in prayer to God, and in some action with men, for a concord in it. The Parliament were necessitate to employ more than before, or give over their defence. Mr. Samuel Rutherford and Mr. James Guthrie wrote peremptory letters to the old way, on all hazards. Mr. Robert Douglass and Mr. David Dick had of a long time been in my sense, that in the war against invading strangers, our former strictness had been unadvised and unjust. Mr. Blair and Mr. Durham were a little ambiguous, which I much feared should have divided the Commission; and likewise had done so, if with the loss of the West, the absence of all the brethren of the West had not concurred. However, we carried unanimously at last the answer herewith sent to you. My joy for this was soon tempered when I saw the consequence, the urging of sundry good people to see numbers of grievous bloodshedders ready to come in, and so many malignant noblemen as were not like to lay down arms till they were put into some places of trust, and restored to their vote in Parliament: Against this, necessity for our very being, and hope that the guides of our State would, by their wisdom and virtue, and adherence of the Church and good men, get keep it what they had of authority; the Chancellor oft remembering us, that in this there was a fearful alteration of the case, that the King being now in Covenant, the most, whose malignancy stood in following the King against the Covenant, were no more to be counted Malignants, the fountain of that evil being stopped in them, there was just ground why that blot and name of distinction in that respect should be now abolished. Ane other inconvenient was like to trouble us, a seed of Hyper-Brownism, which had been secretly sown in the minds of sundry of the sojourners, that it was unlawful to joyne in arms with such and such men, and so that they were necessitate to make

a civill separation from such, for fear of sinne and curfing of their inter-prizes. The maine fomenters of these doubts seemed not at all to be led by conscience, but by interest; for the officers of our standing armie, since the defeat at Dunbar, being sent to recruite the regiments to the northern shires, did little increase that number, but taking large money for men, and yet exacted quarters for men which were not; this vexed the countrey, and disappointed the service. The officers, by the new levies, thought it easy to be recruited at their pleasure; but an Act passing, that the new levies should not recruite the old regiments, they storned, and gladly would have blasted the new way for their owne ends. Under these evils we wrestle as yet, but hopes for a good end of these divisions also; in the meane tyme Cromwell is daylie expected to march towards Stirling to marre the Coronation, which, fore against my heart, was delayed to the first of January, on pretence of keeping a fast for the sinnes of the King's family on Thursday next. We mourned on Sunday last for the contempt of the Gospell, according to Mr. Dickson's motion, branched out by Mr. Wood. Also you see in the printed papers, upon other particulars the Commission at Stirling, which appointed these fasts, could not agree. The Remonstrants pressed to have sundry sinnes acknowledged which others denied, and would not now permitt them to sett down as they would what causes of fast they liked. Surely we had never more cause of mourning, be the causes, what God knowes, visible or invisible, confessed or denied, unseen or seen, by all but the most guiltie. It cannot be denied but our miseries and dangers of ruine are greater nor for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy master of our seas, and for some good time of the best part of our land; our standing forces against this his imminent invasion, few, weak, inconsiderable; our Kirk, State, Armie, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of our people be-south Forth spoiled, and near starving; they be-north Forth extreame ill used by a handfull of our owne; many inclining to treat and agree with Cromwell, without care either of King or Covenant; none of our neighbours called upon by us, or willing to give us any help, though called. What the end of all shall be, the Lord knowes. Many are ready to faint with discouragement and despaire: yet diverse are waiting on the Lord, expecting he will help us in our great extremitie against our most unjust oppressors.

I hope you received my last inclosed in Callander's packett. You have

here a large narration of many of our proceedings. When I began to write it, my intention was for Mr. David Dick; but a little after I had begun, finding this bearer going towards you, I enlarged my letter for your [information]: haste and want of good instruments for the tyme, makes the write, I fear, illegible; but gueffe it as you may. You have with it a copy of a letter of mine to our friends in England, which for a tyme keep secret to yourself alone. I send you also a copy of diverse other wrytes, which I think you may desyre to see.

This day we have done that what I earnestly desyred, and long expected, Crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scoone, so peaceable and magnificentlie as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God: for it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought easily he might have performed, to have marred by armes that action, at least the solemnitie of it. The Remonstrants, with all their power, would have opposed it; others prolonged it so long as they were able: alwayes, blessed be God! it is this day celebrate with great joy and contentment to all honest-hearted men here.¹ Mr. Douglafs, from 2 Kings xi., Joash's coronation, had a very pertinent, wife, and good fermon. The King sware the Covenant, the League and Covenant, the Coronation Oath: when Argyle put on the Crown, Mr. Robert Douglafs prayed weell; when the Chancellour fet him in the throne, he exhorted weell; when all were ended, he, with great earnestnes, pressed sinceritie and constancie in the Covenant on the King, delateing at length King James's breach of the Covenant, perfewed yet against the family, from Nehemiah v. 13. God's casting the King out of his lap, and the 34th of Jeremiah, many plagues on him if he doe not sincerely keep the oathes now taken: He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th Psalm.

Dundas and Major Abernethie hes most basely delyvered the Castle to Cromwell. All the ministers saw the treacherie, and protested against it. Waristone, Sir John Cheillie, and the Provost of Edinburgh, who put them in that trust, contrare to the minds of others, have little credit by it.

Now the Parliament having, by the needles length of some, sitten so long, and ended their session on Mononday after twelve at night; none of the

¹ There was published at the time "The Form and Order of the Coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland: as it was acted and done at Scoone, the first day of Januarie 1651. Aberdene, Imprinted by James Brown, 1651," 4to. This tract, which includes the Sermon by Douglas, has been several times reprinted.

Remonstrants are on the Committee of Estates: Waristone, with great difficulty, was gotten on; all diligence will now be used to get up ane armie. The Lord be with us. Our greater danger will be from famine now; [and to] get victualls to starving Ireland. It were ane happy benefite if your Hollanders would bring us in victuall for money: the Spaniard, nor any other, could never, by their persuasion nor force, hinder them to trade wherever they find gain. Is not this a strange slaverie, [through] love to the English murtherers, that they, for their pleasure, should give over all trade with us their brethren and weell-deserving friends? Though we should never be able to revenge their ingratitude; yet there is a God who will see to it. Our case will be exceeding hard if, before the summer, your Zealanders, on piety and pity, be not moved to bring us victualls for all the money we have resting; though it may be the Lord may be pleased to open some other door which yet is not visible to us.

Perth, January 2d 1651.

POSTSCRIPT.

I think to-morrow we shall give order to excommunicate Strachan, and relax Middleton the next Sabbath. By the cunning of some, all ingadging officers and noblemen were all purged out of our armies; but now I think all of them, without any considerable exception, are received. On this necessary conclusion, some turbulent men are like to be factious; but to-morrow a Warning² is to be putt out for their reclaiming if possible. By God's blessing, our affairs shortly may be in a better posture: our great troublers, both in Church and State, have sett themselves aside. If God give us over to Cromwell, we expect little good from these men but a violent executing of all in their Remonstrance; but otherways I think they may be brought quicklie to repent their needles quarrelling. However, the Lord's will be done, who has begunne to comfort us, with the smallest appearance of better hopes.

² "A Solemn Warning to all the Members of this Kirk, from the Commission of the Generall Assemblie: With an Act, for censuring such as act, or comply with the Sectarian Armie, now infesting this Kingdom. Aberdene, Imprinted by James Brown, Anno 1651." 4to. pp. 19. The Warning is dated at Perth, 7th January 1651.

THE COMMISSION'S CONSOLATORY LETTER TO EDINBURGH.³

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,

As the sad sufferings of the rest of the land doe much afflicte us, so your more eminent afflictions, by the continuall oppressions of the incumbent enemy, doe more deeplie peirce our hearts. Our prayers to God in your behalf are for the abundance of his most tender consolations, whereby your spirits may be upholden from fainting in this day of your very fore tryall. We have been comforted to hear of your constancie in adhering to the truth and cause of God, notwithstanding of all the indeavours which these instruments of Sathan, who night and day are among you, have used, whether by terror or allurements against your stabilitie. We trust the Lord, who yet has made you to stand, shall confirme you and make you persevere to the end, keeping your garments clean and your consciences pure of all the abominations which are either openly avowed or more secretly harboured by that evill generation. For this end we earnestlie exhort yow, and, by the power we have over you in the Lord, require you, to avoid all familiar conversing with these seducers; but above all, that you beware to joyne with them in publick worship, or in any private exercise of religion: Who ventures to touch pitch will be defyled before they be aware; who will take fire in their bosome cannot but be scorched therewith; who will not abstaine from the harlot's house shall not be innocent: beware of the wyles and subtle deeps of the Devill; and, among all his instruments, we intreat yow to avoid none more than these miserable apostates of our own nation; for we conceive none to be more fitted of the Devill, and given over of God to work mischief among yow than these. Encourage one another in the Lord; and now, while publick ordinances may be wanting, let every one apart, and every man in his own familie, be carefull of holy exercises to keep in and encrease the spark of grace and zeal before attained; labouring with all care to obtaine from the Lord that softness and melting of heart, that earnestness and pouring out of a praying spirit, that firme adherence

³ To the title of this paper, (the date of which was 7th January 1651,) Baillie adds, "By my hand;" that is, Written by him, whilst at Perth.

unto and continuall dependance upon God, which may fitt yow to hold out in bearing your crosse, to that day of deliverance which shall be sent from the Lord, and which we believe he is hastening to yow and the rest of your fellow-sufferers over the land with all convenient speed: as for us, be assured we shall not be inlacking in our addressees both to God and men in your behalfe. Our Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates, our Letter to the Presbyteries, our Warning to the whole land, and our Answer to the exceptions of some men against some of our proceedings, we have sent to you, whereof we know ye will make good use. So commending you unto the mercifull upholding and direction of the Comforter, till thir times of thick darknes be over, and for ever. We rest.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON, AT INNERARAY. MARCH 8TH [1651.]

As yet I could not get Mr. Patrick [Gillespie]'s papers so as to write animadversions on them. He has (which yow desire) going ahort a long paper of seven or nyne sheets, and a compend of it of three or four sheets, also an answer to yow of four sheets, and Mr. James Guthrie's answer to yow of four sheets, and Mr. James Guthrie's reply to the Commission's answer to his letter. I have no time for this, for on Monday I dyte Theses of the Errors of the Time; on Thursday and Fryday I dyte long lessons in Chronologie; on Thursday I have a long Hebrew lesson; Thursday, before noone, I wait on the Homilies, and will goe through the Directorie for preaching, prayer, sacraments, &c.; Saturday is for Sunday. I have many letters for the publick to write every other day. I hardly enough hold up with all thir in so calamitous a time, so albeit I was minded to tell my mind of these papers, I must let it alone; only of the light view I took of some of them I had these thoughts:—They are a heap of clatters, mere testimonies of late papers (which Mr. James Guthrie and two or three with him put on the Church) which touch not the present case; without scripture, reason, or any light, or any life of discourse; they goe in a way of confusion and will not state a question; never tells positivelie and clearlie what they call a Malignant, and what a Malignant partie, and what places of trust, and what convincing signs of repentance. It seems to me their way is directlie

for destroying both our Church and Kingdome, if God help not you, and the like of you, to crosse them. The present question about the more generall junction, is but a mere pretext. Before any such question was moved, they were peremptor to doe as now they are doeing. After all possible intreaties of the Church and State, they would not consent to joyne their forces of the West to this of Stirling, as being truelie then Malignant and not to be joyned with; from which they had withdrawne all they were able, both officers and sojourns, after Dunbar, to bring them to nothing, and to make the Western armie the only armie of the Kingdome, to be disposed on absolute at their owne pleasure. They gave, in my hearing, at St. Johnstone, a kind of unwilling promise of endeavour to joyne the West forces with the North, but with two expresse conditions, which they knew would never be granted: The one, of purgeing the North forces according to the Act of State, which was to lay David Leslie aside, and who else, officers and sojourns, they liked, that Strachan, and who they liked, might rule the new-modelled armie als absolute as Cromwell did the English. *2dly*, That the King's interest might formallie and positivellie be laid aside out of our quarrell with Cromwell; and that not only his English interest, which yet they stand to, but also his Scottish interest, as it stands in the Remonstrance, from which to this day they have not past, but by their appeale adheres to. The question, as they make it, is high enough: a formall rebellion against both Church and State; a publick contradiction to both; yea, while they call for the nation's help in a visible extreame danger, our brethren, by daylie publick preaching, and prayer, and writes, openlie doe hinder all they can to ryse, and persuades all they are able to sitt still, till the King, Kingdome, and Church be devoured by Cromwell. The sinne, shame, and hurt of this their clear and avowed deed, is nothing helped by their excuses and intentions; albeit, if they will speak out their clear mind, I doubt their intentions are farr higher than to sitt still and let Cromwell destroy their brethren. I feare their principles give them clear libertie; yea, will putt them to act against them they cannot joyne with; and they will give no securitie. I suppose that they will, with force of armes, with the bloodshed of all who stand in their way, when they see it time, suppress the present Armie, Parliament, and Commission of Church, and frame both Church and Kingdome according to their owne modell. Grounds for this will be found in their papers and daylie

practises. I fear, however, for the Church : they are goinge clearlie enough to rent it. The most eminent persons and highest judicatories thereof, that are against them only in this State and Militarie question, they totallie misregard, as the language of these papers bears. They defend a libertie for a part of the congregation to separate from the rest, where the discipline alone is not execute according to their mind. The separating part, before any sentence obtained or fought, may not always want ordinances, so must put themselves in a church state by themselves, and that independent from any of these judicatories with which they are at odds. This one principle Mr. Patrick is now preaching, and others defending in discourse, if stood to, will force them to all the rest. Beside ane other question, they will find it out of question that Church fellowship is straiter and more tender than any State societie, and most of all than Militarie ; and where a State and Militarie separation is necessarie, there a Church separation is much more necessarie. I think you will make this so cleare that they will not gett it denyed. The assumption of the necessitie of a Militarie separation, the naturall and judiciall stiffness of some men, I fear, will not suffer them to quate, and so the conclusion will inevitable follow, the necessitie of a Church separation. God grant my logick here may be wrong ; but of a long time I have feared some mens way tended to this end on diverse presumptions.

I think God in his goodnes to this land has engaged you, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Douglafs, and my Lord Argyle in this quarrell. It's no time now to dallie, where is the boldnes and diligence of these men : have you your answers so full and strong as yow may expect no favour from them here after. I think yow would [should] not follow their roving wrytes ; say to the purpose, and speak out before God to their conscience ; though some of their writers will not hear yow, yet I believe God will make yow instrumentall to many of our good people, whom for the time they have deeply ensnared, and will carie any where, if God remeed it not, to the huge scandall of all the churches abroad, and the indangering of the standing of our Church and Kingdome, and the losse of many precious soules : Ane unexpected most dangerous stratagem of Satan against poor Scotland, yea Britaine, as any yet we have seen on a very simple and causeless occasion. Up, and the Lord assist yow in this speciall battell of his Son.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS AT KIRKALDIE.

MARCH 10TH 1651.

WHETHER yow received a packett of myne some twentie dayes agoe, I should be glad by a lyne from yow to know. In it wes one to Generall Major Maffie, and one to Balcarras, both open for your reading; also three or four sheets, called Mr. Patrick Gillepie's, against the resolutions of the Church and State, a compend of a larger paper of seven or eight sheets, which now I fend yow, together with Mr. Patrick's answer to Mr. David Dickson's letter in four sheets; also Mr. James Guthrie's answer to the same letter: there is two sheets of it more, which I know not yet if now can be readie. My owne opinion of these papers, I sent to Mr. David; a copie whereof ye have also here. God hes oft made your wifdome and stoutnes happie for our poor Church; never more need of it than now. If ye think it expedient to let so many scurvie lybells, be openly sent abroad against the King, Kirk, State, and most eminent of the brethren, I submit to your wifdome, which I have found allwayes greater than my owne; only I assure yow the boldnes of some men in daily preaching, writing, and I fear too pragmatick consultations, is hardly tollerable. Yow see in Mr. David's letter to me his mind that the Commission should yet once againe warne and declare. I wish withall that Mr. James Wood would once more take to consideration some of the matters of all these papers together; indeed thereafter the Kirk should take course to stop contradicitions. Our Synods now are coming on; I wish the Commission might take course they be not corrupted should writers, preachers, and bold debaters against the Commission, have votes in Synods and Presbyteries, especiallie in election of commiffioners to a Generall Assemblie: It wont not to be so. Yow will not forget a Fast for the Armie. Your Warning is not yet come to our Presbyterie: that is a monstous neglect. If Duncan Munne had kepted his gift of printing, we had gotten a presse long ere now; it's a very great pitie that a presse in any terms should be wanting. I have sent yow herewith a paper, called Mr. James Ferguson's, which hes done good here. In Mr. Alexander Nisbett's last letter to me yow will see the condition of Cunynghame, and in Mr. Robert Wallace's the

condition of Kyle and Carrick: make what use of all these papers yow lyke, bot misken my name. Though yow have all, yet I thought fitt to be fure of it. I did see just now two protestations of Mr. Guthrie's against King and State, goeing among our people. I think they force the Commission to doe what fundry of the wisest here thought they should have done before, to take that matter to consideration, and pronounce a sentence upon it clearly and plainly, without Ifs or Ands. If the State be right, yow are obliged in conscience to assist them, and goe before them in judging men of your coat, who, with so high a hand, every way opposes them under pretext of ecclesiastick liberties; and your not judging any their contradictions to be against your acts, I think they have left you no more place of conniving. You see what Mr. Alexander Nisbett writes to me; I understand it not, but feares there is some practice with England to hinder all rising for us and the King, as being all malignants together. James Grahame, the other night, satt up all night with some taylors for a new sute, and the morning after, well armed and horsed, rode east, I suspect to England, whether his master may follow. Were it not good to issue a declaration to England, both by the King and Kirk to prevent men's malice? When they hinder Scotland to rise against Cromwell, how much more will they and must they doe foe in England; and what can be more malicious and dangerous if not seen to?

UNTO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE, AND HIS HONOURABLE
ESTATES CONVEENED IN PARLIAMENT.

HUMBLY MEANS AND SHEWS,

WHEREAS in bygane Parliaments it hath beene ane ordinarie favour granted to all the Universities in the Kingdome to appoint Visitors for them, it is the Supplicant's humble desyre, that his Majestie and present Parliament would be pleased to name such as they shall think fitting to sitt at Glasgou, or any where they shall think it expedient, for the visitation of the Univerfitie of Glasgou, with such power as his Majestie and former Parliaments have ordinarie granted to Visitors in such cafes.

And your Majestie's and Honours Answer, humbly I expect,
Martii 10, 1651.

M. R. BAYLIE.

FOR MY LORD BALCARRAS.

MY LORD,

As I wrote to you twyce before, I now intreat againe, if there be any fitting of Parliament, you will gett the enclosed defyre past, if it can be without presenting of my bill, or my name heard. When I was laft with yow, the Reçtor and Dean of Facultie subfcrived a defyre unto me for this end; by the advyce of the reft of the Moderators, I fent lately that letter to you, which poffible with others is mifcarried. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, without the knowledge, and contrare to the mind of all our Moderators except one, by whispering Wariftone in the eare, paff our laft Vifitation in the laft Parliament 1649, without all dinne or obfervation, in the termes you have here inclofed, to a lift of names he prefented, without the alteration of one, to fitt where they liked, and till they were difcharged, as I think: the quorum, as I think, was feven, or at moft nine: That yet ftands above our head; they may meet any morning when Mr. Patrick pleafes, and doe with us all what they like beft. The handfomeft way to be quite of them is to appoint a new one: I wifh the quorum be fyve or feven at moft. For feare of tyning I have putt the lift on the back of this letter;⁴ change whom you will, but not yourfelf: if Lauderdaill be gotten in the Parliament, let him be one: have a care of this I command and charge. I think yow fhould prefs the Kirk by all means to take Mr. James Guthrie off your hand: if they doe it not, they putt yow on a needlef rocke. I feare, but cannot make it out, that befylde other refults of many meetings here, one be to deal with the Prefbyterians in England, not to joyne more with the King and this Armie than they did before with the Engagers. The mifchiefe of this malice cannot

⁴ My Lord Chancellour, my Lord Argyle, my Lord Eglintoun, my Lord Angus, my Lord Balcarras, the Laird of Houstone, the Laird of Bifhoptoune, the Laird of Lufse, the Laird of Blair, my Lord Broomhall, Mr. David Buchanan: The Laird of Cunynghame, Mr. James Robertfone of Bedlaw, Adam Blair of Bogtounne, Mr. Robert Barclay, Hew Kennedie, Mr. John Dunlop of Garnkirk: Mr. Robert Dowglass, Mr. John Smith, Mungo Law, Mr. Robert Kerr, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Bonnar, Mr. John Bell, Mr. Patrick Colvill, Mr. William Russell, Mr. Richard English, Mr. Patrick Scharpe, Mr. David Elphingstone, Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. Gabriel Cunynghame, elder.

be prevented but by the King and Church's fair declaration to England and Maffie's messengers. I confesse, if yow could gett your armie any way maintained without dissolution, I inclyne to a waiting on without any needles haste. Time may doe us good. Yours,

S. JAMISONE.

The King's goodnefs will daylie gaine our hearts, and Cromwell's armie, I hope, will faill more and more. I have written my mind freele and fullie to Mr. Robert Dowglafs.

FOR MR. JOHN SMYTH, MR. ROBERT KERR, OR JAMES SCHAIRPE,
MARCH 21ST [1651.]

I HAVE written fundry long scrolles to Mr. Robert Dowglafs since I saw yow, but he hes never been pleased to let me know whether he hes received any of them. I take it in good part, for I know the multitude of his weightie affairs: The Lord help him with them: only I pray yow, if ye have any time, call for a fight of my letters, and for him write me some lynes of ane answer. We know not what yow are doing. Our neighbours hes dayly large informations, I suspect to your prejudice, and of the publict, which we are not instructed to refute. I have sent this expresse to yow, to learne how all goes, so farr as may be communicat. By the inclosed yow may see part of our condition. Ayr is prettie right, not seven ministers of the twenty-fix wrong; Galloway also is almost whollie right; foe Dumbartan; Hamiltone is waltering. If yow take not some course, our stryving is in vaine, and what by our labour we have gained, your negligence will losse it to us. By Mr. David Dick's letter, I see he is busie on a reply to Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Guthrie: he would be encouraged. We are extreamlie evill served with correspondence from yow there. If we heard more, we might be more usefull. My service to Mr. Andrew [Ker]: he hes no time nor leisure for the likes of me. I need seeke no more extracts from him, since he hes sent all our Registers back againe to Leith.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, March 20th 1651.

ROB. BAYLIE.

Our Synod is coming on. I have done my best to have none, or to have it right if possible; but I am almost desperate of this. The diligence of some men is too great to gett their partie to keep, and the negligence of the other to gather their friends no less. Did not the Commission see that no man accessorie to the divisive supplication should sit in ane Assemblée till cleared? If some such course be not taken with adherers to the Remonstrance, protesters, preachers, writers against King, Kirk, and Commission, not only fundry Synods, but our Generall Assemblée, is like in evident hazard to be overthrowne. I pray see we gett intelligence what ye are doing. I advyse to send a letter to our Presbyteries, with the former Warning: send but one copie in write to our Presbyterie. I shall be answerable for copies to all the Presbyteries in the west, or what other papers yow will be pleased to send: I shall be at the charge and paynes of spreading them for one moneth at least. If Mr. Andrew [Ker] have the Minutes of the last Assemblée beside him, I pray yow take out what concerns our Colledge, and putt in any hand to write, that Mr. Andrew may subscribe it only, and yow send it to me with this boy, who shall wait on yow for it so long as yow think fit. It concerns us much to have these extracts, if possible to be had. I have written to Balcarras for ane extract of our Visitation, past the other day in the Parliament: I pray so quietly and quickly let that extract be gotten, and sent with this boy als soon as may be.

TO [THE EARL OF] LAUDERDAILL. MARCH 11TH 1651.

LOVING FRIEND,

I HAVE NOW oft sent to fundry of yow there, and sometimes express bearers, who have brought me back no answers at all. I am almost angrie; did I not hold in a time, when I see the anger of impotent men is neglected. I have once more resolved to try your discretions, and sent that express to your selfe and your coufigne William to crave two or three lynes under one of your hands, had yow never so much adoe, or else to give up goffoprie. Answer so much of my last as yow think fitt, in such termes as yow care not who may see it. We are altogether ignorant here what yow are doing, and are abused by a number, I am sure, of false reports. Resolves the Commission

to misken Mr. James Guthrie, and let the Parliament take ministers to task, that the King, in his first entry, shall have that load on his shoulders? Will the Act of classes make a new division, even among the Anti Remonstrants? Shall no use be made of Cromwell's yet supposed death? against which yet we have nothing. Eglintone writes to William Home, his servant, our baillie, that he hes throught our Visitation: I wish he had rather written it to myselve, for the quieter that matter be it's the better. I shall write thanks to my Lord for his care; but I know your cousigne William Reid⁵ is the man. The chief errand of the bearer is to gett a formal extract of that Visitation; therefore, William must perfect what he hes begunne, and see yow put him to it, to command the clerk to provyde with all possible speed ane extract to him, according to this inclosed forme, or any other that shall be better, which he will give to my bearer, who waits for it. I lay the charge on yow and another, and I have done for this time.

We sent to the Chancellor the last week for ane very ordinarie favour, a dispensation, which any Lord of the Session uses to give to any private gentleman, for the Commissioners of Glasgow and Hamiltone to sitt to perfect our decreits of the Univerfitie of Glasgow, for our teyndes and stipends the last year, that wes near a poynt. The Chancellor advyfed, since he had no power during the fitting of Parliament, to give in our petition to the Parliament itself; we did foe, our bill wes read and remitted to the Committee of Bills; there, for want of agenting, it wes slighted and refused on two false narratives: One, that the people we had to doe with, lay under the feet of theemie, and could not appear in Glasgow: This is false, for all we have to doe with, are in four paroches, Kilbride, Govane, Glasgow, and Renfrew, who comes alse freely hither as in greatest peace; neither needs any of them be here to answer, for the decret we crave is only for forme, wherein is no matter of contraverfie, but for our ordinarie unquestioned rents, wherein we are in long use of payment. The other information wes, that a partie of the English wes to lye at Glasgow: This is one, I hope, of the many false proffers of the time. I have knowne when yow have had skill to help a friend in need, and in his just cause: Try yet if William and my Lord Eglintoune can make a dispensation to us, according to our last week's bill, pafs after our Visitation. Yow are ane old mafon, and may be one againe. I take it yow are a good-enough agent

⁵ The Earl of Balcarras; in like manner he often addressed Lord Lauderdale as John Reid: *Vide infra*, p. 155.

and pockbearer at the Parliament doore, when I have to doe. Send home the bearer to me with the extract of the Visitation, and the dispensation, and I shall say you are a good fellow, worthy to be advanced one class were it *per saltum*; only be warre of Mr. James Guthrie's loope. By all means eschew new divisions; keep Argyle by any means possible; but for no cause loose the Kirk, if you resolve not to loose yourselfe: be content to take what they will give, if you be not mad.

FOR MR. JAMES BLAIR. MARCH 11TH 1651.

JAMES,

YOUR kind letter to me was very welcome, and allways what comes from you shall be welcome to me; read and close the inclosed. Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie are going on with their work to destroy our State and rent our Kirk, but we hope it shall not lye in their power. Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Dick, stand very right and zealous against their evil way. The most of the brethren of the West are fallen off them, and more daily will, for their pride and schisme will appear daily more and more intollerable: their only confidence is in Cromwell's victory, which God avert; or, if it should be God's pleasure to try us yet further, honest men will get from their good God patience and courage, to be ready to suffer the most which tyrants malice can impose:—these things to yourselfe. Use all diligence by yourselfe, or any of the gentry and ministrie you know faithfull and active, to hold your country right, and above all, to get the ministrie of Ireland well informed. Try if James Wallace, younger Achans, be to Ireland; he has left the King, I fear, for no good offices, he is poisoned. For our new schisme, Mr. John Park lay it on him to get all papers: these that are good, are Mr. James Wood's, Mr. David Dick's, Mr. James Fergusone's; have you the care to get them copied and sent to Ireland. Be not slack as you love God, the King, the poor Kirks, and Kingdomes of the three dominions which are lyke to be cast in a new danger by our brethren, the imprudence of some, and maliciousness of others. Send me an account both of your diligence in Galloway and Ireland, and the condition of both countries. Your knowledge of the truth hereof may doe good.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I HOPE yow have received the packett I fent yow with James Campbell. On Saturday at even laft, there came a poft to Glaſgow from Mr. James Guthrie to Mr. Patrick, ſhewing, that he was to appear before the King and State on Monday laft, the 10th of this infant, and for that end defyred the prayers of the people of God here. Upon this alarum, Mr. Patrick and Mr. John Carftairs on the Sunday, caft their doctrine on the ſuffering of faithfull miniſters, and the great defection of Church and State. On the Monday, Mr. John Carftairs choiſed expreſſly the 4th of the Coloffians, the Apoſtle in bonds his deſyre of the people's prayers; and did exhort the godly to be much in prayer for help to them who were now on the ſtage, that they might carie themſelves honourable, and perfect their teſtimonie; or to this purpoſe: accordingly the moſt of that day wes ſpent in faſting and prayer by fundry of our beſt people, in Mr. Patrick's houſe and other places. On Tueſday, much conſultation wes in Mr. Patrick's houſe how to gett our Presbyterie ingadged in a letter to the Commiſſion for Mr. James Guthrie. When we come there, Mr. Patrick preſſed a letter exhortatorie of the Commiſſion to ſee the Committee of Eſtates ineroached not on the liberties of the Church. For a while I intreated ſuch motions might be lett alone; when intreaties prevailed not, we came to debate it, and after long pleading that all ſuch letters, how ſpareing ſoever, were ane imputation on the King and State of a high cryme, which were raſhneſs in us to ſuppone, not having heard them firſt ſpeak for themſelves; and that it were to give the Commiſſion a needleſs admonition, while our Presbyterie had given them no ſatiffaction yet for our laſt open diſobedience to their injunction, which many of us judged very juſt and neceſſare; that our writing wes preſſed only to be a leading caſe to other Presbyteries to give ſome encouragement and countenance to Mr. James Guthrie in his contradictions to Church and State, which we judged very ſinfull, ſcandalous, and dangerous; which we would not now debate, bot on a juſt occaſion were reſolved to witneſs againſt. Debates to this purpoſe could not obtain a delay to the next meeting, bot it behoved

to goe to a present vote. We knew Mr. Patrick, by the multitude of his yeomen elders, could carie what he pleased; we could doe no more but enter our dissent, which I did in my owne and for eight more, Masters Ramsay, Hew Blair, Zacharie Boyd, George Young, Gabriell Cunynghame, Archibald Denneftone, Robert Young, William Hoome. I shall doe what I can to keep other Presbyteries off yow; but if the Commission will not in time look to some men's ways and restlessnesses, the schisme will get such strength that the end may be doolefull. All this to yourselfe, and to such few friends yow please. The Lord help and direct yow.

I desyre not to put yow to any writing but one two lynes, if yow received this and my two former packetts. What strange work we had for the intimation of Strachan's excommunication, I speake not till ane other occasion. Your Warning will never, it seems, come to us, and when it comes, it will be refused, except by dissenters

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS. APRIL 4TH 1651.

SIR,

I WAS refreshed with your kind and large letter, and made the best use I could of the many seasonable instructions therein. However, we expected not a Synod in tymes and places so full of danger; yet I fand our brethren here had made it foe to have a Synod kept, and by many letters and great industrie had convened from all the Presbyteries the brethren of their mind with multitudes of yeomen elders. At the very first blenk it was apparent there wes some designe in hand. Fearing it before, I had written it before to some in all the Presbyteries, to cause brethren of their mind keep so weell as might be; but partlie the storme of the weather, and partlie the moving of the enemy, made few from Aire and Dumbartane, whence I expected most help, to come in. We purposed to make Mr. James Fergusone, Moderator; but they carried Mr. Matthew Mowat; and by this I perceived clearlie they had gotten so many sillie yeomen presently chosen for the purpose, that they could carie in the Synod whatever they pleased. They moved a committee for publict affaires; fearing the end of it, I opposed it as needless; but it wes voted, and a dozen of their strongest men put on it. I only

could gett three of my mind on it ; Masters Robert Ramfay, James Fergufone, Patrick Colville. The first thing there Mr. Patrick Gillefpie pressed, was the danger from junction with the Malignants, and our deutie about it. Three or four votes past directlie, running towards a new Remonstrance. This long I kept up the Commission's letters, staying till I fand their designe, and then seeing it clearlie, I delyvered the letters whereby I put them off their purpose for one night. Mr. James Guthrie wes then lodged with Mr. Patrick, and Mr. James Durhame also, for his familie for the time dwelt with Mr. Patrick, and Mr. James Naefmith's with Mr. John Cartlairs. The Synod wes putting off the time with ordinarie forms ; but the hearts and eyes of all wes on the buffinefs of our Committee, for which the Synod at this unfeasonable time wes convened. At our next meeting in the Committee, they pretending a rage at the Commission's letters, Mr. Patrick, as a moderating man, proponed from his cabbin-counsell to fend commissioners from the assemblie, onlie with some few instructions, to crave satisfiactioun from the Commission in the doubts of the brethren who were dissatisfiied. Fearing the designe after all the nixt days tough debates, we defyred to see the letter and instructions put in forme, that we might judge on them. At last they were brought forth : We fand them very high and injurious to the Commission and State ; yet for peace cause, and preventing of a rupture, we were content to adjourne the Synod, to permitt the brethren yet dissatisfiied, to fend whom they pleased to the Commission for conference on their doubts ; in the meantime to delay the fast, and reading of the papers, only we required that the Synod should not be ingadged in the dissatisfiactioun of the brethren. Thus farre we came with some reluctancie of our owne mind, and thereby gained almost the Committee to our defyre ; but Mr. Patrick, knowing his advantage, wes preemptor to have the Synod involved in the dissatisfiactioun, and us in the dissent ; we, after much toyle, gave over. In the Synod we had long fruitless debates on the overture of laying aside the reading of the Warnings, and delaying the Fast, adjourning the Synod till the commissioners returne from the Commission. On the letter, and strange instructions, our reasons were long and tough enough, but calme and without irritation on either hand. At last I gave in this dissent, to which diverse in every Presbyterie did adhere. Eight commissioners, the rigidest opposers of the union of the forces, were voted to goe to yow, viz. : Masters Patrick Gillefpie, James Naefmith, John Knave [Nevay], Gabriell

Maxwell, Alexander Dunlop, Matthew Mowatt, John Carstairs. Their hope is to gaine yow particularlie, and a pluralitie of the Commiffion; when yow for this conference have appointed it at Stirling, or any near place, and they brought hither by their follicitation all the members affected to them. If they fail in this, at the next felfion of the adjourned [Synod], expect ftrange work from them: yow had great need to deal prudently in this bufinefs. I find very many of the minifters of the Synod, who joyned not in our diffent, to be in their heart for joyning with the armie, notwithstanding of all their diffatiffaction otherways. I find the body of our people in all our fhyles to be heartily for the fame conclufion. But Mr. Patrick and two or three other by their cunning and extreame diligence, are like to involve the body of the minifters, and, by a little time, of the people, into a remedilefs diffatiffaction.

Having mett after the Synod with fome of the wifeft of our mind in all our Presbyteries, I was defyred to have your opinion in fundrie things. 1. If yow have no power to difcharge this noveltie amongft us, ane adjourned Synod, or yow think it not expedient to ufe your power to difcharge it, as being kept of a clear defigne to croffe the publick judicatories, whether in that cafe yow think it expedient that we, the diffenters, fhall all be abfent, or fhall endeavour to be fo frequent at it as we are able? for yet we are hopefull, upon diligence, if not to carry the Synod, yet to make our diffent ftronger. 2/y, If this Synod fhall medle to censure Presbyteries for their obedience to the Generall Affembly, or Commiffion of the Church, if it fhall not be declyned as ane uncompetent judge? 3/y, If it fhall not be expedient, till that conference end, or till we receive direCTIONS from yow, to let alone reading of your papers, and keeping of the Faft? We think if yow write feverallie to Presbyteries to crave an answer from them of the willingnefs of every minifter to further the leavies and junction of them with the prefent army, without any more, would draw a good answer from the moft to this maine and principall question, wherein whoever were not truelie ingadged, and openlie, would fhortlie come to all elfe required, and presentlie would fall off the oppofite party. We think a privat kind of letter from your felfe to Mafters Thomas Kirkaldie, William Cockburne, and to Francis Aird, for the ingadging of thefe three (who, as we are informed, and I am fure of Mr. Francis, are in their mind for

joyning in the leavies,) would much help to gett their three Presbyteries with us, Lanerk, Ayr, and Hamiltone. These parts of your papers and letters which threatened censure to our brethren were taken by them in high disdain; and by diverse others wondered at, that yow would recommend to Presbyteries and Synods to censure any whom the Commission wes farr from beginning a proces with, the prime delinquents in this kind. We are all farr from desyreing the least trouble to any; but we think if the Commission on this occasion declare not their approbation of our dissent, and whatever satisfaction they may give to our Synod's commissioners, (which from our hearts we desyre may be so great as to gaine them all,) yet if by them the Commission be drawne from any of their just resolutions, that we who have been following their directions so really and prudently as we could, are scarce well used; and the body of the countrey which yet are for the way of State and Kirk, will quickly be in danger to fall off to ane other way. We fear our brethren have als high thoughts to gett the Kirk and State brought about to the modell of their Remonstrance as ever, cost what it may to themselves, or to whomsoever who stands in their way. See weell to it at this very time: yow had never more need. If we have any skill to discern, take heed what yow grant in changing of the place of the Commission; and in your meeting of the commissioners from the West, there is hopes of turning the Commission on your owne head. The taking of Eglintone confirms us of the great treacherie of these about the King. Alace! that so good a King should have come among us to be destroyed by our owne hands, most by traitors and dividers. What Mr. Durhame minds we know not; in the Synod, and the Committee, wherein his name wes always called, and sometimes he satt, he wes not against us; but if he had been pleased to have syded any wayes with us who were for the Publict Resolutions, it might have done us much good. We with all our fears of his way may be found vaine. Faill not to see Mr. Andrew [Ker] answer what I wrote to him in Mr. James Durhame's matters. I made good use of all the papers he sent me in the time of the Synod: the answer to Ayr is excellent. Mr. David Dick his vindication is very good. Mr. Robert Ramsay hes put out a long, and as I conceive, a strong paper. But I hear our brethren puffes at all, and minds to write no more, thinking their partie fast enough; but resolves to act, and let us be talking.

I have fent this bearer exprefflie to yow and Mr. Andrew [Ker], to wait on yow, if need be, for two or three dayes. As yet Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Bennet hes been quiet among us ; we know not how long it will be foe. I held up in my hand, in the Synod, the Commiffion's fupplication to the Parliament, defyring to read it ; and affuring it would take off much of the burthen that is caufelefflie laid on the Commiffion ; but this wes refufed. Remember, if the brethren in the Weft, (for all their appeals from the Commiffion, and carying of the Synod againft it, and difobedience to it,) fhall yet be permitted to fitt and vote in thefe things they have preached againft, their multitude will put yow hard to it. The Lord, who oft hes given yow wifdome and courage, defert yow not now. Your Brother,

R. BAILLIE.

[TO MR. ANDREW KER, CLERK OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.]

ANDREW,

THESE are thanks for your laft kind long letter. I delivered all the papers, and followed all the direCTIONS ye fent me. I pray yow let me know who drew the Anfwer to the Prefbyterie at Ayr : I like the hand, be who he will, exceedingly weell. How all goes here my long letter to Mr. Robert Dowglafs will fhew yow. I have oft defyred, and now againe hes fent this exprefse, to wait on yow, if yow appoint, for two or three dayes ; and if now yow cannot, to intreat yow fo foone as yow can, to fend me the full and fubfcryveit extraCts of what paffed concerning our Colledge and its Vifitation in the laft Affembly, efpecially the Vifitors aCt about our ftipends and filling our vacant places ; alfo two aCts about Mr. Durhame. I pray yow for your owne advyce, and the brethren's about yow. Mr. James Durhame is preffing himfelfe in a fair way, directlie and at once, I fear many fhall preffe it for him in a boifterous way, to be admitted to aCtuelle fervice in the Colledge prefently. We are here in a great ftraite : I pray yow fail not with the bearer, to fend us full and free advyce. We conceive Mr. Durhame's fettling in the Colledge is fo paffionately craved, whileas peaceably he might have a good place in the towne, for this end chiefly, that by him the mind of our youth may be framed to the temper fome would be at. We fear his deferting of the King hurt his Majeftie ; and his coming hither increafe our divifions, and comforts

and strengthens much the faction that profess difference from the Public Resolutions, though he as yet profess none. We believe, and still must doe, till your extracts or advyce putt us off it, that the General Assemblie did truly transport him from Glasgow to be the Minister of the King's familie; and that the place in the Colledge, to which he was only designed, bot never entered, was truly vaiking, to which we did elect Mr. Robert Ramsay; and in many sharp debates with the Magistrates and Mr. Patrick Gillespie, have hitherto stood to this election. But now, when Mr. James himselfe is come to plead, that he was not fully transported, bot by a posterior act of the Assemblie, wes to have his place recognosced in the next Assemblie; and in the meane time desyres us to admitt him according to his election, we know not what to doe. To wrong Mr. Ramsay, ourselves, and the King, and the publict, and, as we conceive and fear, the peace of these parts, we are loath to resist Mr. James Durbame's own desyres and his powerfull sollicitors: we will find it hard enough. But if they would have patience till the Assemblie, or be content to be directed by the Commission, all might be satisfied; but we fear the precipitancie of some will not let us rest soe long. We begg your advyce.

April 4th 1651.

FOR JOHN REID; MY L. L. [THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.]

LOVING FRIEND,

YOUR kindness to the bearer on my token to yow, drawes this from me now, both for thanks, and renewing of my desyre to yow and your cousine William, to hear and assist him againe in his honest affaires. Yow shall have eight commissioners from our Synod, the strongest Remonstrants we have, to give the Commission ane assault more, if it be possible, to winne it from the Malignant partie that now does possess it. I have written my mind fully about it to Mr. Robert Dowglafs. I have done here, to prevent mischiefe at our Synod, what lay in my power, though to small purpose, if my advyces to Mr. Robert Dowglafs be slighted. My Lord Eglintone's lamentable surpris confirms us all in our long suspitions, that the King, Armie, and State, if not Church, is in greater hazard to be quickly destroyed, by villanous traitors among yow beyond Forth, than either by the English or Scots be-

fouth Forth. God help us, all of yow are suspected by diverse; treacherie and division is feared will destroy all. I thought yow had taken some course to have kept Mr. Durhame there; but I see that matter has been neglected; for he is here this fortnight, requiring to be admitted to service in the Colledge, wherein he never entered, and, however, was transported from Glasgow to the King's familie. His coming hither at this time, by his flighting there, I think, will prejudice both the King, us, and himselfe, as long agoe I wrote fully to your Coufigne. It had been good to have made no noyse at all for any cause now, till God had given us a day of Cromwell. Without this all present toyle is vaine; with this no present rest or silence prejudices any man's affaires, except impatient, rashe-headie fooles, or false traitors.

Aprile 4th 1651.

R. B.

TO THE RECTOR [OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW,] G. LOCKART.

HONOURED SIR,

SEEING Providence has so disposed, that according to the meaning of the Generall Assemblies, I have gotten some time's retirement, and thinking it my duty to spend that time in the place I stand in relation unto amongst yow, till the Generall Assembly determine in the ultimate judgement of that they reserved to themselves; and not having had opportunitie of addressing my selfe to the Moderators, I have thought fitt to communicate my intention to yow as Rector, that so by yow it being made knowne to them, I may be exoner'd, either by undertaking something, or abstaining, as shall be best for the good of the Colledge. My purpose in this is only to testify my willingness to doe what lyes in me as duty on the one side, and to doe it soe as may prevent any offence which appearing mistakes amongst us at such a time might give. I have chosen writing therefore, the rather that I might not appear in this; and I hope ye will soe do in it as may attaine one, if not both these ends, which is all the desire of,

Your loving friend to serve yow,

March last 1651.

MR. JA. DURHAME.

FOR MR. JAMES DURHAME.⁷

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I HAVE thought meet to give you an account of what latelie has past amongst us, being willing to lye under the hazard of your sharpest censure, upon my experience of your equitie and wisdom, rather than of the more rash judgement of some in whom I have not found any such vertue. Some days after my coming home, the great necessitie of planting our vacant places in the Colledge being represented to me, by diverse who understand our affaires best, a Rector's meeting was called, and there I shew, that the fault of not filling our places had not been in us hitherto; for, by the last Generall Assemblie, we were referred, as St. Andrewes and Aberdeen, to the Commission of the Church, whom I knew and had seen in the case of Aberdeen, peremptor not to meddle at all in such matters, for want of the papers which bare the reference, lying for the time in the besiedged Castle of Edinburgh; but now the Commission being masters of these papers, I knew no impediment why we might not proceed to a planting of our vacant places. I was, for my part, the more willing to make no more delay, being very uncertaine of more free and full meetings; the motion of the enemy, with his head-quarter toward us, being, upon too great probability, daylie expected, which was like to scatter us asunder we knew not how long. Hereupon we agreed on the expedience to fill presently our places, if possible. Our next debate was upon the places to be filled: One moved that the Professer's place seemed not to be vaiking, you being like to returne to it in a short time. The Commissioners of the Universitie to the last Assemblie being required to declare how ye were transported, affirmed your transportation (as the act about it will shew) was absolute, and whatever might be said for Mr. Blair and Mr. Hutcheson, yet your submitting to that act as it was, and according to it having constantly attended the King's service, there could be no doubt of the vacancie of the Professer's place, to which you had never entered. Also that your tye

⁷ A "double" of this letter (Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XXV, No. 122,) has furnished some corrections. A few words at the end of it are deleted, and it wants the Postscript.

to your present ministrie was such as the Commission of the Church had declared to my hearing diverse times, they were neither willing nor able to unloose. As for any willingness in you to returne to Glasgow, I did believe you were very desirous to be freed of that grievous burthen of the King's ministrie, and that your inclination was, I conceived, more towards Glasgow, where God had evidently blessed your labours, than towards any place else. Yet that you had any inclination to a profession in the Colledge, I knew not at all; and though both you and we were never so willing to any such thing, yet I had no hopes that the Generall Assemblie would ever consent to transport you back again to Glasgow without his Majestie's consent, whose minister now you are; and that ever he would consent to any such thing, I did not think. Upon discourses of this kind we concluded the true vacancie of the Professors place. Of the vacancie of the Principall his place, we did not much debate. Our next question was about the present election to both those charges. We all agreed that the greatest necessitie for the time was, to plant the Principalls place; yet the man whom the most of us inclined to name for Principall not being possible in our apprehension to be gotten before the Generall Assemblie; and he whom the most of us inclined to name for the Profession, being like to be obtained at the first quarterly meeting of the Commission, we agreed to name him presentlie, and the other thereafter; soe much the more, that if we pursued for two at once, we were almost sure to lose the one. In our nomination, upon the supposition that your place was truly vacant, the Rector, the Vice-chancellor, myselfe, Mr. George Young, Mr. Hew Blair, Mr. John Young, Mr. William Strang, named Mr. Robert Ramfay, as the farr fittest we knew for that charge; Mr. Richard Robertfone named Mr. Patrick Gillespie; Mr. James Vetch was not ripe to voice any. It was appointed that we should goe up together to Mr. Robert Ramfay his house, and give him the call; and it was laid on me, with one of the Regents, to prosecute the call before the Commission of the Church. All this was done at leasure in three or four hours calme debate, without the least heat or noise, or any offer of a dissent from any. All went up together to Mr. Robert Ramfay's, except two of the Regents, who could not in tyme gett their cloaks and shoes; and by the heartie invitation of all, Mr. Robert Ramfay was called. So we went all home, thinking that matter to be als good as ended.

Early the next morning, I went to the Provost's house, and acquainted

him with all our proceedings, telling him that our not consulting before hand the Towne-Counsell in matters of our election, did proceed from tenderneſs of our priviledges, which I knew ſome, on their great miſtakes of our acts of courteſie ſometimes before, were inclyning to encroach upon. But before I could come home, I ſand our brother Mr. Patrick, who (yow know) refuſes to countenance our Univerſitie meetings, who had given to the Rector and ſent to the Dean of Facultie a proteſtation againſt all we had done, telling withall that the Generall Aſſembly had not made your place vacant, and that this was your owne mind, and that ye were reſolved ſhortlie to come and take up your place in the Colledge. For the proteſtation, I ſand nothing in it conſiderable; however, we ſhall anſwer it as we may, in time and place convenient; for his alleadgeance of the act or mind of the Generall Aſſembly, if there be any truth in it, we are all miſtaken; bot the act will ſpeak its owne mind. The only thing that ſticks with me is, what I heare alleadged of your owne mind. I heard, indeed, that theſe two moneths bygone, ſome in a way ſo clancularie, that no ſyllable of it was ever communicate to any member of the Colledge, was earneſtly dealing to draw yow from the King back to Glaſgow. This dealing, I confeſſe, I underſtood not, nor yet doeth; for however, in my heart's ſinceritie, I think I am behind few in the Kingdome in my high eſtimation of the grace and gifts of God beſtowed on yow, and of the ſweet fruits are likelie to be reaped of your miniftrie, whereſoever God ſhall caſt it, and of the eminent bleſſing I would expect to Glaſgow, (which I love above all places,) and to my owne familie, and my owne ſoule, if God were pleaſed to fix your miniftrie among us; yet I do really judge that your leaving of your preſent charge were a more eminent hurt to the Churches in all the three Kingdomes, by the clear and certain hurt and griefe it would bring to the King and Court; alſo the great diſreputation and fore reflection would by it fall on the King in this time when he has no ſuch need, and great ſtrengthening of their injurious miſtakes, who long have been holding out the hypocriſie and miſdemeanours of the King. I think alſo, in my heart, if yow were now amongſt us, you would be in great hazard to be drawne the way wherein many who love yow, and yow love, are deeplie plunged, which I apprehend were a great hurt both to yow and them, and a great furtherance of a way which I count finfull and exceeding dangerous; and your living in the Univerſitie in that way, I apprehend, would waken

and greatlie encrease our now quiet and dung-out divisions. If notwithstanding, in your owne wifdome, yow think fitt to come here, there is a fair doore opened for your ministrie in Mr. Robert Ramsay his place; wherein yow will have these hearty imbracements of us all, even of those who are obliged now to stand to the late election of Mr. Robert Ramsay, wherein they will be exceeding loath and forrowfull to have the leift juffling with yow, whom they doe professe highlie to esteem and love, and are not to professe any thing but what truelie they find in their mind. These are the most secret and true thoughts I have for the time of this whole busines. I beseech yow, after prayer to God and mature consideration, to send me your thoughts lykeways with this bearer, whom I have sent expresse to attend your leasure. I hope God may help yow to fall upon expedience which shall extricate us from these troubles.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER all this is written a common session was desired by the Provost, wherein he was hot enough; as in the Towne Counsell before, great dissatisfaction was uttered against us, as wrongers of yow, as putters of yow from your place, and closers of the doore of all hopes of your returne to Glasgow. The conclusion was a cravinge of a conference with the Colledge, where betwixt him and us was changed much too high and free language; especially I confesse myselfe, being tempted by the needles expressions of some. The result of all wes, we promised, upon their desire, to surcease a prosecution of the act of our late election till the first of March, against which time both they and we might, we hoped, fullie understand your mind in the poynts controverted, and we might gett an extract of the acts of the late Assemblie which concerned us. I did oft protest that these might not be counted to esteem and love yow or the Towne of Glasgow less, who thought in their heart a greater good to yow and Glasgow and all the Churches in the three Kingdomes, that, while yow lived, yow were fixed to the King's side as the Assemblie had appointed, than these who pleaded loudest for your returne to Glasgow. However, I was thought by some to speak strange language, yet I spoke not so much as I have written to yourselfe, which I believe and know does weell stand with estimation and affection enough towards your persone.

FOR MR. ANDREW KER.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

WHAT your man promised me, at St. Johnstone, I wrote for since to your selfe, bot yet have gotten no answer; so I have now sent expresse to you this bearer to wait upon you ever till he gett these papers with which we have so much adoe. The extract of all concerns our Univerfitie in the last Assemblie, I should be very glad of; but if your man have no leasure in two or three days to write all these things, I beseech you send me subscribed these papers following: the reference of our vacant places to the Commission of the Church; the act of Mr. James Durhame's transportation to the King's familie; the act of Visitation of the Colledge of Glasgow; that part of the report of the Visitors whilk concernes our stipends. Fail not to send these with the bearer, whom I have directed to wait on you als long as you will. There is great diligence used to cause every one of our Presbyteries in the West send in their dissent to the Commission after the example of Stirling. However, the bodie of our people and gentry, and I hope ministerie also, be for the State and Church's way. The consultation of the chiefe Remonstrants here are frequent and long: I doubt there is somewhat among them which time will bring out; their bitterneffe against the publick way is great: the sermons and prayers of some are strange. Communicat the inclosed to Mr. Robert Dowlas. I pray you let me have both your opinions and advyces if we will not be able to carrie our point at the Commission of the Church: I pray you tell us if ye think our case cleare: I pray you send me with the bearer summonds for Mr. Robert Ramsay and his parochiners, and all others who has interest to appear at the next dyett of the Commission, or blank dayes thereafter. If God give us Mr. Ramsay, I hope we have peace in our Colledge, and be answerable for our schollers: If Mr. Patrick get his will of us in this our Univerfitie, he will be their owne to sow what seed in it they like. I hope ye will informe friends, Messrs. John Smith, Mungo Law, James Sharpe, your brother, etc. to help us in our just cause: Keep the copie of my letter to Mr. James Durhame quiet among friends: Let me know the event of the conference.

I would think it expedient, if so you think fitt, to communicat this whole

matter to my Lord Balcarras, with Mr. Robert Douglass opinion upon it; for I verily think, as I have written to Mr. James Durhame himself, if Mr. Patrick prevaile to draw away Mr. James Durhame, it shall hurt much the King in his reputation; it shall strengthen much the dangerous faction here; it shall weaken and divide us here in our Colledge and toune: for to help this I wishe my Lord did use the expedient I propone to him. Read his letter, clofe it and fend it away, with this bearer, to my Lord wherever he be. I have directed the boy when he has gotten Mr. James Durhame's answer to come back by yow and Mr. Robert Dowglass, and to offer yow what letters he carries to me, or Mr. Robert Ramsay, or the Colledge, that yow may break all up and consider all. So soone as the boy comes first to yow, dispatch him quicklie, that he may goe to Lauderdaill, whom I use to call John Reid, or Balcarras, whom I call William Reid; yow will tell him where they and Mr. James Durhame will be found, and where he will finde yow at his returne from them; at which time I hope yow will be ready to dispatch him hither. Mr. Patrick Gillespie in publick did avow ye would not fend us the extract of the act of Mr. James Durhame's transportation. I hope neither he nor any other has so much power with yow as to cause yow deny us this duty and justice.

TO [MY LORD] BALCARRAS.

MY LORD,

I HAVE thought fitt to acquaint yow with a new fasherie Mr. Patrick Gillespie is putting us to in our election of a successor to Mr. James Durhame. You will consider the whole matter^s in the copie of my letter to Mr. James Durhame and Mr. Andrew Ker, which I hope is communicate to

^s The "whole matter" referred to in these letters, may be briefly stated. Durham, in July 1650, had been appointed by the Assembly to attend Charles the Second, as his domestic chaplain. He was then minister of the Blackfriars Church, Glasgow. About the same time, when Dickson was translated from the College of Glasgow to Edinburgh, as Professor of Divinity, Durham was chosen in his stead to be Baillie's colleague; but he was never inducted. Having at length relinquished this charge, in September 1651, on the death of Mr. Robert Ramsay, (who had shortly before been successively elected Professor of Divinity, and Principal of the University of Glasgow, but who appears never to have officiated in either capacity,) Durham became his successor as one of the ministers of the Inner High Church.

yow. If Mr. Patrick prevaill with Mr. James, I fear it shall be very prejudiciall to the King's reputation, and publict affaires. I suspect, indeed, one of the grounds on which Mr. James hes reafone of malcontentment, is the neglect of his maintainance. I think he hes his owne burthens on his lands, beyde that the quarterings this yeare, and some yeares bygone, hath made his rent small in itself, neare to nothing; he hes a numerous familie, he hes no stipend from Glasgou: I see not how he must not be straitned. Therefore, in the midt of all the scarcitie that can be among yow, I advyse, that without more delay, in the first day of Exchequer, yow appoint him a stipend at least of two hundred pounds, and that Sir Daniel Carmichael be commanded to furnishe the first year of it presentlie: I believe he will not be slow to obey that commandment. If this be neglected I think you are unadvifed and unreasonabell, and yow will repent that neglect. If yow have leisure, write to me how all goes, for I have sent this expresse to wait on yow. I find a great enough readines in the body of our Toune, and I hope, of all the West, to ryse for the King, if they might safely doe it, notwithstanding of the great labour and diligence of some to the contrare. Mind Massie and England principally. I cannot hear bot your old lethargie lyeth yet upon yow all, and little of your readynes for any action comes to our eares. We cannot heare of any flurring in the King.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

FROM our letters and papers to Mr. Andrew Ker, which I pray yow read and consider, yow will see our present condition here. I humblicly intreat yow, either by your owne letter, or by Mr. Andrew Ker, to give us your particular advyce and opinion. In our judgment our cause is clear; if yow think it will not passe the Commission, as I marvell if it should not, on your advyce we shall desist. I have directed the bearer, when he returns frae Mr. James Durhame to come by yow: yow shall break up and consider what Mr. James writes to me, to the Colledge, or Mr. Robert Ramsay; for we entreat yow to doe, that accordinglie yow may frame your advice to us. If my heart deceive me not, as many men are deceived by their owne heart, my intentions

in all this buſineſſe are to prevent hurt to the publiēt, to the King, to our Colledge, to Mr. James Durhame, and to Mr. Robert Ramfay his perſone, which I conceive Mr. Gillespie's practices, whatever be his intentions, will draw one quickly by this his polypragmoſine. The Lord keep yow at thir times to be conſtant and couragious at thir times for God, and for the diſtreſſed lands.

UNTO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL GEORGE LOCKART, COMISSARY OF GLASGOW, AND RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY, THE HUMBLE SUPPLICATION OF MR. ROBERT BAYLIE.

MY LORD,

BEING called by the bedell this morning, at your Lordſhip's command, to be preſent at ane meeting of the Univerſitie this afternoone, wherein I underſtand the only or chiefe purpoſe to be handled is a deſyre of the Town's common ſeſſion, of our concurrence in a letter of invitation to Mr. James Durhame to returne to his charge here for the time of his permiſſion to vaike from his Majettie's attendance; I thought meet to ſignifie to your Lordſhip my thoughts of this meeting. Your Lordſhip is fully acquaint with my mind in this whole buſineſ. Of my reſpects to Mr. James Durhame's perſone, to his grace and eminent gifts, I hope himſelf doubts not, for he has theſe very amplie under my hand latelie. My earneſt deſyre to eſchew every word and deed that may hurt or offend, not only the Toune of Glaſgow, and every man in charge therein, but the meaneſt perſone of the burgh, I doe profeſſe it to all the world, and I know my heart and intentions uſes not to contrare my profeſſions. I thought we had been agreed, on your Lordſhip's overture, of letting our late election lye over intire for the Generall Aſſemble, without touching it, to make it better or worſe, directly or indiretly, which yow conceived was all the Town had craved, and would give them in all reaſon, full ſatiſfaction. But ſince now your Lordſhip is preſſed by them to call a meeting for our concurrence in ane invitation to Mr. James unto his charge here, I am forced earneſtly to ſupplieat the declyning of any ſuch meeting, for theſe reaſons following:—1. Any meeting for this end is like to produce ſuch debates among us, as in our laſt meeting for that ſame purpoſe were viſible. I

paffe needles and very untymeous heats occasioned through our information, of exceeding injurious and opprobrious language in the common session, against the members of our meeting, for doing that which we conceive duty, without any censure, at the time or since, by that venerable meeting upon any of their members for these speeches against us. I remember only the long earnest reasonings there we had from diverse against our most material and fundamentall privileges of passing elections to our vaiking professions, by ourselves, without the concurrence of the Towne of Glasgow. 2ly, Any concurrence of ours in the invitation desired, everts our former naturallie deliberat conclusion of the true vacancie and necessitie to provide our Divinitie profession, which rubbs on the Univerfitie no small disgrace. 3ly, Our required concurrence makes us instrumentall to draw Mr. James Durhame from the King, which I conceive at this time would be a hurt, and a cause of true grief to his Majestie, and a ground to frustrate the desire and conclusion of the Generall Assemblée; in which evils I wish none of us should have any hand. 4ly, This meeting, I conceive, will make new and farder divisions, both betwixt the Colledge and Towne, and in the Colledge among ourselves, which most gladly I desyre to have eschewed, if possible. 5ly, This meeting, I think, will produce that which shall grieve our Reverend Brother, and, I fear, may hinder him either now or hereafter among us, as is desired; whileas your overture makes a fair way for a present invitation of him to the towne ministrie; and after the Assemblée, if it be found expedient, to some place also in the Univerfitie, upon a new call, which the precipitancie of some men, in my judgement, goes on to crosse so farr as lyes in them. 6ly, This meeting seems to be contrare to the declared mind of your chiefe assessors, without whose consent yow are obliged, in your Rector's oath, not to proceed in any matter of consequence, as the present is one of the highest.

For these and other reasons we have oft spoken off, I earnestly supplicat your Lordship would be pleased to forbear all meeting on this purpose: and if, notwithstanding of all my earnest and humble desyres, your Lordship shall think meet to proceed, I shall be forced to protest in my owne name, and of all who hes interest, and are willing to joyne in this or the like protestation; which Supplication and Protestation your Lordship will be pleased to command the clerk to enter in the Univerfitie register, that it may be forthcoming in time and place convenient.

PROTESTATION AGAINST MR. JAMES DURHAME'S INTRUSION.

MY LORD,

BEING called be the beddell to a meeting, wherein I understand not only an answer is to be given to a letter of our reverend brother Mr. James Durhame unto your Lordship, bot also our former acts of filling that place to which he was designed, are to be reallie revocked; I have thought meet to signifie, that as I conceive your Lordship may not call a meeting for any such purpose; for when we mett last, it wes debated, and, as I remember, acknowledged, without the contradiction of any, that the Rector in his inauguration oath stands obliedged to call no meeting for any matter of weight, without the consent of his assessor; and all your Lordship's assessor, as I suppose, dissenting from the calling of this meeting, according to their agreement in our last sederunt, after too much debate, in ane act, written with your Lordship's hand, not to meet more upon that subject till the matter in controversy were cleared by those who had power. This being the case, it seems that this meeting and your Lordship's calling of it shall not be found just, nor at all necessarie; if so be, the overture that I made the other day to your Lordship, which all then present did thinke could not fail to satisfie our Reverend Brother, if not diverted be other counsell nor his owne, must yet be thought upon, which here I repeat, that it may be knowne how farr it is frae my mind to oppose any right, yea, any desire of my much beloved and highly revered Brother.

I am firmly enough persuaded of the Generall Assamble's translating of him from any charge he had here to his Majestie's service; and whatever hearing of his grievances at the next Generall Assamble wes promised, if he should find that service too burthenfome, it did not at all import the continuance of any relation he had to his former ministrie and charge here, so as to hinder the true vacancie of that place in the Colledge; to which he wes chosen, now about a year since, bot never admitted, as all amongst us ever are before they can claime to any right, or any benefite of the place they have been designed unto. I am also firmly enough persuaded that our filling of that place by a new election shall be found right and legall, and all frustrating of that election, direct or indirect, shall be found wrong and contrare to order.

Notwithstanding, for our Reverend Brother's satisfaction, albeit to the University's and our own suffering, in the meantime, we were content not only to supersede all proceeding upon our act till it might be recognised by those our superiours whom it concerned; but also we did assure we were most willing, if by them we should be found to have mistaken, presently to rectifie, at our Brother's owne sight, that our error. And though we were, as indeed we are, very hopefull to be justified by them in this action; yet if our Brother could not be persuaded to remaine with his Majesty, which we think the greater and more generall good, neither to stay in the ministrie of the burgh, but should be determined to accept a school-charge, so soon as we could be gotten cleared by any judicatorie of our right and power, we promised to give him a fair call, so farre as lay in us who spoke to your Lordship, to a Divinitie profession among us; and that to be reckoned not only from the day of his entrance thereto, but from any day he thought fitt, were it from his first nomination to any charge here. This loving and respectfull offer we all conceaved would have satisfied our Brother fullie. But if nothing else can give content except a reall and present revocation of our former acts, and that without the judgement or advyce of any of the judicatories, to which in such cases we are referred, but only be your Lordship, who is a sworne patron of our priviledges, and that in a meeting from whilk the major part of the members of the University, and these the most considerable, (except your Lordship's selfe,) and who are nearest interest[ed] in a business of this nature, doth absent themselves, and dissent from it, and what may follow on it, as contrarie to their former acts, and the resolutions of the Colledge in diverse full meetings of all its members: also of the very few who I think shall be present: the greater part being these who are lesse considerable, and whose charge is yet controverted, as standing under a formall appeal, in the hands of the last Assembly, yet undiscussed. So that their meeting, if any should, would be illegall, and what it could doe upon this ground alone, would be of no effect as being done, *a non habentibus potestatem* in this case. I therefore doe deprecate such a proceeding; and if no intreaties can be heard, I protest against it, upon the alleadged reasons, and what farther are in my former protestation. This write I hope your Lordship will be pleased to keep in *retentis*, that it may be forthcoming before competent judges, in time and place convenient.

April 7th 1651.

R. B.

FOR MY LORD BALCARRAS. APRILE 17TH 1651.

MY LORD,

My advyces to John and William Reid, in my two or three laft letters, whether they were received or not, I know not. This is for a particular which your Lordship will anfwer with this bearer, or when it's ready, by Mr. Robert Young. Yow gott us a Vifitation of our Colledge, as I defyred; but one claufe in it made it improfitable, which now yow muft help, it lafted bot to the nixt feffion of Parliament, fo it's expired this day. You muft obtain the renewing of the former Commiffion of vifitation of the Colledge of Glafgow, to continue till it be recalled, or at leaft till the next triennial Parliament, or fome longer than to the next feffion, which may be too fhort a time; and fo much for this. What wifdome is it in yow to put the Church to a prefent declaration of their mind in the Act of Claffes? Are our friends fo foolifhly impatient as not to wait fome little time? Why reft they not content with what they have gotten, above their expectation, till they have made fome ufe of it? If they beat Cromwell, doubt they to obtaine all their defyre? If they be beat of him, whatever they gett, can it any wayes profite them? By their rafhnefs they have made fuch a committee for the armie, which they muft either correct, to the fmall reputation of their wifdome, or loffe the Church. Are they fo wife alfo as to force the Church, either to eftablifh the Act of Claffes by a favourable declaration for it, or by a diffavourable declaration on it, fuch as I think it weell deferves, to hazard a new ftrengthening of the Remonftrants, by adding to them the late diffenters in Parliament, and a good part of the armie, and to raife fuch new confufions as, at this nick of time, may deftroy all our affaires. When wife men aet fuch things as evidently are productive of fuch effects, let them be content to be eftemed, by all beholders, reall plotters and defigners of fuch ends, deny and men fwear them as they will. Union at this time, by all means, is needfull. Keep the Kirk and Argyle, on any condition, or elfe fpeak it out, that yow refolve and have plotted to ruine the King and your Countrey, for bad ends.

Aprile 17th 1651.

R. B.

ANE INFORMATION OF THE TRUE GROUNDS AND CAUSES OF THE LATE TUMULT IN GLASGOW, WEDNESDAY APRILE 30TH, AT THE VERIE TIME OF CROMWELL'S REMOVEALL. 1651.

1. IMMEDIATELIE after the defeate at Hamilton, the Garifon there sent to the Magiftrates of Glafgow to pay a Ceffè, under the paine of prefent plundering and facking.

2. The Magiftrates did all leave the Towne, without any care of their charge, or of the wellfare of the people, in that extreame danger.

3. The bodie of the people in that neceffitie did meet and appoint a Committee of a few of thefe they conceived wifeft and free of all blemifhe for Malignancie; for of them all, they were only two that ever had been questioned for that fault, both whereof had given all fatisfac̄tion, and the one at the tyme of the Tumult wes out of the towne.

4. That Committee, by the means of the ordinarie Excyfe and a fmall contribution, by the knowledge and tolerance both of Kirk and State, did weeklie pay the Ceffè, with the good likeing of all the Towne, and allowance of the Magiftrates themselves, from December to the end of Aprile.

5. All the moneys they intromitted with, were regiftrate and diftribute by a prefident chofen every fortnight for that effect; and fo clear ane accompt wes ready allwayes to be made, without one penny taken by any of them for their paines in collecting or diftributing or attending that fervice, that the bodie of the people were exceedingly fatiffied with their labours.

6. But thefe who wont to manage the Excife in fome part, as wes thought, for their owne and their friends advantage, grudged to fee that mean of profite in any other hand than their owne, and were preffing the Magiftrates to put the manageing of the Excife in the former hands, who had never made fo cleare ane accompt of their diftributions as the Commonalitie did wifh.

7. The Committee, finding themselves in poffeffion, not only by the earnest defyre of the people, and avowed allowance of the Magiftrates, but by the approbation, as they conceived, of King and Parliament, were not willing to be put by violence from that charge, which neceffitie and love to their poor neighbours had put upon them.

8. At laft on Tuefday morning laft, Aprile 29, before fermon, the Provoff

John Grahame, and Clerk Mr. John Spreule, sent for John Wyllie, the President of the Committee; and when he came, desired, he and the Committee might desist from meddling further with that Excise, as belonging now no wayes to them but to him and the Magistrates, to be disposed on as they thought expedient. The other refusing on diverse reasons, it went to hot words; and when the Provost publicly at the crosses, under Cromwell's guard in the Tolbooth, was pleased to call the President of the Committee a knave and villaine, and command him to ward, and laid himself hands on him to take him to ward without all order or process of law; he lykewayes laid his hand on the Provost's cloake, and said, he charged him to ward for wronging the Committee of the commonalitie. In all this William Wodrow, late preses of the Committee, did countenance John Wyllie.

9. Immediately after sermon, the Provost and Clerk calls the Ministers together, declares the great affront they had gotten, crave their advyce in the matter. Mr. James Durhame, Mr. John Carstairs, Mr. George [Young] and Mr. Hugh Blair's unanimous opinion wes, that it wes best, while the enemie wes in the place, to lay aside the whole matter, to be cognosced upon in a more fitt time. Mr. Robert Ramsay and Mr. Robert Baillie were absent. But Mr. Patrick Gillespie did say,⁵ this wes according to his former discourse very publiēt, wherein he had said. By these incentives, and other consultations that day kept betwixt the Provost, Mr. Patrick and the Clerk, John Wyllie and John Wodrow were fummoned to appear before the Towne-Councill the day following, Wednesday before noon.

10. At that time the English were removeing, and the towne in a stirre. Yet they appeared before eleven at the place appointed; and attending long, at last they send in word by officers, once and againe, that they were present ready to answer. In the meane while the Provost comes out, and walking a while beside them, goes in againe.

11. The Councill, so soone as they sat downe, finding the parties fummoned not to appear; without any delay, or calling of them when they were advertised of their presence, inflicts on them the most rigid sentence they were able, decernes their freedome and burgeship to be cried downe, as of men unworthie to live in the towne, having affronted the Magistrates contrare to their oath; also decernes them to be commanded to ward.

⁵ In this place there must have been some words omitted by Baillie's amanuensis.

12. The Magistrates and Counsell coming out of the Church finds the parties, with other three of the Committee with them, walking in the Church-yard, and without any intimation of their sentence, passes by them downe the streets towards the Tolbooth, backed not only with all the Counsellors, bot also the most of all the five Sessions who were of their mind, and the most of the associat troupe, who it seems upon [fore-warned] designe were waiting on, and came out, in fours and fives, out of diverse closes to attend the purpose in hand.

13. The five young men went downe the way peaceable at their back without one word, till the Clerk, seeing his back[ing] great, cryed out, to lay hold on these men and carie them to ward; at the hearing whereof they, lifting their hats, went by the company softly towards the Tolbooth. When they were come there the Provost and Clerk commanded the officers to carie them to prisone, they alleaged the Provost had no power to put any burges in prisone, who wes willing to answer to their court according to law, while they are not heard. But the Provost and Clerk continues verie passionatlie [for] the officers to lay hands on them. The people flockt about, and a noise begins.

14. The officers not daring to obey the magistrates, Matthew Wilson laid hands on William Wodrow. Upon this, his brother Adam Wilson, towks him, calling him a foole, and bidding him desist; wherefore Matthew falls a striking his brother Adam, and a number falls by the eares, striking one at ane other with their hands, without any weapons; but no man offered a stroke either to the Provost or any of the Baillies. In the meane time the English comes in with their swords and pistolls, and scatters them all.

15. The chiefe cause of all what hes past, and yet is like to passe on this subject, many lays it on Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. John Spreull.

16. All the premises are offered to be verified by sufficient witnesses.

INFORMATION TO MR. G[EOURGE] YOUNG. [MAY] 1651.

THAT this unhappie rupture grow no worfe, my opinion is, yow cause your Committee meet, if it may be, at seven hours: have a letter and a boy ready, that their first action may be to send for John Bell peremptorie to be at them

on the fight thereof. If the letter be to be framed, and the boy to be fought, till the committee meet and ryse, he cannot be here this night. See presently Wyllie be not away. Let them appoint two of their best spokemen to goe to all the ministers with a true, short, clear information. They must informe the States in wryte. See if they can now prepare a wryte which all of them can approve as true, which neither by witnesses nor their owne contradictions can be oppugned. See if, before meeting, yow and ane other can frame a draught. If yow decline, or complaine of any, see yow can prove alleadgences. In your supplication to the Ministers speak with all reverence and humilitie; cleare the question to be meerly civile, depending before the State; intreat they would not predetermine; That the violence wes used is much to their grieft; That the clerk and others were the occasioners, beginners, and authors of it; That they are not for contemning of magistrates, either their persones or places, but when violence is offered to their persones publictly, contrare to the lawes and customes of the burgh, if the persones of magistrates in the others just defence suffer any affront, it's no more than themselfes profess to be just in the highest magistrates, the King and Parliament themselfes; That they are farr from desireing the magistrates to lay down their place: this is ane unjust sclander; they desyre no more, bot as they are most willing and ready, in a clear accompt, to shew not only to them who have interest to crave ane accompt, bot to all the world, that all the moneys they have received are truely debursed for the relief of the Burgh, and no sumpence of them is taken to their owne use nor the use of any of their friends; so it might be the Magistrates pleasure to shew to these who are interest, that the very great sounes of moneys which have been this while bygone taken up, are truely debursed for the reliefe of the Burgh, and no considerable part of them intervertit to private uses: Also to sett doune a cleare way for time to come, how it may be seen that all publict moneys may be bestowed on publict uses alone; and no part, or no more than needs must, on collectors or any others, at least not without the knowledge and consent of the Deane of Guild, and Deacon Conveener's courts; That the Commonalities proceedings wes, on meer necessitie, for the saving of the Burgh's destruction, on the Magistrates deserting of their charge without any necessitie; That in their proceedings they were weell allowed, first by the Magistrates themselves; then, as they conceive, by the King and Par-

liament ; also by the body of all the people, whom they served with great toyle to themselves, and no gain at all. Why, while Cromwell is in towne, a quarrell should be pickit, and so eagerlie preffit, they marvell, since they were allwayes willing that any who had interest, especially the King and State, which then was very near, should, by the least signification of their pleasure, have them most readie to give over their bypast very troublesome employment ; albeit they were not willing to be commanded and threatened by them, whom they conceived to be direct parties in this cause, and that for something else than what looked towards the publick good, either of the Kingdome or of the Town of Glasgow, at this time groaning under the feet of a publick enemy, when they conceived it very unseasonable to trouble the Town with needlesse quarrells.

While they are gathering, be yow and some one or two thinking of some such paper. As yow would not wrong me, let no flesh see this paper, or know of my name. Have one ready in the afternoone to carry all passes this day to Robert Marshell. Bring or send this to me soe soon as yow can. Yow had need be wise and diligent. Let their Commissioners, if they can be readie, goe to Mr. Robert Ramsay and Mr. James Durhame before nyne : neither of these will be in Church.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS. APRYLE 1651.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

FOR preventing of mistakes, we have thought meet to advertise yow, that Cromwell, havinge come to Hamilton on Fryday late, and to Glasgow on Saturday, with a body of his armie, sooner than with safety we could weell have retired ourselves ; on Sunday before noone, he came unexpectedlie to the High Inner Church, where quietlie he heard Mr. Robert Ramsay preach a very good honest sermon, pertinent for his case. In the afternoon, he come also unexpectedlie to the High Outer Kirk, where he heard Mr. John Carstairs lecture, and Mr. James Durhame preach, graciouslie and weell to the times as could have been desired. Generallie all who preached that day in the Towne gave a fair enough testimonie against the Sectaries. That night, some of the armie was trying if the ministers would be pleased, of their own ac-

cord, to conferr with their Generall. When none had shewed any willingnes, on Monday, a gentleman from Cromwell come to the most of the Brethren, severallie desyring, yea, requyring them, and the rest of the ministers in towne, to come and speak with their Generall. All of us did meet to advyse; and, after some debate, we were all content to goe and hear what would be said. When we come, he spoke long and smoothlie, shewing the scandale himselfe and others had taken at the doctrine they had heard preached; especiallie that they were condemned, 1st, As unjust invaders: 2. As contemners and trampers under foot of the ordinances: 3. As persecutors of the ministers of Ireland: That as they were unwilling to offend us by a publict contradicting of us in the Church, so they expected we would be willing to give them a reason when they craved it in private. We shew our willingnes to give a reason either for these three, or what else was excepted against in any of our sermons. The time appointed for this was this day, at two o'clock, at Cromwell's lodging. But this morning he sent us word, it would be to-morrow, at that same time and place, he would attend us. We trust, by the grace of God, to speak nothing for the disadvantage of the truth and cause in hand. Let the Lord make of this what he will: we had no mind to beginne, and have no pleasure to continue, any conference with any of these men; but all of us conceive it was unavoidable, without a greater scandale, to do what we have done. The Lord be with you.

Your Brethren, the Ministers on the place.

[Glasgow.] Aprile 22d 1651.

FOR JOHN OR WILLIAM REID.⁹ MAY 3D, SATURDAY, 1651.

SIR,

THE enimie's motion from us was on no want; for, contrarie to all expectation, they fand provisions hereabout both for foot and horse, which we and they conceived might have lasted them longer. It was packetts from Edinburgh, or England, the day before that put them to this hastie departure. We think, by weekly printed invitations, you would [should] be drawing the

⁹ That is, for the Earl of Lauderdale or Lord Balcarras: *Vide* p. 155.

English over: many of them incline to the King I assure you. Take heed to Tuesday's conference of the commissioners of our Synod with the Commission: I am feared for its issue, and expects no good from it. The King and all his friends has need to look to it, that the Commission be not, by some men's legerdemain, drawne to alter former conclusions, and put all to a new confusion, both in State, Kirk, and Armie. If you neglect this warning now, blame not me hereafter.

The other day, betwixt our Towne-Counsell and Committee of 'Commonalitie, there fell out a very foule toyllie [tuillye]: you had need to take heed to it. By him I recommendit to you before, or some other, you will get full information of it. See that they gett no wrong by the too great diligence and misinformation of some who most cordiallie mind the King and weell of the publick. I hope Argyle, and the Chancellor, and some others, are so wise and just as not to be over-sweyed with any man's report, till all be tryed to the bottome. I am not so feared for Mr. Patrick Gillespie's diligence as Mr. James Durhame's recommendation. If you look not carefullie to this buffines also, you desert your friends in the time of their need, for your own hurt. Give a fair hearing, and judge rightlie, and we crave no more.

Your Servant,

JAMISONE.

The King and Balcarras would be ferious with Mr. Robert Dowglafs and Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Robert Blair if present, that they may be fixed. See for no cause you lose the Kirk nor Argyle. I hope David Leslie be very fure for King and countrey: see it be so, whatever the world speak of him and others.

FOR MR. ANDREW KERR.

ANDREW,

YOUR packett of Aprile 25th came to my hand this morning, being delyvered yesterdaiy afternoone, in Stirling, to one of our common carriers. Immediatelie I sent up to Mr. Patrick Gillespie your anfuere to the Moderator of our Synod, and your's to Lanark I shall fend with the first occasion. For

all the letters and expresse messengers I have oft sent to yow for the extractts, yow send me nothing bot false promises ; therefore, once againe, I earnestlie entreat yow will be at the paines to send me these extractts subferyved : both I myfelfe, and our Colledge, and some more of our dear friends, have very much need of them. At least, let me have the extractts of what concerns the provision of our vacant places, our stipends in the report of the two Visitations, and the Assemblies acts concerning Mr. James Durbame. If at last yow will not bestow soe much time on your too good friends, I will say yow have little regard to them, and yow are looking over the dyke to follow the Remonstrants ; for that's the way to thrive ; and better for yow to thrive late than never. I am sure our Synod has gotten a fyne beginning of their desyres : the place and persons of a committee as they would have wished. I wish a good agreeance ; but I hope the Commission will be loath, for their satisfaction, to put the State and Armie in a new confusion, by altering of their former grounds : we repent, if this advyce was not good. I sent to yow and Mr. Robert Dowglafs, by Mr. James Hamiltone, Mr. Robert Ramsay's large treatise : of the receipt of it, our brethren's like or dislike, yow write nothing. How our conference with Cromwell was contrived, or for what ends, I may weell guess something, bot can affirm nothing : it was soe put on us, that we could not decline it. Yow will see the summe of it, drawne by Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie, the maine speakers : We had no disadvantage in the thing. The tumult of Glasgow, procured by the rash and headie counsell of some, might have drawne to great ill, had not the English been very seasonable redders. Matters will not rest here if the insolencie of some be not compesced : believe not all you hear till both parties be heard. I purpose not to meddle with that matter, bot I doubt not yow will hear too much of it. Yow tell not what the Commission did at Falkland : let me hear from yow. Your press is exceeding slow : I think, before this, the Commission's answer to Stirling and Ayre, Mr. David Dick's, Mr. Robert Ramsay's, and Mr. James Fergusone's papers might have been printed ; and some invitation to the English to leave Cromwell, whither many of them doe incline : mend this.

Your Brother,

R. B.

Fryday, May 2d 1651.

FOR MR. [ROBERT] DOWGLASS.

SIR,

I HOPE yow saw what I wrote the other day to Mr. Andrew Ker. I have now little to adde, bot that the courtesie of your letter to Mr. Patrick Gillespie has made him speak since to his friends with great chearfulness and confidence, and this day and yesterday to preach als' largelie and boldlie againt the Publick Resolutions as ever. Whereupon I conclude, that his and the rest of their resolutions who are comeing along with him, is to be firme to their principles, and that their endeavours will be to gaine the conference to them, either all or some. I hear they have adjourned againe our Synod, of purpose that themselves, and all more of the West they can make, may attend the quarterlie meeting, and either miscarrie it, or if a pluralitie of others, (diverse whereof they speak of as they please,) should carry it againt them, yet they may make so loud and considerable a partie as may give life to their designes, that we believe be als high and dangerous as ever. We marvell ye have put not one man of all the West on the conference; bot we know your wisdom, and therefore most securelie we acquiesce in it; only all here in your mind desires me to tell yow their opinion, with submission, that they conceive it very unexpedient to translate the conference to St. Andrewes. We who know them better than yow, think none of them is to be gained one hair-bread; bot we fear if they gett yow to St. Andrewes, they will gaine on diverse men more than shall be convenient. If yow keep still at Stirling, our Synod may be kept; yow may be quate of them at your quarterlie meeting, or we at our Synod: doe what yow think expedient. We know other men's obstinacie will make none of yow unconstant; and if all your courtesie will draw none of them to their dutie, that yow will not faill from your quarterlie meeting to write to our Synod or severall Presbyteries to doe our duties, in keeping at least the Fast, and reading your Warnings; and if it be your will to let our pulpits beat [on] one another, and most boldly the Kirk and States just proceedings to be preached and prayed againt, and doe nothing at all but bid Presbyteries censure these great men, we will not now speak out what the world about us must think of such a proceeding. We are for the time a little

feared for the issue of this conference, but our trust is in God, and in your oft-tryed wifdome.

Your Brother,

Tuesday, May 6th 1651.

R. B.

This bearer will wait on till yow cause some about yow wryte something to me how to guard, the best I can, against the evill of our Synod, according to the instructions I expect from yow.

FOR [THE EARL OF] LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

I HOPE yow read what twyce or thryce I wrote lately to John and William Reid; yow have here the double of my last to Mr. Robert Dowglafs, and of my former to Mr. Andrew Ker. I advertise yow this once more, as yow mind the King, or the Armie, or the Kirk, look to this conference; it's a master piece of your buifness, as I conceive. The prefaces to it, the persons of the committee, and privat letters, makes Mr. Patrick very high: if it lye in your power let not the meeting be transferred to St. Andrews. Doe not dreame by your conference to gain any of them, only garde yow losse none of your friends, and see that they who resolve to differ gett no more by the'r journey to joyne with them. Successe is from God, wife going-about a buifness is from the parts God hes given, but if I find yow careles to use diligentlie all possible endeavours, be content to have me one witness of this fault in yow; which some will fwear can be no less than deep treacherie and high treason, which if yow and your Coufigne, my friend, will wittinglie be guilty of, pardon me no more to trust men on earth. I advyse yow to see it gone reallie about, that your sojourns be more civill; their open prophanitie and cruell oppression among our people, makes the English more lowlie [lovelie]. Also do not provoke nor make desperate the Remonstrants; guard against their designs with all care, but wrong and hurt no flesh without clear cause.

Your Friend,

May 6th 1651.

R. B.

[POSTSCRIPT.]

OUR Provost's¹ letter to the King, which we doubt not was penned in Mr. Patrick's house, I wish you sent a copie of it. See if a committee of two or three might be sent here to try that whole business; but see well to their choice. Let them have power to take an account not only of the excise, but all taxations and publick moneys for two or three years, to try the receipts and disbursements, also compliance with the enemy. Let Mr. John Smith, and another minister, come along to try Mr. Patrick's part; there will be many witnesses in that business that cannot come along; or if this way shall not be found fitt, but you think fitt the principall parties be summoned before yourself, give power to the ministers here to examine witnesses. If you lay this matter altogether aside, I fear they shall make a clamour of it against the King, as unjust and unwilling to protect magistrates when oppressed by malignants, a false calumnie in this case. If your committee for this be no better than that of our conference, I am glad I have nothing to doe with them. Farewell. Doe me the favour to putt all my letters in Vulcan or honest Jacchæus's custodie.

Why hes not every regiment a minister? Why is there no Presbyterie in your armie? Had you ever so many ministers out of charge? I like weel your delay of fighting, if you could keep up your armie, but beware it melt not, and the country faint not under its oppression. Why train you not your souldiers, and daylie exercise them? Upon the hudge large quarters of the enemy will you make no infall? I think Mr. James Durhame will come along to the conference, contrary to my advyse, and without, (as he says to me) any invitation from any there: I feare his accommodations more than all the eight commissioners violence. I doubt not but Robert Marshall has informed you of Lambert's secret letters to some here, and of our fears for Dumbartane. If you be not assured of the honestie and watchfullness of the men (for courage they need none,) who are intrusted with that place, some of you are unworthie the trust the King and State have given you. My last word to you is, lose not the King nor Argyle in any termes.

¹ John Graham, Provost of Glasgow.

FOR [THE EARL OF] LAUDERDAILL. MAY 12TH 1651.

MY LORD,

THE honest man John Reid's canker at me, and his coufignes William also, I take in good part; for my jealousie of them, and theirs of me, coming all out of mutuall love to a third, whom all three minds truly to serve; and Jameson, the third, als much in his station as either of the former two, or any who goes on Scots ground, to his understanding and pith: this being, we will pack up all our pleas till Cromwell be dispatched, and then have with you both. However, I beseech you look well to this conference, whether they goe to St. Andrewes or Perth. For the quarterly meeting I am much afrayed for the event of it, that if some of you there with all your witts watch not over it, it produce great harme both in Church, State, and Armie; I should be glad herein to be mistaken. For our Glasgow business, I thank you heartily for the favor these I recommended to you has gotten; I must still intreat you to favour them so farr as you find equitie on their side. If my mind had been followed, you at such a time should not have been troubled with that business; and so soon as reason can be gotten, if my opinion be followed, you shall be no more fashed with us. Fear from some of you, and counfell from some of us, hes made our Magistrates inclineable to give to your supplicants much of their desires, and all I suspect they shall obtaine from you, after much toyle both to you and themselves: If they truly can gett this, I think, after their agents hes spoken with you, and approven to you their proceedings, they are unwise to refuse it. Without all prejudice to the King and State, at a much more convenient time, they may call any here they think fitt to ane accompt, either for publick moneys, or compliance with the enemy, or whatsoever fault else can be made good against them.

While I had written this farr I find that some encouragement, as it seemes, from your act, hes made our Magistrates so high that accommodation here is impossible, bot when they come among you I hope it shall be more feasible. If I come to see you I hope to be welcome, were it to spue all my gall in your bosome, for [comfits] you will have none; however, wherever I be, I pray you, first and last, mind the Church conference and Commission.

Your's,

S. J.

FOR MR. D. DICKSONE. FEBRUARY 24TH 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THE most of these we expected mett in Edinburgh, Masters James Wood, David Forrest, Robert Kerr, etc. After prayer and deliberation, we resolved on the necessitie of a Warning and Testimonie, defections being so ryfe, and dangers so evident; but to make it more effectuell, we thought fitt to invite our dissenting brethren to joyne with us in it, the duetie being uncontroverted, and confessed to be necessar. If we joyned in this, it was a step to further [union]; if this wes refused, we had little hope to joyne in haste in any thing else. We fand the chiefe of them in toun, at a serious meeting among themselves, Masters John Livingstone, Patrick Gillespie, James Guthrie, Warristone, Sir John Cheislie, Brodie, etc.: they had made animadversions on the English papers, which were communicat to Finnik [Col. Fenwick]; bot we could not see them. They professed all to be als much against the English as we could be, yet they were not pleased one of them to open their mouth to any of us; bot we behooved to seek to them, which we did without any grudge. Mr. George Hamiltone and I were sent to Mr. Hew M'Kell and Mr. George Hutchesone, to defyre them to propone our motion to Warristone, or to whom else he or they pleased: they undertook this very cheerfully, and defyred me to speak to Brodie, whom they had oft found on the same thing. I did so, and he promised to joyne in dealing effectuellie for it. The issue wes, Warristone, Mr. Gillespie, and Mr. Guthrie, mett with them, and after a long debate, gave them a shifting answer; that their meeting wes dissolved, and the brethren gone home, and they could say nothing, though none of note wes gone but Mr. John Livingstone, and their chieff men were all present. This dealling did grieve us all, and made us see more of the progres and incurableness of the schisme. For all this we would not give over; we agreed to the materials of a Warning which we sent to Mr. Blair, to be put in forme, and to go alongs the Presbyteries so soon as may be. I drew them so that no word of them should be offensive; so our brethren and we desired Mr. Blair to be carefull that in his draught there should be no word to irritate, hoping, when it comes to the brethren in Presbyteries, they will be loath to dissent and oppose alone,

for our defect, that we cannot confesse such guilt as they will have to be on us without conviction. We established a correspondence betwixt the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and St. Andrewes, and, in the mean tyme, drew a short direction for brethren's carriage, and advice to people, especiallie commisioners of shyres and burghs. I have no time to get these things doubled for yow now. All the ministers of Edinburgh prays still for the King, and preaches very freely and zealouslie against the way of the English: this they are very angry at, and threatens to remeed it. They impute much of this to Waristone, who, on the advyce of friends, is gone out of the toune. Good Sir John Seaton wes the first that subscribed his free and willing acceptance of the incorporation for East Louthian. The two Swintons followed for the Merse, Stobs for Tiviotdale, Dundas for West Louthian, William Thomson and Fairbairne, I think, have done the like for Edinburgh, and it's like almost all burghs and shyres will, under their hand, renounce their Covenant: Glasgow and the West purposes to refuse, for which we are like deeply to suffer; but the will of the Lord be done. Yow shall hereafter hear what I know. I expect no satisfaction to your desyre from Edinburgh. It were good ye were at a poynt what ye will doe for us. The Lord direct yow. My service to Margaret.

Your Brother,

R. BAILLIE.

Mr. Robert Dowglafs and all our brethren are in health and courage. God is with them. They assure us the King goes to Charrantone to sermon, and hes put forth a declaration for the Covenant.

FOR MR. BAYLIE. MARCH 23D 1652.

MY REVEREND AND WELL BELOVED BROTHER,

THE longer brethren live at distance, they will see the greater necessitie to unite in the Lord. Ye see what a wicked complyanace is made with our oppressours, and how our Solemn League and Covenant is grossly violated by this subscription. In the defection of so many, the standing out of your Commisioners wes singular. Ours began well; a great part of the inhabitants

had subscribed a letter to their Commiffioner, forbidding him to subscribe that tender as they call it ; but danger being represented, they fainted. We hear that with yow there is a partie of them that never was gracie, and I think never will be, who inclyne strongly to goe on in the common byasse ; I fear they were too much countenanced the last year. Oh ! the nakednes of our land is fearfully discovered : we are generallie a very rotten and hollow-hearted people. Upon this, and many other considerations, the fervants of our Lord Christ ought to hasten their union ; without this extremities will be followed, some in slacknes, others in rigorous stricknes of discipline, whereby matters will be put clofe out of frame.

I know needles it is to exhort yow, to incline to and follow after peace and union : ye would rather expect of me overtures. I have been defyrus, for some space, that not only debates about former resolutions, but determinations, acts, censures, all be quite laid aside ; all authoritative acting either by Commiffion 1650 or 1651 laid aside ; correspondence entertained by all Synodals in the kingdome, that by consent we may fall upon a publict way againe ; in the mean time, about planting of kirks, neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction to be taken notice of : If uniting on such termes may be had, they are accursed that would hinder the same, by seeking satisfaction for what is passed : for my owne part, I think I see evidentlie enough some things amisse *utrinque* ; bot I would preferre one act of oblivion herein, leaft new debating exulcerate our fores. I remember my love to Mr. James Fergusone, and communicate my mind herein to him. Grace be with yow.

Your loving Brother,

R. BLAIR.

ANSWER TO MR. BLAIR. APRIL 1ST 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR'S of March 23d, I received this night. The subscription of the English tender is against no man's mind more than mine ; a partie of our Toune hes now done it publickly and privately : I have declared myselfe against it more than any other have ; but the refuseall of these who make no scruple to lay aside the King, and to make the third article of our Covenant

stand well enough with a freedome to change Monarchie with a Scottish Republic, this to me is a high-enough crime. Our commonalitie wes never countenanced by me the last year, in any thing I knew, either then or now, to have been wrong. How gladlie I would be at union in any tollerable termes many know, but for the quite laying aside all the acts of the last Assemblies, and that men censured shall not make so much as the least acknowledgement for all their erroneous and very evill Remonstrances, Protestations, and other miscarriages, whereby they have directly ruined the Commission and the Generall Assembly, and has been very instrumentall in the publick calamitie, and to this day goes on with a high hand in destructive wayes to their power; to clap their heads in all this, I doubt it be acceptable to God, or the men's good, or can stand with the being of our discipline in any time to come; but that you pronounce all these men accursed that are not for these termes of Union, when I read it, I was amazed. Yow may know how much the hearts of our dear Prisoners,² and many more gracious servants of Christ, are against such termes of peace, albeit it be said to us; in the face of Presbyteries, that we, or who ever are not for such a union, are unworthie either to sitt in Presbyteries or Synods. All this I take, albeit with grief, yet in patience and silence, but so as I count such writes and speeches, no lenitives at all for healling. The God of truth and peace send such overtures of peace, as may be embraced without a greater mischief than is that of our present rupture, though it be one great enough. The Lord be with yow. I shall be loath to deserve the estimation of accursed man by any, but least of all from yow, whom hitherto I have professed a Father in Christ.

Your Son in Christ,

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES WOOD. APRIL 1ST 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

READ the inclosed, yow and Mr. Andrew Honyman, close and cause de-

² On being informed of a meeting of the Committee of Estates holding at Alyth, and said "to be cairless, wanting a guard." &c. General Monk "raid up fra Dundie quyetlie in the nycht, upon Thursday the 28th of August, came upone the Committee quyetlie in the morning, tuik thame prissoneris, and robbit thame of all that thai had, and schippit thame toward England, quhair thai war committit" to the Tower of London; and they remained prisoners till September 1652. (*vide Nicoll's Diary*, pp. 56, 108.)

liver it : I write it with a fore heart. I fear Mr. Blair and Mr. Durhame be on ways to increase our mischieves : I see the Synod of Glasgow and Fyfe are presently to be assaulted in their new way for Union, to burie the Assemblie indeed, and to put tyrannous men's feet againe on the neck of our Church. If yow there will contribute to these courfes, answer to God and men for it. Is this the fruit of our Edinburgh meeting, and all the promifes wes made to us of a testimonie and a commiffion ? I see our prifoners at London's letters, which I saw, have not been so groundless as I took them. I would defyre ane account of your Synod's proceedings, and what ye have been doing since we parted. The Lord direct yow ; yow to whom the managing of the Church affaires wes chiefly committed : If for the name of a peace (worfe I fear than all our difference yet hes been) with your own hands yow will overthrow all, I shall be, by God's grace, a mournfull witness thereof, bot not a confenter thereto ; though over againe, bot for one sober word to this purpose, I should be openly avowed unworthie to sitt in a Presbyterie ; yea, though I should be counted worfe than all that, and worfe hardly can be than ane accursed man : I groan at such [horrible] termes for no cause at all, bot sober dutie in the fear of God. The Lord be mercifull. If yow please, yow will write with the first occasion.

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

FOR MR. WOOD. APRIL 1ST 1652.

OUR Ufurping Brethren, (as Mr. Blair wont to terme them,) so farr as I see or can learn, minds no Union with us bot in their own termes ; to be set up againe, to goe on where they left, to make havock among poor brethren, from which all your caveats and other promifes will not guard. They here, who may and should know, say, that Mr. Lockier at Aberdeen gott a paper from Mr. James Simpstone of Airth, defyreing a conference for union betwixt ours and some of their divines. This paper wes sent from Aberdeen to the Commiffioners at Dalkeith, by Lockier,⁵ who did difrellish the motion and

⁵ Nicholas Lockyer, an English Independent minister, who was in Scotland at this time with the English forces. *Vide infra*, p. 213.

discharged it. There is strong hopes that Cromwell, on sundry obligations, will send with Sir Henrie Vane back to our brethren, either a Scottish Republict or such conditions as will satisfie them : Will yow not have patience to look on a little ? before the time of the Generall Assembly, we will see much more : Why should our precipitation contribute to further evill designses of dangerous men ? Also that Mr. Lockier was sent for by some of the Scots to oversee the erecting of new congregations in the North : what is doing there, and what speed Gairdner, in his rebaptizings, has come, yow will know better than I. We expect shortly Lockier and Oxenbridge here. All that fears me not, so much as the counsells and actings of mild and moderate brethren : Marshall alone, in some of our judgments, destroyed more the Kirk, Kingdome, and Covenant, in England, than all the seven dissenting brethren. Had the half of some men's zeale and authoritie been spent against the shamefull presumption of a few turbulent men, which has been to shew faults *utrinque*, and to put the whole Assembly just in their condition, it had been better this day than it is with our Church. Nothing has more encouraged, and does daylie more, these men in their hardness, than their declining. Mr. Dickson and Mr. Dowglafs are farr from such thoughts ; they will be, when they hear them, an addition to their grieffe, and the fruit, I fear, the lengthening of their imprisonments. This work I fear make but a third faction, whose violence may prove as great as any of the two former in the end ; when, at the very beginning of their overture, they are so modest as to pronounce all who will not follow their proposition to be unworthy to sitt in a Presbyterie, yea, in termes, to be accursed. I fear when yow and I both, and all who will follow Mr. Blair's advyce, has done our best, very many brethren and their flocks will beg the English protection, that in no termes they may ever come under some men's government, either ecclesiasticall or civill ; though no man has been, and no man, I fear, shall be readier than my foolish selfe ; yet I thank God, Mr. Blair, and his great counsellor Mr. Durhame, has wakened me at this time to give both him and yow this watch-word in the beginning of this your dangerous Synod. I hope yow will misken to Mr. Blair, and all others, except these who are intime friends to the Assembly and Commission, all this my freedome, which for the time great both grief and feare has expressed. Fail not to communicate this to Mr. Andrew Honyman and Mr. David Forrest, that I

may have yow three witneffes of my heart's temper, which I submitt humbly to your cenfure.

The act about expectants came firft from your Prefbytrie and Synod ; how juft foever and expedient it be, yet I never praëtified it, and affure yow it was never praëtified to this day in the Weft. No example can be given bot of one in Dumbartane ; and I find that is falfe. Bot I am fure our brethren are carefull, one way or another, to plant all vacant kirks I know only with men of their owne ftamp, and to marre all others ; neither hope I they will change this dealing. The fardeft, I think, yow can goe, is to appoint fome two or three of your Synod to joyne with fome of other Synods, men all clearly for the Affembly, without If's or And's, to conferr firft with themfelves and then with oppofite brethren ; that betwixt thefe fome mid-men, as Mr. Blair, etc. deall ; the tyme to be May ; the place to be Edinburgh, or St. Andrewes, or Kirkcaldie : only medle not in your Synod with the matters themfelves. I wifh our prifoners minds at London were fonder : I would be loath to compone without them. A fhort paper from yow will be gotten eafily conveyed to them, and fafe enough, weekly by Mr. Robert Lowrie.

FOR ROBERT DOWGLASS, AND JOHN SMITH.⁶ APRIL 8TH 1652.

BRETHREN,

THE compaffion of our heart, and our prayers to God for yow, and thanks for his prefence with yow in all your fad fufferings, have been continuall. Though fear of mifcarriadges and miftakes have hindered our writing to yow, our earneft defyre and very great need of your counfell hes made us venture at this time. Our ufurping brethren, through their unnaturall divifions have added much to our calamities : the lamentable evils of that breach increafe dayly. To expect union on the fmalleft fubmiffion of thefe men, it is in vain, though the little remainder of our Church and State fhould perifh before their eyes. The crying neceffitie of fome healing of that breach makes the moft of thefe who have been, and are oppofite to them, defyreous to have it in any tollerable termes, and for that end hes had many thoughts and fundry meetings, but as yet all in vaine. At laft Mr. Blair and Mr. Durhame, men of

⁶ They were at this time prifoners at London ; and this letter, as appears from the MS. was addreffed to them under the assumed names of—Black and Robert Petre.

the greateſt authoritie and parts among us, have taken ſuch a dealing in it, that it is like either to agree the parties or work them to more ſubdiviſion. It was intended, and ſtrongly preſſed, to have carried our Synod of Glaſgow yeſterday to the termes of agreement yow may read in the incloſed. By our prayers to God, and all the diligence we were able to uſe, though the minor and weaker part, yet we kept them off at this time from all, ſo much as ingadgeing in the matter, till we had leaſure to advertiſe and take counſell with all our friends, we pleaſed, far and near. We had a very fore labour to gett it to this. What is done in the Synod of Fyfe, where the like aſſault, I ſuppoſe, has been made, I doe not know ; bot am ſure I ſent ſome of them tymeous warning of all this deſigne. We purpoſe to ſeeke the Lord, and advyſe among ourſelves what is to be done ; but it is my very earneſt deſyre to have your mind of the whole matter ſo particularlie, and ſo ſoon as is poſſible, yow being thoſe whoſe mind in theſe things I deſyre moſt to follow. Upon the one hand I ſee, for all the ſafeguards expreſſed, the acts and proceedings of the Aſſembly are alſe good as buried ; the authoritie of all poſterior Aſſemblies is fearfullie ſhaken, and putt in hazard to be trod underfoot, by the error and willfullneſs of any the like partie ; theſe brethren who has been, in our judgement, the greateſt troublers of our Church and State, are put againe in a preſent capacitie to goe on, by their purgeing, to create great moleſtations to many. But, on the other hand, the miſerable daylie fruits of our diviſion are hardly tollerable ; they who now preſſe the Union are like to carry to it many of our chieff and beſt men, ſo that the reſuiſers will be exceedinglie weakened by this abſtraction, and become both odious and contemptible. What to doe I am in a ſtraite : fail not, if poſſible, to give your advyce, for it will be to me of great weight. The great and kind Lord uphold your hearts, and furniſh yow with all comforts needfull, both in the inward and outward man, to the honourable diſcharge of that great and high taſk of fore ſuffering for himſelfe and us, and haſte your bringing out of that furnace as gold purified ſeven times.

Your Brother,

Glaſgow, April 8th 1652.

R. B.

Your free anſwer to this harmleſs and innocent caſe of conſcience, in a matter meerly eccleſiaſticall, though found, ſhall offend no juſt man ; though

fundrie of good note be for this paper, yet the most [of] our mind in the Synod are against it, and I love it not. It will be needfull to fett downe, befydes the faults yow find in it, your positive mind of the termes yow wish us to agree; or otherwayes, to goe on as we may in our differences.

FOR MR. WOOD. APRIL 8TH [1652].

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

WE have had great and fore labour these dayes bygone; before, and in our Synod, fundrie of our brethren were inclyned to break off presently from the declyners of the Assemblie. When, with enough adoe, I had gotten these quieted, others of our brethren, as James Fergusson and Patrick Colvin, etc., were clear for agreement to this paper, which Mr. James Durham, as from Mr. Blair, also Mr. Patrick Gillespie, etc. did pres with all their power, great vehemencie, and subtilitie. By the help of God, we got all held off, and the Synod not at all engaged so much as in hearing one lyne of the paper till we had tyme sufficient to advyse with all our friends. We have adjourned to the first Tuesday of June, at which tyme doubtles the agreement will passe in our Synod in these very termes, and the chiefe of these who have adheared to the Assemblie will joyne in it, and the refusers will bear great odium to protest against it. It is exceeding needfاره we had frequent letters about it, and a meeting, even a commission, if yow think fitt. I wish we had the mind of our Brethren in bonds: it would be a great encouragement to me, on either hand, as they inclyned. I have written to them for it; and if yow think fitt, I wishe yow, or Mr. Blair, did the like, with all possible speed. My mind I have written to yow at such length latelie twyce, that I need not now repeat. Your mind on the whole matter send over, with the first occasion, to Mr. Robert Lowrie, that I may make the best use of it I can.

Your Brother,

R. BAYLIE.

Our brethren hes dispatched correspondents to Galloway, Argyle, and Drumfreifs, to endeavour the synodick passing of this agreement there pre-

fentlie, but I fhall doe my beft to keep it off at this tyme. I think yow would write to Mr. Robert Young, Mr. William Rait, and Mr. William Strachan, to be thinking, feverallie with the brethren of our mind in Perth, Angus, and Aberdeen fhyles, on the paper which yow would fend them there, they may be readier to give their opinion when yow call them to meet. Though fome of our friends, as Mr. James Ferguffon, etc., be almoft for all the paper, yet the moft of our brethren, as Mr. David Elphingftone, Mr. John Bell, Mr. George Young, are paffionatelie againft it.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. APRIL 8TH 1652.

REVEREND BROTHER,

I THOUGHT before this to have had your mind in thefe things I fent to Mr. James Wood; I marvell it came not, being fo earnestly preffed. Mr. Robert Lowrie will fend yow a double of what I wrote to Mr. Robert Dowglafs and Mr. James Wood. I wifh yow meet with fome about yourfelfe, and call Mr. William Jamefone and Mr. Knox to yow, to fee what yow diflike in this paper, and to fet downe pofitively yow will' agree; elfe they will, ere we be aware, have the moft of all our confiderable brethren ingaged in thefe termes. Ufe all poffible means to have your mind at me if yow can before a fournight. I wifh alfo yow write to your brethren and others at London, and to others, with all fpeed.

Your Brother,

Glaſgow, April 8th 1652.

R. B.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. APRIL 25TH 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I WAS very glad of your laft letter, for by it I was confirmed in that which ever had been my fenfe of this laft motion for Union; only yow miftake that yow apprehend I wes ever for thefe Overtures, and for your clearing take

⁷ The word *not* seems to have been here omitted, judging from Baillie's explanation at the commencement of the following letter.

the historie : When, after waiting long for our testimonie from St. Andrewes, agreed on in our last meeting at Edinburgh, and my sharpe cravinge of it from Mr. Wood, in that letter yow saw, at last I got a long letter from Mr. Robert Blair, the purpose whereof wes these Overtures in effect, which displeases yow, and with that certification, " That he accounteth them accursed who would hinder such an Union."⁸ Being fore grieved with this expression, I wrote sharpe back to him, and to Mr. Wood, a long bitter letter, all which yow shall see at meeting. Finding at the same time, as I conceived, Mr. Durhame the author of those termes of Union, and setter of Mr. Blair a-worke for them, I was a little perplexed for the issue, especiallie being told, in face of Presbyterie, distinctlie by Mr. Durhame, " That who would be against such an Union were not worthie to sitt either in Presbyterie or Synods." I gott only this for declining, and that modestlie, to be on a committee of our Presbyterie to draw such Overtures to be a reference from us to our approaching Synod. To this terrible reflection, I said no more but simplie, " Brother, this requires no an answer." Conjecturing by all this the designe with all earnestnes, to engage the Synods of Fife and Glasgow in these dangerous Overtures, and being a little wakened by Mr. Blair's wryte and Mr. Durhame's words, I dispatched presently ane other letter to Mr. Wood, to be communicat to Mr. Andrew Honyman and Mr. David Forrest, obtesting them to guard against this assault, and to do their utmost to save their Synod from meddling with the matter of these Overtures, and go no farther than a conference on the general, without prelimitation. When we come to the Synod, we had a fore labour. A committee they carried by their number, whether we would or not ; the Overtures were the draught of Mr. Durhame alone, presented to the committee, which we carried, much contrare to their mind, that they should not be so much as presented to the Synod ; and to keep the Synod from ingadgeing, we were peremptor, and carried it, that they should not be so much as read or spoken of, under whatsoever notion, in the Synod ; only we consented to the adjournment of the Synod to June 2d ; against which time, in the Committee, we promised to propone these Overtures to our friends far and near for their advyce, and to be readie then to speak our mind on them, which now we would not ; though the most

⁸ These Overtures, by Durham, were presented to the Synod at Glasgow, in April 1652. A copy of them is given in Baillie's MS. and will be added to this letter.

of us shew our averfenefs from the matter of them, and moft for the forme, that any Synod fhould take upon them to meddle with what concerned the Generall Affembly. My great fear was, farther drawing off us, by this motion, fome of our chiefe friends; yet God guided it fo that it was prevented. Mr. James Ferguffon, and Mr. Patrick Colvin, were at firft inclineable to much of the matter in the Overtures; yet, ere we parted, I fand both faft enough to oppofe them as they flood, and in the way they were defyred, whereof I was glad. What fince I wrote about this matter to London, and Fife, and elfewhere, I defyred Mr. Robert Lowrie to fhew yow. This is the whole matter, whereby I hope yow fee my forwardnefs for thefe Overtures was not fo great as yow fuppofe. Write once more to our brethren at London, that, if poffible, I much defyre we may have their mind at our meeting in Edinburgh. Mr. Dickfon, in both his fermons here, and oft in his private difcourfe, declares himfelfe clear for the Affembly *in omnibus*, without If's and And's, and contrare to thefe Overtures, and all thefe men's wrong ways. It were good yow, Mr. James Fleeming, and Mr. John Ofwald, come in and confirmed him, as I have done with all my power: he will have great affaults from Warriftone, Mr. Hew M'Kell, Mr. Blair and others.

I purpofe to enquire for yow, as I wrote laft, at Mr. Robert Lowrie's houfe, on Monday at night May 10th, or Tuefday at noon the 11th, God willing, except yow have taken courfe with thefe of St. Andrewes to fhift the meeting, whereof I could be glad. Yow will be doubtlefs, as I have been, much refreshed with Mr. Dickfon's zeal and wifdome in this bufinefs, whereof I with our brethren at London and elfewhere were advertified. Caufe fend to Glasgou, to Mr. George Young's houfe, fo foone as yow can, twenty or thirty of Trochrig's books⁹ to begin with: let me hear from yow of the receipt of this, with the prices. The great and good Lord be with yow, and direct us in the manifold fnares which Sathan, by diverfe hands, better and worfe, now dayly fetts for our feet.

Your Brother,

Glasgou, April 25th 1652.

R. BAYLIE.

⁹ The posthumous work of Robert Boyd of Trochrigg, *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Prælectiones*, which was published, with a preface by Baillie, at London, 1652, folio.

[MR. JAMES] DURHAME'S OVERTURES FOR UNION.

BEING still more and more convinced of the necessitie of Union among the Ministers of this Church, be the many evils that accomanie these differences, [the Synod] doe therefore think it expedient, to endeavour some way of healing, at least of preventing the growing, of the same. And though they neither intend hereby judicallie to condemne or reflect on any acts or proceedings of any of them, either on the one side or the other, preceding this time, (bot to leave both sides without prejudice by this agreement,) yet for the ends foresaid, they doe voluntarlie condescend mutuallie in the things controverted, in als farr as concerns their practice for the interim, as followes :

1. That they shall eschew all publick wakening or lengthening these debates by preaching or spreading papers, either in favours of the one side or the other.

2. That they shall forbear the practicing, executing or pressing of all acts concluded in the last Assemblée at St. Andrewes and Dundee, and also the pressing or spreading appeals, declinators or protestations against the same; and that both these forsaids, together with any sentence intended or followed thereupon, shall be for the time, (as to practice and our use-making of them in any thing) as though they had not been; this being allwayes so understood as inferring no actuall condemning of either of them, as is said.

3. That none of those be to any, whatsoever rank, minister or elder or expectant, a ground or aggravation of challenge or censure, or of exception against their being admitted to office, they being in other things found qualified.

4. That some be named as correspondents who may carry these Overtures to be conferred of with and recommended unto brethren of other Synods; who are to be written unto to send some of their number to meet at ane convenient time and place for that end.

5. Likeas it is their purpose, if God shall give ane free Generall Assemblée, to indeavour for a full and judicall settling and oblivion of the foresaid differences, and all consequences that hes followed on them; and, in the meantime, to proceed in all affaires according to the uncontroverted rules and acts of our Church.

This Agreeance may be drawne to the laying aside of all the present controverſie, the matter being, for the particulars, removed but by the Affembly itſelfe and ſubmiſſion of men censure; elſe no Affembly firme hereafter: And with cautions againſt feared domination, and a due proceſſing of novelties tending to ſeparate congregations, Why ſhould not an oblivion of Malignants, the King and they having ſatiſfied, be granted alſo? Why not depoſed miniſters and elders, for no other ſcandall, on ſubmiſſion, made capable? What Union elſe firme?

FOR MR. JAMES WOOD. JUNE 4TH 1652.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

WHAT yow have done in your Synod of Fife, it were good we knew. In our Synod we had theſe two dayes fell bickering. Brethren of our judgement were rarely convene; the other very frequently. We thought we had nothing at all to doe; but they fand us unexpected work. The Prefbyterie of Dumbartane had found the tryall of Mr. Robert Law, for one of their kirks, unſatiſſactorie; the people appealed to the Synod; after much loud and clamorous debate, Sir John Cheiſlie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie gott a committee, almoſt all of men of their own judgement, to put the young man to ſome new tryall, and, if they thought fitt, to ordaine him without the Prefbyterie; alſo another Committee to try and censure fundrie members of that Prefbyterie, being joined with ſome of the Prefbyterie itſelf. *Vix et modis* they have drawne ſome of the Prefbyterie to their ſide, whereby that Prefbyterie, that had hereto been very unanimous and diligent to doe their dutie, is put in a pitifull confuſion, and diſabled wholly for doing any more good for the time, againſt this moſt tyrannous courſe. When no intreaties, nor fair overtures for peace could be heard, the whole party of the Prefbyterie proteſted, that no decliner of the Generall Affembly ſhould be a judge to them; to which they of our mind adhered; for which Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Sir John Cheiſlie did preſſe vehementlie that all of us ſhould be removed for censure. We were willing to remove, on condition that they againſt whom we proteſted ſhould be removed with us as our partie, who could not fitt to

judge us for proteſting againſt themſelves on ſo great a ground ; on their refusall to remove we likewiſe refus'd. The next cauſe was Mr. Robert Hume, where they proceeded the clean contrare way, though the people were unanimous and conſtant in their call : the whole Preſbyterie had unanimouſlie approv'd him in his tryalls as ane expectant, and the moſt miniſters were fullie ſatiſfied with all his tryalls ; yet on a parties diſſatiffaction, for no conſiderable reaſon, they could not be brought to determine any admiſſion, ſo the people appeal'd from their clearlie partiall judgement. The letters of the Commiſſion they will not have read without a proteſtation, and no election will they permitt where they are able. It is in vain to dream of peace with theſe men ! they mind nought bot to ſett themſelves up, and to caſt out and hold out all they can, and fill all places with their profelytes ; to frame people to ane new devotion in *materia proxima* to a ſeparation. However Charteris be inbodying in a church ſo faſt as he can, and celebrating the communion to his profelytes, yet, for all our dinne about him in our laſt Synod, he was not ſo much as cited for the beginning of a proceſſe either before Synod or Preſbyterie ; all their fire for cenſuring their other brether, yet (as they mutter for fear to provoke the Engliſh) is turned to cold water, and a great deall of tenderneſs, when they have adoe with Sectaries. We beſeek yow ingadge us no more in enſnaring conferences. Goe on in the high clear pathway of our Generall Affembles without all prelimitations : Lead us no more into temptation. Alſo our brethren in Glaſgow, Lanerk, Dumbartan, Irvine, and Ayr inclines ſtronglie to elect by themſelves ; when others (though the major part by one or two led declining elders) reſuſe at all to elect, I hope yow will not be againſt it, that in this act we make uſe of our right. I deſyre your judgement of this quicklie, after yow have communicate with Mr. David Forreſt and Mr. Andrew Honyman. I have mov'd the brethren not to move any thing till I hear from yow. All my arguments prevailes little with diverſe. Beware of neuters their counſells ; no man ſerves the diſſenters ſo ſtrongly as they : A great deal better for the trueth that they did declare themſelſes oppoſite wholly. Send your returne to Laurence ſo ſoon as yow can.

Your loveing Brother,

R. B.

In the end of our Synod, Mr. Patrick with Sir John, with conſent of our

Moderator, obtained ane act for keeping our Synod book from going back to the next Assëmbly ; against which we protested. This is a clear evidence of their purpose towards the Assëmbly following.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. JUNE 4TH 1652.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

By the inclosed ye see the condition of our affaires. I pray yow fend me your own sence of my question about elections. Sundrie of us purposes to be in Edinburgh a little before the Assëmbly, whether commissioners or no, to guard the best we can against previous underminyng. I hear Mr Blair has joynd in the dissent from the act of the Synod approving the constitution of the Assëmbly. I hope this must be a mistake, he having so oft spoken for the constitution of the Assëmbly. So great and causeless a change cannot, I am sure, befall him. However, I would think it expedient, if so it seem good to yow, to write to the Towre, that our confessors there would be pleased to write serioussly to Mr. Dickson, Mr. Wood, and above all to Mr. Blair, to doe their duety in the Assëmbly ; and to oppose as it becomes them, not only manifest opposition to the Assëmbly, but that which is more dangerous, all tampering by ensnaring and betraying conferences ; and to turn the edge of their zeal, and pen, not to flatter and strengthen, but to rebuke and gainsay them who truly deserve it. As their letters broke our last snare, so I think a wise and plaine admonition at this time, would doe much good. I wish yow write for it, but withall give them a caveat to provide, that farr less noise be made of letters either to them or from them than lately has been ; for I am much afrayed that some malicious men, finding their crooked designs crushed als much by their letters as any other mean, procure them shrewd offices. Try where the Synod of Glasgow's book is, and how we may gett it. Your Brother¹ had it to write on it the Minutes of the last Assëmbly.

Your Brother,

R. B.

¹ Robert Ker, to whom this and many other letters are addressed, was Minister of Haddington, and brother of Andrew Ker, Clerk of the General Assembly.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON. JUNE 4TH 1652.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I HAVE defyred Mr. Robert Lowrie to communicate to yow my letter to Mr. James Wood and Mr. Robert Kerr. I pray yow fend me your advyce on the whole matter, especially on the point of election. The boldnes and violence of our brethren growes: accommodation with the spirit that leads them is desperate. If Mr. Blair and Mr. Durhame will still go on to draw us by [out of] our right straight way, we must beseeke them to speak plainly their mind, and not to halt betwixt two, but at last to side. Or, if they will make a third partie, we must tell them they lay but stepping-stones to lead over our friends from us to our opposites; which is the worst office they can performe, and farr more evill than any thing they can doe now who stand in the extreamest opposition. The Lord help yow to doe what yow may for God and his cause in this so pitifull a time.

Your Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. JUNE 7TH 1652.

I EXPECT with the first your answer to my last; also I add this, that I would think it very expedient yow had the advyce of Mr. Robert Dowglafs, your Brother, and Mr. John Smith, of our whole proceedings, in the next Assemblie; both in generall, concerning all comes in their owne thought for our direction; also, in all comes in your mind to propone to them; especially what we shall doe with the men censured, when they add their protestation against the next Assemblie to their former contempt. 2. What shall we doe for a Testimony against the English, if we may spare it; and if not, how farr shall we goe in declaring against their tyrannie, and their adherents, especiallie the Commissioners for Union? The giving of it is apparentlie our ruine and of our Generall Assemblie, and the great desire of brethren who are waiting for this occasion to gett us removed, and the Kirk put in their hands: The sparing of it for any danger, will, I fear, be scandalous. I earnestlie desyre

your and their mind concerning this our greatest point. 3. Also, what ad-
 vyce they will give us anent our other brethren. If we receive them, we
 will stumble the other; If we keep them still out, who, for little faults, were
 depofed, or are willing to doe all for fatisfaction we ought to require, we are
 injurious, and puts them to desperat courfes. Beware of prelimiting confer-
 ences: befide your giving a juft exception againft the Affembly, they are ex-
 ceeding dangerous, and only to enfnare us: confent not to countenance them.
 The Affembly may not be fo fhort as only to adjourn with doing nothing at
 all: this will not be yielded to by many who finds the oppofite brethren fo
 active and fuccefffull in evill, that, if a stoppe be not putt to their rufheing
 into all vacant places wifer modeft men only of their cavell, they will not
 find the Church out of danger, before ane other Affembly, to be over-
 whelmed by them. The counfell of neuters muft not be regarded; it is they,
 above all, who increafe that partie, and weakens us moft by all their counfells
 and proceedings. Write to me before yow go out of Edinburgh.

Your Brother,

ROB. BAILLIE.

FOR MR. JAMES DURHAME. JULY 8TH 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

HAVEING looked upon together the Cauſes of the Faſt communicat to us,
 we have thought meet to acquaint yow with theſe our thoughts thereof, in
 private, to receive your brotherlie advyce and direction thereupon, as God
 ſhall put it in your mind.

We have been earneſt of a long time to have had publiſt and ſolemne
 Faſtings, for many moſt important Cauſes, both to the land and this place;
 bot have alwayes been peremptorly refuſed all concurrence therein, unleſs
 we would make our duties ſins, and other men's ſins our duties. When the
 Lord's ſtrange judgements on us hath put us now once againe to Faſt together,
 upon Cauſes uncontroverted, we are very willing and deſyreous to continue
 this gracious and very neceſſaire exerciſe upon any Cauſes we know, or which,
 beyde our preſent knowledge, we ſhall be inſtructed in, by yow or any.

As for the paper preſented to us; in the Firſt Cauſe, we deſire to be inform-

ed what be the reproaches in this place againſt the ordinances. 2. We deſyre the unſrequenting of the ordinances, beſide others, to be ſpecified in this moſt eminent particular, which for ſome time heſ appeared to us, and to many more, a very grievous ſcandall, and a clear beginning of a ſchiſme, that the ordinances out of the mouths of theſe of us who have been for the publiſt, have been alſe good as deſerted, and that without any reſentment or reall endeavour we know of in our brethren to help it, ſince the beginning and continuance of this open ſcandale, hath been in the perſons with whom their power and intereſt is manifeſt.

Concerning the Second Cauſe, we deſyre to be informed what conſtant tract of oppoſition to Chriſt heſ been in this place, more than in others; and that the principles of enmitie to Chriſt, wherein many are ſaid to be rooted, were clearlie and poſitivelie ſett downe. Alſo, what are the kythings that never here have been miſſed to obſtruſt the thryvings of the goſpell; and what ventings of hatred at the power of godlineſs; what bitterneſs and mockings of pietie is underſtood: theſe moſt heavy crymes would not be charged without clear and convincing evidences. We think the madneſs of a few raſcall perſones is not here pointed at, neither the ſpeeches againſt the true miſbehaviour of pious people can be taken for any wronging of pietie; and what there heſ been more here, we deſyred to be informed of it; and when we know it, we ſhall (God willing) heartily concurre in mourning for by-gones, and amending in time coming. We think alſo, that what is ſaid of the affrontings with a high hand of the ordinances of Chriſt, would be made particular: if the late proteſtation againſt the common ſeſſion be here underſtood, it would firſt be ſhewed to be guiltie of ſuch a high challenge.

And why here is the unparalleled affronting of the Generall Aſſembly and the Commiſſion of the Kirk, which in the prime men of this place, heſ been, and is greater than in any towne in the kingdome, altogether buried in ſilence? Alſo the manifeſt contempt of the meſſengers of the goſpell, and the ſpurnings againſt faithfull warnings would be ſett doune in particular. We fear that to our brethren's knowledge and ſmall reſentment, ſome of our perſones and miniſtrie be in too great contempt with their chieffe familiars; and though many be diſcontent with the perſonall miſbehaviors of ſome of us againſt the ſupream authority of Church and State, what concerns that the meſſage of the goſpell?

That the late conjunction of these now in place, should be also far aggravated as possible, we heartily consent; and have many witnesses of our diligence herein at diverse occasions. But we think it a sinful partiality to be silent, and wholly to connive at the scandalls of others who gave great occasion to this sinne. Who were the men who went first to procure the sharpe orders of strangers against their neighbours? By whom and where was the unhappie Remonstrance contrived? Who avowes every line of it to this day? Who were the authors and persevering fomenters of these fatal divisions that visible has ruined the land, both Kirk and Kingdome? Who, in contempt of uncontroverted Generall Assemblies and Parliaments, pressed to their power the laying aside of the King, and to this day puts him out of their prayers? Who have given great occasion to think that no conscience needs be made of the Third Article of our Solemne League, and by this means were the first removers of the great barre against the now prevalent temptation? Can all this be dallied with and connived at with the Lord's good liking?

In the Third, we acquiesce.

In the Fourth, we think what is spoken of malice, invyings, and variances in families, would be much more particularlie aggravated as one of the most visible finnes of the place; which, if the root of it were truly searched, we take it for a sinful fomenting of this grievous ill to make the fountaine of it enmitie at the power of godliness, and to esteem the one partie to be the people of God, (as the dialect of some is,) that so the other may be counted the people of the Devill; we are willing heartily to goe along in charging the one partie deeplie with every particular offence we know them to be guilty of; but not to charge the other side also, with that which visible lyes on them, in our judgement, it is but to perpetuate divisions among this people, to the reall hurt of pietie, and the continuall miserie of this poor place.

As for the Fifth, we acquiesce in it.

The last part of the Sixth, we understand not. We think there has been also great cheerfulness in this people to contribute for the distressed, as ordinarily any where else, except at sometimes when through mistakes they have been hindered, and with the gloryings of the richer we are not acquainted.

In the seventh, we acquiesce.

These are our thoughts of that Paper. If the Lord shall be pleased to

help yow to clear us in the things named; and if ye hope there may be any tollerable agreement in them, we shall be glad not only to joyne in the Humiliation itself, but in all the Causes yow bring, for all that we question is bot some parts of a few. Before that this matter be precipitat, either in a committee or session, we wish yow delayed it for some time. But herein let the Lord direct. We rest,

Your loveing Brethren, for the time much grieved in spirit, and abased before the Lord, for many things we cannot mend neither in ourselves nor others.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I WROTE to yow this week with James Hamilton: I add now this one word farther. On Wednesday, in our Presbyterie, Mr. Patrick caried it to make no election; we did give in, without dinne, the inclosed Protestation. The churches of Leinzie, Cathcart, and Kilbride, they will plant only with the most violent young men of their owne side, and are sure, by one mean or other, to marre all others to the utmost of their power; they mind nought bot to compassè their designe, and for that end to tread downe all in their way. Some in Finnick have declared for separation, against whom M. W.² preaches with tears, bot in vaine. I find they will have one more onsett on yow and the ministers of Edinburgh, this next week, to tempt yow to passe from the last Assemblée, and their censures, as if they had never been, and all the rest of the acts, controverted. God, we doubt not, will assist yow to doe your duetie. But take good heed, I pray yow, to your colleagues, that they be not entangled; for if all of them, and many more with them, would betray the liberties of our church in the day of her distresse, I trust there shall be witnesses for her without all such, be they who they will. The fruite of this labour will be but a new schisme to strengthen the former, a renting of the next Assemblée, als dangerously, as wes the last; and whoever will be a leader to this work they will succeed to Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillespie. Our eyes are on God: but under him on yow, as a good instru-

² Mr. William Guthrie, Minister of Fenwick.

ment to prevent this new evil designe. Look well to some of Fife, and to Mr. George Hutchebone and Mr. Hew [Mackaill.] Beware of my Lord Waristone's importunitie. The Lord help yow. Mr. John Livingstone is very buffie.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, July 8th 1652.

R. B.

[REASONS OF PROTEST.] WEDNESDAY, JULY 7TH 1652.

THE Moderator having put the question, What answer should be given to the Letter of the Commission of the late Generall Assemblies; and the pluralitie of the Presbyterie having voted, that, contrarie to the desire of that Letter, no Commissioners should be choisen to the Assembly to be holden in Edinburgh the third Wednesday of July; We under-subscribers did dissent from that vote, and entered our protestation against it; protesting likewise, that it should be free for us, for the preserving of the libertie of the Presbyterie and doing of our dutie, to choose Commissioners as we shall find convenient for the next ensuing Generall Assembly, which is to sitt downe the 21st of July instant. The Reasons of our Protestation are these following, and such others as we shall give in in time and place convenient:—

1. That vote did reflect upon, and really nullifie not only the acts, but the verie constitution and authoritie of the last Assembly and Commission thereof.

2. It does marre the next and all subsequent Generall Assemblies, ever till the protesters against the last Assembly shall obtaine assurance that the subsequent Assemblies shall be willing to passe from, and lay aside that of St. Andrewes and Dundee as a null Assembly. Which assurance were a most unjust and unreasonable prelimitation of the Assembly following.

3. Because not only the chiefe leader in that vote was Mr. Patrick Gillespie, who, according to our former protestation, oft renewed, ought not to have had voice at all, nor to have sitten in the Presbyterie, being deposed from his ministrie by that late Generall Assembly; but also more nor a triple number of ministers were against that vote, only two being for it, to witt: Mr. James Hamilton and Mr. William Young; other seven having voted positively for a present election, to witt: Masters Zacharie Boyd, George Young, Hew Blair, Robert Young, Robert Baylie, Gabriel Cunynghame, Archibald Den-

neftone ; whiles Mr. John Carftaires voiced *non liquet*, and Mr. James Durhame did refufe to declare his mind *pro* or *contra* ; Mr. Andrew Morton and Mr. Thomas Melvill being abfent, and Mr. Hew Binning not prefent at the voyceing. The ruling elders alfo who caried the vote fhould not have voiced in that particulare ; becaufe they all flood in a \acute tuale oppofition to the laft Generall Afemblee, being either a \acute tually protefters againft it, or being fent by thefe who were fuch.

FOR MR. JAMES DURHAME. JULY 11TH 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THAT any thing which came from me fhould have grieved yow, efpeciallie in fuch a degree, I am forrie ; for wittingly I would not grieve yow, from whofe word my heart hes been fo oft refreshed. Your anfwer, I confefs, hes grieved me to purpofe ; but that all farther provocation may be broken off, we have written once more, I hope without all gall, though the tenth part of your anfwer might have wakened better hung fplenes than are the beft of yours. But we defire to fear God, and to love and honour yow, doe and fay what yow pleafe.

Your loveing Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES DURHAME. JULY 11TH 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Yow have been pleased to give us fuch ane ftrange anfwer to our humble and modeft letter, as truly we intended it, that we purpofe not to fafche yow with more of that kind. We fhew yow what we milliked in your paper ; that without all dinne and debate it might have been helped by yow in private. We went alongft with yow in all the Caufes of the Faft : the moft of them abfolutely. The exceptions we took at fome parts of a few, concerned one excefs, and ane other defect, as we conceived. The great divifions of this place are knowne. About the authors and fomenters of them, we faid, we fay nothing ; only we wifhed that what oft we heard from pulpits, this

paper, which wes to conclude us, might not bear, as if the one side of the divided were the people of God, and the other God's enemies. We think such an application of this distinction injurious, and many wayes very hurtfull. What sins were in this place in James Grahame's dayes, and in the time of the Engagement, and now, in this late conjunction, we have witnessed too much and too sharply against them, privately and publicly, that now we should excuse any of them: We are not so blind as not to see much ignorance, profanitie, and enmitie to God and his gospell, into many among whom we converse: Yet to apply all this to the one side of our divided people, as we apprehend some men's sermons ordinarily doe, and this paper imported, this was it that we desired to be clear ere we had joyned in it. Christ's mercies to us have been so many, and our hopes of salvation by his blessed blood so great, that we would be loath, upon knowledge, to excuse a thought that reflected on him; but the bickerings of neighbours among themselves, merely for the things of this world, to put all those on Christ, and what the humours of provoked people does cast out one upon another for miscarriages, whether true or but apprehended, to father all this on enmitie to Christ and religion, to us is not justice. This wes all we purposed, and all the matter, we think, wes written by us. What high and deep censures ye are pleased to put upon us for this, and that without all passion, if we should sett them doune before yow together, we hope ye would not like them so weell at the second sight as at the first. We trust ye would change these your thoughts of us, when yow see they want all foundation. We tell yow, in passing, but this one word: Upon our conversing with this people, more than seven times longer than yet yow have done, that, in our judgement, this way of preaching and writing is one of the chief stumbling blocks and great marring of the progres of pietie we know here: continue in it so long as any think fitt.

What yow speak of reproaches of Mr. Dickson's ministrie, that they should be putt in the Causes of a Fast, we doubt it shall not be the session's mind. The late most shamefull reproaches of his preaching and persone, too well knowne, were never so much as cognosed upon, more than the publict revilings to his face of that other brother yow name, (now blessed); yea, the base threatnings of him, and the rest of us, with stroakes, and more, in the face of session, and in papers laid at our doors; yea, the preparing of cudgells by too many of that side, to have fallen upon us in our very

pulpits for no cause at all. Doe not esteem thir things calumnies, for we know too well the truth of the facts, though we be altogether ignorant of any notice wes ever taken of any of them by these whom it concerned, when yet words against the persons of others have usuallie been followed to the utmost, and censured with all possible rigour. Yow may remember when exceeding gross calumnies, against some of us, judicially convicted of falsehood were notwithstanding totallie slighted. The defect we complained of wes the conniving at the many most scandalous finnes of the other side, as if no such thing ever had been. This still yow seem altogether to misregarde. We are not willing to apply to this your neglect, the terrible censures yow put upon us for no such cause. How great occasion foever yow give us, yet we forbear to provoke yow in the least, but committs this whole matter to your owne review; if yow continue in your first sense, we must lay it over on our common Master, and continue to mourne before him for that which oft hes been the burden of our spirits, waiting for his help and remed in his owne time, since to us the help of man is vaine. The effect of all our desires, first and last, is, That without noise, these parts of your paper we touched, may be put in such expressions as shall avoide that evill we spoke of; and that ye would cause add these other open scandalls, a part whereof we have named, leaving many more which easly may be remembered; for, in our judgement, in a day of solemne acknowledgement of the finnes of this place, such things cannot be omitted, without a great deal of undutifullness both to God and man. The Lord direct yow what to doe in this grave business, for with yow alone we have dealt in this matter; neither intend we, for our part, that it shall come to any other hand nor yours.

Your loving Brethren,

R. B[AILLIE].

G. Y[OUNG].

H. B[LAIR].

FOR MR. ROUS. AUGUST 20TH 1652.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

BEING intreated by the bearer Mistres Lamy, upon the remembrance of old friendship, I make bold to recommend her to your favour. I have been oft a folicitor to yow for her, and, as she tells me, never in vaine; for this I

can give but hearty thanks, withall intreating for the continuance of your charitable indeavours for that her pension and almes, which, I suppose, is all the subsistence she has, after a long and faithfull service to these who now are removed. I am hopeful, by your assistance, she shall obtaine so much, if no justice, yet charitie and mercy, that she shall give thanks to God and yow so long as she lives. She tells of a letter yow wrote to me without an answer; be assured I never saw it, for if any thing from yow had come to my hand, I would not have been long in answering. I have been oft sollicitous in this terrible tempest for yow in particular, but could learne nothing certainlie of your condition, before this bearer the other day did informe me of it. I was very glad to hear yow was alive, and, in the great change of many men's minds and estates, that yow were the same I left yow,⁵ sincere in the Covenant, and still to your power furthering what concerned God and godly men; the continuance, for the little remainder of your life, in this gracious course, will crowne your (long agoe) very white hairs with a rare and almost singular garland of inward peace and outward honour, among the generation of the just.

If I were beside yow, I would use my wonted freedome to poure out before yow many complaints, and much grief for what is past, and no small fear for what I yet apprehend is imminent; but distance of place, and iniquitie of time, makes me cutt off such purposes: only I cannot suppress one thought, that, in my judgement, the long and heavy sufferings of Mr. Dowglafs and his fellows, on the part of the agents, will not be very acceptable to God, nor honourable before equitable men. These men are eminent servants of Jesus Christ; they have done and suffered much in the service of the Parliament of England; if they shall be forgott thus, year after year, and permitted to languish in prison, their Master will require it. If yow were able to procure their freedome, it would be a favour which not only I, your faithfull friend, but the whole Church of Scotland, would highly esteem and bless your memorie for it. Wishing the prolongation of your days yet for some time, for this and such services to Christ and his saints, I rest,

Your affectionat friend and humble Servant,

R. B.

⁵ *Supra* p. 97: Baillie speaks of Rous, with regret, as having complied with the Sectaries.

A POSTSCRIPT.

YOUR Judges are goeing the next week, as we hear, to vifite our Univerfities. If they be intructed to minifter the Tender to us, they muft purge out of St. Andrewes Mr. Blair, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Wood; out of Edinburgh Mr. Dickfon; and me out of Glasgou; and thereafter multitudes of our moft precious minifters. Whatever differences be among us, yet all of us of any good efteem, are refolved, by God's grace, to fuffer what fhall be impofed, rather than to quate any article of that Covenant, which, at the follicitation of the Parliament of England, we were brought into. For the tyme we are all very quiet and peaceable; but if, for confcience fake, we fhall be wracked, by thefe of whom we have deferved the beft things, our filent mourning will cry aloud in the eares of the Lord, to the fmall advantage of them who trouble us without all caufe. If yow be able to prevent this mifchiefe, it will be a good fervice, not only to God, and many of us his children, but alfo to thefe who, by troubling us, may procure to themfelves, from the hand of our Saviour, much more evill than they are aware of. If Mr. Tate be alive, and in his old credite, I hope he will gladly, after his ufe and wont, joyne with yow in fuch employments. I wont to find bot a few there lyke-minded to yow two in the things of God and his Church.

FOR MR. JAMES WOOD. DECEMBER 10TH 1652.¹

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I HAVE been expecting, as you promifed, a calling of our Commiffion. I wes hoping alfo for ane account of their conference at St. Andrewes, to have helped us in our conference here; but hearing nothing from yow of either purpofe, I have fent this exprefse to give yow ane account of our proceedings yefterday, the 9th of this infant, as we were defired. There mett in Mr. John Carstairs's chamber, of our mind, Mafters James Ferguffon,

¹ Although this letter bears the date of December 1652, and is entered among others of that period, there is some reason to believe that the date is wrong, and that it may have been written in December 1651.

Patrick Colvill, William Fullerton, John Gemmill, and myself; Mr. David Dickson excused himself, in a letter to his sonne, by the weaknes of his body, and the length of the journey. Of the other mind there came bot four: Masters Patrick Gillefpie, John Carstairs, Alexander Dunlop, and Hugh Binning. We shew ourselves willing to hear whatever they had to say to us for the agreeing of our present differences. They propounded to speak our minds of the differences, if so be we could be brought nearer to them, were it but to acknowledge some defection and backsliding, hoping, as we find it thereafter, to have drawne out some difference among ourselves about this proposition, as it's said it did among you. The points they required our sense of was: The treatie with the King, the Commission's answer to the Querie, and their answer about the Act of Classes, the constitution of the Generall Assembly, and the controverted acts thereof. We were willing to declare our mind in all things; bot desyred also to know their sense of the separation from the forces at Stirling, of the Western remonstrance, of their opposing ever since the publick resolutions of Kirk and State, of their protestation against the Generall Assembly, of their erecting of a Commission, of their giving out Causes of publick fasts, wherein they determine all our controversies, and layes the main causes of the wrath of God on their opposites proceedings. We did declare our mind unanimeslie enough in all the first. They did declare their mind als unanimeslie in the rigour of all the other; so any drawing near one to ane other, while we remained in our present judgements, appeared desperate to us all; yet, after much talking, and on their professions to be very desirous of peace, and of their willingness to have all differences laid aside for their part, we were not averse from trying if any just peace were possible. And for this end did offer to propone to the brethren of our mind, to meet among ourselves, so soon as might be, to see, 1st, How farr they might be content, without all reflection on the Generall Assembly, and former Commission, or any of their Acts, for peace cause, to lay aside these debates which did cause this present rupture; 2d, To agree what Testimonie to give, so far as concerned the ministers of Christ, against all falling away from the Covenant, which now is like to be the generall temptation of many. That from these meetings some few, were it one from a Presbyterie, might come to Edinburgh, or some where else, to confer with these who shall attend them from our differing brethren; who, if God may be

pleas'd to help them to come toward some reall agreeance, may return with diligence to these who sent them, and report what they had found either in the two named particulars, or in what else you please to add. I have sent this express bearer to you, to know how ye like of this motion; for howsoever all of us inclined towards it, yet we resolve to follow it no further, if ye be not alike well pleas'd with it. If, after consideration, you think good it be followed, you then will call to speak with you, at St. Andrewes, such of the brethren of Fyfe, Perth, and Angus, as you find expedient; and, on your advertisement, we shall write to these we find most fitt of Aire and Galloway to meet at Munyboill, of Clydesdale and Dumbarton to meet at Glasgow, of Louthian and the South to meet at Edinburgh. Mr. Patrick Gillespie will have some of the other mind ready to wait upon these who shall come from these meetings at what time and place we shall appoint. If ye find not this course good or tymeous, advertise me with the boy, and there shall be no more of it. I will write to none to keep this appointment, till I hear from you, and you have named both the time and the place, and the matter of the conference, both among ourselves and our differing brethren. If you name a time, let it be such wherein there may be space to advertise the forenamed parties, first to meet among themselves, and then to send their commissioners to the common meeting at the place you shall name. If you think fitt, you may desire the brethren of the North of our mind to meet for the same purpose among themselves at Aberdeen. These things would be done with all diligence. Expecting your answer, I remaine,

Your loving Brother,

Glasgow, Wednesday, 10th December 1652.

R. BAYLIE.

I received your letter, and followed all your advice. Communicate this to Mr. Andrew Honyman, whose letter also I received, and thanks him for it. There is very great noise here of Mr. Blair's letter to Mr. James Durham, and of his speeches in your late conference, to the very great disadvantage of the late Generall Assemblie and Commission, contrare to his own former professions. If this could be gotten amended by you there, we would be very glad of it, both for the publick cause and for that reverend brother his owne reputation.

FOR THE CORRESPONDENTS WITH THE PRESBYTERIE OF GLASGOW IN THE
PLANTING OF LEINZIE.⁵

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

The Commission of the Kirk, according to the act of the Generall Assemblée, having nominate a committee to joyne with the Presbyterie of Glasgow for the speedie planting of the Kirk of Leinzie, and given power to any of the Presbyterie to call that committee whensoever they fand themselff grieved by the Presbyterie's delaying any longer to plant that kirk according to the acts of the late Generall Assemblée; We, underfubscryvers, haveing with much patience waited on and used all means in our power to move the Presbyterie at last to plant that exceeding long desolate congregation, are now reallie grieved to see that plantation so much frustrated, that we have no hope at all to gett it done in any convenient time without the help of the appointed committee. This forces us at last, according to our exprefs commission, to call it; and yow being one of the number, with your ruleing elder, are earnestlie intreated to keep with us at Glasgow the second Wednesday of January the 12th day of this instant, whereby yow shall doe ane service acceptable to God and very comfortable to us, and necessarrie to that poor desolate people who has wanted ane minister near three years; and without God's help and yours, is like to want one much longer. Expecting that herein ye will not be inlacking, We rest,

Your loveing Brethren in the Lord.

Glasgow, January 3d 1653.

There joyne with us in this desyre, albeit for the time absent from toun, Masters Robert Young, Gabriell Cunynghame, and Mr. Archibald Denneftone.

⁵ This circular letter, written by Baillie, refers to a case which he frequently mentions in his letters at this time. The barony and parish of Leinzie or Leinyie, in Dumbartonshire, comprehending the two parishes of Kirkintilloch and Cumbernauld, originally belonged to Stirlingshire. The parish was ordered to be disjoined in 1649, into Easter Leinzie or Cumbernauld, and Wester Leinzie or Kirkintilloch; but it was not till 1659, when a new church for the eastern parish was erected.

FOR MR. PATRICK GILLESPIE. JANUARY 1653.

RIGHT REVEREND,

Yow had no caufe to wonder for that which wes expreflie told yow, and neceffarie did follow from the principles we walked upon. Thefe Brethren who arofe and left us were, yow know, not acknowledged by us as the Prefbyterie after our laft proteftation, but thefe who fatt ftill with the Commiffioners, to performe the duetie recommended to them by a fpeciall aēt of the Generall Affemblic and Commiffion of the Church, were taken by us for the only allowable Prefbyterie of Glafgow. Their delegation of minifters to preach in Leinzie to us was a lawfull and expedient prefbyteriall aēt: That I was one of thefe who were fent, was burthenfome to me and truelie againft my heart; but being unanimouflic defired and voted to goe there the nixt Sunday, I thought it my duetie to obey. My purpofe is to give no offence to any, but fincerelie to preach the word of God, as the Lord gives me grace, for the beft advantage of the kingdome of Chrif in the hearts of my hearers, as I fhall be enabled. If in this purpofe any unadvfyed people fhall doe violence either to me or others, it fhall be my endeavour not to deferve any fuch affront; but if yow know tumults to be defigned, I fhall pray God to pardone the aētors and fomentors thereof, and remaine,

Your Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES DURHAME.

As I thank yow heartilie for your kinde and brotherlic warning, fo fhall I intreat yow for that Chriflian duetie to imploy your power with thefe rafhe people that they finne not againft God, nor hurt the Lord's fervants who never wronged them, and are only going about that which they conceive a part of their calling, and the Lord's fervice for the good of people's foules. Herein if yow be deficient, yow cannot bot be grieved for it hereafter when yow fee ill done, which poffible if yow had pleafed yow might

have prevented. However, I am in confcience obliged to goe about that which I conceive my duety, let the Lord permitt what obftruction he pleafes to be putt in my way.

Your loveing Brother,

R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

Truely if I did not think in my heart the bodie of that people to be the givers of the call, and the oppofers to be bot a fmall partie, in regard of the whole, who in reafon ought not to prejudge the right of the farr moft part, I fhould not at all have meddled in that matter. However fair and fober dealling will be found the beft of it, both before God and all men.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN, MR. CALAMY, MR. WHITTAKER,
MR. ASH, MR. CRANFORD, MR. CLERK, FAITHFULL MINISTERS OF JESUS
CHRIST, WITHIN THE CITY OF LONDON. JANUARY 21ST 1653.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

Yow have been pleafed to accept fo kindly of my former letter, as the bearer, Mr. Wilkie, made me to underftand, that I am emboldened to importune yow with this fecond. My long experience of your refpects to me, and more of your pious and compaffionate difpofition to all our fuffering Brethren, made me expect no lefs than what Mr. Wilkie wrote of your kind acceptance of my recommendation, and your readinefs to endeavour by your beft advyce and affiftance, the relief of our numerous fupplicants, in their very fad condition reprefented to yow by that gentleman our agent there. We were once in good hopes, to the comfort of many here, of fome confiderable fupport from your Parliament. But the unexpected increafe of their weighty affaires which hes interveened, hes much blafed all our former expectation. The long and chargeable attendance of our agent, without appearance of any fruit, makes us inclyne to recall him. The difappointment of our fair hopes will add to the affliction of our wracked people, bot the will of the Lord be done. Only before his departure I thought fitt to return to yow, my Dear Brethren, heartie thanks for all the kindnefs yow have fhewed to him, and to intreat yow for your beft counfell to him, if in fuch a juncture of your affaires, he

may yet have hope, by some further stay, of any success in his negotiation, worthie of his charge and paines. In the meantime our prayers to God shall be for you and the rest of our Brethren there, that in this day of darkness the light which the Lord has put in your vessels may continue to shine for the comfort and direction of the Lord's people there and elsewhere. That the good hand of the Lord may be on all your spirits for enabling of you for every service his Majesty calleth for at your hands, so prays

Your very loving and much honouring Brother,

Glasgow, January 21st 1653.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE VISITING THE
UNIVERSITIES.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOUR Honours letter of February 1st, being this day communicate to us, according to your direction, we make unto it this humble returne; That we believe in our consciences the right of Ordination of ministers to vacant congregations belongs to the Church by divine right, and the gift of Jesus Christ. In this truth we conceive we have the full consent, not only of all the ministers of Scotland, whatever otherwise be their differences, but of all Protestant Churches, yea of those who are of the Congregational way, and who refuse infant baptism. We have seen many declarations of the Parliament of England for this truth, which, so far as we know, stand unrepelled. In the late ordinations which have been in our owne Presbyterie, or in the neighbour Presbyteries of Hamilton, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Pasley, Lithgow, Biggart, or any where else in Scotland, we have not heard that your Honours has quarrelled that right. The planting of some Kirks among us at this tyme lyes heavilie upon us, not only as upon the Presbyterie of the bounds, but by a speciall appointment of the Generall Assemblie, and a renewed ordinance from the Commission of the Church. A very numerous, and now almost three years desolate congregation, has long been most earnestly pressing us for it. All the tryells of the young man were closed to the great satisfaction of all who were present, and his edict was served before your letter come to our hands. We therefore humbly intreat your Honours

to take in good part that we goe about that which we believe in conscience to be our duetie in a matter meerly spirituall, wherein we medle with nothing Civile, and wherein the Civile power, wherever it gives any tolleration at all, makes no question any where, to our best knowledge. We are fure in France the Prince, though Popish, denyes not this libertie, and all the Eastern world, where there are any Christians, the Magistrate does not controvert it. We have very good hopes that as the Civile power in this land did never offer to take that libertie from the Church, so your Honours will be loath to mind any such thing. Praying yow may be pleased to take this our humble and conscientious answer in good part, we rest,

Your Honours, in all Christian duty, the Presbyterie
of Glasgow, and Committee joined to them by the
Generall Affemblic and Commission of the Church,
subscryved at our direction by our Moderator,

MR. HEW BLAIR.

Glasgow, February 8th 1653.

FOR OUR WORTHIE FRIENDS, THE RECTOR, DEAN OF FACULTIE, AND THE
REST OF THE MASTERS OF THE COLLEGE OF GLASGOW.

We haveing formerly made knowne unto yow our desires of Mr. Gillespie's being Principall of your Colledge; and hearing yow are not at all unanimous in your defyres of the same; bot that some doe either directly and expressely or obliquely and secretly oppose it, which may administer some ground of discouragement to him to accept thereof; We doe therefore desire to hear from yow, and clearlie to receive it, under your owne hands, who are willing and approve of the same, and who, and how many doe oppose it, and their reasons for the same. This we defyre may be speedily returned unto us under your owne hands, that so this necessary work may not be retarded and obstructed; but that we may have occasion to expresse ourselfes, as we defyre, to be your loveing Friends,

GEO. SMYTH.

EDW. MOYSLEY.

ROB. SALTONSTALL.

Edinburgh, February 1st 1653.

MY LETTER TO THE JUDGES ANENT THE GROUNDS OF MY PROTESTATION
AGAINST MR. PATRICK GILLESPIE'S ENTRIE IN THE PLACE OF
PRINCIPALL.^(c)

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

BEING required by a letter from your Honours, February 1st, presented in our meeting February 7th, to make clearlie known unto yow our minde concerning Mr. Patrick Gillespie his being Principall of our Colledge, in all humility I doe offer these my thoughts on that matter. When your Honours order appointing Mr. Patrick Gillespie to be our Principall wes presented unto us, I profest I should make no opposition thereunto; and when ever Mr. Patrick Gillespie should accept that charge, according to that order, my carriage in my station should be such as should minister to him no just cause of complaint; neither since that time, directly or indirectly, to my knowledge, have I opposed or made any impediment to him to obey that order. But when, as I conceive beyde that order we were required to desire and invite him to accept of that place, the most part of the Facultie did shew that we could not in conscience doe it, for fundrie reasons that had weight with us. For myselfe, at your Honours command I make mention now of these few following.

1. I conceive it is one of the rights and priviledges of our Univerfitie, whereunto I am tyed by oath, to make choise by a free election, as of all the rest of the Masters, so of our Principall. And when we have made choise to try his qualifications so farr as we finde it expedient; bot where neither a voice in election nor any place to try is left to us, though I will not oppose, yet I cannot desyre nor invite any man to accept such a kind of call as infringes our priviledges.

(c) *Supra* p. 154, it was noticed that Mr. Robert Ramsay was elected Principal of the University of Glasgow; and a doubt was expressed of his ever having officiated in that capacity. I since find, from the College Records, that he was duly admitted and subscribed the Oath as Principal; but the date is omitted. It must, however, have been in April or May 1651, and he survived at most only a few months. He signs a deed as Principal, 27th July 1651. After some interval Mr. Patrick Gillespie was appointed his successor, by the English Commissioners, and he was admitted 14th February (16th calends of March) 1653.

2. Mr. Patrick Gillespie stands a depofed minifter by a Generall Affemblic, which to me was a very lawfull one, and which in my judgement, I am obliged to obey. Wherefore till he have fatisfied the Generall Affemblic I cannot invite him to any charge, either in the Church or Schools, according to the order of our Church.

3. I conceive that Mr. Patrick Gillespie is not furnifhed with that meafure of learning which the place of our Principall does neceffarily require.

Thefe things, at your Honours commands, I doe
fubfcrive.

Glafgow, February 10th 1653.

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONERS FOR VISITATION OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOUR Honours letter came to our hands on Saturday at night, the 5th of this instant. According to your commands we did communicat it to the Presbyterie, at their firft meeting, on Tuesday thereafter; whereunto they returned the inclofed anfuer, which now we fend unto yow with ane exprefle of our owne, humbly intreating that, in your accuftomed juftice and equitie in the like cafes, notwithstanding of any misinformation from thefe who differ from us, yow would be pleafed to believe, that in this whole matter we have indeavoured to doe no more than what in confcience we did esteem ourfelves obliged to doe, and without all purpofe to doe the leaft offence to any of your Honours. For what ever may be the difference of our judgments from yow in fome things, yet it hes been, is, and fhall be our refolution, fo farr as the Lord will give us wifdome, to walk fo humbly and circumfpectly therein, as to be loath to give any juft ground of exception againft us. Befeeeking that we may finde this benigne and charitable interpretation with your Honours, we reit,

Your Honours, in all Chriftian duetie,

R. BAYLIE.

GEO. YOUNG.

Glafgow, Thursday, February 10th 1653.

FOR OUR HONOURED FRIENDS MR. ROBERT BAYLIE AND MR. GEORGE
YOUNG, AT GLASGOW.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEREAS power and authoritie is given to us, the Commissioners for Vifiting the Univerfities, Colledges, and Schools of learning in Scotland, by the Parliament of England, to fee all vacant Churches in this land fupplied with godly and able minifters, according to our former declaration, we conceive it fitt, at this time alfo, by letter to give yow notice thereof, that fo ye may forbear to attempt to fettle any minifter in any church within your Prefbyterie, without our approbation, leaft ye contract a further trouble upon yourfelves, and the people whom ye thinke to pleafure therein. This is the defire of

GEO. SMYTH.⁶

EDW. MOYSLEY.

ROB. SALTONSTALL.

Edinburgh, February 10th 1653.

We defyre this may be communicat to the reft of the Miniftrie that are with yow.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER, MR. DAVID DICKSON,
AT EDINBURGH.

REVEREND BROTHER,

Yow will perceave by the inclofed what ftormes Mr. Patrick Gillefpie has been brewing againft us from the Englifh; and indeed, if God prevent it not, he is like to make them fall upon me the firft, of all the minifters of Scotland, but not the laft, that fo he may have, without any more impediment, the full rule of our Colledge and Prefbyterie, which long he has been feeking, and is now on point of receiving it. I have great comfort and

⁶ George Smyth, Esq. and Edward Mosely, Esq. were two of the English Judges or Commissioners appointed for the Administration of Justice in Civil Cases in Scotland, 18th May 1652.

peace of mind for the time, that, when the worst comes, I have not drawn it on by any wrong done to any men. How innocent, and little reflecting on Mr. Patrick, my carriage has been in the matter of the Colledge, you will see in my answer to the Judge's letter to our Colledge; and what necessities were laid upon us, not to be hindered in doing the duties of our calling upon any human unlawful command, you will see in the Presbyterie's letter to the same Judges, wherein we were all fully unanimous, and none more nor our brethren Mr. James Fergusson and Mr. Patrick Colville, though, in some circumstances, they did modestly differ that day from the rest. We conceived ourselves necessitate to go on, without delay, to the ordination, not only because we found no just nor legal cause of any delay, which all acknowledged; but also, on the delay of never so few days, we saw a great many more difficulties coming upon us than we durst venture upon. This case is a leading on to all Scotland, and will be a beginning of fore persecution to many, if God prevent it not. I wish you may do your best endeavour to hold off us now, and yourself next, this storm. The Judges had their meeting on Monday upon these matters. I wish that you, with Mr. H. M'Kell, and Mr. G. Hutchefone, did speak with the Judge Smyth together, at least that yourself did speak with him to take our letter in good part; you must do it some time on Sunday, or not at all. I have sent you two doubles of all, the one, when you there have considered them, to be sent to Mr. James Wood, with my letter to him, and the other to Mr. Robert Ker, with the first sure hand Mr. Alexander can find. You had need to take care for a very frequent Commission at your next quarterly meeting. It lies on you to give fair warning, and timely advertisement, that the spoiling of the liberties of the Kirk of the highest consequence, and the corrupting of our Universities, may not be done before our eyes, and we be altogether silent; such pusillanimity and unfaithfulness will provoke the Lord, grieve and stumble many, encourage our adversaries, and nothing prevent our persecution. The Lord help and direct you in this business. Let me hear from you with this my express. The testimoniall you desired, when I considered it with your sonne, I thought not meet to crave it, for the reasons which will satisfy you at meeting. The Lord be with you.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, February 10th 1653.

R. B.

Mr. Patrick Gillespie, after advyement with these of his mind, both east and west, it seemes is resolved, without more delay, to take from the English our Principall's place, and to be a stirrer up of them to persecute us all. He invites carefully our new Divinitie Professor, Mr. John Young, to be a member of his separate Presbyterie, though neither minister nor ruling elder, which is likelie the other will accept of. He is likelie to summond us before the Civile Judge for the delivrance of our Presbyterie book to him, and so to make the English determine, which of us are the right Presbyterie, Synod, and Generall Assemblie, to whom the rights of the Kirk, and stipends, etc., doe belong: The man is restless.

After advyement, we have thought fitt not to present our Presbyterie's and Colledge letter to the Judges before Monday at night, only to make way by Mr. John Flether to speak them according to the information, but not to give it them in write, for they will but send it to Mr. Patrick Gillespie to make a needless noise on it, and to tell, that satisfactory letters are coming. It is necessary to keep very secret both the English letter to us, and our answers to them, for if they goe abroad, it will irritate them as much as any thing else: we are on a ticklish business; we had need of much prayer to God. If the Lord be pleased to keep my soul in the light and life I have this while enjoyed, I am secure of the event; it must be good, blessed be his holy name. In this point of tryell there seemes no darkness to me at all.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. FEBRUARY 10TH 1653.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Yow will see, in my letter to Mr. Dickson, and the papers I sent him to be communicat with yow, what is our condition. I wish, on the sight hereof, yow came in and conferred with him; he hes need to be strengthened and directed. Let me hear from yow the first occasion. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES WOOD. FEBRUARY 10TH 1653.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

Yow have here bot a part of our long stories, yow will confider them, and acquaint Mr. Andrew Honyman, Mr. David Forrest, and Mr. James Sharp with all. Mr. Robert Blair is not for reading of papers; acquaint him with what of the matter yow think fitt. Yow have here my Lord Wigton's information to a friend; the grievances wherefore we called the committee; our answer to the English letter; my answer to their letter to the Colledge; my letter to Mr. Dickson. I hope yow will not condemne us of rashness, who would not be stopped by the English letter to doe our duetie, and execute the commission laid on us by the Assemblies, the commission of the Church, and Presbyterie. Our stay had been very scandalous and hurtfull, though our going on we foresaw it full of hazard; but after much seeking of God, and mutuale advyce, all of us thought it best not to take that stoppe. The Lord his will be done. I hope to see yow at the Commission; I wish it may be frequent. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

R. B.

My heartie affections to your neighbour, my Lord Balcarras and his Ladie.

FOR MR. JAMES WOOD. FEBRUARY 14TH 1653.

JAMES,

Yours from St. Andrewes the sixth of this instant I received this day. Yow complaine of my long silence; I have, I hope, answered abundantly by my large packett this last week. I add now this passage: This morning the Rector fummoned us to a meeting, to hear what Mr. Patrick Gillespie would say to the Facultie. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, wes sicke; the Dean of Facultie, Mr. George Young, wes absent, on what occasion I yet know not; the affeffors were not desired by the beddell to meet; the four

Regents and I kept with the Rector. Mr. Patrick Gillespie told us, that though as yet he could not fullie nor finallie accept the Principall's charge he wes invited to, yet he would offer us this overture, That till the Generall Assemblies, which, rightlie constitute, had ane great oversight of Univerfitie places, he would be content to accept so much of that charge as might stand with his ministrie in the toune, to oversee the discipline of the house, and to doe what else he wes able in that charge. When he wes removed, I desired them to advyse till to-morrow before we concluded anything in a matter of that consequence. Two of the principall members were absent; none of the assessors were summoned. The matter wes totallie new; a Principall in part, not fullie for a time, not finallie, bot till a Generall Assembly rightlie constitute; a Principall with a full ministrie in the towne; a Principall, upon no invitation from the Colledge, bot some private men, after a Facultie had judicially refused all invitation. Such things were great novelties, deserving one night's advisement; notwithstanding the Rector put it to a vote, and caried to accept Mr. Patrick's offer, to admit him presentlie Principall, and take his oath of doing his duetie in that charge. Against this I did protest, as a violation of the rights of the Church of Scotland, and priviledge of our Univerfitie, and for diverse other causes, to be produced in time and place. When Mr. Patrick is called in he is put to his oath. I at length debated with him upon the former and other reasons, calmly, without heat, yet sadly; but when I had said all, without any scruple he accept[ed the] charge, and gave his oath of faithfull administration; and presently moved, that our factor, a near allye of mine, might be removed, and Mr. John Spreule chosen in his place, which accordingly wes done; and a new meeting appointed by our Principall to regulate all our Colledge affaires. Thus goes the game with us. This to me is a demonstration that there is more betwixt that partie and the English than we yet know.

I have read more than the half of that good book,⁷ much more Mr. Guthrie's, as I take it, than my Lord Waristone's. I thought it needfull

⁷ "The Nullity of the pretended Assembly at Saint Andrewes and Dundee: Wherein are contained, The Representation or Adjournment; The Protestation and Reasons thereof; together with a Review and Examination of the Vindication of the said P[retended] Assembly, &c Printed in the year 1652," 4to. The Vindication of the Assembly was written by James Wood; and the Review, probably by Guthrie from Warriston's notes.

to answer it presently with five or six sheets, or at most within ten, of Animadversions, setting down the points whereto their controversy is now drawn, especially the heads of the Western Remonstrance, which there, and the grossest of their tenets, are all clearly defended. I thought to have done it myself, but seeing the vaine jangleings of the body of the book are mere formalities of federunts of meetings and niggie-naggies, for no edification, I utterly abhorred the labour, and cast by the book, sending my advice to Mr. Ker that you should not meddle with it, whose way is infinite, but send some few short notes, if you can be short, to Mr. Robert Knox, or Mr. John Smyth, or if he would think on it, Mr. Robert Ker himself, who for a solid, succinct, handsome, modest taking answer, I conceive would do it better than any other, and these still are my thoughts of that matter. Will you let Lockier triumph whole yeares?⁸ O laziness, laziness! To the answer of my Lord Warristone, I would prefix the Western Remonstrance, and Mr. Blair's censure on it. Muircraft's letter to Lancashire was Mr. Rutherford's, as himself says. See the Commission may be frequent. The Lord help us, our storm is but growing.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, Monday, February 14th 1653.

R. B.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. GEORGE YOUNG, FOR EDINBURGH.

APRIL 8TH 1653.

OUR Dissenting Brethren being extraordinarie diligent to fill all vacant places with no other but opposers of the last Generall Assemblies, for this end, using many both cunning and violent devices, and in the West coming too good speed; some of us, who to our power have been watching against their evill designs, are now almost fainting, and if not assisted at this time by our brethren, are almost inclining to sit still and give all over to their

⁸ Lockyer (*vide supra*, p 177) preached at Edinburgh a lecture-sermon, "concerning the matter of a Visible Church," which he published under this title;—"A Little Stone out of the Mountain: Church-Order briefly opened, by Nicholas Lockyer, Minister of the Gospel. Printed at Leith, by Evan Tyler, anno 1652." 18mo. It was refuted at great length by James Wood, Professor of Theology in St. Andrews, in a volume printed at Edinburgh, 1654, 4to.

will, to make havock of all, with our dissent alone and fruitless protestations.

1. What extraordinarie toyle we had in the planting of the two last vacant places of Cathcart and Leinzie, the countrey knowes. The Baronie of Glasgow is now on the stage; the Session and people are fullie in our mind, except a very few. Our dissenting brethren are labouring by these few to have a minister opposite to the Generall Assemblies; if they obtain this, our cause will hereby receive a wound almost incurable. To prevent this, the only remedie we can thinke on for the time, is to gett to that people some eminent man, without all exception. Doubtless Mr. James Hamiltone is one such. We have spoken of him, and all that people, as we think, without exception of one man, would embrace him most gladlie: we know the Towne of Edinburgh is not able to pay all the ministers, and gladlie would be content to have fewer. We think Mr. James Hamiltone, (however aswell beloved as any there,) yet if he could be dismissed to this easy and weell-provided charge, would have als fair ane occasion to serve his master, and provyde for his family, as ever he had or can readilie have; his being here would strengthen and encourage us exceedingly. If Mr. Robert Douglass, and Mr. David Dickson, and some few more, would befriend us, we think the Presbyterie of Edinburgh and Town-Counsell would pity us and him, and grant that parochie and our Presbyterie's earnest supplication for his transportation. To try if this favour may be obtained, we have sent Mr. George Young to the parties chiefly interested. If this cannot be obtained, we truelie know not what to doe, but to give our opposers that most considerable Church, and with it all other that shall vaik among us hereafter. We will sitt downe and mourne, but we can stryve no longer, if our brethren assist us not in this particular.

2. Farther, in our Synod the next week we will pres, That men deposed and suspended by the Generall Assembly, and elders avowing their protestation against the Generall Assembly, may not have voice among us: when they, contrare to expresse Acts of Assemblies, will sitt and voice, and by their voice carrie the Synod to all they will, shall not we, (when the more part,) when such voters are numbered, goe and keep the Synod by ourselves? or shall we goe and leave them? or shall we sitt still with a protestation, and let them goe on to appoint purging committees? We think it best to keep a

Synod apart. If our brethren there will approve us herein, we entreat their counsell and direction.

3. When our Presbyterie, with a Committee from the Generall Affemblic, have gone to try and admitt Mr. James Ramsay⁹ to the Leinzie, according to the order of our Kirk, our dissenting brethren procured ane order from the English, discharging us to give any ordination in our bounds, without their approbation going before; and when, with modest words and strong arguments as we could use, we had excused ourselves, and gone on to ordination, the same brethren procured a charge to our brother Mr. James, not to preach in that church, and to the people not to hear him, under high paynes; and a few of them, not content to have procured those incroachments of the English, are going on as a Presbyterie, in a process against our brother, on the pretext of scandalls, which, when all diligence is used to try him to the uttermost, nothing can be found but two vaine words, though all were true which malice alleadges. What here shall be done? Shall our brother preach, and suffer fying and imprifonment? or shall he forbear?

4. When the English hes put in a deposed minister to be Principall of our Colledge, for the poisoning of the feminarie, is there no remeid after our Protestation? shall we sitt still in silence?

Our messenger, Mr. George [Young], having staid here a week longer than we intended, we crave your direction in these particulars farder:—

1. Though by our threats of ane Anti-Synod, we obtained the dissolution of our Synod before constituton, yet our dissenters, by the cannie conveyance of some, obtained a consultative committee for our differences; which we could not well get putt off, though we saw it would prove at length very factious to us. Yow will read the tenor of it. The first work, and generallie intended, is to visite the Presbyterie of Glasgou. What shall we doe herein? We, with much adoe, have gotten our answer delayed for twenty dayes, till, in a secret way, we might have your advyce. We purpose to offer Union in the termes the Generall Affemblic allowes, that is, the exclusion

⁹ He was the son of Mr. Robert Ramsay. Baillie speaks of him in terms of high commendation; and in a letter addressed to Spang, 1st September 1656, he notices his translation from Leinzie to Linlithgow.

of deposed ministers and protesting ruling elders: but if this be refused, as certainlie it will, we must delay our joyning with them who, without cause, separate from us, till the Generall Assemblies or Commission of the Kirk shall otherwise appoint. Our joyning with them in the termes which they alone will accept of, burying all publick differences, is but to give them the cause to strengthen their schisme, to make them to wrack whom they will, as we think they purpose to doe diverse.

2. We find more of their crueltie against Mr. James Ramsay, to pronounce some kind of new sentence against him, notwithstanding of his declyning of them as no judicatorie: yea, they purpose to plant his church with some other, over the head of all heritors, session, and almost all the people: and in this they doe free the parochie from the English, who have appointed Mr. Beverlie to be minister there, at the desire of twenty seven persons, the chief of these whom our brethren stirred up to oppose Mr. James Ramsay.

3. We understand, by the direction of some, these people of Leinzie, now declared sectaries, are to petition the English to inhibit the sitting of our Presbyterie as a null Presbyterie, under the paine of sequestration to all ministers and elders who shall sitt, and to all that shall appear before us. Is there no remeid for this? Doe the English at London allow Judge Moysey to execute all Mr. Patrick Gillespie's devyces, to the utter overthrow of all our church liberties, and the cruell wracking of all who must adhere to their duetie.

4. Yesterday there was delivered to us a letter, subscribed by Mr. Andrew Cant, directed to Mr. Robert Baylie and Mr. James Ferguson, to be communicat to the rest of our mind in the West, a large and injurious invective against all who will not joyne with the protesters to serve the enemy to continue the yocke of strangers for ever on their native countrie, and to lay a necessitie on the consciences of people, to exclude, without all cause, the King, the Nobilitie, and all who will not be profelytes to them, from possessing their civile rights. It seems to us exceeding necessare to cause revise all the wrytes of these schismaticque men, and draw their tenets together in their own words, that the world may see their principles in a short mappe, whereby they overthrow not only the government of our Church and Kingdome, but the grounds of all Civile government any where in the world. This short

mappe we with backed with reafons againft their principall tenets, and answers to the chiefe objections: We think Mafters John Smith, Robert Hamilton, and Robert Ker, would be put to this tafke.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLASS. APRIL 8TH 1653.

SIR,

As our prayers to God were for your gracious upholding, dureing the time of your imprifonment, fo have we heartilie bleffed God for your happie delyverance and fafe return to your ftation, with the great joy of all in the Nation who love the welfare of it. Sundry of us here who defyre to be faithfull, have fent one of our number, Mr. George Young, to falute yow and your fellow prifoners, and rejoyce with yow in our name for all the kindnes the Lord hath flowen to yow and to us; yea, the whole land, in your perfones, dureing the time of your fuffering for the publick, and for us in your common caufe. The God of Heaven be bleffed who hath mercifullie preferved yow all, and returned yow free to us of all, and adorned with much praife to the grace of God, who, all the tyme of your tryell has enabled yow to walk exemplarly in faithfullnes, courage, humilitie, patience, and wifdome, for the great comfort of many of both nations, though to the confufion and grieve of fome. We trust the fame grace of God fhall enable yow to the end to goe through what remains of farder tryell, and make others in thefe miferable times to undergoe, by your example, with the greater chearfullnes and confidence, what piece of affliction the Lord fhall thinke fitt to meafure out unto them. It is no fmall joy and ftrength to us all, that we have gotten yow againe, to be advyfed and directed by yow, as we wont to be in all our perplexed caufes. For the time, there be fundry things we have directed the bearer to intreat your counfell and affiftance. If yow think it fitt, at the firft houre of your leafure, we with yow called to your chamber, Mafters David Dickfon, John Smith, James Hamilton, Mungo Law, or any yow think fitt to hear our brother, in what we have inftructed him to propone unto yow, that, after confultation, yow may fend us your advyce what to doe, for at this time we have great need. The Lord's beft bleffings be upon yow, and preferve yow long with us in thefe very miferable and dangerous times. So

prayer to God many of your brethren here, who have directed me to write to this purpose.

Your very loving Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON. APRIL 28TH 1653.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

ACCORDING to your desire with Mr. George Young, Mr. James Ferguffon, and Mr. Patrick Colville, are come in. Mr. James has an answer to Mr. Andrew Cant's letter, which at the first reading I liked so well, that with a small or no review, after it's gone to Mr. Andrew Cant first, it may go to the press, for good advantage to the truth, till our other wrytes may come forth. My Wife and youngest daughter are under a languishing disease, both liker to die than live; also my charge and distractions are such that I can do nothing in the publick for the time. Mr. Patrick Gillespie and the rest of his minde, are become so impudent as to sett themselves with all their strength against Mr. James Hamilton's coming among us. But if they carie that point our cause will be worse than before. The people in the Barronie are passionatly for him, which they have putt under their hands, except a very few yeomen, whom our brethren diverts, and who are like, if not prevented, to make the Barronie in the case of Kilbryde and Leinzie. To prevent this, we have been content to take truce for a moneth till our next meeting, that, in the meantyme, we may have help from our brethren there to keep the English off us, and to dispose Mr. James's owne mind to misregard the malice of that handfull, stirred up only by unreasonable men, to further their error and destructive designs. Mr. James Ferguffon will informe you of all. Communicat this letter to Mr. Mungo Law and Mr. John Smith, from whom I expect all the help they are able, as they love either us or the publick. Mr. Robert Dowglafs must help us, or we must faint, and give all over. So soon as my familie will permitt me, I purpose to come in and see you. After you have spoken together, fail not to wryte your advyce to me, besides what you think fitt to speak by tongue, with Mr. James [Ferguffon]: his pen, you see, is exceeding good: I wish you had from him some observations on the Nullity. The Lord help you.

Your Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. MUNGO LAW.

MUNGO,

I HAVE defyred Mr. David Dickfon to fhew yow and Mr. John Smith my letter to him, which I pray yow call for, and confider. Mr. James Ferguffon will informe yow farder. Let me know, with Mr. James, what hopes and encouragements we may have from yow, whether compaffion, wifdome, and zeale, will caufe yow to let Mr. James Hamilton come to us, and confirme him againft thefe unreafonable creatures plotts; but above all, to tell us, if, by God's bleffing, yow can foe repreſent truth to Mr. Moyſley, as he, on the exceeding falſe informations of our oppofites, will not goe on to make havock of our churches with foe tyrannous and high oppreffion, that I perſuade myſelfe his maſters in England will have no caufe to give him thanks for. Inſtead of granting Mr. James Ramſay the favour he expected from him in his laſt letter to my Lord Wigton, he hath diſcharged him to preach in the neighbour churches, which is to make his caſe worſe than it wes; and yet yeſterday, at our meeting, when we put Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie to it, to read all theſe terrible ſcandalls, for which he wont to ſay, we would depoſe his Father, there wes nothing but the two particulars ye heard, which not one of our meeting, bot one wiſe man, did think deſerved any farder than a Preſbyteriall rebuke: I hear ſince that two other alſo wes [for] ſome farder. Let me know if yet yow can gett Judge Moyſley off him, and off my good neighbour, who will never ceaſe to fyre all with new motions, week after week, according to his reſtleſſneſs. Communicat this to Mr. John Smith.

Yours,

R. B.

They are moveing to celebrate a communion here, which will fett all in flame: our Magiſtrates and all their partie, who hes advyſed to take places from the Engliſh, muſt be excluded; the Seſſions proteſting againſt the Generall Aſſembly we will hardly admit; they will exclude ſuch multitudes for one caufe or for ane other, that the end will be the ſetting up of a new reſyned congregation of their owne adherents. We purpoſe, by all the fair means we can, to keep off theſe very untimeous motions. In the mean time, let us have your advyce in this alſo.

FOR MR. RODGERS'S MOTHER-IN-LAW, AT NEWCASTLE.

MISTRES,

YOURS of the 11th of March I received; but before this I could not give you a particular account of your desires; the liberall almes you sent to me doubtles the Lord will accept and reward it; it refreshed the bowells of one and twenty householders, almost all widowes, for to soe many did I give it: to nineteen ten shillings, to two fyve. I sent to Mr. Rodgers Mr. Patrick Gillespie's testificate of this, as he required: I held up your name as you required, except in a generall. I doe compassionate the afflicted condition, both of your body, mind, and estate, whereof you write to me; bot the Father of Mercies, and God of all Consolation, is able to cause your comforts superabound above all your sufferings. Your experience, now of a long time, of the Lord's love, obliedges you to have hope and confidence of a happy issue out of all temptations; only continue to seek, and you shall find more kindness in Christ than you can ask or think. for his mercies endureth for ever; however your daughter's error and son's flight spirit doe grieve your heart, yet give not over to pray, and wait for the Lord's returne: the seed of prayer for our children may have a plentiful harvest long after our death, though it appear not above ground so long as we live: your sighs are registrate in the Lord's book, and your tears put up in his bottle, to come downe in a showre of healing grace; you know not when, only be waiting and hoping, were it in death, above hope. and all you can see, that your Covenant promises are kept in the hand of Christ, even for your children's children; rest upon the Lord for them, without too much anxietie; he keeps tymes and seasons of working in his own hand, and let him enjoy that his soveraigne prerogative.

Our woeful and very causeles divisions doe yet continue to some of us very grievous, but as yet remediless, except we would forsake that which our conscience sayes to us is truly and right; for which our Master commands us to contend for, bot with all the humilitie and charitie towards our fellow-servants, which we, through the mercies of God, can attain to. These most unseasonable questions are a part of the Lord's hand on us, which we

muft bear till the Lord returne, and caufe his owne face fhynе clearer among us. The Lord's beft bleffings be with your fpirit and familie. I reft,

Your Brother and Servant in Chrifft,

Glaſgow, May 2d 1653.

R. B.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THAT now I come not to the Commiſſion, and that long agoe I came not to fee Mr. Dowglaſs and the brethren, it is fore againſt my heart; bot my Wife hes, theſe fix weeks and more, been in that condition that I could not be abſent from her, and yet I have bot ſmall hopes of her life. Upon your laſt letter with Mr. James Ferguſſon, I have done my beſt to have to yow my little *ſymbolum*: make what uſe of it yow find expedient; only let it be in private, and not come abroad, for it's of that ſtrain that might bring me to cumber. I think Mr. James Ferguſſon's letter may well goe abroad. Cauſe Mr. Dowglaſs joyne with yow to ſett on Mr. James Durhame effectually: he will be with yow the next week; he hes declared himſelf a little more againſt our brethren's way: yow may doe him good. Their way thrives no where in Scotland ſo much as here about, whereof I conceive Mr. Durhame the chiefe inſtrument, though oft beſide his purpoſe: the man is of exceeding great weight deſervedly. I have deſired him to write Cafe-Divinitie,¹ wherein he is excellent, and daylie growes. If yow further not Mr. James Hamilton's dimiſſion to us, yow loſe our Preſbyterie, and inbeares to the publiſt cauſe, for we will not be able to ſtrive more, bot give it over. Advyſe with the brethren what ſhall be done in Mr. James Ramſay's ſtrong caſe; if it be neglected, yow will have many more ſuch ſhortlie; and, however, even his caſe alone muſt not be forgotten by yow, to whom he and we, who have intereſt in it, are dear. The Lord be with yow. So ſoone as I may, I ſhall, God willing, come in.

Your Brother,

May 21ſt Saturday 1653.

R. B.

¹ That is, *Casuistic Divinity, or Cases of Conscience.*

My papers, that have cost me labour, keep them well, that I may get them againe, when I come or fend for them, for I have no other legible copy.

[TO MR. RICHARD ROBERTSON. JULY 26TH 1653.]

MR. RICHARD,

THAT the other day, when yow did read your Notes in our meeting, my grieve and anger appeared more than ordinary; since yow crave of me the reason, I give it to yow now as I promised in write, that yow may lay the matter more to heart, and I may be exonered both towards you and others, especially, if (which the Lord forbid) yow should continue in your judgement, and refuse the wholfome counsell of all your brethren.²

These passages I have shortly poynted at, wishing yow not only to scrape them out for our satisfiacion, as very scandalous errors, which I see yow are now willing enough to doe; bot really to mind their sin before God, and to mourne for your unhappines, that in these miserable tymes have been the first who have labored to corrupt our Univerfitie, with diverse pernicious and foul destroying errors, as sundry of the forenamed are, if I understand rightly the nature of error.

FOR MR. ROBERT BAYLIE.

SIR,

WHEREAS, in your paper, yow accuse me of Sabellianisme, in denying the Trinitie of Persons. 2. Of Nestorianisme, in denying the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature in the one person of Christ. 3. Of Blasphemie,

² Robertson was admitted one of the Regents or Professors in the College of Glasgow. 29th July 1649. In this letter, Baillie, at great length, made remarks on thirty-one passages of his Latin Dictates or Lectures, which contained various points of unsound doctrine, quoted in the margin of Baillie's MS.; but these remarks and extracts being obviously unsuited for a work like the present, are omitted. Soon after this Robertson resigned his Professorship on the plea of ill-health: *Vide infra*, pp. 239-240.

in making God the author of sinne. 4. Of other Blaspheemies, in denying the Unitie of God, or the unsuccessive permanencie of that attribute of God's Eternitie: I detest all these horrid things, in my judgement; and if, from any antecedents in my Notes, these consequents doe not necessarily follow, I doe not owne my Notes in so farre, but detest both the antecedents and consequents. But to write of the particulars, and to examine them at length, my bodilie weaknes will not permitt me now.

Whereas yow make me worfe than Vorstius, truely Sir, in the section after that *de Subsistentia*, I expresse oppose and refute Vorstius, who questions God's simplicitie, and I answer his arguments as I can. If I be not deceived, when Vorstius calls Eternitie successive, he makes it some inward accident in God, (which is blasphemie I think,) but I mean no such thing, but only that *hodie et cras* coexist not; and, therefore, when God coexists to this day, he doth not *simul* coexist to the next day, because the next day is not yet; but I mean no succession at all in God, but only in the creature without him.

In the matter of the Holy Trinitie, I doe not deny any thing, (I mean now whatever unadvised expressions be in the Notes), I think the mysterie most evident from the Word; but for the way of it, I think it safest to keep our conceptions and expressions within the simplicitie of the Scripture, and to wait for the clear understanding of the manner of it in Heaven. This is all that I have to say, Sir. The Lord lay not to your charge the heaveie accusations yow lay on me.

RICH. ROBERTSONE.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER MR. CALAMY, MINISTER AT
LONDON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THIS, my third to yow, is only to give thanks for your kind acceptance, and answering in deed, of my two former. Mr. Wilkie, our commissioner, hes reported so much of your care to us, to promote to the uttermost of your power the charitable supply of our distressed people, that all of us are much obliged to bless God in your behalfe, who hes made yow instrumentall to

procure a liberrall support, both in your owne congregation, and over all the city, to the many families of this wracked people with that strangest fire that ever was heard of in our land. I am confident enough of your readines to goe on for the perfyteing of what is so weell begun, even to give your best advyce and assistance to this same gentleman, whom we have sent againe, with some others, to receave, in the city and countrey, what shall be freely offered by the pious benevolence of these whose hearts God shall stir up, by yow and your brethren, to contribute to that work of compassion and charitie.

At this time I have no more to adde, bot this one word, to let yow know, That on the 20th of July last, when our Generall Assemblies wes sett in the ordinarie tyme and place, Lieutenant-Colonell Cotterall besett the Church with some rattes of musqueteirs and a troupe of horse; himself, (after our fast, wherein Mr. Dickson and Mr. Dowglafs had two gracious sermons,) entered the Assembly-house, and, immediately after Mr. Dickson the Moderator his prayer, required audience; wherein he inquired, If we did sitt there by the authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England? or of the Commanders-in-Chiefe of the English forces? or of the English Judges in Scotland? The Moderator replied, That we were an Ecclesiasticall synod, ane Spirituall court of Jesus Christ, which medled not with any thing Civile; that our authoritie wes from God, and established by the Lawes of the land yet standing unrepealed; that, by the Solemn League and Covenant, the most of the English army stood obligedged to defend our Generall Assembly. When some speeches of this kind had passed, the Lieutenant-Colonell told us, his order wes to dissolve us; whereupon he commanded all of us to follow him, else he would drag us out of the rowme. When we had entered a Protestation of this unheard-of and unexampled violence, we did ryse and follow him; he ledd us all through the whole streets a myle out of the towne, encompassing us with foot-companies of musqueteirs, and horsemen without; all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had ledd us a myle without the towne, he then declared what further he had in commission, That we should not dare to meet any more above three in number; and that against eight o'clock to-morrow, we should depart the towne, under paine of being guiltie of breaking the publick peace: And the day following, by found of trumpet, we were commanded off towne under the paine of present imprisonment. Thus our Generall Assembly, the

glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is, by your souldiarie, crushed and trod under foot, without the least provocatione from us, at this time, either in word or deed. For this our hearts are fadd, our eyes runn downe with water, we sigh to God against whom we have sinned, and wait for the help of his hand ; bot from those who oppressed us we deserved no evill. We hear a noife of farder orders, to discharge all our Synods and Presbyteries, and all prayer for our King : many the most moderate reckons such orders will make havock of our Church, and raise against many the best men we have, a fore persecution which, God willing, we purpose to endure all patience and faith, giving just offence to none.

I detaine yow no more. The Lord mind his Zion in these lands, and blesse yow, who for the tyme stand in the most eminent pinnacle thereof. Thus rests,

Your Brother to serve yow,

Glasgow, 27th July 1653.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER, MR. CLERK,⁴ MINISTER AT
LONDON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR kind and respectfull letter I received from Mr. Wilkie, our towne's commisioner. Your assistance to him, in furthering the charitie of your neighbours to our distressed people, I assure [yow], was a very good and pious work. I must intreat yow to continue your best advyce and help to him for the perfecting of what is begun, for I know there is great need of it. Your very precious work, of the Lives of late Divines, I have read much of it ; the designe I like weell, and thinks yow can hardly spend your tyme on a better subject. I doe well approve your purpose, to take in, among the rest, our Mr. Boyd, not Bodie, though, in Latin, we call our Boyds Bodij : that man, indeed, was one of the most eminent divines of the Reformed Churches for all good qualities. There is so much, before his Commentarie on the Epistle to the Ephesians,⁵ as will be ground enough for a compleat narrative

⁴ The Rev. Samuel Clarke, " Pastor of Bennet Finck, London," the author of the " Marrow of Ecclesiastical History," " A Martyrologie" &c., and other biographical works.

⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 184. Clarke in one of his works inserts an account of Boyd of Troehrig.

of his life. Nevertheless I have communicate your letter to Mr. Dowglafs, who, I suppose, against the tyme yow speak of, may have a more perfect narration at yow. I wish we had a narrative of ane other of ours also to fend to yow, I mean your fometime good friend Mr. Henderfone, a truely heroick divine, for piety, learning, wifdome, eloquence, humilitie, fingle life, and every good part, for some yeares the most-eyed man of the three Kingdoms. Wishing yow good speed in that and the rest of your labours, I rest.

Your Brother to serve yow,

Glasgow, July 27th 1653.

R. BAYLIE.

FOR DR. LAZARUS SEAMAN.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

UNDERSTANDING, by our towne's agent, Mr. Wilkie's letter, your kind remembrance of me, I thought fitt to let yow know that my remembrance of yow is very fresh, and oft sweet to my mind, in these most lamentable tymes. It is one of the grounds of my hope, that the Lord will not be pleased to permitt these confusions, and these oppreffions, to be perpetuall, when I see yow and others preserved in a right mind in the midst of so great apostacie; for what else would the Lord preserve men of eminent parts and grace, bot to be not only present witnesses of truth and right, bot, in the Lord's approaching season, powerfull instruments to profligate, by their light, the present errors and confusions. I did write to some of my dear brethren there, to assist the bearer heirof in that lamentable buffiness he wes sent to agent. I wrote not to yow, thinking yow had lived at Cambridge,⁵ and not at London; but seeing it is otherwise, I intreat yow also to consider the gentleman's informations, and further him in his work. I assure yow his papers and reports are true: I shall need to say no more to yow of this matter.

I have long continued in Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes debt: I purposed never to have payed these creditors, for these good reasons in my Preface; yet having this year a longer vacation from my charge than ordinar, I have taken

⁵ Dr. Seaman, Minister of Allhallows, London, was constituted Master of Peter-House, Cambridge, 11th April 1644. He was ejected at the Restoration on account of his Nonconformity.

some course with that debt.⁶ I purpose with the next to fend my papers to Mr. Calamy. If yow be in towne, and have a little leafure, I wish yow may revise them, and let them goe, or suppress them, as yow and your orthodox brethren shall think fit. The Lord be mercifull to the distressed nations, and furnishe yow, who there stand on the pinacles of the ruined temple, with a large measure of the Spirit of Christ. We here oft desire to commend yow there to the Lord's grace.

This is one who, from my first acquaintance, did ever highly reverence and dearly love yow,

Glasgow, October 8th 1653.

R. BAYLIE.

FROM MR. JOHN VAUGH,⁷ IN THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

REVEREND BROTHER,

I HAVE many times been mindfull of yow since I came to this place, and wes resolved now and then to have written to yow oftner than once, were it not that two things hindered me; the one wes, my fear least ye might come to danger by my corresponding with yow at this time; the other wes, my very earnest desyre to lurk, even in this place, not thinking myfelfe worthise (the Lord knowes) to be taken notice of by any, bot rather to have my habitation amongst the owles of the desart, because of my very great uselesnes and fruitlesnes amongst the sons of men. And though this my desire of lurking (truely not for any fear of danger in doeing of my duetie, but upon the fore-mentioned account) hes been much in my heart and amongst my wisbes. I have been so farr from attaining it, that though the malice and envy of my evill neighbours, and other unnaturall countrey men, (the Lord in his wonderfull providence so disposing it,) I am brought to the top of this rock, where (I cannot bot acknowledge it to his praise) I find my God graciously present with me, furnishing me with courage, joy, peace, and content-

⁶ In his answer entitled "The Disswasive from the Errors of the Time, Vindicated from the exceptions of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes," which was printed at London, 1655, 4to.

⁷ Vaugh or Waugh, who addressed this letter (under the assumed name of Jamieson,) to Baillie, was minister of Borrowstonness. He was for the time confined in Edinburgh Castle; His offence was praying for the King; but he was released before the 20th July 1654: *Vide infra*, p. 253.

ment: so that whatever hes been in the mind, either of these who are in power and put me here, or of these, who being their favourites, hes their ear, and stirred them up to put me here, I dare say, as Joseph spoke to his brethren, Genesis, ult. The Lord's meaning therein is for good, and there is a full [Covenant-]blessing in my being here; than full fruit whereof, though I should never see my selfe, yet I believe that not only the truly gracious, honest, and loyall, in the land, shall gett good thereof hereafter; bot even these also, who in their hatred hes had a hand in my affliction, imprisonment, and perfection. And amongst other mercies, I cannot bot observe this for one; that though I want not my owne conflicts, privately in my mind, anent other things, even this long time, yet in this I have no scruple at all. The Lord in his goodness hes made the ground of my suffering very clear to me; honour be to His name for it; so that though others are ready to cry it downe and reproach me for it, yet through the Lord's strength, (he calling me to it,) I durst hazard to suffer whatever men shall be permitted to put me farther unto than this same ground. And it is my very earnest desyre, that privatelie and prudentlie, as ye may have opportunitie, ye may, in my name, exhort your honest brethren, and other gracious acquaintances, not to faint or shrink in the least measure because of my afflictions, bot rather to be resolute and bold in the Lord, in doing of their duetie, and particuarlie in adhering to that poynt in hand, which by men is inhibited, omitted, and controverted; for certainlie, as the Lord shall gett glory, and trueth an advantageous growth, so the faithfull servants of Christ shall have victorie, till they shall be more than conquerors by your patient suffering, even the very uttermost, for the truth, and for his name's sake: And for my owne part, although I wes made to tremble at the first alarum, and the matter lookt somewhat terrible while it wes afarr off, yet since I wes helped of the Lord to buckle with it, and by submission to his will, to lay it fully over upon himselff, I have found the burthen to be light and easie; yea, by the bearing of it, I am helped to bear other particular burthens, which before did trouble me not a little. And though of late I have gotten a new alarum, by threatening to banish me, yet neither that, nor the sequestration of my stipend, doeth trouble me in the least, for I have laid my compt for the worst they can doe. I know they are all in chains and can doe nothing, but as the Lord, for his own honour and my good, shall be pleased to permitt them to doe,

and fo whatever he fends I fhall make it welcome : Lo! here am I, let his Majeftie doe with me what feems good in his eyes.

I fay no more, bot referring yow to the inclofed paper, I earneftly beg the help of your prayers, and remains,

Your loveing Brother,

November 11th 1653.

J. JAMISONE.

THE EARL OF LAUDERDAILL TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

REVEREND AND WORTHIE FREIND,

THESE sufferings which it hath pleas'd God to call me to this long time paff, having difabled me from doing any fervice to my freinds, I have forborne to give them the unnecessarie trouble of letters ; yet feing I am informed yow doe often remember me, I could not but returne yow my acknowledgments for the continuation of your kindenes, and to intreat the help of your prayers, that the Lord wold fanctifie more and more this condition unto me, and afford me more and more testimories how good it is for me that I have been afflicted. All I fhall tell yow is, that I have a greater meafure of health then I could have expected in this cours, fo different from the life I formerly led. Although in that I finde great prejudice by my long reftreint ; yet it pleafes God to give me fome meafure of patience and of contentednes under the rod ; more then yow wold have looked for, who know my former temper.

I will not fay any thing of publick concern which I doe not at all medle with. All I fhall defire of yow is, that yow wold remember me to all thofe yow know to be my freinds, and to my fometimes fellow prifoners of your owne coate, when yow fee any of them. Be pleas'd to continue your kindenes to, and your prayers for,

Your moft affectionat freind,

Tower, the 17th of December 1653.

LAUDERDAILL.

For my reverend and worthie freind, Mr. Robert Bailly,
Profeffor of Divinity at Glasgou.⁸

⁸ The original letter thus addressed, is preserved in Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XLIX, No. 27.

FOR MR. WILLIAM TAYLOR, MODERATOR OF THE PROVINCIAL SYNOD AT
LONDON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

UNDERSTANDING, by our commissioner Mr. Wilkie, your singular care and affection to further that work of pietie and charitie towards my poor suffering neighbours, not only in your owne congregation, bot among your neighbours, I give yow very heartie thanks in name of my brethren, and many honest people here, assuring myself, that this pious charitie in yow and diverse of your brethren, is a sweet favour both to God and men. Yow will be intreated to assist, both by your adyce and countenance, our Commissioner, towards the perfyting of that worke, as he may have occasion to call on you; for which labour of love yow shall have our hearty acknowledgement, and desires to God for your reward.

I have thought fitt to acquaint yow with ane other particular: When I was there, I and my brethren had acquaintance with Mr. Theodor Haak, a learned and gracious gentleman of the Palatinate; myself, above others, moved him to labour in the translating of the Dutch Notes.⁹ Before I come away he had made good progress in the work. I had moved Mr. Rous, and others of my friends in the House of Commons, to encourage him to that good work: I had spoken some of your stationers for that end. When I come to Scotland, 1647, I moved the Generall Assemblies, with the assistance of Mr. Blair and Mr. Gillespie, to appoint him, out of their not very great plenty, two hundred pounds sterling, for the perfecting of this work. This soume we caused faithfully to deliver him there, the Assembly, on our report, nothing doubting of the gentleman's German, and candid honestie to performe his undertaking. When some tyme had gone over, and the book did not appear, I wrote once and againe of his promise, and my undertaking for him: at last he returned me somewhat a bitter answer, refusing to goe on in that work, unless your Parliament or Stationers would give him further consideration. For this I and my brethren were both grieved and ashamed. I think, for a lesse soume, I might have gotten that work done in

⁹ *Vide supra*, Letter and Note, p. 7.

Holland: it's a pity that this piece of service should lye behind. I know your Synod hes no jurisdiction; yet, if the gentlemen be in London, I think if some two or three, deputed from your Synod, would be pleased to deal with him, he might be possiblie moved to performe that service, or give back the money he got from us, as he wrote to me he would, that we might bestow it on some other, who, we are persuaded, on such a recompence, would gladly doe it for him. Yow will be pleased to confider of this motion for the publick good. The translation of the whole Dutch Bible I think needles, bot only of the Notes, like that of Diodati's. If yow cannot make use of my evill hand, the bearer, Mr. Wilkie, will help yow. I rest,

Your loving Brother and Servant,

ROB. BAYLIE.

Glasgow, December 19th 1653.

THE MATERIALLS OF A PRESBYTERIALL WARNING, TO BE DRAWN WITH ALL POSSIBLE EXPEDITION BY MR. BLAIR, AND, BY WAY OF CORRESPONDENCE, SENT FROM THE PRESBYTERY OF ST. ANDREWES AND EDINBURGH THROUGH THE WHOLE KINGDOM, SO SOON AS MAY BE; TO BE READ IN PULPITS WHERE SAIFELY IT MAY, AND WHERE NOT, TO BE PRESSED BY ALL MINISTERS, IN DOCTRINE AND OTHERWAYS.

First, To mention and lament the particular steps of the fore judgments of God upon the land, which yet are going on, not only towards the utter ruin of many our greatest families, bot the totall everision both of Church and Kingdome, yea of the very being of the Nation.

2. To give glory to God, in acknowledging our just deserving from his hand, of all that is come or comeing, by the continuall tract of the uncontroverted finnes in all ranks and estates, especiallie since our late reformation 1638, notwithstanding of all God's warnings from his word, his mercies, and judgments upon us; above all, the finnes of our present unhappie divisions, stupid securitie, and, through the incumbent terrour, the totall laying aside by many of the clearest, oft-sworne, and covenanted duties to God, Church, King, and Kingdome.

3. To waken, by pithie exhortations, unto a great mourning, privatelie and

publictly, together and apart, to crying and wrestling with the Lord for mercie, grace, and delyverance, from our great finnes and fore judgements.

4. To exhort unto the conscientious keeping of all the articles of our Covenant, in this houre of darknes, wherein allurements, terrours, and evill examples brangle the stabilitie of many. The substance of every article would be repeated, especiallie of these which, by the mist of new glosses, are most overclouded, and where weak ones had most need to be confirmed.

5. To presse, after the studie of Scripture, the serious reading of our precious Confession, Catechisme, and Directorie, for the establishing of our heart against the heresies of the Anabaptists, Antinomians, Antitrinitarians, Familists, Seekers, and Atheists; also the diligent perusall of the Propositions for government against the schismatick errors of the Independents, Brownists, Eraftians, and others; against all which the Assemblies and Parliaments of Scotland has laboured to guard this Nation by oaths, covenants, acts, and other means, much more than any Nation this day under heaven ever attained: The Lord who knew our weaknes, and foresaw this hour of strong temptation coming upon us, so providing it of his great mercie.

6. To speake, in the bowells of tender compaffion, and yet in the just and necessare zeall of holy indignation, to the conscience of the many apostates of this Nation for their reclaiming, and of flaggerers for their confirmation.

7. In the wisdome and fear of God, to speake a word, tentillie and cautiouslie, to our woefull divisions of Kirk and State, without all reflection or irritation; to put all to a perseverance in prayer to God, for a remead of that judicall evill, and to endeavour to keep all possible charitie in their owne hearts towards them who differ; and to watch carefullie, least by the stumbling-block of these divisions, they be tempted to schisme or any error of the time, or to any other way, which they know their owne heart sometimes would much have mislyked.

8. To endeavour the composing of the hearts of people to live quietlie and peaceable under the yock of the prevalent power, and to suffer patientlie what the Lord shall permitt to be laid upon them in their estate, libertie, or persone, for their necessare abstinence from all they know to be sinne against God.

9. Lastly, after a pithie exhortation to accurate walking in the practice of

repentance, faith, love, and hope, to end with some grounds of comfort and expectation of deliverance, in the Lord's convenient season.

These my Articles were agreed upon by the meeting in Edinburgh, and sent by Mr. George Hutcheson and Mr. Hugh McKell to the Remonstrators, particularly to my Lord Warristone, my Lord Brodie, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. Patrick Gillespie; who refused to accept of them.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.⁹ GLASGOW, FEBRUARY 10TH 1654.

SIR,

That your late short one, and your long one a year agoe, was not answered, and that you had no frequent enough letters from my evil hand, came not from want of good-will; for except one whom I knew you would be content, [there is] none of my afflicted countrymen, whom I use to remember more either to God or man than yourself: my desire to be silent and keep no correspondence in this evil time, was the only cause of it. But understanding your discontent with it, I thought fitt to tell you that I was much refreshed to see under your hand the submission of your spirit to the incumbent calamitie. It was often my fear it should have broken you both in body and mind long before this; but since God has spared your life, which to my apprehension was in great hazard, more ways than one or two, and has given you to put your mouth in the dust, and take your very heave chastisements out of the Lord's hands humble and lovinglie, I am very hopeful your issue shall be good. Continue your studies to better your knowledge, whereof I have heard much by your late companions; but above all, your religious exercises of mortification of all known vanities. As it is often my prayer to God, so for all is come and gone, it's my prettie confident hope, that these many and great endeuements which God has given to you, and you by his great mercie, I hear, have improven, shall yet be employed for the good and comfort of many.

¹ This letter seems from Baillie's MS. to have been addressed "To John Langtoun;" which may explain its commencing with "Sir."—Lord Lauderdale was still a prisoner, and in fact he was detained in the Tower till the Restoration of Charles the Second.

I did see a piece of a letter of your neighbour, my dear friend C. his gracious wife to her cousine Mrs. Kennedy, that did much refresh me. Such sweet submission and eminent grace cannot bot be looked on by God and blest. I must break of. I am just what I wont to be to all men and to yow.

Your's,

R. B.

FOR JEREMIE WHITTAKER, MINISTER AT LONDON.²

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

Understanding by Mr. Wilkie, our agent, your great care to further him in that his labour for that poor distressed people here, and withall your kind remembrance of me, I could not but give yow heartie thanks for both. I am glad to know yow are yet to the fore. I believe it goes the better with many for your intercessions to your Master, which, with delight, I remember wont to be very gracious and singularlie melting. We here are groaning to God under many heavie pressours. The beauty, strength, and order of our ecclesiastick meetings are well near gone, I grant much by our owne fault. The abolition of almost all our Church liberties, and putting the power of planting and displanting of Ministers in the hand of strangers, to whom church discipline does not belong, is heavy to us. The putting downe of our Generall Assemblies and Kirk Commiffion, and giving a liberty to any who will to profess many grievous errors, when we did expect, in performance of a very solemne sworn Covenant, a full and perfect reformation, does oft break our heart, and a flood of farder evils ready to break in on us does much perplex us; bot the conscience of our just deservings, not at all from men, bot the Lord, makes us put our mouth in the dust, and acknowledge it for great mercy that we are not yet confumed, bot have yet any kind of subsistence. I shall at this tyme say no more to yow, bot earnestlie desyre yow would continue your prayers to the Lord Jesus for the desolate Church of Scotland, that the Lord would restore us, as we were that day when love and compassion drew us in a Covenant with yow. The Lord be with yow,

² Mr. Jeremiah Whittaker was minister of Mary Magdalene Bermondsey, in Southwark. He died within four months from the date of this letter.

and continue yow, and other gracious brethren there, till, by your prayers at the throne of grace, yow have gotten that very thicke cloud which now overhaddows us all difpelled.

Your Brother in the Lord to bleffe God
and pray for yow.

February 10th 1654.

FOR MR. JAMES FERGUSSON.³

JAMES,

IT's lyke yow and I shall wear out of acquaintance. If your leasure ferved, I with yow took a start for a night that we might have one hour's clatter. If this cannot conveniently be, as yow left laft with me, anent the Synod this is my purpose: howsoever fundry of our Brether, and these also there East, thinks our being together so long hes been for our hurt, yet I am so loath to break, that for this time it shall be my earnest endeavour to keep together upon our ordinary protestation, if so our Brether be content on the naming of the Moderator to adjourn till October. But if they will trouble us by their committees, or mint to medle with any thing controverted, they lay a necessitie on us to fitt by ourselves. However, all thinks it necessary that we be so frequent, ministers and elders, as we can. Yow will not fail to be in tymeously on the Monday, for it must be yow and Mr. Durhame who must deall betwixt us to keep us together, and bear witness on whose fault the breach comes. It were a pitie if your mind should be content to desert us at such a tyme. I would think it very needfull that yow would, some day or other of the next week, call together Masters William Cobrun, William Fullarton, and Robert Wallace, to speak a little with yow, Mr. J. Bell, M. P. C., M. A. N.,⁴ to resolve how, with the least dinn, yow may have in whom yow can against that time, and to advyfe what else is needfull. Shall others for evill be so active, and keep so frequent meetings farr and near, and we still sit looking one upon another while all be lost. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother.

Wedneseday, March 8th [1654.]

³ In the MS. Baillie's amanuensis has written this name as Forgishall.

⁴ That is, Mr. John Bell, Mr. Patrick Colvill, and Mr. Alexander Nisbet.

FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG. JULY 19TH 1654.

COUSIGNE,

I THINK yow marvell not at my long and unufual filence: Warre being flameing betwixt the lands of our abode, though neither yow nor I have any interest therein, yet the passage being flopt, or difficult, and all corresponding betwixt any in these and thir parts being lyable to misconstruction, I choised rather to be silent than for that tyme to write any. But now, the Peace being subscryved and ready to be proclaimed, I resume my old way of letting yow know the true condition both of myself, and of our Colledge, Church, and Countrey; expecting the like from yow of your affaires there, and of the world abroad, at your first opportunitie.

I have had many a weary heart these tymes bygone, for many a crossie accident both private and publict. But still the goodnes of God upheld me, and to this day hes protected and assisted me in every thing, and given to me a comfortable subsistence, rather more as lesse than any of my neighbours, blessed be his holy name. After a long decaying and sickness my most gracious and vertuous companion wes removed June 7th 1653. In the midst of a great and just grieffe I had this mixture of comfort, that, to the full satisfaction of all, in her whole life, sickness and death, the grace and wisdom of God did shine forth in her, till all wes crowned with great applause, and regrate of all who knew her. Since, the Lord hes guided my family and six children weell as I could have expected or wished. Besyde my ordinarie labours, I have gotten my Hebrew Praxis, with much fastherie, at last, from the presse; also, I expected to have had my Catechise, and Answer to Cotton and Tombes, printed before this: If in such miserable tymes I can gett out these testimonies of my faithfullnes and diligence in my calling, I will be glad. My little Chronologie growes in my hand, and I hope it may doe good: it is my greatest taske for the tyme.

The case of our Colledge is thus: When by great studie and violence, Dr. Strang wes made to dimitt his place, I fand, by Mr. James Durhame, that the designe then wes to putt in Mr. Patrick Gillespie for our Principall; but most of us esteeming that purpose exceeding absurd, we gave a call to Mr.

Blair, not much contrare to his owne mind, as I thought ; but when that did not succeed, we gott Mr. Robert Ramfay fettled in it. Before his entry, death removed that gracious and able man, much for our hurt. I wes, both before and after, much dealt with by these whom it concerned, to accept that place ; but I ever peremptorie refused : I knew it belonged to Dr. Strang, and in the manifold depofitions, and dimiffions of places, we have had these years bygone, in Church, State, and Schooles, I had feen few thryve, but exceeding many who succeeded to fall in great hurts, if not shame and death : I loved no changes, especially to a place of civile action ; however, God guided my mind to be resolute not to medle with it. So soon as the English come amongst us, one of their first cares wes to plant our Universities with their owne. Mr. Patrick Gillespie and our Regent Mr. John Young, fell to be great among themselves and with the English : both of them aimed at the place ; at last they agreed, so that Mr. Patrick should be Principall, and Mr. John Divinitie Professor. Our Rector, Commissar Lockhart, having joynd affectionately with the English, concurred in the designe. I wes much grieved with it, for I saw, besyde many other incongruities, it put our Colledge presently in the hands of the Remonstrators, and such as joynd heartily enough with the English. Mr. Zacharie Boyd, Vice-Chancellor, wes foolishly peremptorie to establish Mr. John Young Professor : the English were ready to have done it ; but at Mr. John's desyre, permitted the Colledge to do it themselves : his father, Mr. George, our Dean, dealt long effectually with his sonne, not to grieve me by accepting of that charge, but in vaine. When it come to the election, for respect to Mr. George, I wes content to be absent, with a declaration of my dissent and resolution, which yet I have kept, in not countenancing him in the exercise of that charge ; for to me it seemed hard, that a young man, a Regent in Philosophie, how able soever, should immediately turne Divinitie Professor without any call from the Church, especially being professedly opposite to our Church and Generall Assembly. At the election, the Rector moderating had no voice, but when the voters were equally divided ; his father and brother could have no voice, neither in reason nor ordinary practise ; the other two Regents were against the thing at that tyme, intending Mr. James Durhame, who indeed had been our lawfullie elected Professor, whose entrie, for good reasons, we had stopped ; but thereafter I most gladly would have had him in, when, by Mr. John

Young, for his owne designe, I was disabled to doe it: so Mr. John's call rested only on the voice of Mr. Zacharie; yet he accepted, and thereafter, to his father's and my great grieffe, hes ever gone on the wrong way, with all his strength.

After much whispering with the English, at last an order and command was presented to us by our Rector, from the English Judges, to accept of Mr. Patrick, whom they, according to their power, had appointed our Principall. Mr. John Young, Mr. James Veitch, and Mr. Richard Robertson, were willing to doe what was desired; but the most part of the Facultie, Mr. George Young, Dean, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, Vice-Chancellor, I, and Mr. Patrick Young, dissented and protested. The Rector, in this inequality, professed he had no voice, and acknowledged that the Facultie had refused to choose Mr. Patrick; yet, as a private man, he would goe with the three dissenters, and encourage Mr. Patrick to obey the English order: thereafter, the English sent us a command to write our reasons why we refused. This, the Dean of Facultie, Vice-Chancellor, and I, did severally under our hands. Notwithstanding, Mr. Patrick accepted the charge, and since hes possessed it; albeit, in this the second year, he has been pleased to make not so much as one lesson. I doe not abstain from the most of Colledge meetings, with my protestations, oft at the beginning repeated, of my not acknowledging by my presence either of the two for Principall or Professor; and when we subscribe common writes, I usually adde to my name P. S. S. *Protestationibus Salvis*. In other things, we keep prettily faire; but I fear we cannot long agree. At Mr. Patrick's first entrie, the eldest Regent, Mr. Richard Robertson, (whom violently they had thrust in over all our priviledges, by a committee of their Visitation,) had putt in his Dictates exceeding many open errors, heresies, and blasphemies. I misliked the matter long, only I desired Mr. Patrick, who had become so intimate with him, as after that scandale to boord him at his owne table, and Mr. John Young who also boorded there, to see to it. After the scandale grew very flagrant, and no course at all was like to be taken with it, at last, I called for the Notes, and drew out that paper I heirwith send to you, and communicate it to the Facultie, in the young man's own presence. They appointed him with his owne hand to delete out of his Dictates, sundrie of the wicked errors. They all professed they misliked the tenets alsmuch as I, yet they conceived the young man to be holy, and would not disgrace

him with any farder censure. I desyred Mr. Patrick to advyfe this matter with his friends, and told him plainly, if he keepled in the Colledge one who had taught so blasphemous heresies, and who yet was not sensible, for any purpose, of his sinne, I would let the world know it for my owne exoneration, and would charge this connivance on him, and the whole side on which he wes. Finding me that clear, I think Warristone and Mr. James Guthrie advyfed him not to be heard with me in this ; so, not before the very end of the year, he wes removed, but with no censure at all ; only on a narrative of weaknes of bodie, he dimitted his place, and contrare to my mind, his dimission wes accepted ; yea, a pension of twelve score merks during his life wes appointed to him. It grieved me to see no zeale at all against the most grievous errors in the most of my neighbours ; yea, though I communicate that paper to Mr. James Durbame, I fand him nothing commoved thereat.

Our next bout wes for the planting of the vaiking places. The year before, Mr. John Young, to make way for his call, laid down his Regent's place in the midft of a terme, with profession not to be willing for any request to medle more with it. According to our order, a program wes affixt in all the four Universities, to invite at a day all who pleased to compear. Two of our own, Mr. Hew Smith and Mr. John Glen, did appear, very good youths and schollars both : while we are going to prescryve them their tryell, ane order from the English is delyvered to us, by our Rector, discharging us to admitt any to tryall for any place, without their appointment. Some nights before, Mr. John Young had come to me to enquire, If I could be content to admitt to the vacant place Mr. Sandilands, the Rector's brother, without competition ? I told him I could not in conscience, for beside that I conceaved the young man unfitt, by our old priviledges, lately enjoyned very stricte by our Vifitors, we were obliged to a competition, for which we had then affixt a program. Mr. John, finding me resolute, without dinne, at no man's desyre, continued in his Regent's place to the end of that year, though he had entered in the Divinitie profession ; which he let lye for the exercife of it, but not for its stipend. However, when the vacant places of Mr. John Young and Mr. Richard Robertson came to be supplied the nixt year, Mr. Patrick Gillespie desires to call to the first Mr. R. Mcquard [McWard], without any competition : for this we have a new contest. I told him of our lawes renewed in our last Vifitation, wherein his owne hand wes chieff ; also that

two of our owne, invited by our Programme, wes waiting for their tryell ; that the young man he named I knew to be nothing fitter than any of the two ; and that the old Colledge of St. Andrewes, wherein he wes Regent of Humanitie, had refuifed, that fame year, to admitt him to a vaiking place without competition : Notwithstanding, it wes carried in the Facultie, to call him without competition or any tryell. Our Facultie was now fully conforme ; the Vice-Chancellor was dead ; Mr. George Young wes changed, and his sonne, the Profeffor, wes made Dean of Facultie in his father's place, contrare, as I conceived, to his promise not to accept of that place ; the Rector, in all they defyred, wes ever for them, for their common masters sake the English ; Mr. James Veitch wes put in by them against order, and wes made ever for them ; Mr. Patrick Young wes winne, by his brother Mr. John, to be quyet ; Affeffors were declaired, by their last Vifitation, to have no decisive voice : Soe I wes left alone ; and then indeed, speaking sharplie for the evident overthrow of our priviledges, when my offer wes refuifed that I would be silent if Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and Mr. James Wood, who were the young man's best friends, would declare they conceived him to be one of that qualification for whom our law of competition should be broken, Mr. Patrick Gillespie did publictly boast that he would take a course with me. With indignation I bade him doe his worst quicklie. The first night he come among us, he carried the change of our factor, Mr. John Herbertson, to Mr. John Spreule, his confident on the English interest ; so he gripped our purse, that no man should gett any stipend bot as he thought expedient ; and this ever since I have found. With all these injuries, I satt still expecting worse. At the Regent's entrie, I abfented myself ; the young man incontinent fell sick, as before he had been ficklie : he is like not long to live⁵ ; so, to all our sence, it had been his good never to have come hither. There was a competition for the other place,

⁵ Mr. Robert M'Ward, however, survived Baillie many years. He was admitted a Regent in the College 4th August 1653, and three years later became one of the Ministers in Glasgow, as noticed in Baillie's letter to Spang, 1st September 1656. He was ejected at the Restoration ; and was, moreover, tried for alleged sedition in one of his sermons, but his expected sentence of execution was changed to perpetual banishment. He retired to Holland, from whence by his writings he greatly supported the fainting hearts of his suffering brethren in Scotland during " their fiery trials," in the time of persecution. He died in exile in December 1681.—(Steven's History of the Scottish in Rotterdam, pp. 25, &c. 336.)

because Mr. Patrick knew of none to thrust in, only he wrote to Aberdeen, where almost all in both Colledges, from Remonstrators, had avowedly gone over to Independencie and Separation; from them he fetcht a young man, Mr. Andrew Burnet. In all the tryalls, to the sence of almost all, Mr. John Glen clearlie warrit him; yet there was no remeid, Mr. Burnet behooved to have the place. The young man, Mr. John Glen, had said among his commerads, that he fear'd his favour was so little as he should not carrie the place: of this mote such a mountain was made, that Mr. Patrick began a procefs against him, to declare him incapable to compete. With difficultie he was admitted to a hearing. In the time of our judging, I fand many sensible of ane evident partialitie: I departed in silence; for this Mr. Patrick cryed after me, He would teach me better manners. At this I smiled, and went away. My chief exception was, that the young man, though he had the testimonie of all the apostates in the Colledge of Aberdeen, yet Mr. Andrew Cant's, though written to, was not gotten, and Mr. Patrick, with passion, had refused to put him to subferyve the Covenant, when I in his ear defyred it. At the beginning of the year he took all the keys of the little chambers from my schollars, whereof they had long, by my allowance, been in possession, and gave them to whom he liked better. Dr. Strang had bestowed six hundred merks on the building, for which the Facultie most unanimoullie had assigned him a chamber for his use during his life time, in ane act subferyved with all our hands. Mr. Patrick will have him out of it; by reiterate order from the English, he had made him flitt from his house; and when he was unwilling to give him the key of his chamber in the Colledge, till he had been heard in a Facultie to speak for his right, without more adoe, he causes break up the doore, and put on a new lock, and fetts Mr. John Young in the chamber, which we thought he would not have accepted. And to shew more of his good-will to his predeceffor, he quarrells his compts for his stipend, and questions two yeares as unjustly intromitted with, though allowed and subferyved by all the auditors of the compts for more than twenty yeares, without question. Also, of my receipts he challenges six hundred pounds, which I offered to be determined by the Colledge own lawyers, or other arbitrators; but without law there is no remeid; and to law I told him, I will not goe, though I should lose the foume. This is but a little part of our vexation.

Lately Dr. Strang had drawne up ane act, that the students of Divinitie should subferyve their due obedience and attendance of the lessons of the Principall and Professors, under the paine of a mulct. This by many of the chief schollars was never subferyved, and never pressed on any, and laid aside a little after the first making, and out of mind and forgot. But behold, at the beginning of this year, Mr. Patrick will have all the Divinitie students to subferyve this, or else put them out of the Colledge. Some of them, especiallie your nephew and Mr. Hew Blair's sonne, being in conscience bound up, declyned modestlie that subscription, thinking in their minds (as many more did) that Mr. Patrick was not lawfull Principall, nor Mr. John Young lawfull Professor; but withall gave him no offence: for this no subferyveing he put them publictly out of the hall from the exercise. I did not know of this till Mr. Patrick wrote a very imperious letter to me, out of Edinburgh, not to admitt these two young men to any of my lessons. This insolence grieved me, yet I neglected it; only told him at meeting that I could concur in no such violence. While we are vexed daylie with new unexpected motions, there is affixed diverse tymes on the Colledge gate, and scattered in the Colledge Clofe, and put in the mouth of all the schollars, a number of most base and scandalous Latine verses, abusing Mr. Patrick and Mr. John Young very vylelie, and scoffing at all the Regents. Before I had heard of it, they had put a number of boys to a tryall upon it, being unable to find the author. They scourged fundrie publictly and privatelie, and made such affrightment among the schollars that fundrie got away: some of the best qualitie would no more returne. This remedie did no good, for every other day new papers, of many base villanies, were spread and sent over all the countrie. This put Mr. Patrick in a high humor to goe for Edinburgh, with ane English troupe, excommunicate Govan, in his armes, ryding before his wife through the streets openlie. While he is there ane order came to him fra the Protector, and other two to Mr. John Livingstone and Mr. John Menzies, to come to London against the 10th of Aprile, to give their advyce in matters of high concernment. This has frayed us all, fearing least the Protector purpose to put our Church in a new mule, and beginne upon us a fore perfection, which is like not soon to end. I parted fair with Mr. Patrick, for my own part, which I scarce expected: for our Reector, falling in a foule fornication, behooved to be changed, and the

designe being to have none of the Ministers or others, convenient on the list, but only the laird of Pollock and goodman of Glanderstone, and the Covenant being to be laid aside at that election, when usually it went very solemnly to be taken, I would not countenance the action; also our Factor, Mr. John Spreule, being now in the charge of clerk to the Lords of Session, and being to make his accompts, I could not subserve without my prejudice; and the Colledge giving fundrie instructions to be agented by Mr. Patrick at London, with the Protector, I would subserve none of them. I expected for all this a storme, yet God guided me so that we parted calmly, for the which I was glad, and since his departure have lived in peace.

As for our Church affaires, thus they stand: The Parliament of England had given to the English Judges and Sequestrators a very ample commission to put out and in ministers as they saw cause, to plant and displant our Universities. According to this power, they put Mr. John Row in Aberdeen, Mr. Robert Leighton in Edinburgh, Mr. Patrick Gillespie in Glasgow, and Mr. Samuell Colvile they offered to the Old Colledge of St. Andrews; this last is yet holden off, but the other three acts as Principalls. All our Colledges are quicklie like to be undone. Our Churches are in great confusion: no intrant gets any stipend till he have petitioned and subserved some acknowledgment to the English. When a very few of the Remonstrators or Independent partie will call a man, he gets a kirk and the stipend; but whom the Presbyterie, and well near the whole congregation, calls and admitts, he must preach in the fields, or in a barne, without stipend. So a sectarie is planted in Kilbryde, ane other in Leinzie, and this guyse will grow ryfe to the wrack of many a soull. We thought at the Generall Assëmblie to have gotten some course for this; but Colonell Lilburne, the commander-in-chiefe, gave order to fojors to break our Assëmblie before it wes constitute, to the exceeding great grief of all, except the Remonstrators, who insulted upon it; the English violence haveing trysted with their protestation against it. Since that tyme we have had no meeting for the whole Church, not so much as for counsell, though the Remonstrants have mett oft, and are like to sett up a Commission and Assëmblie of their owne, for very ill purpose. They are most bitter against those who adhere to their Covenant in the matter of the King and Assëmbles: they are also bent as ever to purge the Church: to punish men truly deserving censure, we are also willing as they; but

their purgeing is for common a very injurious oppreffion. Sundry of them falls openly to the Englifh errors, both of Church and State, and many more are near to that evil; yet my Lord Warrifstone, Mr. James Guthrie, and others, ftill profefs their great averfion to the Englifh way: however, their great averfation of the King, and of the late Affemblies, and their zeal to make up the Kirk and armie, and places of truft, only of the godly partie, (that is their own confidants,) make them dear and precious men to the Englifh, doe or fay what they will, and their oppofites bot raskallie Malig-nants. This makes them exceeding bold, knowing of their back; and were it not for a few more moderate men among them, they, before this, would have plaid ftrange pranks: however, they are going on prettie faft; their wracking of the congregation of Leinzie, and dividing of the Presbyterie of Glafgow; their doinge the like in the congregation and Prefbyterie of Lithgow, yow heard long agoe; alfo what they have done in Bathgate, and fundry parts of the fouth. I will only give fome account of their laft dealings.

From their meeting in Edinburgh, they were inftructed to have monethly fafts and communions as they could have them: at their communions they excluded more than the halfe of thofe who were ordinarlie admitted: fex or feven minifters, leaveing their own congregations defolate, were about the action; numbers of ftrangers flocked to thefe meetings; at their fafts, four or five minifters of their beft preachers in the bounds, exercifed from morning to even. The great defigne of all this wes evidently but to increafe their partie; whereof yet in moft places they miffed. Alwayes the word went, that they purpofed to put up committees for purging and planting every where as they thought fitt. I wes fo charitable as not to fufpect them of any fuch purpofe, when the land wes full of confufion and danger; yet I fand myfelf difappointed; for at our fynod, the Moderator's fermon ran on the neceffitie of taking up the too-long neglected work of purging. The man's vehemencie in this, and in his prayer, a ftrange kind of fighting, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonifing out of the bellie of a fecond perfon, made me amazed. To prevent this foolifh and cruell enterprize, we preffed, in the entrie of the Synod, that in thefe tymes of confufion we might be affured of peace till the nixt Synod, as we had been in the three former Synods. We intimate our great willingnefs to caft out of the miniftrie all

whom we conceived either unfit for weaknes, or scandalous ; but a Synod so divided in judgement as we were, we conceived very unfit for any such work. When we found our desyre flatly refused, and perceived a clear designe to sett up presently their tyrannous committees, we, as we had resolved before hand, and were advyfed by the ministrie of Edinburgh, and others of our mind, required them, that our Synod might be rightly constitute, That ministers censured by the Generall Assemblie, and elders notoriously opposite to the last three Generall Assemblies, might have no voyce. When this was flatly refused, we shew we were necessitate to fitt by our selves, and leave them in their separation from the Generall Assemblie and Kirk of Scotland. When, by all we could say, nothing could be obtained, all of us who adhered to the Generall Assemblie went to the Blackfriars, and there kept the Synod, leaving our Protestation with them (C.) Some brethren travelled all thè next day betwixt us for a union ; we offered it gladly, on condition, that they would be content for this tyme of the land's trouble and danger, to leave all meddling with things controverted, or else to constitute the Synod according to the Aēt of the Generall Assemblie. When neither could be obtained, (as yow may see in the paper of mediation (D.)), we did constitute ourselves in a Synod by ane aēt ; whereof yow have the tennor subjoynd (E.) ; and when we had appointed a fast, the causes whereof I likewise subjoyne (F.), we closed to meet at Irvine at the nixt dyet. To our absent brethren we sent the letter following (G.), and ane information of our proceedings to the neighbouring Synods of Lothian, Galloway, Argyle ; also Fyffe, Perth, and the Merse.

The Remonstrators choised Mr. William Guthrie for their Moderator, and one James Porter, a devote fervant of their partie for clerk ; named a Committee of their most forward men to goe immediately to Lanark, to purge and plant as they found cause ; sent two of their gentlemen, Sir George Maxwell and Walkinshaw, with the help of their good friends Bogs and Commissar Lockhart ; and when they prevailed not, two of their ministers, Mr. William Somervail and Mr. William Jack, [went] to the Governor of Glasgow, Colonell Cooper, for a troupe of horse to guard them at Lanark and Dowglafs.⁶ Some of them had to their power, fomented a very injurious scandall

⁶ There is inserted in the MS. this marginal note, in Baillie's own hand : " Mr. Somervail and Mr. Jak cleirit themselves to me of this falt."

on Mr. R. Hoome, whom we had made minister at Crauford-Johne contrare to their mind : their committee laboured to their power to try that their owne invention ; but failed therein. There is an old man, Mr. John Veitch, minister of Robertson, they sent ministers, two or three of their number to hear him preach ; on their report, they pronounced a sentence of deposition on him as insufficient. But their chief work was at Dowglafs. The noblemen, gentlemen, whole heritors and people, and session, unanimously had called Mr. Archibald Inglish, a verie good and able youth, to his father's place. They stirred up some of the elders, who subscribed a call to the young man, to desire his tryells might be before the United Presbyterie, and not before our part of it, from which the Remonstrators had separate. This motion they fo fomented, that these few elders, with a very few of the people, were moved by them, contrare to all the congregation, to give a call to a silly young man, a meer stranger, from Fife, one Mr. Francis Kidd, who had never been heard nor seen in the bounds. This man they bring to the kirk on the Sunday : when the people refused to let him or them enter, he preached on a bray-side to some strangers and a few of the people of Dowglafs, and even these runne away from hearing of him, except a very few. Preaching ended, they sent one to read a edict at the church-door, who refused to give a copie of what he read : without more adoe, on Monday morning, they past all his tryells in one houre, and came to the church of Dowglafs in the afternoone to give him imposition of hands. The body of the people and heritors hindered their coming into the church and church-yard ; whereupon they sent once and againe for their English guard. By all their importunitie they could gett none of the troupe to countenance them, except twelve, with the Lieutenant : by the power of their sword, as wes avowed on all hands, on a bray-side, without preaching, they admitted him minister of Dowglafs : ane abominable example, generally much abhorred, which shews what we may expect from that partie. Our Synod appointed some to joyne with the true Presbyterie of Lanark ; who mett the week thereafter ; tryed with all accuracie possible what could be found in the scandale of Mr. Robert Hoome ; fand nothing but malice of some parties, fomented by ministers ; with the unanimous consent of the people of Robertson, strengthened the minister, and appointed a helper to be settled there in ane orderly way ; admitted to the Church of Dowglafs Mr. Archibald Inglish, after all tryells duely performed,

with the blessings and tears of the congregation. Readily they will procure ane order from the English, that the stipend and church shall goe to Mr. Kidd, and his twelve or sixteen followers, and Mr. Archibald English shall be tollerated, with much adoe, to preach to the whole congregation, Marques of Dowglafs, Earle of Angus, whole heritors and people, in the fields, or a barne, without a fexpence of stipend.

In this glafs see our condition. It is so in fundrie congregations allreadie, and like to be soe in many more; not so much through the violence of the English, as the unreasonable headiness of the Remonstrators, which for the tyme is remediless; and we, for fear of worse from their very evill humour, give way to permitt them to plant diverse churches as they like best. This formed schisme is very bitter to us, but remediless, except on intollerable conditions, which no wyse orthodoxe divine will advyse us to accept: We must imbrace without contradiction, and let grow, the principles of the Remonstrants, which all reformed divines, and all states in the whole world abhorres; we must permitt a few headie men to waste our Church with our consent or connivance; we must let them frame our people to the Sectarian modell; a few more forward ones joynd among themselves by privie meetings to be the godly partie, and the congregation, the rest, to be the rascallie malignant multitude: So that the bodie of our people are to be cast out of all churches; and the few who are countenanced, are fitted, as fundry of them already hes done, to imbrace the errors of the tyme for their destruction. Against these abominations we strive so much, and so wyfely, as we can. Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. David Dickson, and others, hes yet gotten Edinburgh right: The faction which Mr. Robert Traill and Mr. John Stirling have there is unconsiderable. Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Wood keep St. Andrewes and Fyfe prettie right: Mr. Rutherford, to the uttermost of his power, advances the other partie. Mr. John Robertson and Mr. William Rate gets Angus and Dundee right; but the naturally headie men of Aberdeen are come up to the full designe too soone; yet the bodie of the people and country are right. In this Mr. James Guthrie in Stirling comes but small speed; albeit his confident Sir William Bruce of Stanhouse be made the English sherriff. In Lithgowshire they have used great violence, imprifoned their chiefe opposite Mr. Jo. Vaugh, forced a sillie man on the ministrie of Lithgow, and ane other on Bathgate, contrare to all the Synod of Lothian could

doe ; yet the bodie of the people is flat there againſt them. Their greateſt prevalence is with us in Glaſgow, which comes much more by Mr. James Durhame's neutralitie profefſed, bot reall joyning with the moſt of the others deſignes, and Mr. John Carſtares's zeall, than any thing that Mr. Patrick Gillespie hes done, or could doe, by himſelff. This is the pitifull condition of our Church which is but going on from evill to worſe till the Lord remeed it.

As for our State, this is its caſe : Our Nobilitie, weell near all are wracked ; Dukes Hamilton, the one execute, the other flaine ; their ſtate forfault ; one part of it gifted to Engliſh ſojours ; the reſt will not pay the debt ; little left to the heretrix ; almoſt the whole name undone with debt :—Huntlie execute ; his ſonnes all dead bot the youngeſt ; there is more debt on the Houſe nor the land can pay :—Lennox is living, as a man buried, in his houſe of Cobhame : Dowglaſs and his ſonne Angus are quyet men, of no reſpect :—Argyle almoſt drowned with debt, in friendſhip with the Engliſh, but in hatred with the cuntry : he courts the Remonſtrators, who were and are averſe from him ;—Chancellor Loudoun lives like ane outlaw about Athole, his lands compryſed for debt, under a generall very great diſgrace :—Marſchell, Rothes, Eglinton and his three ſonnes, Craufurd, Lauderdaill, and others, priſoners in England ; and their lands all either ſequeſtrate or forfault, and gifted to Engliſh ſojours :—Balmerinoch ſuddenly dead, and his ſonne, for publiēt debt, compryſeings, and captions, keeps not the caſſie :—Warrifon, haveing refounded much of what he got for places, lives privilie, in a hard enough condition, much hated by the moſt, and neglected by all, except the Remonſtrants, to whom he is guide. Our Criminall Judicatories are all in the hands of the Engliſh ; our Civile Courts in their hands alſo ; only ſome of the Remonſtrators are adjoyned with them : In the Seſſion^r are Craighall, (now dead,) and his brother Hoptoun, Mr. A. Perſon, Southhall, Colonell Lockhart, and Swinton : The only clerks to the Seſſion are Mr. John Spreule and William Downie. The Commiſſariat and Sherriffs Courts are all in the hands of Engliſh ſojours, with the adjunētion, in ſome places, of ſome few Remonſtrants. Strong garifones in Leith, Edinburgh towne and caſtell, Glaſgow, Ayr, Dumbartan, Stirling,

^r The Judges here named were Sir John Hope of Craighall, who died 24th April 1654, his brother Sir James Hope of Hoptoun, Alexander Pearson of Southhall, Colonell afterwards Sir William Lockhart, and John Swinton of Swinton.

Lithgow, Perth, Dundee, Bruntifland, Dunnotter, Aberdeen, Innernefs, Inneraray, Dunstaffnage, etc.

Of a long tyme no man in the whole Ifle did mute: all were lulled up in a lethargick fear and defpaire. Only the other year, Glencairne and Balcarras, understanding of ane order to apprehend them as correfponding with the King, retired to the hills of Athole. Kenmure haveing efcaped from England, when his houfe wes burnt and his rents feafed upon, got to the Lennox with a few horfe: Lorne, being but coarfelie ufed by his father, joyned with Kenmure. To thefe fundrie did affociat, Glengarie, Athole, Seaforth, not fo much to doe any thing againft the Englifh, as to make fome noyfe of a partie, to encourage the King's friends abroad to fend him fupplies of men, armes, and money. At once a great animofitie did ryfe in every fhyre of the land; very many young gentlemen made bold with all the ferviceable horfe they could find about them; and notwithstanding of all the diligence the Englifh could ufe to prevent, great numbers came fafe to the hills. The warre with Holland, and rumor of great help from over-feas, did increafe dayly both the number and courage of this partie.

But behold inward divifion doth hazard all at the very beginning. The irreconcilable difcords of Argyle and Hamilton had undone the Ifle, and almoft both the families. Glencairne, Hamilton's coufigne, did much mif-truft and flight Lorne. Ralftone, and the Remonfrant gentlemen of Kintyre, feemed readie to arme for the Englifh, againft the King's partie. Lorne and Kenmure, with the men they had raifed, went to Kintyre to fuppreffe thefe. They, on hope of the Englifh affiftance from Aire, fortified the caftle of Lochheid; but while neither Argyle nor the Englifh appear in their defence, they rander the houfe to Lorne's difcretion. Kenmure thinking the befiedged better ufed by Lorne than they deferved, fell in a mifcontent, and went from Lorne to Glencairne with many complaints. Balcarras alfo unwilling to have Glencairne above him, and conceaveing that it wes beft for the advanceing of the King's affaires, that till the King himfelf, or one of authoritie from him, fhould come, the partie fhould be ruled by a committee, without any fupreame officer, and that all admitted to counfells and command in the armie fhould declare for the Solemne League and Covenant. For thefe ends he dealt with Lorne, Seaforth, and Athole, till Glencairne produced a commiffion under the King's hand to be Generall, till himfelf

or some from him, should come to take the command. This unexpected commission put all to a submissive silence, but increased heart-burnings. Lorne, professing all firmness to the King and cause, was not willing to take orders from Glencairne, till he did know more particularlie the King's pleasure. For this end, he, Balcarras, and others, wrote to the King their discontent with Glencairne's command. These letters were intercepted and brought to Glencairne; whereupon he gave order to Glengarie to apprehend Lorne, to answer for his sedition. Lorne hardlie enough escaped Glengarie's pursuit; Balcarras retired; and, a little after, with his Lady, went disguised through England to the King. Notwithstanding of all these pitiefull and shamefull debates, Glencairne's partie still increased, and his conduct became considerable: the whole Highlands, Isles, and much of the North, and numbers from the Lowlands, wes come unto him; so it wes thought, at Middleton's coming, he had here and there eight or nine thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse, of very stout and resolute men as we ever had on the fields, the most of them old sojourns. But at Middleton's coming, when neither the King, nor his brother, nor any foraigne force, did appear, the hearts of many began to doubt; and when, after his coming, some months, notwithstanding of all the reiterat promises, no foraigne assistance at all did come; but on the contrare, the Holland peace was proclaimed; the treaty of the Protector with Swane [Sweden] went on; the French ambassador at London wes solemnly received, as the Spanish and Portugale had been; all humane hope began much to fail, especiallie after Monck's coming downe as Generall, the Proclamation of the Protector, the Act of Union, and the Ordinance of Grace, which forfaulted and deeply fyned so many, and subjected the whole priviledges of the Nation to the Protector and his Council's pleasure, with the abolition of Royaltie, the whole branches of the Family-Royall, and all Scots Parliaments and Conventions of Estates; the takeing of Kinnoule, Lieutenant-Colonnells Herriot, Withart, Forsyth, and fundry more of our Scottmen unhappily: All these things were so hard presages, that the most gave all the King's affaires for gone; and many did think that the King, whether through personall weakness, or the treacherie of the few counsellors about him, or the cross aspect of all Europe towards him, had so far disappointed the expectation of his friends, that while he lived he was not like to get such a partie for his service in Scotland.

So for the time the case of our Land is most sad: Monck, by sea and land, is to besett Glencairne and his partie, and with much feveritie to crush them, and for their sakes to lye more heavily on the whole subdued countrey, beginning with the best of the ministers; who, after mutuall advyce, find themselves in conscience necessitate to keep the King still in their publict prayers. We have been very carefull to give the English no other offence at all; for in all this Northland ryseing, to my best knowledge, there is no minister in Scotland who has had the leift hand or any meddling. However, for this our great treason of naming the King in our publict prayers, (as we conceive our duety, Covenant, and Directorie for worship do require, as ye will see in the papers herewith sent unto yow,) (H.), we are like to suffer heavie things. For all this, our eyes are towards the Lord: we expect protection from him, and if so he think meet, we are willing to feall our testimonie, in faith and humble modestie, with all the sufferings which the injustice of men may be permitted of our Heavenlie Father to impose upon us.

Being called the other week to confer with the Brethren of Edinburgh, I was comforted to find all that mett, fully in my sense both about prayer for the King, and affaires of our divided Synod, divided Presbyterie, troubled Colledge, and all else we spoke of. But it was a sad sight to see the generall affliction at the Proclamation of the Protector, of the Act of Union, the Act of Forfaultrie and deep fynyng of so many, the preparation of Monck by sea and land presentlie to swallow up the Northern partie, destitute of all hope of the oft-promised foraigne supplies, as common fame furnifed. As our miseries, (without a kingdome wholly, without any judicatories to count off of our owne, without a church well near,) are great; so we expect they shall increase, and the next heavie dint shall fall on the chief of the ministrie. At once it will not be safe to have any audible complaints of these things, either to God or man.

I shall close at this time, with a desire of your advyce, with the first occasion, in a particular of my familie. My second sonne, Henry, a prettie boy of seventeen years, among the best schollars of his classe, very diligent and carefull of all duetie, and welbeloved of all as a gracious and vertuous youth, besyde my expectation, and contrare to my desyre, tells me, that of a long time he has been inclyned, and now is resolved, to be a merchant. All I, or other friends, can say, does not divert him from this resolution,

which, he sayes, after frequent and earnest prayer, grows in him. This is his Batcheller year; with difficultie I can move him to stay it out; he could be content to serve as a prentice. I conceive it his best, if his resolution continue, to send him over in the hinder-end of harvest to yow, to spend the winter, and what time more yow think fitt, to learn Dutch and French, to keep a merchant-book, or what else yow made my brother's sonne learn, and then to give him a little flock to ware, at the direction, and with the oversight, of some friends. Yow who understand these things, give me your full and free advyee in this whole matter. I had purposed him, as also my eldest sonne, for the ministrie; and I thought he had alse faire beginnings as any of his age, towards that holy calling. But his peremptor resolution makes me, with grief, change that my designe for him.

A POSTSCRIPT. JULY 20TH 1654.

WHILE I waited long for a bearer, I add further: Our Triumviri, Masters Levistone, Gillespie, and Menzies, stayed long at London without much access to the Protector: He thought it good to write for Messrs. Dowglafs, Blair, and Guthrie. Mr. Blair excused his health; Mr. Guthrie, by a fair letter, declared his peremptoriness not to goe; Mr. Dowglafs, by Monk's friendlie letter, gott himself also excused. On their not comeing, Mr. Levistone gott leave to returne, and is at home; Mr. G[illespie] and M[enzies] are expected. The buisness of the plott gave not the Protector much leasure for auditing of them. Only we fear that our Church shall be cast under such a Committee as now guides all ecclesiasticall affaires in England, absolutely as the Protector thinks fitt, the most whereof are Anabaptists and Independents, and gentlemen of no ecclesiasticall relation. We thank God that perfecution on the ministrie is not yet begun, except what the Remonstrators drawes from the English on some few. Mr. John Vaugh and Mr. Robert Knox were long prisoners for naming the King in their prayers; yet now they are at liberty, and at their charges, to our great joy.

Through Mr. Gillespie's absence, our Colledge has been long at peace, though these diverse moneths all discipline has been loose among us; the boys, after the fray among them for the scandalous verses, never weell

fettleing; no examination at the end of the year, no folemne laureation, nor much attendance on claffes. I think Mr. P. G., if he were prefent, would fee better order. In my preface to my Praxis, I noted the fcurvy dictates of fome Regents, which all the Univerfities acknowledged, and were in a fair way to have helped. For this Mr. James Veitch, our eldeft regent, did dyte to his fchollers, in the midft of his Notes, a pitifull invective againft me, (I); a fowller injurie than I ever heard was done to any honeft man for fuch a caufe. The Lord armed my mind with Chriftian patience fo that I totallie miſkent it; only I wrote the inclofed paper and fent it to himſelf, whereupon he fcraped out of his fchollers bookes, after fome dayes, that evill leſſon, and no more dinne was here of that matter.

My next vexation was with our Anti-Synod: after their pranckes in Lanark, they mett fynodically very frequent* at Glaſgow, fell on a committee for purging all the Prefbyteries; I alone went up to them, intreated them with many fair words to delay at leaſt any fuch work, and for that end gave them in a large paper, which a very gracious and wife brother, fomewhat a mid-man betwixt us, had drawn for that end, (K.)⁸; which I fend alfo to yow, that from it yow may more fullie learne our prefent temper. All this labor produced little; for notwithstanding they proceeded in their work, and appointed their purging and planting committees; bot with this proviſo, that they ſhould have, at their next meeting, a conference with any I pleaſed of my mind before they proceeded. Againſt their day I had our part of the Synod mett, and full information of the brethern of Edinburgh and others for our proceeding. We prefentlie put up a purging and planting committee alſe well as they, and of theſe we appointed a number to confer with them. With much adoe we gott them to ſtay till the firſt of Auguſt, upon a new conference: againſt that day Mr. James Ferguſone drew up a paper of his Overtures for our reunion (L.), and I drew up another (M.): yow have both here. What the iſſue ſhall be yow may hear afterward; only theſe things lye heavier on my heart nor on any man's elſe I know, for uſuallie at the tyme of theſe comfortleſs janglings, I am ſick and diſtempered with grieff and diſcontent, though every one of them gives me more reſpect than to any other; yet for the remedileſs breach I am heavilie oft troubled

* In Baillie's MS. the paper referred to, is entitled, "Mr. James Ferguſon's letter, given to the Anti-Synod, by M. R. B. Junii 12, 1654."

in my owne mind, which I use to powre out before God, and getts then courage and strength to goe on, and bear the burthen.

Generall Monck went to the fields in the beginning of June, thinking and professing that the discussing of the northern Tories would cost him but a few weeks labour; and we indeed did expect no other; for the English in men, horse, money, and all things they could defyre, had the clear advantage: yet we cannot hear of any great progress he has made. So soone as Glencairne had rendered his commission to Middleton; on a jarre between Monroe and Glengarie, Glencairne, speaking for Glengarie, got a challenge from Monroe; which he answered, and beat Monroe, to his great commendation. This affront, not so much repented by Middleton as need had been, together with the King's too much neglect, as some say, in his late commissions, of Glencairne's very great services, upon the information, as it's thought, of Lorne and Balcarras, he left Middleton, and came with a small partie to the Lennox. The noise of this discontentment did exceedingly discourage many; but at once Glencairne carried it soe, that all this discouragement was quickly changed; for with the small partie he had he defended the pass of Aberfoyle so well against Monck's frequent assaults, and sent out, for good purpose so many small parties to Clydesdale, Barranthrow, Cunnynghame, Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway, as retarded a while Monck's march to the north; and when Monck went north, notwithstanding of all his garisons, and beside them one full regiment of foot and another of horse, left at Glasgow and Kilfyth, the partie sent out from Glencairne did runne up and downe the whole cuntry, and did what they liked, without great impediment. Monck found his march to the north very troublesome: the people carried all out of his way; stragglers were snapped up; the hills made fundrie, both horse and men, sicken and die. It was oft printed, that Morgan had Middleton so inclosed in Sutherland that he could not escape to the south; yet when Middleton thought it time, he divided his men in parties, and passed by with ease, both Morgan and Monck, coming to Perthshyre and Argyle, notwithstanding all they could doe to impede him. Colonell Brian's regiment from Ireland, landing in Lochaber, was lighted on by the country-people, and near a hundred of them slaine: for this Monck did cause burn all the lands of the Laird of Lochaber, Glengarie, and Seaforth he came through. Glenurchie had been too great an intelligencer to the Eng-

lish, and sided with Argyle against Lorne his sonne; so Midletoune caused burn much of his land. This burning, now begunne on both hands, may ruine the whole countrie. It's thought the English have their fill of the Highland Hunting, and that the flux is fallen among them, which makes them speak alreadie of quartering. It seems Midletone minds no fighting in any bodie, but shiftes till he see what tyme may bring forth. The countrie every where suffers much; yet is patient, for they see no remead; also the victuall all this year is at four pound the boll, and great appearance of the continuance of this greater plenty than hes been seen in our days.

What the world abroad is doing we know noe more then the London Diurnall tells us. What the mysterie may be of the Queen of Swan's [Sweden's] dimission, and why her last act should have been (without all necessitie) a strict friendship with the Protector, is much marvelled. Also, why for the Protector's friendship, contrare to the mind of the other Provinces, these of Holland should have cast off the Prince of Orange? And if Spayne be with the Protector upon a league offensive and defensive, how comes it that both France and Portugall should, by their ambassadors, be begging his friendship? What all this may meane we understand not, nor what our King's journey to the Spa imports. Yow possiblie may make us understand these things. Is Salmasius dead? What is become of Blondell? What new books are among yow? Try to me what of Chronologie is lately come out.

Dr. Strang, your good friend, having to doe in Edinburgh with the lawyers anent the unjust trouble he wes put to for his stipend, after a few day's sickness did die, so sweetlie, and graciouſlie, as wes satisfactorie to all, and much applauded over all the citie, his very persecutors giving him an ample testimonie. His treatise, *De Providentia Dei circa Peccatum*, he has enlarged, and made it ready for the presse. Be carefull to get it well printed, according to the constant friendship that wes allwayes betwixt yow and him. They hope yow will get it printed freely, for the piece is likely to sell; but if yow must give any money for its printing, they will bear the charge. Let me know with the first, your answer herein; for they will send yow the copie so soone as your mind is knowne, and your advice given. How is your condition in Middleburgh?⁹ The English congregations use to be very fickle, and hard to be kepted by their ministers: if your lot be better with yours, I

⁹ Spang was translated from Campvere to Middleburgh, 10th November 1652.

shall be glad. This letter is after my old fashion : it deserves a long answer. My love to your wife and children. I rest in the Lord,

Your Coufigne, R. B.

Glasgow, July 21st 1654.

That yow may know the way of planting our Churches, have this late practise. Mr. John Galbraith of Bothkennar wes depofed for tipping and other faults, three or foure yeares agoe. When Mr. James Guthrie continued to preach in Stirling, after his depofition by the Generall Affemblic, Mr. John Galbraith followed his example, and returned to his pulpit : his people did love him better than Stirling did the other. Of the Presbyterie of Stirling, Mr. James Simpſone of Airth, likewise depofed, and Mr. John Hog of Lairbare, adhered to Mr. James Guthrie, and theſe three made one presbyterie. Mr. Robert Wright, and other two or three, adhering to the Affemblic, made themſelfes another presbyterie. Mr. George Bennet and other two were neutralls, and abſtained from both. Mr. James Guthrie began a proceſs of excommunication againſt Mr. John Galbraith ; bot he boafed ſo faſt to excommunicate Mr. James, if he proceeded againſt him, that this wes left off. Mr. James profeſſes to have no medleing with the Engliſh at all, and to be much averſe from all complyance with them, yea, to miſlike Mr. Patrick Gillespie's way ; yet Sir William Bruce of Stanehouſe, his ſpeciall and intime friend to this day, hes taken the ſheriffſhip of Stirling from the Engliſh, and continues ruling elder in Mr. James Guthrie's presbyterie. By his means ane order is procured from the Engliſh, that Mr. John Galbraith ſhall give over preaching : this he is forced to obey. The whole paroch gives ane unanimous call to Mr. William Galbraith, a good young man ; bot ane order comes from the Engliſh to hinder his plantation ; and the whole paroch ſupplications, oft preſented to the Engliſh, could not get it helped ; for the Judges are fully for the Remonſtrants, though Generall Monck ſeems to miſlyke them. Thereafter one Mr. John Blair, never heard nor ſeen by the paroch, is named by Mr. James Guthrie's presbyterie to be miniſter of that kirk ; for that people haveing adhered to a depofed miniſter, muſt be counted malignant, and ſo loſſe their right to call, and their right of calling muſt fall in the hand of the presbyterie ; ſo ane order is procured by the presbyterie's ruling elder, Sir William Bruce, from the Engliſh,

to admitt that Blair. Mr. James Guthrie caufes convene a great number of his faction, from diverse paroches about, and gets Mr. Robert Traill from Edinburgh, and Mr. John Carftares from Glasgow, and others, to spend a day in preaching and prayer at this admiffion. The whole people of the paroch meets, and keeps the other out of the kirk; the tumult begins; dry fraikes are distributed; some fell upon the Sheriff's neck. The gentlemen-pariffioners, so soon as the Sheriff produced his English orders for the admiffion, did cede; but the people continued all day casting stones and crying: yet they went on with their work, and thrust in the man. For all this, Mr. James Guthrie hes no dealing with the English, and does no wrong! Our oppreffion is great and crying.

At Glasgow, Mr. Andrew Gray, a youth of twenty-two yeares at most, lately laureat at St. Andrewes, upon one preaching or two at Glasgow, Mr. Patrick Gillespie and his friends will have him admitted to his place.¹ I refused to consent; the youth being so young, and utterly a stranger to us; his tryells of expectant being hastilie past in the Presbyterie of Hamilton; and none of the ministers either of Edinburgh or St. Andrewes, the places of his residence, being acquainted with him, as he professed; also his voyce being so weak, that the most in our kirks heard him not. The Magistrates and Town-Counsell being utterly against his admiffion, dealt with him earnestly not to trouble them: at first, his modesty wes so great, that a small impediment seemed enough to skarre him from accepting of any charge; bot so soone as our Seffion (which is bot the echo of what our brethren speaks) had given him a call, without hoast he went on to his tryells, and, over the bellie of the towne's protestation, wes admitted by their part of the Presbyterie minister of Glasgow. His voice is not yet so good as to be heard by diverse. He hes the new guyse of preaching, which Mr. Hew Binning and Mr. Robert Leighton began, contemning the ordinarie way of exponing and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses; bot runs out in a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, unscripturall style,² tickling the ear for the

¹ Mr. Andrew Gray became Gillespie's successor, as minister of the Outer High Church, Glasgow, in 1653, but died of fever in 1656; as noticed by Baillie in a subsequent letter.

² His Sermons and other practical writings, like those of Binning and Leighton, notwithstanding "the new guyse" which offended Baillie, have retained their popularity, and are still occasionally republished.

prefent, and moving the affections in fome, bot leaving, as he confefles, little or nought to the memorie and understanding. This we muft miſken, for we cannot help it.

This faction growes much among us: I fear the iſſue. The Covenant they miſregard; the King his reſtitution, or his partie's thryving, they ſeem to fear; their pietie and zeal is very ſufceptible of ſchiſme and error: I am oft feared for their apoſtacie. Many conferences hes been among them, Argyle, and Colonell Lockhart, for takeing up armes againſt the northern partie; yet nothing of this kind is done, though diverſe mints have been made: tyme will clear the honeſtie and diſhoneſtie of many. Our life here is a warfare; yet God ſupports us, and we faint not. Bleſſed be our Father! who, through all theſe confuſions, will bring his children to glory.

One of our friends wrote to us ſome ſcruples againſt the conſtitution of our ſeparate Synod; to which I returned the incloſed answer (N.) On the 1ſt of Auguſt, ſome of both ſides did meet, bot could come to no agreement: we gave them in our Overtures, caſt in ane other mould, as yow may ſee at (O.); and they theirs to us, at (P.). Our unabilitie to deal with the Engliſh, and their continuall aſſiſtance from that power, (fought or unfought, I cannot ſay, while they deny and many affirme,) makes us daylie loſſe, and them gaine, and many incline to their thryving ſide.

After ſome reſreſhment from a fruitleſs journey through the hills, Monck is againe to the field. He, Cooper, Twiſlingtone, and Argyle, are at Dumbartone, advyſeing on a hard and forrowfull work, what houſes and what cornes to burne: this work is begun on both ſides already: we know not where it will end.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER, MR. JOHN YOUNG.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

THE other day when yow told me that Mr. James Veitch was very angry with the Preface of my Praxis, as if a part of it had been deſigned againſt him, I deſyred yow, of your certaine knowledge, to aſſure him of the contrare, and as I had told him before myſelf, ſoe I wes purpoſed at my firſt leaſure againe to aſſure him of that great miſtake: for truely I would have

been loath to have given him or any of my colleagues the least offence. If I had foreseen, or yow had told me, when yow did peruse it a year agoe, before it was printed, that yow had conceived either he or any in our House, would have been grieved with any thing in that or any other of my wrytes, I would have willingly scraped it out: bot neither yow nor I had any such thought. Yow know that Preface wes written some yeares agoe, and, as I think, printed the last year,⁵ before Mr. James had begun his Logick notes, and so could not speak of them. Also all the faults I complean of, as my words expresse bear, relate to these times when neither he nor any other now in our House, except yow and I, were Regents or scarce schollers, and in that respect could not concern any of them.

Beside the complaint which offends him, I made it bot of some, and that *aliquando*, and for such things which in our meeting of the whole four Universities wes denied by no one man, bot heartily condescended by all to be remedied, as the book of our correspondence makes clear. As for Mr. James he wes of these years that, when laureat, let be since, he could not be called *Adolefcens*, and his way of teaching (as himself and others long agoe told me to my wonder, for to this day was I myselfe never able to attaine it) wes by dyteing, without all books and all papers, whether of his owne or others. I take it to be many wayes evident, that in my wryte there wes no word that concerned Mr. James his person at all, neither doe I know that I have ever given him any cause of offence. At his tryells and admiffion I wes at Edinburgh; at my returne I consented indeed to the protestation which the Rector, Dean of Facultie, yow, and others, had made concerning the Colledge priviledges, but without any reflection on Mr. James his person. Since that tyme he and I have keept so good correspondence as he did desire, nor by a look, to my knowledge, have I ever offended him.

Notwithstanding, he is pleased to fall upon me personally, with the most atrocious injuries that ever in my life have been offered to me by any. I have had much contention, private and publick, in write and print, with diverse professed enemies of our Church. But put all in one, I have not received the fifth part of the ill usage which Mr. James is pleased to give me, in that invective which, the other morning, he dyted to his schollers expresse againt

⁵ Baillie's "Appendix Practica ad Joannis Buxtorfii Epitomen Grammaticæ Hebrææ," was printed at Edinburgh, in 1653, small 8vo.

me. It's not enough to make me a printer of contradictions, (“*Sed quid multis? Hæc proprio gladio scipfa jugulant, aperta sunt contradictoria*”); to make me so ridiculous a blatterer as I must be laughen at in the schollers books, with ane Ha, ha, hæ! (“*Domino hæc blateranti imputanda sunt:—Ha, ha, hæ!*”) not only to declare me, from his owne sad experience, bot to make it good upon me in a single combate, and to demonstrate it in a publiçt tryell betwixt me and him, that I am ane more dull and ane more unfitt man for teaching than any the most dull and unfitt Regents in Scotland of whom I complaine, (“*Sed vos estis obtusi, et ad docendum inepti,—quæ si alicui, imprimis domino hæc blateranti imputanda sunt; quod experientia nunquam fatis dolenda demonstrare possumus:—age ineatur singulare eertamen, agatur duello, in quo apparuerit quis ineptus, quis pinguis, quis crassus, quis obtusus, imo et quibus vel ob indolem, vel ob eruditionem, bellius convenit doctorum cathedra, et quibus melius discipulorum subfella*”): All this I could have born, for it is bot of my weaknes, which I will not deny to be great, yea, in my solemne inauguration to the place I now stand in, when with much importunite, and long dealing by all who had interest, I wes drawn unto it, I publickly professèd myself to be much fitter to be a scholler to others than a master to any. For indeed, I am farr from these abilities which Mr. James professèth here to be in himselfe: I am none of these who are conscious of no infirmitie, (“*Nec ullius infirmitatis conscii.*”) However, I take it no wayes well that he dytes me to his schollers to be guiltie of great wickednes, whereof I think I am free: he proclaimes me a “*Vitiligator,*” that is “*Vitiosus litigator,*” a man like Theon, a poet, “*rabiosæ loquacitatis et petulantissimæ maledicentiæ,*” gnawing with my teeth on the good name of my neighbours; yea, a very Momus, eating up my owne bowels with envie, and that for a poor cause, that my neighbours are pleasèd to make use of good books, (“*Nos vindicemus a quibusdam vitiligatoribus, Theonino dente aliorum famam rodere conantibus,—libris cum scriptis tum impressis usi sumus, utimur, et utemur, rodente interim sua interiora Momo*”); all my writes, for diverse whereof I have receaved thanks from the most judicious divines, not only of Scotland, bot of the Churches abroad, must be pronounced not only void of all learning, bot a foolish spending of my time in writing nothing bot fables and toys; (“*Neque eruditionem esse existimo in congerendis et consarciendis nugis et fabulis ætatem terere*”); yea, I am declared to be possessèd with a bitter

spirit, with bitternefs itself, with a spirit plainly malignant, which I take to be no other than the devill: I must be a kaill-wyfe crying out with her stinking breath, and openly raging; I must be a false man, and without reason; I must be a beast, a horse, and that a furious one, running on my neighbors; (*“Quidam hodie—spiritu acerbo, et plane malignante, instar halitus vetulæ olera vendentis, sese ostentante, falso et sine ratione debacchati sunt,—non audentes suum amarorem depromere,—instar equi ferocientis invehuntur.”*) But that which is worst of all, I must be dyted to the schollers, and for my sake the Brethren of my mind, which I think none will deny to be amongst the best divynes of the kingdome, for all good qualities, such as Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. David Dickfone, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Wood, etc., we must altogether be dyted a faction, so great enemies to grace and pietie, that by our impious attempts piety is destroyed, (*“Homines quidam quorum impio conatu corrupta jacet pietas”*); that we are men who greedily seek after vaine glory and popular applause and worldly wealth, (*“Umbratilem honorem, inanem gloriam, ventosam vulgi famam, et alia hujus vitæ commoda, unice venantur et aucupantur”*); that we count it a pest and ane epidemick disease that God is filling the kirks and the schooles with a generation of young men, whose eminent pietie and great learning doe good to foules, which we with our impietie would corrupt, (*“Res quæ eos angit est pestis et morbus epidemicus, qua laborat ecclesia et ferme opprimitur, in scholam irrepfit; foboles adolescentum exorta est quos Deus replevit vera pietate et egregiis in omni literarum genere dotibus, in quos homines quidam, quorum impio conatu corrupta jacet pietas, invehuntur”*); and, as if all this had been bot little, he imports, that he hes much worse than what is expressed alreadie, (*“Cætera prætereo,” “cætera taceo,” “at pluribus parco.”*)

I wish yow may speak to him of this his strange fact: If he will stand to the defence of it, I pray yow tell him from me, that whatever sense I may have of his exceeding great wrong, yet my purpose is to be as a deaf man that heard not, and as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth; to be as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reprooves; that not only at this tyme, when the whole land, Kirk, and State, are full of the fury of the Lord, and of the rebuke of our God, drinking the cup of trembling, and the dregs of the cup of the Lord's fury, while they that afflict us say to our foule, bow downe that we may goe over, I purpose, at the Lord's com-

mand, to lay downe my body as the ground and as the ftreet to them that will goe over; and after Chrift his example, to give my back to the fmiters, and my cheeks to them that pluck off the hair, and not to hide my face from flame and fputting; yea, if he pleafe to dyte alfmuch againft me to-morrow, and once a-week to write invectives of me to the end of the year, I can take them on my foulder, and bind them as a crowne unto me, as a part of my fufferings for righteoufnefs. Thefe many years bygane it hes been my refoved praçtife, wherein I purpofe, by God's grace, to continue, in all my perfonall injuries, to doe good for ill, to pray for them that perfecute me; fo I mind not to revenge, I require no fatiffaction, but profefs my only mind is, even through this outrageous injurie, be vertew of Chrift's command, to doe to Mr. James a good turne, if it lye in my way.

This much I thought fitt to communicate unto yow, to be told to Mr. James, who, I think, will take it better from yow, at this tyme of his caufelefs anger, than from me. Now, leaft yow fhould think I had put a worfe conftitution on his words than they may bear, take that whole paſſage I complaine off, in the beft and moft correct write I could find, when I had compared three of the beft written books I could get. There is, indeed, fundrie things in this leſſon whilk I fuppofe will trouble both yow and me to fett well together, for any good fence; bot in what I have touched, I think I have gueſſed right enough at his meaning.

“ *ERST magna pars anni jam elapſa fit, et temporis anguſtiæ quibus ſtringimur nos moveant ut ad finem Moralis Diſciplinæ, in cujus amœnis hortis diu ſpatiati ſimus, properemus, ne tamen inter moralitatem aëtuum humanorum et ipſam virtutem moralem, nullius diſcriminis conſcientia conviçti, aut nullius infirmitatis conſcii, togam deponamus, et ex Almæ Matris aëdibus rei clamitantes fugiamus, coaëti fumus hic unum vel alterum verbum apponere, ut nos vindicemus a quibuſdam vitiligatoribus, Theonino dente aliorum famam rodere conantibus. Res eſt, aſſerere audemus, Diſputationes hæcæ Ethicas, et iis præmiſſas Logicas, eſſi proprio Marte concinnatas, non tamen eſſe laſcinias ex libris qua ſcriptis qua impreſſis, (neque exiſtimo cordatum aliquem ſcholæſticum vitio vertere alicui uti libris, cum ſcriptis tum impreſſis, quibus uſi fumus, utimur, et utemur, rodente interim ſua interiora Momo,) imprimis ex penu recentiſſimorum Jeſuitarum furreptas, aut conſutam mendici pallam, aut*

confarcinatum multarum nugarum magnum centonem; neque refertas esse erroribus et veris in philosophia hærefibus, ex Jesuitarum doleis haustis, sive vanitate animi, sive indolis p̄tertervia, sive incauta prudentia, quod quidam hodie in doctores philosophiæ hujus regni, (quia in eos existimant sese posse impune licere, prætermisiss aliis in quos non audent suum amarorem depromere,) spiritu acerbo et plane malignante, instar halitus vetulæ olera vendentis, sese ostentante, falso et sine ratione debacchati sunt. Sed vos estis adolescentes. Fateor, sed adolescentia non est vitium si cætera recte procedant, imo et plures ecclesiæ pastores sunt adolescentes, in quos dudum plura hujus farinae deblaterata essent, nisi timor notæ impietatis et infamiæ, ab iis iniustæ quorum animi eorum pietate, eruditione, et sedulitate aluntur, extrinseco obstaculo fuisset. Sed vos estis obtusi et ad docendum inepti; (cætera prætereo, quæ si alicui, imprimis domino hæc blateranti imputanda sunt, quod experientia, nunquam fatis dolenda, edocti demonstrare possumus.) Ha, ha, hæ! Forfan verum, sed male a te ferimus; quædam a quibusdam, sed non ab omnibus. Age ineatur singulare certamen, agatur duello, in quo apparuerit quis ineptus, quis pinguis, quis crassus, quis obtusus, imo et quibus vel ob indolem, vel ob eruditionem (neque eruditionem esse existimo in congerendis et confarciendis nugis et fabulis ætatem terere) quibus adjiciatur, si sit animus, ætas, bellius convenit doctorum philosophiæ cathedra, et quibus melius discipulorum subfella. Sed quid multis? Hæc proprio gladio seipsa jugulant, aperta sunt contradictoria; ac penes obtusum aliquem est tot plaustra metaphysicarum quæstionum congerere, quas non omnes capiunt, multo minus intelligunt: iniqui igitur Judices, at pluribus parco. Res uno verbo est quæ vos angit, pestis et morbus epidemicus qua laborat ecclesia, et ferme opprimitur, in scholam irrepsit; nimirum Dei providentia in commodum ecclesiæ et reipublicæ literariæ, soboles adolescentum exorta est quos Deus replevit vera et sincera pietate in Deum, et egregiis in omni literarum genere dotibus, in quos homines quidam, quorum impio conatu (cætera taceo) corrupta jacet pietas (quod quidem mea sententia pejus est quam disciplinas alicujus magnitelli arbitrio corruptas esse, quod neque concedimus, cum contrarium sit in aperto) instar equi ferocientis invehuntur; quia splendor pietatis et eruditionis illorum his præripit umbratilem honorem, inanem gloriam, ventosam vulgi famam, et alia hujus vitæ commoda, quæ unice venantur et aucupantur."

[THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.³]

KIND FRIEND,

THOUGH it be a great refreshment to me to hear from my friends that they are well, (which is all the intelligence I covet, and which can prejudice no bodie,) yet I thought yow had known me better than to believe that I would misunderstand your silence, or intertaine the least doubt of your friendship, of which I have so many testimonies. Therefore, they did no right who informed yow that I was malcontent with your not writing; though I did exprefs a desyre to hear from yow, yet I am not so easily subject to take the pett, especially at a friend of whose kindness I am so confident. I shall labour to obey your counsell, and doe still desyre the continuance of your prayers in my behalf, for more submission to the good will of God, and for patience in this my condition, which, for ought I can see, is not intended here to be altered in haste. But I will labour, through the grace of God, to have patience and not to make haste; for He that made tymes and seasons, knows what is fittest for me, and will, in His due time, turne all to the best. This is the stay and comfort of Yours,

LAUDERDAILL.

London, the 14th March 1654.

FOR MR. THOMAS FULLER.⁴

REVEREND SIR,

HAVING latelie, and but latelie, gone through your Holy Warr, and Description of Palestine, I am fallen so in love with your pen, that I am sorry I was not before acquaint with it, and with yourself, when from the

³ This letter is misplaced in Baillie's MS., as it occurs among letters written in 1656. It is in reply to his communication on the 10th of February 1654, *supra*, page 235, which therefore it ought to have followed.

⁴ The well known and much admired author of "The History of the Worthies of England." In Baillie's MS. the name is written "Fowler." This eminent historian and divine was created D.D. after the Restoration: his death, on the 15th August 1661, prevented his preferment to a Bishopric.

1643 to 1647, I lived at Worcester Houfe, and preached in the Savoy, that then, when I had fome credite there, I might have ufed my beft endeavours to have done yow pleafure. Yow feem to promife ane Ecclefiastick Storie : it were a pity but it fhould be haftened.⁵ However I am one of thofe who could gladdie confent to the burning of many thoufand volumes of improfitable writers, that burthens and harms the world ; yet there are fome pens whom I wifh did write much, of which your's is one. Mr. Purchase in his Pilgrimes, from the intelligence he had by Englifh and Dutch travellers and merchants, together with the printed treatifes of fome late Italian, Spanifh, and French writers, gave us a very good accompt of the World, the whole Univerfe, the prefent condition of it, as in his time. I conceive no man were fitter than yow to let us know, in a handfome, fyne, and wyfe way, the State of the World as now it ftands. If the Lord would put in your heart to mind it, and give yow encouragement for fuch a performance, if yow would put out one part of it, were it the prefent ftate of Afia, I trust it fhould be fo accepted by judicious men, that yow fhould have from many all defireable encouragements for the perfyting of the reft. Your cartes are very neatly and fingularly well done : yow would not be fpareing of them. I wifh, in your Paleftine, yow added fome more, as one or two of Chaldæa, becaufe of many Scriptures relating to Babylon, Nineve, Ur, &c. ; the voyage of Paul ; fome cartes of the prefent ftate, joynd with thefe of the old Scripturall ftate, as of Egypt, Jerufalem, &c. For thefe and the like happy labours, we, at fo great a diftance, can but encourage yow with praife, love, and prayers to God ; which yow fhall have, I promife yow, from me, as one who very highly pryfes the two wrytes I have feen of your hand, and judges by thefe that the reft yow have done or fhall doe, will be of the fame excellencie. The Lord blefs yow and all your intentions ; So prays

Your very loveing and much honouring Brother,

Glafgow in Scotland, Auguft 22d 1654.

R. B.

⁵ Fuller's work, "The Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1643," the publication of which Baillie was desirous might be hastened, appeared in 1656, folio. The author, in his address to the Reader, in his usual quaint manner, thus mentions a similar wish expressed by another friend: "An ingenious gentleman some months since, in jest-earnest, advised me to make haste with my History of the Church of England; 'for fear (said he) lest the Church of England be ended before the History thereof.'"

REVERENDISSIMO CLARISSIMOQUE VIRO D. GISBERTO VOETIO, S. LITERARUM PROFESSORI IN ACADEMIA ULTRAJECTINA.

REVERENDISSIME VIR,

SINGULARIS tua in me coram humanitas, et amica femel iterumque per literas salutatio, imprimis vero eximium illud et nunquam obliterandum officium, de quo interea temporis per epistolam multas ferio gratias habui, Belgica meæ ad Bramblium replicæ editio Ultrajecti; ista omnia faciunt ut jam ausus sim ad te transmittere binos hosce tractatulos, quos nuper in studiosæ nostræ juventutis gratiam publicavi: priorem grammaticum, cujus tria habes exemplaria; eorum unum tua cura deferri cupio Lugdunum D. Golio, et alterum Basileam Joanni Buxtorphio, eo fine quem in præfatione indigito. Utinam hac occasione a viris præstantissimis, tibi, nullus dubito, amicissimis et intus notis, tua auctoritate impetres meum multorumque desiderium; tres intelligo Praxes, Chaldaico-Syriacam, Rabbinico-Masoreticam, et Arabicam. Magna ista beneficia non solum auctoribus, sed etiam tibi exoratori, Christianæ omnes scholæ lubentes debebunt. Si vero contingat, quod nollem, ut uterque de quacunque seu causa seu prætextu refugiat puerilem illum quidem, etsi viris, ut ego arbitror, fatis dignum laborem, et academiis omnibus, fat scio, perutilem, habes, ni fallor, ex tuis discipulis non paucos, qui tui hortatu animati et consilio instructi, omnes istas Praxes, parvo tempore magna sua cum laude et aliorum commodo, possunt edere. Egregius tuus in commoda scholarum zelus longe lateque dudum innotuit; ut hoc etiam ipsis beneficium velis quam fieri potest mature procurare, multorum est desiderium, et mea magna spes. Illic vos habetis, præter alia supra nos, ingens commodum Latinorum, Græcorum, Hebraicorum, et Arabicorum typographos, qui meditata vestra omnia eleganter et emendate statim imprimunt. Quidni ex Parisiensibus et jam Londinensibus Bibliis edant illi, in studioforum et suum etiam amplum commodum, seorsim Biblia Arabica et Syriaca, cum interlineari Latino; quotusquisque enim est qui cæterorum omnium sumptui ferendo par est?

Verum id quod animum meum magis sollicitum habet, est radicatum jam in omnibus Protestantium scholis cacoethes; artium et philosophiæ Encyclopædia nullibi, quantum intelligo, ea accuratia traditur, quam vel docto-

rum vel disciplinarum dignitas postulare. In Jesuitarum, aliorumque monachorum Hispanorum, Gallorum, Itolorum, et Germanorum, curfibus versandis nostri discipuli omne suum tempus propemodum conterunt: quantum hoc est nostris Academiis cum dedecus tum detrimentum? Nulline in Israele fabri? Quamdiu nos ad Philistæos ob exacuenda ferramenta descendere cogemur? Præter alia multa hujusce pudendi mali incommoda, annon nimis quam multi nostrorum adolescentum a teneris ipsis unguiculis ea hauriunt incauti principia, quorum odorem tetrum et venenatum non nisi fero et difficulter, si modo unquam, eluunt? Præter ea quæ corruptarum mentium magistri dedita opera inspergunt, ut inde retia et laquei discipulis tendantur, quibus aliquando pertrahantur ad transubstantiationis, adorationis imaginum, liberi arbitrii, Trinitatis in unitate, duarum naturarum in una persona inconsistentiæ, et alia Pontificiorum, Arminianorum, Socinianorum pravissima dogmata; probe nosti quæ fatuus hæreticus Cartesius sub novæ suæ et perfectioris philosophiæ velo molitus fit. Profecto non parum interest Ecclesiis Reformatis, ut orthodoxum, solidum, et perspicuum philosophiæ corpus, tam systematicum quam textuale et quæstionarium, exstet, in communem, si fieri possit, omnium Academiarum usum. Erant apud nos non ita pridem multi egregii philosophi, qui, si id agere voluissent, cursus philosophicos non contemnendos publico dedisse poterant; sed ea hodie nostras Ecclesias et scholas una cum regno calamitas premit, ut a nobis nihil ejusmodi jam sit expectandum. Nescio si in Anglia aut Gallia fratres ullos in præsentiarum habeamus, quibus volentibus simul et valentibus onus hoc possit imponi. Quantum hætenus intelligere potui, ratio tradendæ philosophiæ locis istis ad hunc diem apud nostros curta nimis fuit et superficialia. Unica in vobis restat spes. Existimo in vestro Belgio, etiam in Helvetia, Hassia, ac Palatinatu reperiri viros, a quorum eruditione et industria, modo huic operæ serio incumbere a quorum persuaderentur, pulchra adeo liberarum omnium artium et philosophiæ Encyclopædia possit expectari; ut eam omnes, certe permultæ Protestantium scholæ, magnis cum gratiis ambabus ulnis amplecterentur; quæ magno cum fructu, magnaque cum voluptate studiosis prælegeretur; qua dictatorum hodie a regentibus, ut nos solemus nuncupare, multi defectus supplerentur, errata corrigerentur, plurimi abusus apud multos, alias incorrigibiles, profligarentur, et a Protestanti nomine fœda dedecoris nota tandem aliquando ablueretur, cum non ultra necesse haberemus ad Pontificiorum philosophorum infectissimas

lacunas tenellam nostram juventutem amandare, dicam an protrudere? Systemata logica, ethica, physica, et metaphysica dudum accepimus a doctissimis et summe indutris viris Keckermanno, Burgeridicio, Scheiblero, et a Voffio rhetorice; sed quod ultra desideramus est, præter ista commoda satis incipientibus fundamenta, Aristotelici etiam textus in logicis, ethicis, et metaphysicis, brevis ac perspicua explicatio, partibus quæ nostro seculo non sunt accommodatæ omittis, et ad singula capita aut saltem libros subjecta questionum et locorum communium vulgarium paulo fuder enodatio, sed brevior, nervosior, et clarior quam suis hodie discipulis Jesuitæ tradunt. Mathematicorum etiam corpus plenum et ad juventutis usum accommodatum nollet negligi. Alstedii sceleta non fastidiunt. Unam Academiarum curatores auctoritate, consilio, hortatibus, præmiis, aut etiam imperio, professores suos ad opus hocce perficiendum vellent impellere: præterea posteræque ætates, mihi persuadeo, gratissimam et utilissimam hujusce seminis messem demeterent. Multoties hac de re anxie et majori cum dolore quam ipse meditant, unus tu occurrebas, qui mihi videbare apud omnes nostrorum in Germania et Helvetia Academiis, ea merito auctoritate pollere, eaque instrui prudentia, ac boni publici zelo flagrare, ut, si quis alius, posses, Deo tuis conatibus aspirante, viros huic cepto perficiendo non ineptos reperire, reperitque illis a teipso et aliis incitamentis animare, ut non illubentes velint Deo, reformatis Ecclesiis, nostro huic et sequentibus sæculis, laudatissimam hanc tuam operam collocare. Meministi etiam quot et quam salebrosæ chronologorum questiones, eaque ad diserta Scripturæ verba elucidanda necessaria, in tenebris adhuc jaceant. Quantopere nuper apud nostros fervere solebat hoc studium, Scaligeri, Funccii, Bucholceri, Calvinii, Capelli, Emmii, et aliorum laudatissimi labores demonstrant: hanc nobis gloriam Jesuitæ nunc ereptum eunt voluminosis Salsani, Petavii, Tornielli et aliorum scriptis. An nemo quisquam est vel in Belgio vel Helvetia, vel in superiori Germania, qui volens est et idoneus huic vacare curæ?

Multi jam sunt anni ex quo Bibliothecam edidisti; valde desideratur editio ejus altera cum auctario; sed quod ante omnia studiosi hic omnes a te expetunt, est cæterarum tuarum Disputationum publicatio, cui dudum in primo volumine obtinxisse te oclamitant, et mirantur qui tam tardum nomen evaseris. Propinquum, nuperum, et dolendum nimis Spanhemii (heu qualis theologi!) exemplum docere te potest, quam maturanda, imo festinanda

sint omnia quæ habes in scriniis; nimis quam multorum posthumi labores variis casibus perierunt.

Vides quam familiariter in tuum sinum effuderim animi mei fensa, confidens summum tuum candorem æqui bonique omnia consulturum.

Quod ad alterum meum tractatum, adolescentibus etiam nostris destinatum, si quid in eo veritati non consonet, oro doceas, ut quanto ocius corrigatur. Tandem finio, Dominum venerans, velit tibi largiri multos et felices dies, quo suo honori, et Ecclesiarum emolumento ac solamini aliquandiu adhuc in terris alacer intervias. Votum hoc est fratris tui observantissimi,

R. B.

Glasgæ, Idibus Septembris 1654.

Post Systemata, apud nos præleguntur a magistris Aristotelis Organon, Ethica ad Nicomachum, Physica Acroasis, de Generatione et Corruptione, de Cælo, Meteoris, et Anima. Librorum illorum exemplaria pauca admodum superfunt vel Londini vel Amsterodami. Si tuo monitu vestri typographi vellent recudere Organon, cum versione et notis Pacii, similiter Ethicam, cum notis Riccoboni, et Physica, cum versione et notis editionum priorum, officium facerent nobis pergratum, et sibi ipsis, ut arbitror, perutile.

REVERENDO ET CLARISSIMO VIRO ROBERTO BALEO, THEOLOGIE IN
ACADEMIA GLASCUENSI PROFESSORI DIGNISSIMO.

REVERENDE et clarissime Vir, Frater in Christo observande, tuas Eid. Septembris superioris anni ad me scriptas tandem accepi circa 13 aut 14 Martii conjunctas cum scriptione communis amici nostri D. Gul. Spangii, 8 Martii. Nunc tandem ad singula literis tuis contenta, ordine respondeo. Quod ad exemplaria utriusque libelli a te in gratiam studiosorum editi, pro dono et opera impensa gratias tibi debeo et ago quas possum maximas. Catechesin Elencticam, compendiose ex Scripturarum fontibus propositam, video imprimis Anglis et Scotis tuis esse necessariam. Quod si adversarii eam admordere incipiant (de quo exulcerata hæc tempora vix dubitare me sinunt) dabitur tibi insignis occasio objectionum et exceptionum solutionibus opusculum hoc tuum locupletandi. Manuductionem tuam Analyticam puto omnibus

φιλεργαίως abunde satisfacturam. Nihil ergo in illo studii genere restabit, quam ut textum Biblicum quotidie legant et relegant, eumque quam familiarissimum sibi reddant, consultis, ubi opus fuerit, Buxtorfii Epitome Radicum, et incomparabili Thefauro Grammatico. Hanc matrem ubi quis sibi conciliarit, haud difficulter filiam quamvis exambiet. Sunt illæ in universonum sex, aut, si mavis, septem; Rabbinica, Talmudica, Chaldaica, Samaritana, Syriaca, Arabica, Æthiopia. 1. Manuductionem ad intelligentiam Rabbinismi, quem usurpant commentatores textuales seu grammatici (quorum lectio theologis utilissima, pene necessaria) propediem dabit clariss. collega noster Joannes Leusden, in hac Academia Hebraicæ Linguae professor: fudet enim sub prælo propheta Jonas, cum Rabbinorum commentariis, ut et utraque Masora, punctatis et in Latinum translatis, cum subiecta analyfi grammatica et notis. Istius libelli solo ductu, absque præceptore in legendis omnibus Rabbinicis commentariis, istius scilicet generis quos Perouschin appellare solent, pro arbitrio *σὺν θεῷ* pergere poterunt vulgares quique studiosi. Rabbinicos commentarios allegoricos, quos Deraschim appellant, si quis istarum rerum curiosus tanti faciat, illos proprio Marte scrutari poterit, quiquis abbreviaturas Buxtorfii et Lexicon ejusdem Rabbinicum ad manum habuerit. 2. Talmudicæ cognitionem longe faciliorem nunc reddidit editio Mischaniot, cum punctis Amstelodami adjectis; facillimam vero reddet interpretatio interlinearis aut marginalis Latina alicujus faltem tractatus cum aliquo capite *תוֹב* Gemara, adjecta analyfi grammatica et notis. Hanc operam non gravate in se fuscipiet laudatus modo collega. Ita via patebit doctrinæ Talmudicæ studiosis ad totum Talmud, auxiliante Lexico Rabbinico Buxtorfii nunquam satis laudando. 3. Chaldaicam dialectum jam satis mihi visus illustrasse Buxtorfius in Grammatica Chaldaica et Syriaca, cui exercitatio subiecta: plura si quis forte desideret, is poterit uti Jonæ paraphrasi Chaldaica, cum versione, analyfi grammatica, et notis, a collega nostro edendis. Adminicula perpetua hic erunt Lexicon Rabbinicum Buxtorfii (quod etiam Targumica omnia explicat) et Lexicon Syro-Chaldaicum Buxtorfii filii, in 4°. 4. Samaritana dialectus, quamvis ab Hebraica et Chaldaica parum differat, difficilis tamen prima fronte apparet, quod alio plane charactere utatur. Cœpi agere et porro agam cum D. Nisselio, qui Lugduni Batavorum privatim vexillum linguarum orientalium effert, ut capita aliquot Pentateuchi Samaritani, ex magnis Bibliis Parisiensibus excerpta, cum notis et translatione excudi curet. 5. Syriacæ dialecti notitiam etiam com-

planavit Buxtorfius in Grammatica modo dicta, ubi etiam exercitatio comparet. Unum solummodo deest, quod caractere Syro destitutus fuerit typographus; sed nuper defectum illum supplevit Dilcherus, qui Grammaticam hujus linguæ, cum exercitatione, vocabulis Syris Syro caractere expressis, publicavit tit. *Eclogarum Syriacarum. Lexicon Syriacum*, si quis requirat, indico illi Crinesii et Buxtorfii filii; sed utrumque ex solo Novo Testamento et Rituali Severi collectum. Nunc, quia Parisiis etiam Vetus Testamentum Syriace editum fuit, Lexica augenda erunt. 6. Arabicæ dialecti Grammaticam et exercitacionem dedit Erpenius, quæ sufficere videtur. Postea legant studiosi D. Nisselii epistolas Jacobi, Johannis, Judæ, Arabicæ cum punctis et versione Latina. Hoc labore peracto, inoffenso pede pergant ad reliquos sacros, aut alios libros quos nancisci poterunt, comitante ipso Lexico Arabico D. Golii. 7. Æthiopicæ dialectus, ex Chaldaica et Arabica conflata, nullo fere labore addisci poterit, et quidem proprio Marte, ab iis qui Arabicæ et Chaldaicæ plane rudes non sunt. Libri antehac difficulter haberi potuerunt. Ego solo Psalterio Æthiopico, una cum Gr. Heb. Lat., Colonæ per Joh. Potkens emissio, hucusque usus sum, ut retinerem et auferem quæ, manu ducente ad pauculas horas amico istius linguæ fatis gnaro, cœperam alphabetare. Sed nuper D. Nisselius Æthiopicæ Jacobi, Johannis, et Judæ Epistolas, cum versione Latina nobis impertivit, et spem fecit epistolas Petri propediem fecuturas. Hunc ergo libellum comparent sibi studiosi, et in eo studii hujus tyrocinia ponant. Extant Grammaticæ duæ Romæ excusæ, ideoque non ita parabiles. Ernesti Joh. Gerardi, filii celeberrimi theologi Lutherani Joh. Gerardi, Grammatica Harmonica, Hebr. Chald. Syr. Arab. Æthiop. in 4^o. studiosis ad alia properantibus abunde sufficiet. Lexicon Æthiopicum Wenmeri in transalpinis bibliopoliis non extat, præterquam quod longe auctius desideretur; et multo magis scriptores Æthiopicæ, qui an alicujus pretii illic extant, aut etiam integra Biblia, hæcenus sciri non potuit. Feruntur esse missalia seu liturgica scripta; sed ut olim Græcorum, sic hodie Romanorum fidei parum aut nihil tribuendum est. Fuerunt viri docti, qui alias quasdam linguas orientales Hebraicæ filias, aut propages, aut dialectos statuerunt, sed imperite, cum omnes sint linguæ peculiæ. Propter Hebraicam ergo, aut cum respectu ad eam et ad philologiam sacram, tales a theologis conferri haud opus. Inter eas tres sunt, quæ caractere Arabico utuntur, Persica, Turcica, Malacica; quod forte viros doctos in errorem duxit. Duæ, ut vocabulis, sic etiam caractere ab Hebraica reliquis-

que ejus dialectis distinctiffimæ sunt, Armenica scilicet, et antiqua Coptica, seu Ægyptiaca. Hodierna Ægyptiaca ante 400 annos introduc̄ta, aut potius facta vulgaris, est ipsiffima Arabica. Has quinque orientales si quis ex abundantia a limine salutaverit, operam non luferit; sed non puto operæ pretium facturum quenquam theologorum, si in penetralia earum se immiferit, antequam rariores et præstantiores scriptores viderit ad scopum suum aliqua ratione facientes. Multa de Coptica Athanasius Kircherus in Copto Prodomo, multa de Perfica alii, plura de Armenica nonnulli buccinant; sed manus oculatae sunt, credunt quod vident. Libelli parænetici seu morales, liturgici, rhythmico-poetici, catechismi papiffici, mythologici, non tantum temporis merentur. Satis mihi fuit acquisita facultate legendi, et perlustratis grammaticis, partem aliquam in scriptore delibasse, tum ut curiositati meæ fatiffacerem, tum ut proprio judicio discernere, et propriis oculis videre possẽm, an linguæ illæ essent distinctæ ab Hebraica, cum dialectis seu filiabus, an vero ei propius aut remotius affines. Hactenus plus fatis de linguis.

De chronologia non ita folicitus sum, cum copia magis scriptorum hic laboremus quam inopia. Unum solum meo judicio restat, ut quis historiarum professor, aut potius minister, unus atque alter vicarius, (illi enim in minoribus ecclesiis mole negotiorum minus premuntur,) ex omnibus scriptoribus chronologicis, tam pontificiis quam nostris, magnam partem a me in Bibliotheca Theologica indicatis, methodum artis chronologicæ colligat, per definitiones et divisiones, ad exemplum Alstedii in Præcognitis Theologicis, et Scaligeri in Canonibus Ifagogicis; additis ad singula capita quæstionibus et controversiis, cum rationibus in utramque partem adferri solitis, et indicatis quorumcunque auctorum libris ac nominibus. In secunda parte hujus artis, quam canonicam vocant, velim tantum annos ab initio mundi usque in hunc diem per ætates, intervalla, articulos, et secula, quasi in tabella distribui, et singulis quæstiones et controversias cum rationibus utrinque allatis subijci. Videbo an uni atque alteri ex nostratibus ministris opus hoc commendari queat.

Accedamus nunc ad philosophiæ cursum, de quo maxime laboratur. Systemata, compendia, synopsis tecum relinquo. Certe in illis plus fatis præstitum videtur. Restat solummodo, ut controversiæ logicæ, physicæ, metaphysicæ, imprimis, deinde etiam ethicæ ac politicæ, (quæ tamen ad theologiam pleraque si rejiciantur, nihil absurdi committitur,) accurate, breviter, perspicue ventilentur, et rationes atque exceptiones utriusque partis examinentur; ac tandem pro veri-

tate, hoc est, pro philosophia, sacris literis atque orthodoxiæ ancillante, determinetur, contra recentiores Suarezium, Conimbricenses, Ruvium, Telefium, Baranzanum, Oviedo, Mendoza, Vasquez, imprimis protervum paradoxium et novaturientem sophistam Ariaga, ad hæc, contra Taurellium, Gør læum, Cartesium, et Cartesianos, Socinianos, Remonstrantes, Libertinos. Aristotelis textum an seorsim cum brevibus et perspicuis notis, et generali librorum ac capitum analysi, seu hypothese, per modum tabellæ excudi conveniat, an vero potius cum cursu quæstionum seu controversiarum, nondum statuere possim. Certe prolixi illi libri Metaphysicorum vix ullo ordine conscripti, et farraginem multarum rerum continentes, non videntur juventuti sacro studio destinatæ proponendi. Totius matheos concretæ, musicæ scilicet, staticæ, opticae, astronomiæ, geographiæ, illustriores quæstiones in fasciculum ex præstantioribus artificibus colligendæ, præmissis solum elementis necessariis, ex arithmetica, geometria, spherica, musica collectis. Systemata ipsa staticæ, astronomiæ, geographiæ, opticae, studiosi dictis elementis imbuti, absque manu ductione suo tempore legerent. Hoc quidem consilium nostrum esset. Quibus autem hac tempestate tam utile opus demandandum sit, et a quibus expectandum, fateor me nondum videre. Si enim vestrarum quatuor Academiarum tam præclarum institutum in spongiam incubuit, quid de nostris Belgicis sperandum? Quædam ex illis per Cartesianam philosophiam graviter concussæ sunt; aliæ intestinis super eadem philosophia diffidiis admodum adhuc vacillant et fluctuant, turbonibus nusquam figentibus, nusquam quiescentibus; sobrie philosophantibus contra obnitentibus, et hoc unice agentibus ut clavum teneant, nec fluctibus opprimantur. Nisi Deus ex alto nos respexisset, jam præsentissimum periculum alicubi imminebat, trahendum ad partes theologiæ; ita impletum fuisset in nobis, quod Bernardus de ecclesia paulatim collapsa olim pronuntiabat: "In pace mea amaritudo amarissima," etc. Quod si hæc tempesta aliquando defæviat, et non amplius protrudantur in cathedras philosophicas novi philosophastri, et stulti ac petulantes juvenuli, tum demum nobis de cursibus philosophicis conjuncta Academiarum opera adornandis cogitandum esset. De Palatinatu, Hassia, aliisque Germaniæ partibus, frustra verba facimus; quod scholis nondum aut vix instauratis, veterani et exercitati philosophi illic non suppetant, quod sciam, qui subtiliter et erudite gravissimis controversiis ventilandis, et ad theologiæ stabilimentum adaptandis sufficiant. Celebris nunc apud Gallos et Helve-

tios est Derodo, professor philosophiæ Araufionensis, qui cursum logicum, physicum, metaphysicum, ethicum dicitur editurus. Adnodum subtilis audit, et utriusque philosophiæ, tam pontificiæ quam nostræ, peritus. Amplius inquiram in Theses Academicas ipsius, et librum quendam Gallicum de Eucharistia, contra pseudo-philosophemata Papistica editum, ut ex ungue leonem cognoscam: ut quidem quasdam ipsius disputationes ann. 1648. editas cursum inspicio, deprehendo eum in tota physica fatis esse paradoxum. Atque hæc de instauranda in Academiis philosophia.

Exemplar libri tui D. Golio destinatum curavi, atque una literis meis ad ipsum consilium et votum tuum de adminiculis linguarum orientalium significavi; sed nihil responsi hæctenus recepi. Alterum exemplar D. Buxtorfio transmittam, simul ac studiosus quis eo peregrinaturus obtulerit. De statu ecclesiæ vestræ in particulari parum aut nihil hic certo cognoscimus: non desinimus tamen eam precibus nostris Deo commendare. Post tenebras lucem speramus. Hoc omnibus vobis agendum, ut ἀνεξέσιαν doctrinæ reformatæ cum simplicitate rituum ac regiminis religiose custodiatis, atque una praxin pietatis qua publice qua privatim studiose promoveatis. Quod ut quisque nostrum in sua statione ex animo velit et agat, Deum nostrum in Christo supplex veneror.

Tui observantifs.

Ultrajecti, Eid. Ap. CIΘ.ΙΘC.LV.

GISEBERTUS VOETIUS.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVIT BROTHER MR. J. HAMILTOUN,
MINISTER AT EDINBURGH.⁶

JAMES,

I HOPE you gott myn of October 1. Mr. George [Young] heirwith gives you ane account of our Sinod, and Mr. Ja. F[erguson], which I sent you on Friday,⁷ ane account of their Comittee efter the Synod. Mr. Ja. Fer. hes ondertaken for some in Irwin, and I am doing heir for Mr. Melvill; you shall get ane ac-

⁶ From the original in Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XXVI, No. 16. It is entirely in Baillie's own hand; but his peculiar and scarcely intelligible orthography has not been closely followed. Wodrow indorsed this letter as written in 1656, but it belongs to the previous year.

⁷ Ferguson's letter, dated "Glasgow, October 5th 1655," is preserved in the same Vol. No. 6.

count of it ere long. M. P. G[illepie,] and S. G[eorge] Maxwell, and Mr. Alex. Dunlope, purpofes to be there on Tuysday, with Broghil and Munk, to tak of their party all thefe calunnies which Mr. R. Trayl wreit you had laid on them. Be on your guard, for they ar to prefs you for a meeting for Union. I theu them a meeting was needlefs, till firft they gave their fence of our Overtur at our laft meeting; which, for that end, I gave them. I think you would ftand by our laft conclufion, that it is needlefs for us to meet who have deliverit our full mynd to them, except they can cum to it, or towards it. If you agree with the Englifh, you need feir them the lefs. It feems Mr. P. G. as he hes cruftit Wariftoun and M. Guthry's motion of the Covenant, fo he is refolut to cary on the Union, contrary to their mynd, though they fould divid on it, if fo he be fure to be accomodat for himfelf. A paper is neceffar to aunfuer your former arg[uments] of prayer for the King, even in cafe of fuffering; (call no needlefs meeting of thefe who ar farr off; wher your letters may do as weell: fail no to let us knou all you ar doing;) I can not aunfuer, (nor can I find in my hert to affay it,) what was brought from the Covenant for that duty. Let fome there be cairfull to fatiffie Mr. Thomas Boyd: M. R. Douglas knoues him, he is a zelous man for our caufe, to his pith, and, if onfatiffied, he may stumble a multitude of good people he walkes among. My fervice to your kind D. [daughter?]

Yours,

October 8[th 1655.]

R. B.

Nothing I faw from you the laft week.

They who have redd the New Covenant, faves it's a very threud peice, of tuo fheet of paper. It would [fould] be fearehit for^s with all poffible cair: it declairs the mynd of thefe who are for it, to ftate the fhifme of our Church for ever; it reveles more of their purpofes. They profefs this their motion for Union is their *ultimus conatus*; and if it fail on our fyd, fome of them fpeeks of ane Eraftian Committee from the Englifh, of gentilmen and minifters, to purge and plant all the land. Albeit I tak this for a vain boaff, which

^s This alludes to a paper on "Per onal Covenanting," which was drawn up by some of the Protesters at this time, but with no intention on their part wholly to renounce the former Covenants. Baillie, *infra* p. 297, attributes it to Guthrie, but he evidently had not seen the paper itself; the copies of which, as never formally adopted, were not allowed to get into circulation.

fundry of themself ar againſt, yit you had need to be very warry of Mr. P. G[illeſpie] at this tyme, both of his dealing with you for Union, and with the Ingliſh for pouer to their fyd. The Lord give you wiſdom, courage, and diligence at this nick of tyme. I wiſh Mr. Wood and Mr. Kerr wer with you. I think if they agree, it's to ſkrew themſelf in the reſt of the Sinods and Presbyteries, whence now they ar excludit, to act, with our conſent, all the materialls of their New Covenant.

TO MR. WILLIAM SPANG.

COUSIN,

I GOE on to give yow ane account of our affaires where I left, in my laſt long letter. The Lord has given myſelf above this twelvemoneth much more peace than I had before, and than I expected upon this occaſion. Yow heard the overtures we proponed for the Union of our Synod, which were the leaſt we could receive before we ſhould joyne. Though among ourſelves unanimouſlie we had agreed to keep up our part of the Synod, if the ſubſtance of all theſe were not granted, and the brether of Edinburgh, to whom I went for advyce, had approven that our reſolution; and the chief of the preſbyteries of Aire and Irvine, with whom I had mett alſo at Irvine, had agreed to adhere to theſe overtures; and if they, being *minimum quod ſic*, ſhould be refuſed, they concluded to ſet up their two preſbyteries in a ſynod by themſelves, according to their ancient priviledge acknowledged in all our late Generall Aſſemblies; alſo, when we mett at our ſynod, theſe on our ſide agreed againe to adhere to former reſolutions: Notwithſtanding, when the brethren of the other ſide had peremptorie refuſed our overtures, and drawne on a new conference, to try if two of each ſide, particularly Mr. James Ferguſone and Mr. George Young for us, Mr. James Durhame and Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie for them, could fall on any other overtures which might unite us, theſe four among themſelves condeſcended to the incloſed paper (A.), and engaged themſelves to doe their beſt to perſuade others thereto. When I did ſee the paper, I ſand clearlie, that the finall determination of all things was left in the ſynod, whereof Remonſtrants were the pluralitie; and that no remeid was left us againſt the oppreſſion, either

in purging or planting, that was for any purpose; and that this agreement was a clear receding from our former determination. I did not yield to it: yet fear from the Remonstrants violence, and love of peace, and hope, by yielding, to make them more moderat, made the most declare their contentment to accept of it; the neutrals of Aire, Mr. Cobrour and others, were so much for it, that they threatened to joyne with the others if we refused it; all they of Lanerik were willing to accept of it; all of Glasgow, except one; and of Dumbartane except two; and of Irvine except two. Finding it so, I was glad at my heart that a fair door to my private peace was opened; for not being willing to accept of the termes of that agreement, I had a clear reason to absent myself from the synod and presbyterie, united on so unjust termes. The brethren of my former mind finding me resolute not to joyne with them, were desirous to keep with me, especiallie the authors of the late overture, Mr. Fergusone and Mr. Young. Bot this by no means I would permitt; for they having declared almost all their willingness to unite on these mean termes, I would not have them draw back, contrare to their minds, upon my dissent: so with much adoe I got them to joyne, and let me, and a few more, serve my owne mind of abstaining from their united meetings. This hitherto I have done, to the great quietness of my owne mind, and freedome of the very frequent and vexatious janglings, where-with, in all meetings, I was wont exceedinglie to be troubled: only I am grieved to see my predictions too truelie to come to pass; the Remonstrators, as unquestionable masters, to doe within the bounds of the synod whatever they think expedient. Mr. Archibald Dennistone, without any considerable fault, they deposed: when he fled to the English, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, as I foresaw, by his greater credite, stopped all hearing there. Mr. David Adamson, though of many libelled scandalls they got not one proven, yet still they keep on the pannell; and our most regular plantation of Mr. James Ramsay, Mr. Archibald Inglis, and one in Robertoun, they will have annulled, and the most irregular plantations of their men to stand. At their next dyett they will fall on whom they please, without controll. However, being free of publict debates, without, as I think, my owne procurement, but the rash imprudence (if not the too much wisdom) of others, I am glad.

I was like to have been more troubled by another designe of a larger Union. Mr. Durhame going through Saint Andrewes to his house of Purie,

he fell with Mr. Blair to refume his old counfells of a general union with the Remonfrators, by ane overture of oblivion of bygones. For this end, Mr. Blair and he deall with Mr. Wood to be content of a conference at Edinburgh upon that fubject, together with the other purpofes we were much vexed with, prayer for the King, and admiffion of complyers to the communion; alfo they went on to defigne the conferrers. For us they named Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. David Dickfon, Mr. Hew Mackell, Mr. W. Raite, Mr. William Dowglafs of Aberdeene, Mr. John Robifone of Dundee, Mr. James Wood, Mr. James Fergufone and me. For the other, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Livingftone, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Robert Traile, Mr. John Carftares, Mr. Samuell Auften, and fome three more. So foon as I heard of this motion fo farr advanced, I was much feared for the confequence of it, and therefore writ to Mr. David Dickfon to beware of the danger; and being Weft, called Mr. John Bell, Mr. William Ruffell, and Mr. Robert Wallace, to advyfe on it. All of them were afraid of the iffue; yet none would be at the paines of rideing to Edinburgh to confult about it. This I behooved to doe myfelfe. When I came there, I fand the brethren not at all minding the matter; but fetting the hazard before their eyes, I got them roused up to look about them, and to commiffionat me to bring from the Weft whom I thought fit for that conference, to write themfelves to Mr. Knox and Mr. Jamifone, with others in the South, and to Mr. Robert Young, Mr. James Sharpe, and others in the North, to be prefent. When we came to the meeting, I was glad the danger was not fo great as I apprehended. The Remonfrators had as little a mind to unite with us as we with them. Mr. Patrick Gillespie indeed, and Mr. John Carftares, and a few others, were for capitulating; but Warifone, Mr. James Guthrie, and others, were as rigid as ever; yea, whether by their contriveing or otherwayes, it wes fo, that we could have no conference. We had drawne up ane overture, as we thought, very favourable, and fo far as we could goe (C.1.), according to the Affembly's late overture for union (C. 2.), and by the hands of the tryfters, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Durhame, fent it into their meeting: alfo the tryfters had given us both their overtures (D.) to be thought upon; but the Remonfrators told us, in regard of Mr. Rutherford's and Mr. Livingftone's abfence, they could not at that time engage in a conference; and therefore defyred a new meeting. We were not content that they had made us travell

in vaine, and thought not fitt to appoint a meeting, till they mett among themselves, and considered the paper we had given to them, if they could acquiesce to it, or fend us any better whereto we could acquiesce: upon the advertisement of some probabilitie of accommodation from Mr. Dickson to us, and Mr. Traile to them, there might be a meeting so soone as they thought fit. Soe, after a little prefacing by delegates from both meetings, we parted before we entered in any conference. We understood, that our overture was laughen at by their high stomacks; and as for that of Mr. Blair's, we were offended all of us with it, as granting to the Remonstrators almost all their unreasonable desyres. For this we expostulated sharply enough with Mr. Blair, and he with us. But he was much more offended with the other; and both he and Mr. Durhame said, that so long as Waristone and Mr. James Guthrie did guide that partie, there could no peace be possible.

Though the great and much talked-of errand of our meeting had evanished, yet we conferred among ourselves, and with Mr. Blair, Mr. Durhame, Traile, Stirling, and Carstares, on other things for good purpose. For a number of years, the communion had not been celebrate in Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrewes, Dundee, etc. most becaufe all the Magistrates were so deep in complying with the English, that they wer excludit from the table by the Act of our Church, and long constant practife, except they declared their repentance, which they would not doe, nor durst we crave it of them: also they were so importunat to have the communion, and impatient to be longer excluded, that they were on headie and evill designes against us, if we gave them not satisfiactiō herein. The Ministers of Edinburgh inclined to admitt them on very small acknowledgement. We in Glasgow were all for that, except Mr. Durhame and mysele, albeit we were both much modified at that time; bot these of St. Andrewes were very averse from their admiffion, except on conditions not to be expected from them. For this end, they had sent us a long paper (F.); yet, after some dayes conference, we came to agree to admitt them on a generall testimonie in our doctrine against their compliance, and private admonishing of them to repent for it, laying it on their conscience to come or not as they thought good. We thought, indeed, time had much altered the case; and I drew Mr. Blair by, and told him roundlie, it wes verie unconcordant, not to quarrell Mr. Livingstone's and Mr. Gillespie's celebration, notwithstanding their voluntar most grosse and avowed

compliance, and to controvert the admiffion of Magiftrates for compelled compliance in a farre leffer degree. This ftopped his mouth, and he contradicted no more. As for prayer for the King, we fpake not much of it in publict; bot in private I fand, that moft of the companie thought it might be forborne, were not for the proclamation to forbear it under the penaltie of lofing our ftipends; that leaving of it now would occafion a great fcandal. While we were in private conferring on this, Mr. Wood overtured, that a way might be found to fatiffie the Englifh, and keep ftill our prayer for the King. I thought this impoffible; and before I could learne it from him, he wes neceffitate to goe home. Thereafter I found that Mr. James Sharp had perfuaded him and Mr. Robert Dowglafs to goe with Monk's recommendation to the Protector, to entreat for our fpareing in this confcientious praëtife, and for the freedome of our Affembles, on promife of peaceable behaviour. How farr the Remonftrators provocacions put on fuch a refolution, I know not; but no fuch thing is yet done, and to me it's a matter of a very doubtffome nature. It's true, all the eftates of the kingdome, yea, every particular perfone of note, have fubmitted, and on occafion of civile rights, have acknowledged the preffent power, except fome of us minifters; and that our proteffing brethren, of their owne accord, ever fince Worcefter, having put the King out of their prayers, have provoked heirby the Englifh to perfecute us; yet if all be true what fome of us have written for this dutie, how we fhall for any trouble leave it, it's hard to fay. I fent yow three papers from very good hands, for the continuance of this praëtife; and Mr. Hutcheffon wrote a fourth, which I did not fee, better, as I heard, than all the former. For myfelfe, I never wrote a line on that queffion, bot adhered to the thing without queffion; albeit what ye wrote from Voetius fumbled me, and the generall praëtife of all our brethren of England and Ireland more. What we fhall doe in the end we doe not know. This is the greateff difficultie that fticks in our ftomacks; albeit in mine, Mr. Dickfon's, Mr. Durhame's, Mr. Smith's, and others, more; in Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Blair, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Fergufone, and moft of others, leffe. It's our preffent deliberation: the Lord direct us in it. I hear the King himfelf would gladly permitt us to forbear it, and our flocks would earneffly requeff us to the fame; but for myfelf I know not yet how to doe it. Mr. James Fergufone and Mr. Alexander Nifbet, by the malevolence of fome of their neighbours, were forely perfecute, and chafed

some weeks from their flocks, and with very much adoe obtained some forbearance of the Generall. How long we shall be spared, we cannot tell.

I did write to some of the ministers at London (F.) to cause some friends represent our case to the Protector; but the answer (G.) I got did promise little: yet (by what means I know not,) to this day the storme is holden off; whether conscience, or pitie, or fear, or diversion by other affaires has helped, it's uncertaine.

When Mr. Patrick Gillespie was with Cromwell, he assisted and pleased fundrie in the matter of their fines. All the three did preach once or twice in the chappell. Cromwell was kinde enough to them all; but Mr. J. Livingstone came first away. Mr. P. G. and Mr. J. M. for the two Colledges of Glasgou and Aberdene, obtained fundry favours; the superiorities of Galloway as the Bishop had them, and two thousand nine hundred merks a-year out of the customes of Glasgou, for maintainance of burfars at our own nomination, with the Toune's maintainance for the use of the poor who were hurt by the burning. For this service the Toune gave to Mr. Patrick a gratuitie of thirty pieces, which he took; and having regrated to us his great charge in that halfe-year, that it had exceeded two hundred and fifty pound sterling, and all that he had received of Cromwell was one hundred pound, I was content the Colledge should allow him one hundred pound; but it was caried by vote to three thousand merks. His stipend that year, I think, was two thousand merks, and his depurfements for us about (one thing and another,) one other thousand merks, beside one thousand merks for books to the Librarie. For all this I think he was no gainer: his journey and way of living at London was sumptuous. Yet all this would have been weell taken, had not the last halfe of his gift (H.) contained one order to the Judges to allow no intrants any stipends but these who had the testimonie of so many of the Remonstrant faction, in every diocefs, as they set doune. There were only a few of our mind joyned, who could have carried nothing against the others, so the planting of all the churches was, in effect, devolved on that faction. The clauses in the order appointed the judges to assist them in the ejection of all whom they should declare scandalous, as ye may read in the order it selfe printed by the councill. So soone as this was knowne, however, the Remonstrants in our bounds and in the south were glad, and begane to make use of it; yet generally it was cryed out upon:

the ministers of Edinburgh preached much against it; the Presbyterie of Edinburgh and Synod of Lothian declared against it (J.); the Synod of Fife and the Merse did the like: yea, Mr. James Guthrie wrote sharplie against it (K.); and the ministers of Edinburgh gave in to Monk a paper, to be communicat to the Protector, as both the Synod and Presbyterie of Edinburgh had declared before against it (K. 2.) And in a meeting of the Remonstrants, Waristone carried a vote of a testimonie against it: but this wes suppressed, for fear of dividing their partie, who in other things also did not weell agree; for some of them were much more complying with the English than Waristone or Mr. James Guthrie allowed. Yet Mr. Guthrie's way became doubtfull on this much talked of occasion:—

His colleague, Mr. David Bennet, had under his hand engaged himself some more to the Assemblies of Dundie, than did agree with his former rashness, and Mr. James Guthrie's way; though after the breaking of the land Mr. David retracted somewhat of this retractation, yet so much stuck of it as made him not fully of Mr. James his judgment. The people did like neither weell, but Mr. David best of the two: thence emulation and some contentts in the session began to arise; but Mr. David being on his death-bed, and advyseing to plant his place with a man peaceable, not factious, Mr. James and the Toune fell in a strife about that matter immediately after his death. Mr. James had formed the session to his owne mind: who opposed his way, were removed, on diverse pretences; the remainder were but few, these were persuaded to call to Mr. David Bennet's charge, one Mr. Rule from Angus. To this election the bodie of the toune wes opposite; but when Mr. James, neglecting their opposition, went on to admitt him, the people did tumultuously, with cries, and shouts, and strokes, oppose it; yet Mr. James admitted the man, and caused summond above threescore of the chief burgeses before the English Criminal Court at Edinburgh for a ryot. Being all put to ane assise, to the Judges open dissatisfaction, they were all absolved once and againe. Their advocate did publictly serve Mr. James with very coarse language; but the Judges did favour him all in their power. This all did mislyke in Mr. James as a dangerous preparative to the whole land: however, it made his people irreconcilable to him. The Synod of Perth mett at Dumblane: when they were about to declare against the violent intrusion of Mr. Rule, Mr. Guthrie appeared with a declinature of their judicature.

This did irritate them so far as they did appoint some of their number to goe to Stirling, and intimat his sentence of deposition by the Generall Affem-
 blie, the nullitie of Mr. Rule's admiffion to Stirling, and of Mr. Blair's to
 Bothkenner, to elect a new fession for calling of ministers to Stirling, and
 to approve that as the Presbyterie of Stirling from which Mr. James had
 separat. This provoked the Remonstrant partie to meet at Edinburgh,
 where, what course of revenge they have resolved upon, I fear we shall hear
 in tyme. There is speaking of propositions to be sent to Cromwell for in-
 vesting the Church-government in their parties hands. However, Mr.
 Rutherford was sent to Stirling to preach against the Synod's proceed-
 ing, though Mr. Rule was a known fornicator. There was an other
 very enormous practise of our brethren: a good and able young man, Mr.
 John Jamesone, being planted, almost unanimously, in the parish of Eccles,
 by the whole Presbyterie of Dunfe, some few of the Remonstrator side gives a call
 to Mr. Andrew Rutherford; Mr. John Livingstone, with two of the Presby-
 terie of Chirnside, admits him to his tryell in reference to that church.
 The brethren of Edinburgh hearing of it, did earnestly write to Mr. John to
 beware of such a cleare overturning of our fundamentall discipline (L.): you
 see what an answer Mr. John returns (M.). However, they goe on with all
 speed with the tryell; and, with an English order and guard, forces him on
 the people. When the Synod were about to declare against this unheard-of
 intrusion, Mr. John and his friends give in a strong protestation (N.). The
 Synod declared against them (O); and they, be the English force, keep out
 Jamesone, and put in Rutherford. The Presbyterie of Edinburgh, and St. An-
 drewes, and, as I think, the Synod of Fyfe and Lothian declared against this
 shamefull usurpation (P); but our brethren regard little either Presbyteries or
 Synods when opposit to their desires: that same Synod of Lothian [it was],
 which, in a well framed act (P 2.), opened Mr. William Colvin's mouth.
 These fatall divisions, which wracked England and our Kingdom first and last,
 which with our eyes we have seen the only considerable means of the ruine
 of these who are down, and ryeing of these who are up, are like to put in the
 hand of that unquiet faction of our brethren, or else into the hands of
 Erastian statesmen, all church-jurisdiction; so at once we shall have no dis-
 cipline to look after, but to preach, pray, and celebrat the sacraments, and
 be glad to be tollerat to goe about that without controll. When Quakers

falls a-raileing on all the ministrie, in the face of our congregations, on the Sabbath-day, they are not punished at all; nor, for ought I know, is there any church discipline at all to this day any where in England. The ministers there, are herein so heartles and discouraged, that they dare speak nothing which may be interpreted to give the least offence. I marvelled, that when I sent my answer to Cotton and Tombes, to Mr. Calamic for his *Imprimatur*, yea, a Dedicatorie epistle (Q.),⁷ he wes so feeble-minded as to refuse both my Dedication, and his owne *Imprimatur*; yea, with difficultie could I gett his *Imprimatur* to my verie Catechise: A strange change of tymes, and great feebleness of men!

Concerning our Colledge-affaires, this year we had nothing but quietness; for I have given over to stirr more in vaine, absenting myself from what I lyke not, and the rest are all of one piece. At the beginning of the year, when Mr. Robert Makquard, being unable to deal more with his charge, had dimitted, I made the Toune-Councill deall yet againe for Mr. John Glen with Mr. Patrick; but he would not hear of him, but brought one from St. Andrewes, a pedagogue, Mr. George Sinclaire,⁸ and admitted him without all competition. The young man Mr. James Wood recommended to me as peaceable and well-conditioned, which I have found him, but inferior farr to Mr. John Glen in all parts of scholar-craft: through sickness the last part of the year he could not wait on his classe: our schollars were few, the laureation private, and tryells superfiarie. I got leave to bring all the schollars twice a-week to my Hebrew lessons, and discourses on the Catechise; whereof I was very glad, for divinitie students we have very few. To these I dyted, twyfe a-week all the year, my chronologick questions. Mr. John Young discoursed and dyted enough after to them, in fundrie subjects whereof I took no notice. Mr. Patrick, before the end of the year, dyted two or three hours something on the first of Ezechiel; but his maine task was, that which he goes about very weell, the building of a very fair house, on Mr. Zacharie Boyd's legacie: this he does so that no man can do it better; but the cheapness of victuall makes our rent so small, and our prodigalitie is so great, that we are like to fall in the common disease of great scarcitie of

⁷ The copy of this Epistle, and most of the articles mentioned in this letter, are not contained in the MS. volume of Baillie's papers.

⁸ The author of various works, but best known by his "Satan's Invisible World Discovered."

moneys. I was lyke to have had a particular fashrie, whereof yet I am not free: our Bibliothecarie's place was but ane honorarie attendance, without more charge; the benefite of it is, the dyet with the Regents, a good chamber, and some twelve peeces a-year. This I had designed for a son of John Barnes, who lived with his brother a minister of England: the Toune-Councill presented to one part of the provision, Mr. David Dick to ane other, and the Colledge to the rest; I thought the Provest, (James Bell, the youth's uncle,) would carrie the Toune-Councill, and Mr. Patrick Gillespie also, for the Colledge, the Provest being very great with him; for Mr. David Dickson I undertook for him. Of all this I sent word to the boy in England. While secretly I had gone this farr, my son, Mr. Robert, falls in love with the place. I a while dissuaded him from all thoughts of it, yet at last he persuaded me to be of his mind, if so I could be fairly disengaged with Mr. George Barnes: This Providence did for me, for the young man's friends fand it not expedient he should leave England, and so thanked me for my kindness. Being freed of this voluntare impediment, I told Mr. Patrick Gillespie the case, shewing him, that though I wes sure to carry the Toune and Mr. Dickson's presentation, yet I would neither seek, nor accept them, unless he were content of my boy to that charge. He desired to speak with the boy, and finding him discreet enough, and as fit as any other, he told me he would be for it. To ingage him farder, at his desire, I left the speaking of the Toune and Regents to him, and did open my mouth to none of them; but behold, when I was secure, and had no more doubt of the thing, after a moneth he calls me, and shews me, that the Regents and others had been at him, heavilie regrating, and rebuking him for ingagement to my son in that place; yea, that Mr. Robert Hodges had, besides his knowledge, obtained a presentation from the Toune-Councill. This unexpected newes fashed me; yet I told him the first motion had come from the boy, and not myself; that if I had not left the management of it to him, I could easilie have helped all, and yet I would assay it, if he knew no impediment in my boy himself. He assured, that none had made any exception against him but that he needed it not. I shew him that exception was of ignorance, if not malice; for the place in question was not like these of Professours and Regents, which required much abilitie of gifts; nor of our Burfars, either of Divinitie or Philosophie, whose foundation required povertie;

but that was of a third nature. He acknowledged it was so; yet he knew not what to say to obloquie. I told him the justice of our proceeding would quiet that quicklie; only I would try if I could reduce the presentation, which was obtained by surprize from the Toune-Councell. This I quicklie and easilie got done, and a presentation from them, and Mr. D. D., to my son with great cheerfullness. When I spoke to the Rector, Dean of Facultie, and Regents, all assured me, at the first word, of their great willingness to concurre with me. When I had brought the presentation to Mr. Patrick, and the report of the favour of all who had interest, he shewed his good content; yet all this half-year has he shifted to conclude it. If in the end he should elude me, I should take it for an egregious injurie; but would put it up with the rest in silence; but I doe not expect it. The great obloquie was all from my good friends, John Graham, and speciallie Mr. John Spreule, who stirred up Mr. Hodges to seek that presentation, when he did not mind of it, having ane other place of the Colledge that might serve him. For my familie, the Lord keeps all my children in health and welfare as ever, and my mind at peace, blessed be his name! and assists me in all I have to doe, as I would wish. For marriage, I dare not yet meddle with it, till I see what the Lord will do, with my great hazard, about that which they may expone, if they please, in me and others, high treason, praying for the King. If in this I were secure, it's like I would follow your example in a second marriage, albeit I know not yet the partie; but I trust in this the Lord will be mercifull to me.

Concerning our Commonwealth, how it is conceived here, I give yow this account. The rising of the Highlands has proven, as the most of wise men ever expected, hurtfull to us. The countrey was much oppressed by it; the King's partie much weakened; the English embittered the more against us; and their inward divisions and factions holden in so long as that partie stood considerable. It did grow indeed to a greater height than any could have imagined; yet the Holland peace, and the King's full disappointment abroad, with their owne foolish pride and divisions, brought them to nothing, and made them capitulate one after another, till at last all are come in. John Grahame of Duchray is the last, who indeed was among the most honest, stout, and wise men of them all. The English gave tolerable termes to them all; and by this wisdom has gotten them all quiet. Glencairne led the

way to the west, as of going out, so of coming in; for which much blame lyes on him. Athole's friends brought him off with the first; Seaforth also became wife in tyme. Lorne's difference with his Father kept him longer out; yet he also at last was persuaded to come in, albeit he and his father are not lyke to be good friends. His Father, lest he give any occasion to the English to suspect his collusion with his son, keeps the greater distance from him, albeit the most think the domestick divisions among them are so real and true as makes both their lives bitter and uncomfortable to them; and the great burthen of debt puts their verie house in a hazard to ruine, if the English be no more kind to them than they have been, or it seems they will be. The father fought a garifone to lye in Argyle, to keep it from his son's violence; but when it was on the way, he repented, and gott a new order for their returne: yet they would [goe] on; yea, took up his owne best house of Inneraray, made the kirk and schooll their stables, and hardlie at this very time have been gotten removed. The people's great hatred lyes on him above any one man, and whatever befalls him, few does pitie it: at this very time his state is very staggering. The Chancellour gott better conditions in his capitulation than any did expect, albeit his debts and infamie lye very heave upon him.

For the tyme, all Scotland is exceeding quiet, but in a very uncomfortable condition; very many of the Noblemen and gentlemen, what with imprisonments, banishments, forfaiters, fines, as yet continuing without any releasement, and private debts from their former troubles, are wracked or going to wrack. The commonalitie and others are oppressed with maintenance to the English armie. Strange want of money upon want of trade, for our towns have no considerable trade; and what is, the English has possessed it. The victuall is extraordinarie cheap, in God's mercie, but judgment to many. Want of justice, for we have no Barron-Courts; our sheriffs have little skill, for common being English sojourns; our Lords of Session, a few English, unexperienced with our law, and who, this twelve moneth, has done little or nought: great is our suffering through want of that Court. After long neglect of us as no nation, at last a supreme Councill of State, with power in all things, is come doune, of six or seven English sojourns and two of our complying gentlemen, Colonell Lockhart and Colonell Swinton. We expect little good from them; but if ane heavey excise, as is said, be added

to our maintainance, and the paying of all the garifons lye on us, our condition will be inſupportable; yet be what it will, it muſt be borne, we have deſerved it. But we hope the Lord will look doune on the affliction of the unjuſtly afflicted by men.

The other year, when the good Parliament ſatt doune, we were in great fear. Their firſt declarations were ſo pious, but to me ſo full of the Anabapitiſtick ſtraine, that I was afraid of them. They were elected abſolutly by the officers of the armie, and the miniſters of their caball, fullie according to the mind of the Seſtarian partie; but they were no ſooner ſet, than they flew ſo high, as to mind nothing but a Fifth Monarchie on earth, to overthrow all magiſtracie and miniſtrie as it ſtood, and put all in a new mule of their owne, wherein publickly ſome fomented them for their owne wiſer deſignes. However, they were far on in overturning all remaining foundations of Church and State. The Generall, with ſome of his confident friends of the army, diſſolved them by force, leaſt they ſhould have overwhelmed him, themſelves, and all, in their new Babel, and took on himſelf the new office of Proteſtour, with a power, to him and his counsell-ſupreme, beyond, as it ſeemed to many, the regall line; yet neceſſarie for the tyme, and quietlie acquieſced in without contradicſion. To mollifie it a Parliament was called, after the old way, but of men ingadgeing to the new way of government: they went from Scotland threttie, and from Ireland alſe many. Ours and their choices were men who, for peace, were reſolved to doe or ſay any thing they ſand tollerable to their owne large mind, and, I think, were all ſo complying with the Proteſtour as he would have wiſhed: yet many of the chiefe in this meeting were ſo unſatiſfied with one above a Parliament, (a true and high royaltie as they conceive,) that at their very firſt doun-ſitting they ſet themſelves to overturne this new building, for their love of their too much-fancied republick, in a free and abſolutely ſupream parliament: Ane unhappie dreame! unfitt for the government of the people of this iſle at any time, and moſt as now diſpoſed. The Proteſtour finding it ſo, made no ſcruple to diſcipline them, and, without more adoe, to purge the Houſe preſently of all who, under their hand, did not ingage againe to preſerve the modell of government appointed by the Proteſtour and his friends. When many of the moſt ſturring heads, by the reſuiſeall of this engagement, were put out of the Houſe, it was expected, that the reſt would have ſo fully complied as they had written with

their hand; yet for what causes we know not, the Protector found them also so undermining of his government, that he thought it fit to dissolve them. Hence all filled with new discontents: but the Protector had so far, with his witt and diligence, provided for all, that there was no considerable sturr. Lambert and the chiefe of the army were, by hopes, made so fast, that they concurred chearfully in all things. Lieut.-Colonell Lilburne, a most turbulent man, whom I thought no force or skill would ever have gotten quiet, was so cunningly conveyed to Jersey, and there so strickly keepled, that there has been nothing more heard of him than he had been dead. Captain Joyce was put in the same condition. Generall-Majors Harrisons and Overtoun, with fundrie other officers of the armie, both in Scotland and England, are close prisoners, for designes to turne the armie against the Protector. A number of the Royall partie arising, in a very confused imprudent way, in many shires, were all easly scattered, and the chiefe of them made fast, and fundry execute for their conspiring; albeit in what, and how far, we know it not. We were glad that no Scotman was found accessorie to any of these designes: it seems our people were so ill-burnt, that they had no stomach for any farther meddling; only Crauford, Lauderdale, and David Leslie, when the Tower was filled with new prisoners, were sent to farther and worse prisons, for no new fault that we hear tell of.

These sturrs make the Protector more vigilant. The fall out of his coach, and the attempts more than once for his life, by Gerard the taylor, and others, shews the violence of some spirits. The raising of all the three last Parliaments; the speaking of a Crowne, and title of a King or Emperour, which some thinks is not vaine; the putting of Ireland under the government of his son Henrie; and Scotland under a Councill onlie of some six or seven officers of the armie, and chiefly of his neeces Robina Seuster's husband,⁹ the young Laird of Lee, made great malecontentment in the heart of the most. To help this, all possible courses are taken to satiffie England; but Scotland is not worth the minding: in England, sixty thousand pound sterling a moneth, the halfe of the maintainance is diminished; but we fear the new excise shall double our maintainance. Albeit the rising in England

⁹ Robina, daughter of one of Cromwell's aunts, whose husband's name was Sheuster, or Sewster, was married, 20th February 1654, to Col. afterwards Sir William Lockhart of Lee. —(*Analeccta Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 203.)

feems to have been great, yet few have suffered, and we hear of few forfaulters or fynes there ; but many of our nation are sent to the plantations ; our fynes are many and great, and our grievances much neglected.

For satisfieing of the people of England, the two great navies, the one, on the coasts of Africk, Italie, and Spaine, under Blake ; the other, in the West Indies, under Penn, did serve much for a tyme : for it wes thought at first, that the navie under Blake, for to assist the Spanish against the French, invading by sea, both Naples and Catalonia, beside the securing of the ships and cannon, should have had assured from the Spanish for pay two hundred thousand pound sterling ; and thereafter, that their designe was to free all the English captives at Tunes, Alger, and Saly, and to intercept the Spanish plate at Cales. Also that Penn's great armie of twelve thousand men had been, not only to have taken St. Domingo in Hispaniola, but also Mexico in New Spaine. These high and advantageous designs did much please the spirits of the vulgare ; but now miscontentments are feared, even on that ground also, to arise, that so hudge expence has been laid on the people for fruitless designs ; and that in their farr voyages, many lives have been lost for no purpose. Since this tyme Blake has lived on the English charge : the Spanish has borne no expence. The burning of the Turkish ships at Tunes is said to have provoked the Turks at Constantinople, and elsewhere, to robb many English of life and goods ; that none of the Spanish fleet is yet gotten, and if meddled with, it were a breach with Spaine, which were a beginning of a needless warr at an unseasonable tyme ; that Penn's great navie and armie has done no service at all, but in Hispaniola has gotten a great affront.—These things from the Diurnals: the discontent Royalists blaze farr ; but the Protector is wise enough to see to all these murmurings of fillie people : in quieting of malecontents he has a strange both dexteritie and skill.

For Church matters, there is no ecclesiastick government at all we can hear of ; yet the hand of power is not heavie on any for matters of religion, no not on Quakers, who are open railers against the Protector's person ; yea, we hear of little trouble of Papists, who grow much in the North of Scotland, more than these eighty years, without any controll. We expect our Councell of State will see to it.

For things abroad, they are thus represented to us : that the French totallie

neglect our King, the Cardinall being unwilling in the King's minoritie to undertake a warre with England, for the marring of the great advancement of the French interest against their cheef enemies, the Spanish and Auftrian; that for this end they passe by the daily taking of numbers of their ships; the defeat of the royall navie in its way to Dunkirk, whereupon alone followed the losse of Dunkirk; the taking from them the plantations of Canada, and St. Christophers, and others; that all this, the French dissemble, and feeks the English friendship, till they have done their buffines elsewhere, as daily they make so good progresse; that Conty takes in towne after towne in Catalonia, which is interpret the great weaknes of Spaine, that is not able in Spaine itself to crush a little French armie; in Italie also, the Spansh in Millaine is put hard to it, when the French, with all the power of Savoy and Modena, and the neutralitie of the Venetian, Pope, Florence, and Genoa, deals with him. Only it's marvelled what follie moved the French, in their passage through Savoy, to fall on the quiet Protestants of the vailles. If this massacre be the half of the thing it's called, it were enough, not only before God, but with men, to marr the full carrear of the French victorie. But many here do suspect the matter not to be so great; not so much because the French King, and Pope, and Savoyart, disclaimes it as none of their deeds; but because so manie diurnals does so much insift upon it, and so much noise is made of it here, the Royalists say, that of this blood of the saints this politick use is made, to make people see the happines of our present government, wherein we live in peace, free from the crueltie of Papiſts; and if Charles Stuart came here, the people had cause to fear, from him and his mother, these incredible murders, which the Protestants of Savoy find from the Duke, the King's cousin-german, by the advyce of his mother, the Queen's true sifter. But we fear too much of this persecution be true, let any exaggerate and abuse it to what end they think fitt. But the terrible progresse of the French, and most to our prejudice, is in Flanders, where the English junction with Spaine, if in tyme, might easily have stopped them; but if to the conqueste of Loraine and Halfatia, they add Flanders, and get of the Spanish the Low Countreys, their neighbourhood, both to England and Holland, will be more formidable than ever Spain's was: and whatever progresse the French make this year against the Spanish, many imputes it to the English, who have hindered the Spanish silver-fleet to come home, whereby the

Spanifh hes been difabled to keep the fields againft the French any where, let be in Flanders againft the King in perfone, with the great royall armie.

We think here it's good for yow that the Swedes are gone to Pole; for had the vulgar reports and your late fears being grounded, that this ludge armie and their confederate Brandeburgh, with the confent of the French, been againft yow for your ufurpations on the Dutchy of Gulick Cleive, the oppreffion of the Orange familie, and what other quarrells willing men would not have wanted; we thought your States in as great hazard to have loft their verie libertie, notwithstanding of all the help the Englifh could have made them, as they had been under thefe forty years: and whatever evill had come on them, their late carriages to all their neighbours would have made many not at all to have pitied them; but for myfelf, my prayers to God was, and fhall be, for the prefervation of fo noble a member of the Reformed Church, which feemed to be in a clear hazard of ruine. If the Swedes be gone to Pole, in this height of the Polonian calamitie, when the Mufcovites and Cofacks and their own divifions have fo lamentable wracked them, to accomplifh their miferie, and prey on that kingdome, without any new caufe fince their laft peace, they will not have the bleffing of many Christians to go along with them. For albeit that proud kingdome of Pole, for their groffe poperie and other foule heresies and fhamefull avowed inceftuous marriages of their two laft Kings agreed to by their States, be highly finfull, yet they were a good barr for Chriftendome on that fide againft the Turks and Tarters ineroachments; and if they be ruined, a great gap will be opened for thefe Scythian barbarians to fall on us all. Many here did think the Swedifh defigne had been for Germanie, albeit we knew no particular quarrell; yet that which we fee this day, and know ever hes been the greateft quarrell among States and Princes, ambition and appearance of advantage was evident enough. The Swedes being mafter of fo great and well provided ane armie of their owne, both by fea and land, and having fo great alliances in Germanie, and intereft by their new conquest; the Empeurour being fo weak, ficklie, and near death; his fon fo young and unfitt for government; the Croune of Hungary being fo long denyed, the Hungarian divifions being fo great, and the Tranfylvanian fo powerfull, wife and famous a Prince; the Eleētor of Saxony being fo oft beat by the Swedes, and the Bavarian yet being little above a child; the houfe of Palatine, Brandeburgh,

Hesse, and Brunfwick so nearly at this tyme related to the King of Sweden ; Spaine and Pole utterlie unable for to assist the Emperour, and France so willing to joyne his forces for the ruine of the Auftrian familie ; these things made many here believe it was the Empire the Swedish did now aime at, only we think it a singular example of secrecie, that to this day, even after beginning to march, their counsells are so hid, that it is not knowne whither they are going.

We are glad the Lord hes so long enabled the Venetians, alone destitute of all help, to keep up the Turks from Crete. It seemes the inward diseases of that empire must be great, that disables them so as to be beat, year after year, both by sea and land, by the Venetian only. How comes it that we are so ignorant of the Turkish affaires, when the State of China, and the outmost Tartars, is so well known. I wish yow sent us that Atlas of China, which lately that Flemish priest did print at Amsterdam. The vanquishing of the great kingdome of China by the unhappie Tartarians, is a most great and remarkable occurrence as hes been in the world for many ages. O, that all these things of the Earth were for the advancement of Christ's Kingdome, and of making souls to be saved, which now so evidently perish ! It is for this end chiefly that I ever took notice of the motions of States and Princes, to see if any beginning did appear of performing the Lord's great promises ; the coming in of the Jewes, the abolishing of Antichrist, and reforming of the Roman church, the bringing of Mahometan and Pagane princes to the faith of Christ. While nothing of all this does yet appear, my heart is oft grieved, and prays the Lord to arise to glorify his Sone, and comfort believers. The great declining of Spaine, without a sone, and but ane old daughter, and weaknes of the Auftrian family, made me once hope that the tyme was near when these bloudie and great supporters of Antichrist should fall : but the Lord is wise, and knows what he is doing.

POSTSCRIPT. DECEMBER 1ST 1655.

WHILE, for lack of a bearer, this lyes long beside me, my sone Harie, to my joy, comes save home. Not only by your letters, but by himself more, I see the singular care ye have had of him as I could have expected or wished. I will not in words expresse the sence of this kindness, especially in

that your wife and ferious dealing with him to returne to his book, it hes prevailed, and he is again as diligent a student as ever, without any inclination to merchandife, for which I thank God and yow. I think his being with yow well worth all the tyme, labour, and charge he hes spent on it. The six pounds sterling he borrowed from Mr. Winch at London, I have caused pay, and received Mr. Winch's discharge of it. The rest of his account to yow shall be answered with the first opportunity. In your care of Dr. Strang's book, yow shew your friendship both to the dead and living: I am glad it is in Elzevir's hand; cause haste it so much as may be. I find this fault in the sheet yow sent me, that the marginall index is confounded with all notes or citations which were any wayes on the margine, without any distinction of place, character, or distance. It is not tyme now to get this helped. I hope it is near ane end.

While Mr. Wood, Rector of the Univerſitie of St. Andrewes, had oft to doe with Generall Monk for the Univerſitie, and alwayes gotten civile hearing, it was thought fitt, that Mr. Dowglafs and he should represent to the Generall the manifold and increasing grievances of the Church; which they did in this paper, (R. 1.). The Generall professed himself willing, but unable to remede them; only undertook to fend them to the Protector; with whom yet they sleep, together with their representation against Mr. Gillespie's charter, as they call it. The Generall oft spoke anent prayer for the King. Mr. Dowglafs, and others, shew their utter unwillingness to quite it so long as the Proclamation stood; and when the Sheriff was set to trouble them, had he not given over his begun process, they had prepared protestations. The Generall declared his unabilitie to take off the Proclamation for the tyme; bot hoped the new Councell, when it came doune, should doe it. At their coming, the President Broghill, having a good impression from his sifter-in-law, the Ladie Clotworthie, of Mr. Dowglafs and Mr. Dickson, dealt kindlie with them; and understanding their stick at the Proclamation, albeit with some difficultie, got the Councell to take it off, (R. 2.); shewing withall to the ministers the strictness of his instructions against all who continued publicklye naming of the King. After much deliberation, they thought fitt to give it over. They once purposed a declaration, and a paper for removeall of objections; but foreseeing the offence from these writes would have been equall to the continuance of their practice, they abstained, and only drew this paper,

which they sent to me, and no other, (S. 1.): Mr. Wood's larger answer to objections I have not yet gotten, (S. 2.). The example of these in Edinburgh is like to be followed by all: some yet stick. Our Remonstrants did grieve and mock at this change. Some of our people, from whom we did not expect it, were offended; but above all, General Monk was irritated against us, as if we had yielded to Broghill what we denied to him: and from that day, in all occasions, befriended openly the Remonstrants, to our prejudice, as men to be trusted beyond us, their principles being opposite to the interest of their enemy Charles Stewart, whom we did affect still, notwithstanding of our silence in our public prayers. Mr. Traile, who conversed much with him, wrote in the time of our last Synod a long letter to Mr. P. Gillespie, which he read publicly to a grand committee of his mind, as if we had uttered to the General and President very many calumnies against them, especially their averments from all peace with us their brethren. On occasion thereafter, both the President and General, to their own faces, witnessed our innocence; affirming, that in all our speeches to them, we had never spoken one word to their prejudice. However, the Remonstrators of our Synod, stirred up by Mr. Traile's calumnious letter, sent Mr. P. Gillespie and others to clear them of our imputations, and to desire, that the ministers of Edinburgh might call a meeting for Union, if possible; or, if no, that it might be seen by whose fault the discord continued. The meeting was called, and kept, November 8th, by a number of both sides from all the parts of the Kingdom. It was not long before it was clear who were the men who made the Union desperate, except on conditions intolerable. Our meetings appointed nine of every side to confer. Theirs were Waristoun, Sir John Cheilie, Colonel Ker, Mr. S. Rutherford, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. P. Gillespie, Mr. James Naesmith, Mr. Robert Traile, Mr. Gabriell Maxwell: ours were Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. D. Dickson, Mr. James Wood, Mr. Robert Ker, Mr. James Fergusone, Mr. Robert Young, Mr. Hew Mackell, Mr. John Smith, and I. Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Durhame appeared as mid-men; albeit of our judgement for the main, and in the whole debate, grieved with the other. Their papers were all framed by Mr. James Guthrie's hand, of my Lord Waristoun's materials. The first was this, (T.): It to us was so high and absurd, that we could scarcely believe our own apprehensions of it, and resolved, by

queries, to try their positive mind anent it. I drew this paraphrase on it, (V.), and Mr. James Fergusone and other; out of which Mr. Wood drew this third, which we gave them to answer, (X.) To be even with us, they, November 13th, gave us Querees on our overture, the first of June, (Y.); and withall, an answer to our Querees, (Z.). Having pondered these, we returned an answer to their Querees, (A. A.), and our sense of their overture, (B. B.). Our concessions were so many and great, that Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Carstairs, and others of their meeting, not Mr. Durhame and Mr. Blair only, seemed fullie satisfied therewith, and we began to hope for a concord. But Waristoun and Mr. Guthrie did carrie it so in their meeting over Mr. P. Gillespie, that this verie captious paper was given in to us, (C. C.); which Mr. P. Gillespie denied openlie to be the sense of their meeting, and Mr. Guthrie affirmed it was; and hardly by distinctions could they be brought, even in our meeting, to agree among themselves about that paper. However, we agreed to give it a soft unreflecting answer, though much provoked, (D. D.); yea, to gaine them, we gave in this representation also. At last they gave us their clear and final sense, (E. E.); with which Mr. Gillespie refused to joyne, but deserted their meeting. Mr. Wood was here called from us to see his father die; but we gave them this last paper, of Mr. James Fergusone's hand, (F. F.); and soe, after twenty-three dayes stay, we closed the meeting. We heard in the midst of our conference, they had voted the setting up of twenty-four ministers and six elders, twenty-nine of all, even their part of the Commission of the Assemblée [16]50, with absolute power of a full jurisdiction over the whole Kirk of Scotland, on supposition we should not agree to their desires; and had lykeways agreed on an supplication to the Councell for assistance to that their most presumptuous and unreasonable committee which ever our Church did see.

At our Synod of Glasgou, where this conference for union was hatched, there was other two dangerous motions. Waristoun and Mr. James Guthrie had fallen on a new conceit, to put all the godly in the land, of their faction, under the band of a new Covenant, which Mr. Guthrie hae drawne in some sheets of paper, from which he had cut off all the articles of our former Covenants which concerned the King, Parliament, or liberties of the land, or mutuall defence. At this motion the Councell was highlie offended, and spoke threatening words of Waristoun and Mr. James Guthrie for this

attempt: yet after their apologie, were so well pleased, that the Generall gave Waristoune a visit in his house, which I know not if he hath yet done to any other of the nation; and Mr. Guthrie has that familiaritie with him, that when both are in town, he sends his mind to him in closed epistles, which I doubt if any other of the nation has yet made bold to doe. In their meeting at Edinburgh, January first, they proponed this Covenant. The English agents, Mr. Gillespie, and Mr. Levistoune, disputed against it in vaine. Mr. Gillespie, so soon as he went west, called a meeting at Kilmarnock to crush it if he could. Waristoune hearing of his designe, sent S[ir] J[ohn] Cheislie to keep that meeting, where there were bitter and reflecting debates betwixt S[ir] J[ohn] and Mr. P[atrack]; yet Mr. P. carried it over S[ir] J[ohn,] that all should declare their mind anent the Covenant; where all, except four or five of little weight, dissented, yet so that they should enquire the sense of the godly of the bounds anent it, and report at the next Synod. S[ir] J[ohn,] in this foyled, prevailed against Mr. P[atrack] in ane other vote of their mind, for erecting of the Commission [16]50 for purging the Kirk. These interfeirings put us in hope that faction would divide among themselves. At Glasgow, the report was, that all the godlie in these parts mislyked the motion of the Covenant; however, the godlie in Fyfe and Lothian were said to lyke it; yet, on the West's mislyke, the motion for the tyme was laid aside. But behold, from some of the seffions of Glasgow it was moved, that the ordinance for testifeing, notwithstanding of all the contradiction had been made to it, seemed very innocent and exceeding good to be practised. To this Sir John opposed, and Mr. Patrick avowed he knew nought of the motion; but so soon as he went to Edinburgh to seek a conference for union, the President and other counsellors, of their owne proper motion altogether, without his knowledge, as he affirms, resolved to proclame his ordinance, and did it after his departure; but after his preaching to the Councill, and keeping of their kirk the whole Sabbath, and going with the President in his coach to dinner, these things made us not at all to understand Mr. Gillespie's meaning; yet this was visible, as Mr. Guthrie wrote sharpelie against his ordinance, so he opposed his Covenant and commission, and looked towards an union with us; but for what end many did much doubt. A little more tyme will clear more mysteries. Yow will perceave in the papers, as is evident in the conference, that our Re-

monfrants fixt resolution is, 1. Not to rest content with an oblivion of what is past, of enjoying their own judgement in peace, and taking off their censures; but will have us consent to their libertie of prosecuting their Protestations in posterior General Assemblies, not only for condemning of the Publick Resolutions, (which we in conscience judge necessar truths, the grounds of our apologie to forraigne Churches, and the world, for our innocencie in all these fearfull scandalls which our brethren's tenets and practises hes occasioned to be cast upon the face of our Church and Nation), but also for condemning the last two Generall Assemblies, as null in their very constitution, which to us were in their grave to burie all Generall Assemblies for ever, which for constitution cannot be more lawfull than these two. 2. That whatever necessitie we may have of a Generall Assembly, or whatever desyre we may have of one, or libertie from the English to get it; yet we must never have it till they be willing to joyne with us to seek it in their termes. 3. That as peace with them may not be had, except during the paucitie of their partie, compared with the multitude of their opposites in the generalitie of the Presbyteries and Synods, (for fundry whole Synods will not have anie one of them, as Angus, Murray, Argyle, and I think fundrie others; diverse Synods hes bot very few of them; as Fife bot seven, whereof two only considerable; Perth at most fourteen, whereof bot one considerable; Lothian, if ye except them of Lithgow and Biggar, but three), the whole Synods and Presbyteries of the kingdome will be content to surcease from their jurisdiction, and devolve it on a committee for the bounds of every Synod, of the number whereof they shall make the equal half, to judge and determine all matters of planting and purging, and whatever falls to be controverted, whose acts the Synods shall have no power to ranverse without the previous adyce of a generall consultatorie committee out of all the Synods, whereof also the equal half shall be of their judgement, and nominat by them. When we in the Synod of Glasgow desyred something lyke this in a far other case, we being the right constitute Synod, and they a schismatick faction, we, near the half, we justly fearing their unjust violence, and more dissimilitudes apparent in our case, from this of their demand for the whole land, yet they passionately cryed downe our motion, and rather choiced to reject all peace with us than to hear of any such overture. 4. All plantations most be taken from the congregations and sessions, to be put in the hand of a few whom they count the godlie partie; for they

avow that the pluralitie of all congregations in the land are so ignorant and scandalous or ungracious, that they are to be excluded from the communion and voice in choiseing of a minister. By this devyce they hope quickly to fill all vacant places with intrants of their faction, as they are carefull to doe wherever they have any power to doe it. 5. Though we should yield to them all their desyres, yet doe they expresse deny to us that which we count the essence of Presbyteriall subordination, a submission to the sentence of our Judicatures for tyme to come. They seem to be for the thing in generall, but not for a submission to our Judicatures in their present corrupt constitution of so many unfitt members. In this case of the Church they plead for a libertie both of judgement and practise, both to dissent and contradict the sentences of the best Synods of Scotland, such as Lothian and Fife, in any planting or purgeing that is contrare to their mind. And a sixth now they are come to, a few of them to name some twenty-nine of their faction which were of the Commission [16]50, to be a settled judicature, with absolute jurisdiction over the whole Church, ever while they think tyme to call a Generall Assemblée. This to us is worse than Mr. Gillepie's ordinance, which they so much cry doune, for it was alone for stipends in order to planting; but this is ane usurpation of the whole immediat jurisdiction; worse than Independencie, that inroaches not on others, but exempts only their owne adherents from others jurisdiction; worse than Episcopacie, that never made such havock, and so caufeslie, of all Presbyteries and Synods at once. The event, is feared, will be the forfaulter of all our ecclesiastick liberties, in taking of them out of both our hands, to be deposited in an Erastian State-committee, till our Remonstrators think fitt to joyne with us; whereof I have no hopes as things now goe in the land. Near two year agoe I drew up the state of the questions they had then started: from this and my former letter yow see what they have added, and it's not unlyke, as error is very fertile, they will not stand at all they have declared, but hes a farder race to runne; however, I send yow herewith that paper also, (G G.), as ane evidence of my care to discharge that part of my speciall office, to attend to the doctrine, and observe the corrupters of it, and their corruptions, the great cause hes put me on most of my labours these years bygone.

For matters of State, at home and abroad, we meddle not at all with them; only we observe the footsteps of Divine Providence as they offer them-

felves to the eyes of all beholders. Generall Blake's navie lies coft a vaft charge, without any profite. The expedition of Hifpaniola, as I read it in a London description, is full of fhame and loffe, both of charges and men, hes drawn on ane open warr with Spain, which will hurt our trade. Our emptie coffers will not be furnifhed with all the ordinarie incomes, though great, and much greater than before; nor by this new prefour of the cavaliers, the feparating of them from others, even thefe againft whom no new tranfgreffion is alleadged, only for the holding doune, as is profefled, the great and refllefs faction of the Royalifts, we fear doe more harme than good, albeit Lilly's prognostick we count meerly knavifh. We are grieved at the fearfull fcandale of that unhappie apoftate the Queen of Swan¹: it's good fhe fignifies a meer cypher for civile power, and is of fo bad a reputation for her carriage thefe years bygone; it's lyke her maintainance will be more burdenfome than ufefull to the Popifh partie. The progreffe of the King of Swan is ftrange. Since the taking of Cracow, we know not what he wants of that great kingdome; I cannot think that Brandeburgh can be fo ill-advyfed as to draw the remainder of that ftorme on his own head, without all occafion. If the Lord will be pleafed to advance the gofpell by that prodigious change, we will quicklie fee: it feems he takes that kingdome by the right alone of arms, and makes it hereditarie to himfelf and the Croune of Swan, with the Poles univerfall confent.

Since I came from Edinburgh, there is two or three papers more paff betwixt us and the Remonftrators, which makes our wounds wyder, efpeciallie fince by violence they avow openly to opprefs us; one part of them under Wariftone and Mr. Guthrie's patronage, though diffallowed by others, puts into their hand the power of making all the churches voyd. They look, by their fupplicating of the Englifh, for erecting of themfelves in a commiffion for purging, againft which the Prefbyterie of Edinburgh hes given ane honeft teftimonie, (II.). Ane other part, under the patrocinie of Mr. Patrick Gillespie and Mr. J. L[ivingftone,] by the Englifh ordinance, takes the power

¹ Christina, Queen of Sweden. She fucceeded her father Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, when only five years of age; but refigned the crown in 1654, and soon after abjured the Lutheran religion. She fpent moft of her fubfequent life at Rome, where she died in 1689. She was interred in St. Peter's, Rome, where there is a fplendid monument to her memory, by Fontana, erected at the expence of Pope Alexander VIII.

of planting all with their own friends, though passionately disclaimed by the other. Against these fearfull oppressions we have no humane help. We can not make such cordiall application to the English as they doe; so we fear they shall lend their power to the other for our hurt; whereof, and other things, ye see how I express my sense to a friend at London, (K K.); the return to which you have here also, (L L.). I break off here till the next occasion. My service to your kind wife.

Your Coufin,

December 31st 1655.

R. B.

(K K.) FOR HIS REVEREND AND MUCH-BELOVED BROTHER MR. SIMEON ASHE, MINISTER AT LONDON.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

YOUR'S of November 15th, was very refreshfull, that the Lord is pleased yet to lend some of you to his people there. I have no yet seen your funerall [sermon] on Mr. Whitaker: send me one of them; my interest in that precious faint was great, for estimation and love mutuall. I am forie Mr. Marshall is a-dying; he was ever in my heart a very eminent man. His many sermons on that verse of John viii, 36, "If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed," I have oft pressed him to make publick: he was the preacher now living who ordinarily most affected my heart; I wish you pressed him to let so many of his papers be published as may be. I hear Dr. Young has a good treatise for the presse. I am sure zealous Mr. Edwards had fundrie: you have been midwife to some already after their death, and I also. A pitie some men's labors should perish, and others should not perish. Mr. Marshall long ago lost the hearts of our Nation. He was the main instrument of that Nationall Covenant with God, and among ourselves, which went to hing on the walls of your churches: it will hing ever before the eye of God, the prime Covenanter: never a league so openlie and univerfallie tread upon, and obliterate without all just cause. I wish Mr. Marshall, for saving of his own soule, before he appear at Christ's barr did exoner himself with the Protectour, if he come to visit him, as I think he will, or otherwayes in write, about everie article of that Covenant. I think

the Protecour will take it as weell to be freely and friendly dealt with by dying Mr. Marshall as any man on earth; and I hope Mr. Marshall will be loath to deny this very necessary and last service to Christ and his owne soule, if yow there will require it of him. But as *silentium perdidit Amyclas*, so in these days gracious men's fear to offend their friends by their freedome, leaves them even in their death to the dangerous offence of God. I blefs God yow have so much as the shew of a Presbyterie and Synod. Why has not all England and Ireland so much? Why want yow a Generall Assemblie? Why have ye no power at all to execute ecclesiastick jurisdiction? not so much as Independents, Anabaptists, or Papiests have among their owne. For all these, as we hear, are tolerate to exercise their discipline among themselves; only yow Presbyterians are either restrained or not carefull to use your libertie. Can it be any maxim of State to deny that libertie to Presbyterians in England for the exercise of Protestant discipline, which the Popish Kings of France and Pole did never deny to our brethren, to whom they permitted the libertie of their religion? But so far as we know, yow have never fought this benefite. Whatever ye doe or leave undone, we here take all in the best part it may be taken; considering your difficulties: yet, for myself, I loved ever ane ingenuous simplicitie and honest zeal more than too much cautious wisdom. While yow are permitted to use the shadow of your powerles Provinciall synod, were it not good to appoint a committee of a few the fittest to consult, as on other things so, how to stirr up these whom they know fittest in all England for writing on every needfull subject. Yow have many most able pens as any Church this day; for want of upstirring many of them are like to doe no service. What yow commend to me, I have no leasure for it, beside all else, my weekly preaching and four publict lessons in our Colledge take up all my time; and in our vacation, some other things which I have of my own, and of other men's, for the presse, take me up. Yow have a multitude there much fitter than I for that and all things else. Mr. Rutherford tells me yow have his Answer to Hooker at last: let it be printed if yow there think fitt. Mr. Dickson's Cases of Conscience will be abroad, I hope, before this come to yow. But some of yow there would be put on to prosecute that excellent subject. Will yow let Mr. Cotton's ostentative bragges, of the Independents appropriating to their faction this part of divinity, go as a sensible truth? Mr. Baxter's writs are read with a good eye

by many ; his laſt peice of Judgement, preached and printed in the mids of your citie, in the preface, commending yow citie miniſters, and your diſcipline, ſo highly offends and ſtumbles many : it ſeems to be ſtuffed with groſſe Arminianiſme : Why take yow no care either to gaine the man from his errors, or yoke with him ſome able divines to guard againſt his infection ? Sundry here are thinking to take him to taſk ; but I love and highly eſteeme the man, for much good I find in his writs : I think him ill loſt. Noble Mr. Vynes or Mr. Burgeſs, if they were ſet to deale with him in a loving private way, might doe weell ; mind this. I ſee Mr. Haak, at laſt, is printing there the Dordracen Notes in Engliſh ; his longſomenefs, for ſo many years, made me almoſt repent of getting him, of our penurie, two hundred pounds for that ſervice. The Polyglott Bible, now on your preſſe, is to me the moſt excellent book that ever any where was printed, if Dr. Waltham² perſyte his undertaking. If either yow or any of your friends had faſhions of³ that to me very commendable man, I wiſh yow made my addreſſe to him, that now and then I might write to him for the publiſt good : let me know if this may be without your fatherie. Our arme here is broken for all diſcipline, moſt by our diſſenting brethren running to a ſchiſme. Poperie encreaſes more than theſe ſeventy years. We lately had a long twenty dayes conference at Edinburgh for union with our brethren ; more than a dozen of papers paſt among us. I ſend yow here one to ſhew yow what we offered ; but we find the true ſtick to be beyond their old errour, (which yet no Church, ſurely no ſettled State in the world, will approve) of the unlawfullneſs to joyne in defence of the nation againſt the invaſion of a forraigne enemy, if ſo the nation's armie have ſome officers otherwayes qualified than a few private perſons think fitt, though both the Kirk and State, (the Parliament and Generall Aſſembly,) declare their full ſatiſfaction with them. This unnatural principle, which as much as any one thing on earth, did openly and viſible procure our late ruine, our brethren are ſtill obſtinately for it, and will not be content we permitt them to enjoy their opinion, except we conſent to their impugning the verie conſtitution of that Generall Aſſembly which allowed our judgement, which is doubtleſs the judgement of all Churches, and all nations which yet

² Dr. Brian Walton, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. His noble edition of the Polyglott Bible was, after ſeveral years labour, completed at London 1657, in ſix vo's. folio.

³ By this phrase he no doubt means, " had acquaintance with."

hes lived on earth. But our brethren now are proceeded further to declare the body of our presbyteries, synods, and congregations, to consist of a pluralitie of corrupt members, so farr as they refuse openly submissiō to the sentences of any of our Kirk Judicatories. We deny not much humane frailtie; and we offer to goe on to purge out both of congregations, presbyteries, and synods, faithfullie in the fight of God, whomever the word of God, or any rule of our Church, or any just reason requires to be purged out; albeit we think the pluralitie of our Church judicatories and congregations was never better than this day, or ever, in their eye, shall be better in any Nationall Church. However, because we are not so rash as they to condemne so many unheard, they have flowne out to a strange devise, to set up a few of themselves as a Committee of the Generall Assemblie, with full jurisdiction over all our laud, to put in and out of the ministrie whom they think fitt. Against this horrible usurpation, the Presbyterie of Edinburgh hes given this inclosed Testimonie, wherein almost all the presbyteries and synods of this land will joyn. Our fear is not so much that the Councill of State, whom they have supplicat, will authorize them in so unexampled ane tyrannie, as that our division be used for ane occasion by the State to take in their owne hands, from us both, all ecclesiastick jurisdiction, which will be to us a great increase of our miseries. When we had satisfi'd the proclamation against publict prayer for the King, we expected more equitie and favour than before: we with we find no much lesse. The Supplication which our Dissenters gave in to the Councill for power, under the name of purging, to make havock of our Church, hes yet gott no answer: we suspect it is sent up to the Protectour to have his mind of it, and there we have no friends to represent the truth. The grievances we gave to the Generall, anent many grievous abuses in our Church, which we believe was sent up by him, according to his promise, doe lye there, without any returne we know. But the Ordinance, which some of our brethren did obtaine of the Protectour, that no stipend should be given to any intrans but such as in effect they lyke, though not only we did demonstrate its mischief, but the chief of the Dissenters themselves disclaimed it, in this paper of Waristoun's and Mr. Guthrie's; yet it firmlie continues, to our great grief and hurt. In all these, and many more grievances, we mourne to God; and upon this occasion I let yow know our condition, that yow may mourne with us, for more can no be

expected from yow at such a tyme. It's ane ease to a burdened spirit to discharge itselfe in the bofome of a compaffionate friend, such as long yow have been to the Church of Scotland, and myself in particular. The Lord uphold your spirits in his wayes in these very defective tymes. My prayer and blessing be on the constant brethren there, and all their labours. My special love to yourself.

Your Brother,

December 31st 1655.

R. B.

(L. L.). [TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

SIR,

By reason of a weak head and a goutie hand, I cannot possiblie write fo largelie as yow may expect, and as your letter doth require. This is the first writing which I have undertaken for the space of a fourtnight, and now I put pen unto paper with difficultie, that I may not seem regardles of, nor unthankfull for your intelligence.

Mr. Marshall⁴ was dead before I received your letter, and I cannot give yow intelligence of any conference with the Protector, either in reference to the Covenant, or any other concernment. He was more satisfied with the change of government, both civill and ecclesiasticall, than many of his brethren. Dr. Young⁵ is dead also; and his papers about Discipline are fo voluminous, that no stationer will undertake to print them, because that controverfie lyeth dead among us, and few inquire for any books of that subject: Hence it is that Mr. Crooke is fo backward in putting to presse that Answer to Mr. Hooker, which Mr. Rutherford hath made and sent hither. We have latelie lost worthie Mr. Vines:⁶ thus God increaseth our breaches: His Majestie teach us savinglie the meaning of these very sad providences. The same course (whereof yow justly complained) is taken in England, to over-

⁴ Stephen Marshall. B. D. died in November 1655, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

⁵ Thomas Young D. D. Vicar of Stow-market, in Suffolk, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge: *Vide* vol. i. p. 366; and Appendix to the present Volume.

⁶ In the MS. "Wines."—Richard Vines, A. M. Minister of Weddington, and Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, died in February 1655.

throw the power and practice of Presbyteriall government, and to advance Independencie, as also to indolge Anabaptists, and other erroneous persons. As for Mr. Baxter, he is doubtles a godly man, though tenacious in his mistakes. Mr. Burges and Mr. Vines dealt with him to reduce him, but could not convince him to satisfaction. There are many good treatises published by able men among us, though diverse others are so much in the pulpit, that they cannot appear in the presse. Through God's mercy, many act presbyteriallie in London, and in many counties, both in reference to ordination and admission to the sacrament, notwithstanding of discouragements.

Sir, I hope you will accept these lines, and pardon my brevity upon the account forementioned. I have sent the sermon which you desire. I pray you present my respects to all my friends, as you have occasion. We mind you in our prayers heartily. The Lord help you and us to wait by faith with patience for his salvation through Christ, in whom I am

Your loving friend and brother,

S. ASHE.

[TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

SIR,

I MUST crave pardon for my long silence: it is not out of disrespectfulness, or forgetfulness of you, or of the sad condition you and the rest of our dear Brethren with you are in, but out of the multitude of businesses that have hitherto hindered me. Truly, Sir, you are in my heart, and my prayers are not wanting for you, that the Lord would teach you the meaning of his severe dispensations towards your Nation, and that you may learn righteousness by them; and that the Lord would heal the sad divisions that are between you and your godly brethren. I shall shortly find a spare time to write to you more largely; but being now at Mr. Ashe's, while he was writing his letter, I took the opportunity to present my dear respects to you, and Mr. Douglass, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Smith, and the rest of our godly brethren, whose daylie prayers I heartily implore, and shall ever remaine.

Your true friend and brother in the work of the Lord,

EDM. CALAMY.

FOR MR. JAMES HAMMILTOUN.

JAMES,

THE case yow propone to me is very sad and dangerous. My first thoughts are these; that yow guesse right, the authors and on-putters of it hes, and will be, these unhappie foxes who, haveing cast of their owne tailes, cannot rest till they force all their neighbours to cast of theirs also: your dilemm is hard. If yow refuse, it's very lyke they will employ the Remonstrators, diverse of whom will follow their leader, and will put themselves in power, both for stipends and all things else belonging to Erastian jurisdiction, for making havock of our Church; against whom all our complaints will be slighted, and yow and all of our mind must suffer what the Remonstrators please to procure. If yow embrace the rest, yow shall seem to your people and all the countrie so farr to comply that your persons and ministrie will become unfavorie; and for our sake, the little remainder of love that remains to the Covenant and work of God in the land will totalie evanish, and many hearts will be cast fully open to returne where they were, or runn out to any bye-way they like, with a high misregard and disdaine of all we can say or doe to the contrare. 2. Our fellows in these labours, and most beloved, shall be our Remonstrating brethren, yea, our northern separatists, the flock will be our excommunicat, etc. with whom we must joyne in silence. 3. We must serve in our turns as chaplaines at their call who will not be of our Church, but diverse may be known Independents, Anabaptists, Erastians, apostates from our Covenant, active instruments in oppressing our countrie; which is hard to digest. 4. If, according to your conscience, yow discharge yourself faithfullie as their soules require who are your hearers, yow draw on yourselfes greater trouble than yow would eshew. If yow be allwayes silent it is a great sinne, shame, scandale, change of our way of preaching in all our former tymes. 5. Your example drawes out any of all the land, whose coming to preach there, or refusing, may undoe them, and this be a lasting and univerfall ground of work to the best pastors in the land. 6. It will be a displayed banner to call all our people, with our countenance, to joyne with Sectaries of all forts, though excommunicate,

which will be a hodge-podge of all religions under our ministrie, a farr worfe evill than wicked toleration. 7. Who can recount the mischieves of that hellish invention? The Protector to this day hath never assayed any such thing; but yow will learn him the way: prevention will be the best, and a private earnest dealing with the President that he would be content with one or two constant chaplaines, be who they will; but I could wish they were only English, and these Presbyterians. The Lord direct yow. I feare the crosse we wold eshew will not be long kepted off: I know the spirit of the Remonstrators is restless, and cannot cease from inventing one mischief after another without end. We are too little in prayer for a delyverance from our oppression: With verie much adoe I got yow followed in abstaining, etc.; bot come of it what will, I will not get yow followed if yow go to this purpose.

Yours.

January 21st 1656.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER MR. CRANFORD,
MINISTER AT LONDON, NEAR THE OLD EXCHANGE.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THE remembrance of my sweet fellowship with yow, and others there, is oft refreshfull to my heart, though the Lord justlie has overturned, by the hands of unjust men, all our once fair blossoming hopes and labours. The occasion of my calling to yow at this tyme, is my desyre to know the condition of that excellent book, the best to me that ever was printed, Dr. Walton's Polyglott Bible; we have so much here of three copies as is printed. What is this Dr. Walton for a man? where bred? and of what condition? When I was there, there was no such name heard of. I am much in love with the man's labour, and almost would venture to seek acquaintance of him by letters, unless I had conceived it fitter to understand first by yow the man's qualities. That which I would desyre of him is the printing of an Arabick and Samaritan Praxis. The Samaritan he promises, by that man who oversees the Samaritan Pentateuch; and I pray yow what man is that? Yow

¹ Dr. Edmund Castell, who undertook and completed, in 1669, his *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, comprising all the Oriental Languages in Walton's Polyglott,—a work of immense labour and

would doe me a pleafure if yow would give me account of that whole work, and of the men who are employed about it.⁸ I have fent yow a copie of a letter of mine to Voetius at Utrecht, and his anſwer to me the laſt yeare: I have no hope to obtaine my deſyre in theſe parts over-ſea; if yow there do it not, it will not be done. I think, if yow or any of our friends would deale in earneſt with Dr. Walton,⁹ he could eaſily give us a Letter grammar of the Arabick, and a full Praxis; alſo of the Samaritane: for Chaldee and Syriack we want not helps. This were a good ſervice to the publiſt, and a help to many who, by his Bible, are ſtirred up to the ſtudy of all theſe languages. But the great thing we have need of is a Courſe of philoſophie. I pray call at ſome of your ſtationers for my Hebrew Praxis: conſider the preface of it, and compare it with theſe two letters; I doubt not but yow and all reall ſchollers will be in my mind. If by Dr. Tuckney, our good friend, late Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, or any of your acquaintance at Oxford, or in the citie, yow could finde out two or three for to goe about this excellent good work, for the great advancement of learning, and great ſervice and honour, not only of this Iſle, bot the whole Reformed Churches, which lye under a great diſgrace and grievous hurt, that to this day they are fo negligent and baſe as to take the moſt of all their philoſophy from the worſt of the Popiſh divines, Friers, and Jeſuites. I hope love to this uſefull and noble deſigne, and old friendſhip, will make yow content, at your leaveure, to let me know if any thing may be expected of this kind from among yow. My heartie love and beſt wiſhes to yow and all yours. I reſt,

Your much honouring and loving Brother,

Glaſgow, Auguſt 27th 1656.

R. BAILLIE.

If my *Appendix Practica ad Epitomen Grammaticæ Hebrææ Joannis Buxtorfi*, printed at Edinburgh, 1653, be not eaſily found there, I ſhall at the firſt occaſion ſend yow up one.

expense; but for which he was ſo inadequately recompensed, that he had occaſion to complain having “ ſpent twenty years in time to the publiſk ſervice, above £12,000 of his own eſtate, and for a reward was left, in the cloſe of the work, above £1,800 in debt.”

⁸ The beſt account of Walton’s Polyglott Bible, and of his aſſiſtants in carrying on that great and laborious undertaking, will be found in Archdeacon Todd’s *Memoirs of the Biſhop’s Life and Writings*. Lond. 1821, 2 vols. 8vo.

⁹ As in a former letter. Baillie writes Walton’s name, “ Waltham.”

FOR MR. SPANG AT MIDDELBURGH. SEPTEMBER 1ST 1656.

REVEREND AND DEAR COUSIN,

I MUST intreat that yow would be pleased to write ofter than of late yow have done. Your occasions to Rotterdam, and from thence hither, can no be but frequent. I defyred yow to try if yow can get a courſe of the French Currents of Antwerp or Bruſſells; let me try the laſt moneth of them: yow remember yow ſent me, for three or four years punctually, the French Gazet from Amſterdam; ſee if the like can be done from Bruſſells or Antwerp, to which yow are now nearer. I long exceedingly for Dr. Strang's book: what yow have for the Colledge ſend it with the firſt occaſion: I hope your by-gone count is payed, and more money will be ſent yow ſhortly. I pray yow, in your firſt to Voetius, remember my heartie ſervice to him for his kind and prolix anſuer to my letter. Try if he hes any returne, either from Buxtorf or Golius, about my motion to them: we all long for a new enlarged edition of his Bibliothek, and a third volumne of his Theſes. I am informed that there is no man fitter to draw a Philoſophick Curſus than his own ſon: will yow try if he can be perſwaded to it, who now is in ley for any ſervice. What is Heidanus for a man? What is become of Morus and Blondell? Is there no man who, after Spanheim, does mind the controverſie with Amiraud? As long ſince I defired yow to gather the adverſarie pieces of Voetius and Mareſius, and ſend them to us; doe it yet. What is my good friend Apollonius doing? Is there no more of Bochartus, or Henricus Philippus, come out? That the more willingly yow may give me ane account of all this, behold I am at the labour to let yow know how all our affaires ſtand here.

To myſelf the Lord is ſtill very good, continuing my health, wealth, credit, welfare of all my ſix children, aſſiſtance in every part of my calling, bleſſed be his name! I live peaceably with all men; I go to no Church meeting, preſbyterie, or ſynod, on the ground I ſhew yow before. Mr. James Durhame is independent with me, (which contributes to my peace,) but his grounds are diverſe. When Mr. David Dickſon went to Edinburgh, with very violence he forced us to give Mr. James a call to his profeſſion of the Col-

ledge; before he entred to it, the Generall Assemblie appointed him minister for the King. We then called Mr. Robert Ramfay to that profession. When Mr. James was wearie of the Court, his partie here was earnest for his returne to the Colledge. The man then, and before, and to this day, was to me very precious and deare; for however I have (as oft I told him,) been very difatisfied with many of his wayes, yet I counted him one of the most gracious, wise, and able preachers now in this Isle. I could have been gladly content he had come to Mr. Ramfay's place in the ministrie, or to Dr. Strang's place of Principall; but to his former place of profession, whereto we called Mr. Ramfay, I was not content he should returne, and did oppose it what I could; so much the more, that I found, from himselfe, that he was to endeavour Mr. Patrick Gillespie to be our Principall, which then to me seemed very inconvenient. When Mr. Ramfay died, then would I gladly have Mr. Durhame to any thing he lyked; but all fell croffe to my desyre; my friend Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and others, fell passionat to have Mr. John Young to the profession, and caried it, fore against my mind. Mr. P. G[illespie], by the English, set himselfe doune in Dr. Strang's place. The session drew up so unorderlie a call for Mr. R. Ramfay's place of the ministrie, that the most of the towne drew up a protestation against it: Mr. Durhame counted his proper place to be that of the Colledge which Mr. John Young had possessed, and not caring to tak [talk?] of the protestation, did serve in Mr. R. R[amfay's] place of ministrie, (no man contradicting him,) from time to time, but in a louse way; and when our great jarrs in Presbyterie and Synod arose, did abstaine as weell as I from all meetings. On this his carriage as malcontent he hes had fundry invitations to other places; but that that I fear may carrie, is an earnest desire of Sir John Clotworthy to have him to Antrim, as he sayes, to further the work of God in all Ireland, and to be Proveift of a Colledge which he hopes to get erected in that place. Sir John hes made the President Broghill deal with him for that effect, and put the Protectour also upon it. My heart truely would be forrie if he should remove: he is the minister of my familie, and almost the only minister in this place of whom my soull gets good, and whom I respect in some things above all men I know: he hes a very satisfactorie treatise on the Revelation, which I encourage him to print. If the gravell and melancholie cut not his dayes, he may be for much good service. I did oft repent my opposition of his re-entrie to the

College, though I remain in the mind I did no wrong; and as things then were, I could not have weell done otherwayes than I did.

The matters of our Colledge this yeare were peaceable; our gallant building going on vigorously; above twenty-fix thousand pound are already spent upon it: Mr. Patrick Gillespie with a very great care, industrie, and dexteritie, managing it himself as good as alone. But our inward and most necessar materialls are too much neglected. The Bacheller Regent, Mr. George Sinclair, almost the whole year, was dangerously sick, to the great hurt of the classe. Mr. P. Young, Magiftrand Regent, was exceeding negligent in his attendance, to the great hurt of that classe. Mr. J. Veitch, the Bajon Regent, partly through sickness, and partly by tryells and call to the ministrie, neglected much that classe. Mr. A. Burnet waited, according to his parts, much better on the Semies. Our divinitie students were but few, and however they had lessons enough from Mr. J. Young and me, yet they minded studie but little; for when they see their weak companions, the second or third yeare after their laureation, put in the best places, with exceeding poor sufficiencie, it makes the rest the more to neglect all studie, but only to preach in their popular kind of way, which requires little learning.

I am glad my hand is free of their plantations totallie. Mr. James Ramsay, a very able and sufficient youth as we have of his age, planted by us in Leinzie, to the great satisfaction of all, except a very few who choised ane English sectarie, to whom they promised the stipend; when, after two years trouble, the Englishman removed, our brethren Mr. P. Gillespie, Mr. James Durhame, Mr. John Carstares, all much obliged to Mr. R. Ramsay for their own places, would not for any intreatie be pleased to let his son live in peace: so we let him go to Lithgow, where he is much better than he could have been where he was; but in his place they have put one evidently of farre meaner parts, Mr. Harrie Forfyth, lately a baxter boy, laureat within these two years, a little, very fecklefs-lyke thing in his person, and mean in his gifts, but the son of a Gillespy: to him, the parish weary of strife, wherein by the English power they were allwayes oppressed, yeilded in silence without opposition. In Campsie likewise, in [place of] Mr. Archibald Dennestone, deposed by them without any considerable cause, much to my grief, and against the heart of his parish who loved him, they have planted

Mr. John Law, within thir three years brought from a pottinger to be laureat. In Rugland,¹ against the people's heart, they have planted a litle maniken of small parts, whom I never saw ; and forced old Mr. Robert Young, albeit as able yet as ever, to give over his ministrie. In Cathcart, where they had planted an Englishman against my mind, haveing, after two or three years tryell enough of him, they shuffled him over to Ireland, and are to plant another young thing, lately laureat, with small contentment to the people.

In Glasgou, Mr. Andrew Gray being dead of a purple fever, of a few dayes roveing, the Magistrates would have been at the calling of Mr. J. Ferguson, one of the most excellent young men of our land. But to this Mr. James Durhame and the rest were so averse, that they were ready, publickly, to have opposed it. So the Magistrates knowing their unabilitie to carry any call contrarie to their mind, yielded to let them call whom they pleased. Mr. James Durhame would have been at Mr. J. Law before they put him on Campsie ; but Mr. Patrick caried it to Mr. Robert Macquarie, who lately, for inabilitie of body, had left his charge in the Colledge, and evidently was unable for such a charge as Glasgou : yet they put him in *nemine contradicente*, and that without all the ordinarie tryalls, being unable, for his health, to have undergone them : appearandly the burthen shortly will crush him, except he go on to doe as he hes done yet, frequently to let his place vaikie. Through the violence of that partie our Church, in these parts, is in a hard condition, and for the tyme remediless. They got a little stop lately from whence it was not expected. At Blantyre, Mr. John Heriot, of seventy-eight years, haveing admitted Mr. James Hamilton helper, with two parts of his stipend, because he would not thereafter give over the whole, the Presbyterie of Hamilton intended a process against him, for small unconsiderable causes, and deposed him ; when he is charged to remove from his house, and all he hes there, his son, by the friendship of Swinton, gets the English to take notice of the violent oppression ; who, after a full hearing, decerne the old minister to enjoy all, even what before he had been content to quite. This preparative is dangerous for our whole Church ; but the unhappy violence of these unadvysed men draws on these evils on themselves and others.

¹ Or Rutherglen : The person here rather disrespectfully mentioned, was John Dickson, one of the Covenanters. He was ejected after the Restoration, and for many years was confined upon the Bass ; but at the Revolution, he was restored to his parish, and died in the year 1700.

This is lyke now to be the refuge of all they opprefs; but a miserable one: it puts all our Church caufes in the hands of the Englifh, who defyre to be judges of them according to their Eraftian principle, though ordinarily our brethren have the ear of the Englifh to doe with them what they pleafe. With much adoe your old friend, a right honeft and able man, more than the moft of his neighbours, Mr. Allan Fergufon of Drimmen, efaped their hands. The laft Synod had put a committee to the Prefbyterie of Dumbartan to try a number of flanders noyfed upon him: when, befide all his elders, four-fcore and fourteen witneffes are fworne and tryed, nothing at all is found againft him. This procefs, and another of his neighbour Mr. David Adamfone of Fintrie, where alfo, after much noyfe, nothing was found, hes made their fervour of purgeing in our bounds much to relent; for, as oft I told them, they will find on tryell, that the men to be purged out are on their fide, not on ours, if there were any juftice. At that fame Synod the depofition of Mr. R. Hume was ratified, as I was informed, very unjuftlie.

In the other parts of the land we fee no relenting of our brethren's fervour. Mr. Liviftoun, notwithstanding of all the trouble about the planting of Eccles, hes gone on to the lyke enormous praftice at Sprouftoun, coming in on the Prefbyterie of Dunfe, with two or three of the neighbour prefbyteries, and planting Mr. S[amuel] Row, one of their partie, contrare to the mind of all the Prefbyterie; how farr againft the fundamental laws of all our difcipline yow will fee in the Prefbyterie's declaration, (A.). Mr. James Guthrie is ftill in conteft with the people of Stirling, but in more vexation than formerly; for his colleague, Mr. Matthias Simfone, is as headie and bold a man as himfelf, and hes good hearing with the Englifh, fo that he is like to get the ftipend; and [Mr.] Rule to live perquire. Mr. James and Wariftoune are on their old defigne ftill, to fet up their Commiffion for tyrannizing over the Kirk; but it's like the Englifh will not countenance them, the thing is fo extreamlie and evidentlie unjuft; alfo fome of us are fallen in with the Englifh farre enough.

The Prefident Broghill is reported by all to be a man exceeding wife and moderat, and by profeffion a Prefbyterian: he hes gained more on the affections of the people than all the Englifh that ever were among us. He hes been very civill to Mr. Dowglafs and Mr. Dickfon, and is very intime with Mr. James Sharp; by this means we have ane equal hearing in all

we have adoe with the Councell; yet their way is exceeding longfome, and all muſt be done firſt at London. It's but the other week that Mr. P. G[illeſpie's] abſurd order for ſtipends was gotten away: he puts us in hopes of more favours.

That much-talked-of reſpect to Mr. Wood, (though yet I have not inquired it of himſelfe,) as I hear, was this: Mr. Rutherford's daily bitter contentions with him made him wearie of his place exceedingly; the Old Colledge being long vaiking, and he the eldeſt maſter of it, and for fundrie years employed to overſee it, almoſt as Principall, was wiſhed by fundrie who loved it and him, to be placed there; and there is no doubt he was the fitteſt man living for that charge: but here was the inſuperable difficultie; a fair call could not be gotten. The fyve maſters who had power to call were divided; one Campbell, a Remonſtrator, minded the place, and, by his party, was no unlyke to have carried it from the Engliſh; one Martine, the eldeſt maſter then in charge, alledging it to be his right to ſucceed, with the conſent of other two maſters, went to the Engliſh to ſute their favour. The Prefident, I think, on Mr. James Sharp's information, moved the Councell, without Mr. Wood's knowledge, to make choice of him for the place: They write a peremptor letter to the miniſters and maſters of St. Andrewes to admitt Mr. James Wood Principall to the Old Colledge without delay. When the Univerſitie is conveened, and the letter read, Mr. Campbell proteſted: the other three were moved to invite Mr. James, in obedience to the Engliſh command, but not to call him. Mr. James accepted the charge: I am glad he is in it, or any other where he is contented; for indeed he is the moſt ſerviceable man our Church now hes: but I am not yet ſatiſfied of his accepting of that place on the Engliſh command; for if, in Divine Providence, they who had right to call, for their own baſe and hurtfull deſignes refuſed to call him, I think it was hard for him, upon whatever cauſes, to medle with it. I love not that we ſhould juſtifie or harden the Engliſh in their uſurpations in our Univerſities rights: but theſe things I will debate with himſelf at meeting.

Ane other paſſage of ours I was not ſatiſfied with: Swinton was excommunicat for his early complying with the Engliſh. Sundrie of his friends were earneſt to have him relaxed, that in their neceſſar affaires they might have the more libertie to imploy his help; he was either ſo proud, or ſo

feared to offend his maisters, that he would neither acknowledge a fault, nor petition for favour. When his friends dealt with the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, they sent two to conferr with him : all that they reported from him was, that he was very willing to live and die in the communion of our Church ; and that the reason of his not-appearance, when cited to the Commission of Perth, was not contempt, but just fear of his life. Upon this report, without any supplication, he is relaxed the next Sabbath by Mr. James Hamiltone. This I did not lyke at all as a meere scorne of our discipline. Our brethren would not long be behind with us : for at once the Presbyterie of Air did relaxe good William Govane, who was at least on the scaffold, at the King's execution, if no more, excommunicat on the lyke occasion ; yea, the Synod of Glasgou at Aire took the censure off Mr. P. Gillefpie and Mr. James Naefmith, without any acknowledgement of a fault, or desyre to be relaxed. To this strange enormitie, all formallie voted ; only Mr. James Fergulone, Mr. Thomas Kircaldie, Mr. George Young, were absent ; Mr. John Bell and Mr. Alexander Nisbet removed themselves ; but no dissent was entered.

Our State is in a very silent condition : strong garrisons over all the land, and a great armie, both of horse and foot, for which there is no service at all. Our Nobles lying up in prisons, and under forfealties, or debts, private or publick, are for the most part either broken or breaking. No more word of delyvering Crawford, Lauderdaill, Eglintone, Montgomerie, Ogilvie, Merhall, and many more, than was the first houre. Glencairne lyes still in the Castle of Edinburgh ; Colonel Borthwick betrayed him : the letter he brought to him from the King, he delyvered to Monk before it came to Glencairne's hands, and his answer of it also before it came to the King ; and yet, under the most fearfull imprecations can be devised, the villaine wrote, unrequired, that he had done no such things. Some says, it would have stood hard with Glencairne's life, had it not been the President's favour, procured by Mr. James Sharp. The dyvour act, of lands for creditors at twenty years purchase, has made much clamour ; albeit none who has any credit has made use of it. All the Advocats are returned to the barre. Balcolmie and Ker makes some more dispatch in causes than was [before.] The Great Seall of Scotland, (with Cromwell's large statue on horseback, *Olivarius Dei Gratia Reip. Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Protector*, under the arms of Scotland *Par*

Quæritur Bello,) is given to Desborough; the Signet, with the great fees of the Secretar's place, to Colonell Lockhart; the Register's, to Judge Smith; and the rest of the places of State to others. The expences, delays, and oppreſſions in law-sutes, are spoken of to be as great as was ever.

The Spaniſh warre has wracked many of our merchands; albeit, in God's mercie, as little loſs be fallen on our neighbours of this toune, as on any of the Isle; for except one little ſhip taken by the Biſkainers, near Burdeaux, and James Bar's ſhip, which, with himſelf, by a pitifull miſguiding, was blowne up almoſt in the harberie, we had no more loſſe this year, whileas a world of others has been wracked; many more in a few moneths than was all the time of your warre. It is much talked, that it is both your men and ſhips that ſerves the Spaniſh in all theſe ſpoils. Our fleet, waiting in vaine on the coaſt of Spaine, does little good to the merchands in theſe coaſts, and yet the taxes with us are great; the maintainance was towards ten thouſand pound ſterling a month. They ſay the exciſe will be double; ſo that the revenue will be above three hundred thouſand pounds a-year, the halfe whereof is never together among us. The trueth is, money was never ſo ſcarce here, and groweth dailie ſcarcer, and yet it's thought this Parliament in September is indiſted mainlie for new taxation. What England may bear, to whom the Proteſtour remitted the halfe of their monethlie maintainance of one hundred and twenty thouſand pound ſterling, I know not; but Scotland, whoſe burthen has been triple, beſide the fynes, forfealters, debts, and other miſeries, ſeems unable to bear what lyes on already. Wiſe men think the Proteſtour wiſer than to deſire the emptie title of a King, when he has much more already than the King. No man looks for any good of this Parliament, but fears evill; yet all who are wiſe thinks that our evils would grow yet more if Cromwell were removed. They think his government, as it is, will be farr better than a Parliament, or any thing elſe they expect; only all think this warre with Spain needleſs and hurtfull, and hopes by the Parliament it will be taken away.

There was never ſo great folicitation for votes to be choſen Commiſſioners as now among us. It's like there ſhall be none of the whole number more cordiall for all the Proteſtour's deſyres, be what they may, than theſe that come from Scotland. It's ſaid Mr. James Guthrie and my Lord Wariſtoun, with their friends, have been fitting more than this fourtnight in Edinburgh,

drawing their papers, to be sent by some of their number to the Protectour or Parliament. They were so absurd, that Mr. P. Gillespie, who was expected to have been sent up to agent them, turned his back, and left them: yet they will not want agents. We think my Lord Broghill, commissioner for the Towne of Edinburgh, will crosse their injustice and irrationall violence. However, our minds will be in no peace till we see what this Parliament will bring forth. No man I know expects any good from it; and that is our condition for the present, that we can be hardlie worse.

Through God's mercie our Towne, in its proportion, thryves above all the land. The word of God is weell loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought and we desyre; yet in no towne of our land better. Our people has much more trade in comparifon than any other: their buildings encrease strangely both for number and fairnes: it's more than doubled in our tyme.² I pray God to encrease his blessing on this place of our birth, albeit I am feared for it; for on Sunday was eight dayes at four houres in the morning, August 17th, there was a sensible earthquake in all the parts of the towne, though I felt it not. Five or six yeares agoe there was ane other, in the afternoone, which I felt, and was followed with that fearfull burning, and all the other shakings has been among us since. The Lord preserve us from his too well deserved judgements!

For the posture of forraigne affaires, they are thus represented to us: that the frequent tumults of Constantinople, killing Visier after Visier, and threatening the young Sultan himself, does weaken much that Empire, so that Venice the alone has been able to keep up warre with them, these dozen of years, with yearlie advantage; but we think it strange that this Republick this last year has buried no lesse than three Dukes. The French continue their fate of unhappines beyond the Montes: beside their disaster the other year in Naples, and their calamitie at Pavy, their siege at Valentia at this tyme, for all the help Savoy and Modena make to them, looks very ill-favoured, when the Spaniard lyes round about their trenches.

This Pope seemes as dissimulat a companion as any of his predecessors. His self-denyed Holines would for a whole yeare have none of his kindred

² The population of Glasgow which at different periods presents a striking instance of encrease, in 1610 amounted to 7644; in 1660, to 14,678; in 1755, to 23,546; in 1801, to 77,385; in 1821, to 147,043; and by the late census, in 1841, to 257,592.

come near him ; but at laſt his old maſter and lord of Siena, the Duke of Florence's importunat prayer muſt overcome his obſtinacie to permitt his brother and nephews come near ; and ſo ſoon as they came, the good of the Church required the chief places of command, both by ſea and land, in the whole eccleſiaſtick dominions, to be put in their hands. That infamous woman, the Queen of [Sweden], having enough of Rome, and Rome more than enough of her, is landed in France : what will be the end of her wandering, who can conjecture ? This terrible plague, which from Naples is flown to Rome, notwithstanding all their extraordinary guards, and affrights, it ſeems, not only all Italie, but all the neighbouring nations. We are glad that the fearful civill warres of the Switzers is like to end ſo ſoone in peace. We hope their peace will be a guard to the Proteſtants in Piedmont.

We marvell that the Cardinal of France ſhould have had ſo hard conteſts with the Parliament of Paris, and ſo many in that popular ſubject of money : when the Pope, and the clergy fitting in a Generall Affembly ſo long at Paris, are not very weell content ; when Orleans is from Court, and Condée in the head of a Spaniſh armie ; at ſuch a ſeaſon to provoke the Parliament and people of Paris in the tender matter of moneys, ſeems to favour more of the Cardinal's Roman courage than his Italian wiſdom. Turenne, to us aſarr off, ſeems not to have been more unhappie in this ſiege of Valencien than unadviſed. A half-eyed man might have foreſeen the remedileſ danger of his armie's cutting in two, ſo that the only meane of communication was a dam or bridge or what elſe, which the encrease of waters could eaſly break, and make the one half of his armie uſeleſ to the other, in whatever danger : this ſeems an improvidence unanſwerable in a leſſe renowned generall than Turenne. That Condée did not fall on his halfe of the armie, as he did on Senctères, it was the great mercy of God to him and our religion in France, that in his ruine might have gott a great wound ; and as it is, the wicked Papiſts may count it a complot betwixt him and his old friend Condée, that he was not lighted on. If theſe diſaſters force the Cardinall unto a peace with Spain, I fear it prove much hurtfull to the Proteſtants every where. As Orleans is at Court already, ſo if a generall peace bring Condée alſo, the Cardinal is undone ; and whatever this may worke for our King, yet I fear the hurt of Proteſtants every where, if Spain, Auftria, and the Pope, be not hindered by France to execute their wicked deſignes.

If Sueden and Brandenburg, immediately on the junction, have defeat Casimire and his great armie, we look for some good in these lands ; for whatever be the originals of the warre, yet to me it's evident, that the ruine of the King of Sueden is the hazard of all the Protestants round about. I marvell of Dantzick's wifdome, that so long has been so great an impediment to his progress, and more of your States, that will fail so farr to provoke that Prince in so unseasonable a nick of tyme. It's the Auftrian's great happiness that gives him, in all the corners of Germany, so deep a peace, when his deadly infirmities, and tender age of his son, and weaknes also of his brother Leopold, does so much require it : I must excuse him for his help to the Polish King, and the Spaniard, albeit France and Sueden cannot bot deeply repent it, if they had leasure to mend it. We will stand on our watch-tower, and look on with an earnest desyre of any thing may come out of all these dangerous commotions, which may look towards the performance of the Lord's great promises, Antichrist's ruine, the bringing in of the Jews, the breaking or Christianing the Turks, and other Pagans : also, if any thing may come forth for the putting off our shame, and repairing of our ruines in thir lands.

The King is so farr forgot here, that not one man, so farr as I know, keeps any correspondence with him ; nor doe we hear at all what he does or intends : yet I think diverse pray to God for him, and wish his restitution. But if men of my Lord Broghill's parts and temper be long among us,³ they will make the present government more beloved than some men with. From our publick praying for the King, Broghill's courtesies, more than his threats, brought off our leading men. My averfeness from that omission, yow see in my answer to Mr. Dickson anent that point, (B.) : what was said by Mr. Wood for leaving of it, yow have here also, (C.). About the time of abstaining I was a more earnest supplicant for him than ever ; whereupon some of my good neighbours did deferre me to the Councell as an earnest preacher for the King. This was false ; for in doctrine I strack not on that string ; only, so long as I might doe it, without scandall, or reflecting on my wifer and better brethren's omitting of it, I did never passe it by in prayer.

When in that we had yielded, we were like to be put farder to it : our unhappy Remonstrators did still occasion trouble. Mr. Livistoun made no bones

³ *Vide infra* page 343.

to preach and pray publickly with the English, and persuaded Mr. Patrick Gillespie to begin before him; so that Mr. Patrick, when he came to Edinburgh, made no scruple to preach in the English church to their Councill and Judges, and goe home in coach with the President, and say his grace at his table; yea, in Glasgow to preach to their circular court, and feast the Judges in his house. This made the Councill endeavour to have so many of our best preachers appointed by turne to come to Edinburgh to preach to them. When my opinion was craved in this unhappie motion, I gave it the answer yow may see at (D.), and, by God's blessing, got it crushed for the time; but how long, I know no; for Mr. Livistoun being solisted to go to Ireland, was sent over there by his Remonstrator brethren to make a visite and returne. It has been their designe this long time to fill Ireland with their partie; and they have come too good speed. I did what I could to help that evil; albeit not with that success I would. Mr. John, so soon as he went over, he goes immediately to Dublin, and there is content to be employed to preach to the state. What evil this may work we know no: Especially Warristone and Mr. Guthrie's impatience to be out of work, and kepted downe, incluying them, as some say, to come nearer the English than they did: yet their designe being evident to play the tyrants in the whole Church, and to put the Magistracie of the land in their partie's hand, which they call the Godly, so many will be against them as it's hoped they will not prevail. Mr. P. Gillespie fand their designe so unseasonable, and so irrational, that he left their meeting displeas'd this last week: yet Sir George Maxwell, who with him is all one, thought the week before to have caried, by a number of blew caps of that partie, the commission of the Sheriffdome of Aire and Baranthrow to himself, on purpose, as they say, to have been that partie's agent with the Protector in all their desires. But my Lord Cochran's diligence and wisdom bracke Sir George's designe. Time will let us know more of men's secret contrivances, which are yet covered.

We remember the other moneth a singular judgment of God on Mr. Thomas Charteris, a prime one of that partie. When first he had declared for Independencie, I pressed in two diverse synods to excommunicat him; but I could not be heard, for Mr. P. Gillespie, Mr. John Carstares, and Mr. Francis Aird, all in face of synod, avowed he was a godly man and might not be so used. Hereafter, when not only he deserted his poor charge of Stanhouse,

but fet himself by the English in the kirk of Kilbryde, the best stipend in the west, taking the manse and glebe, kirk, and all to himself, and his congregation of Independents, gathered from the parishes about, of twenty persons, or within thirty, leaving the parish of about two thousand to build a house, and contribute a stipend of their owne; this fearfull oppression, and of most pernicious example, made him appear not to be so good as his faction had counted him, especially when he was found to be exceeding greedy and worldly, as Mr. Patrick Gillespie oft thereafter said of him; for when he had gotten, beside twelve chalders of victuall, a hundred pound sterling a-year, from the English, out of the stipends of other kirks, all contented him not; but he made almost a trade of coupling horses. When no bodie could get order of him, God put to his hand, and easily killed him. After sundry of his Independent congregation, and among the rest his owne man, had left him and turned quaker, clapping a horse in the kirk-yard on Saturday at night, the horse strake him on the breast; of which being tormented all night, he dyed in the morning, without repentance, so farr as I heard, for any of his publick offences.

This sect of Quakers is like to prove troublesome: they increase much among the English both in England and Ireland. They in a furious way cry doune both ministrie and magistracie; some of them seem actuallie possessed with a devill, their fury, their irrational passions, and bodilie convulsions are so great. Lieutenant Osborne, one of our first apostates to the English, and betrayers to his power of our armie, for which he had great favour and rewards from Cromwell himself, is an open leader to them in the street of Edinburgh, without any punishment. Sundry in Clydesdale, of the most zealous Remonstrant yemen, hes turned so; and their increase is feared, which is the just recompense of admitting the beginnings of error. They are patient as yet of strokes; but if the Fifth Monarchie men of the late Parliament had prevailed, or if their partie goe on in its growth, their fury is lyke to goe to unmercifull killing (with their predecessors) of all their opposers.

When I had written this farr, your letters, with the boy Maxwell, came to me: I shall endeavour to see the boy used as yow desire. I have desired that your twenty-two gilders, six stivers, which is, as I remember, the rest of my count with yow, may be employed, by John your nephew, for his use. I think the Colledge will, in their counts with yow, from time to time ex-

haut more than his expenfe. I have not yet feen what books yow have fent, but the Antwerp Gazet I wifh we had for the two laft months, to fee the way of it. I know from them that faw and read it, there was a French one printed weekly there, within this twelvemonth; try if it yet be continued. I am glad Dr. Strang's book is fo far advanced; endeavour to get from fome man there, if yow can, fome commendation in the frontifpiece: fofoon as it is done, fend me fo many copies as yow barganed for gratis, or to be paid as yow have agreed. I am forie if he have the leaft of Amiraldifme; had I perceived it, I would have fcraped it out. If that vent weell, the reft of his treatifes fhall follow, wherein will be no matter of offence, I hope, to any. Whatever is to be got of the queftions of Amiraud *pro* or *contra*, or of the Janfenifts *pro* or *contra*, let us have it with the firft. Yow know what we have already; if we fall to have what yow fend, it is but the fending of it back, as *Voffius de Hiftoricis Græcis et Latinis*, which I hear now yow fend, we had from London before. I conceive no man fo fitt to deal with Amiraud and his partie, as Voetius. It were much to be wifhed he were dealt with to undertake this great and neceffar fervice; might not Apollonius be moved to mind that matter? Baxter is lyke to fire England; and fo be tymous with thefe errors: See what yow can get done againft that evil.

Our Church-ftrifes are no lyke to agree; the Remonfrants make it their endeavour to put themfelfes, as the Commiffion 1650, or under fome fuch notion, in a committee to purge and plant all Scotland, with the Englifh allowance to them as the Godly partie; one of the vileft, moft shamefull, and tyrannick tricks that ever was heard of in any church in any tyme. To prevent this, our brethren there-Eaft hes fent up, with Broghill our profefled friend, Mr. J. Sharp to Cromwell; with what inftructions I know not; but I hear very fair and honeft. The Remonfrants cry out on this meffage, though alone to guard againft and prevent their mifchievous defignes; they will not be long a-fending one after him, to defyre openly, what long, by their letters and fecret agents, they have been dealing for. This ftrife at this tyme is shamefull and dangerous; I love it not: my advyce was never fought to it; but on our part, it feems neceffar: I wifh it may end better than I feare.

I blefs God for that victorie of Venice at the Dardanel, but more for that of Sueden and Brandenburgh at Warfou: The Lord bleffe and preferve thefe Princes for the good of the Proteftant intereft. Your States, as they ftand, are

not loved here : they have given to Sueden a great, needles, and untymous provocation, which though dissembled, is not lyke will be forgot. My love and service to your kind wife, oft remembered by Haric, and all your three daughters, whom I pray God to blefs.

Your Cousin,

1st September 1656.

R. B.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MR. FRANCIS ROUS.

SIR,

UNDERSTANDING by a letter from Mistres Lammy, that you were yet to the fore, and helpfull to supplicants, and mindfull of me, notwithstanding of all the changes past, yea, for my cause that poor gentlewoman's good friend, I did rejoyce. I pray God yet to preserve you some time, for I know, so long as yow are able to come to the Councell, or speake in Parliament, or come near the Protector, yow will, to your power, after your wonted manner, be doing good both to the publict and so many private perones as you are able: among others this gentlewoman I still recommend. Yow were a speciall instrument to save the Churches of Brittain from the mad folies of these Fifth Monarchists of the last Parliament. I am glad yow are a member of this Parliament; for I doe assure myself you will be a speciall watchman in the House, and a continuall remembrancer to the Protector that the Church of God in these dominions, (for which I have oft been witness of your speciall zeall and care,) shall suffer no new detriment. We here had been much hurt by the ignorance and error, if no the disdainfull neglect, of Erastian men, had it not been for the very great wisdom, equitie, and moderation of that excellent man my Lord Broghill; the most gaining persone to the interest of these who employed him, of any that ever yet came from thence hither. Shall the Presbyterians in England and Ireland never winn to the exercise of their Discipline? Shall that libertie be denyed us in England, which the Kings of France, and Pole, or whoever so much as tolerate our religion, hes ever granted? Shall all the labours of the Assemblies at Westminster, and so many Ordinances of both Houses, turne all to smoke? It is worthie your last service to God and his Church, in your extreame old age, to endeavour to obtain of the Protector some reason to the servants of God in this point. Shall such

men as my Lord Lauderdale and Crawford languish from year to year in so hard a condition? While there is tyme, and you are not gone, doe service to God and good men. Mr. Tate, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Vynes, Mr. Henderſon, Mr. Gillespie, and many more of our late dear friends are gone: at once the rest of us will follow, and stand before our Master. Shall there be no more word of our Solemn Oath and Covenant? Is it turned to Martin's Almanack? Is it pulled down from the walls of all your churches? Will the Lord be silent for ever? Can he alter with our changes? We here live as silently and peaceable as any there could wish us; but for myſelfe, while I live, by God's grace, I shall never hold my peace to God in secret for Sion's sake, nor cease to pour out my complaint to you, whom I know hes the lyke interest in God and Sion as I have. Why is not your Pſalter in England practised as it is here, and no other? Will you there never come to any Order? Is it possible to keep the neglected confusions of the house of God from ending in a greater confusion of the State than yet we have seen? Will armies of men or humane policie be able to hold off the hand of God? Bot I need not speak of these things to yow who knows them better, and minds them more than myſelfe. The Lord bleſs and be with yow to your end.

Your much honouring friend and Servant,

Glasgow, September 6th 1656.

R. BAILLIE.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WEELL-BELOVED BROTHER MR. JAMES WOOD,
MINISTER AT ST. ANDREWES.

DEAR JAMES,

THESE are thanks for your kind and honest answer, November 28th. Your name shall not be mentioned, nor more use made of your information than for myſelfe, for the flagrant scandall is notour, and a testimoniall is necessary by all law and custom; yet Mr. R. M[acward]'s high commendation will possible serve for all; it hath purchased already too good a pedagogie to him. These people minds nought but faction, to plant all places in church, state, schooles, families, with men of their own stamp, and no other, say and swear what they will to the contrare. See to your Colledges as you may: they are fully

masters of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and almost of Edinburgh. This commission of Waristone's, Greenhead, Mr. P. Gillespie, and Mr. James Guthrie, will draw our affaires to a quick crisis; be this be weell at yow, it's like all the four will be on their way to London. I thought it had not yet been time for some men to seek openly their due rewards for their great service. I doubt nothing but one of their chief busines will be to get, what Mr. P. Gillespie had obtained, the whole Magistracies in the land put in their partie's hand. If they had this, Glasgow alone, besyde other services, could give them fundry thousand pounds a-year, as they wont to doc, to be disposed on without all count, as they thought fittest. If the burroughes and shyres see not to it, they will quicklie be their hard taskmasters. This equall committee, to purge and plant without any account, is the totall destruction of our government. Will not Mr. Blair give ane honest testimony against it to Cromwell, and all the world, before he die? If he neglect this office to the Church of Scotland, it will reflect much on his reputation. It seems Mr. James Sharp must procure a message for two or three of our mind to decipher these men to the whole world, without more circumloquution. For myself, I like no the barre, nor minds ever, but by violence, to stand before it. If God be not mercifull, I think these men's malapart novations, and seeking shelter to their proud tyrannie from the sword that lyes on our necks, will end in an Eraftian slavery, pulled on us by those that were wont to be most zealous for our discipline. Will Mr. Livistoun bring, from Aberdeen's nest, a professed Independent to succeed to Mr. A[ndrew] Rutherford's misorder, and Mr. Blair not upbraid him for it to his face! I pity your pressours: the Lord help, sustaine, and direct yow. Blessed be God, that continues yow, or any man in those tymes, orthodoxe and honest.

Your's,

December 8th 1656.

R. B.

It will be needfull yow write a narrative of your translation from the New Colledge to the Old, for your friends, to stop the mouth of our ill-willers. Send me a copy, to make use of it for your advantage in thir bounds, where there is most need. It would be one of Mr. J. Sharp's chief cares to gett a settled order for our Universities, that Independent *ignar's* may no more, by English orders be planted in them, for the corrupting of our youth.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER, MR. SIMEON ASHE,
MINISTER AT LONDON ; OR MR. CALAMY.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THE kind expressions of tender affection, not only towards our Church, but myself also, and diverse of my brethren, which you, with your brother Mr. Calamy, have been pleased now and then to write to me, give me confidence to acquaint you and him, at this time, with the present condition of our Church ; which now is sad enough, but is very like quickly to be much sadder, if the Lord be not pleased to avert the imminent danger.

Our Brethren, who, these diverse years, have troubled us sore with their very bitter though most needless divisions, are now openly before the world come to exercise their threats upon us, and avowedly to do at last what long we feared from them : They have sent up to the Protector their three grand leaders to supplicate for a libertie to oppress our poor Church, contrary to all reason, conscience, and law. I gave you an account how far we went, upon our passionate desire of any tolerable peace, to give them all satisfaction in our conference, November [16]55, well near a whole moneth ; wherein how far fundry of them declared themselves satisfied, themselves and others also can well remember. Our first and fundamentall quarrell was, that the Commission of the Church had answered a Querie or two from the Parliament and Committee of Estates, anent the lawfulness of their making use of such men in their armie, for the defence of the land against forraign invaders, as were fully reconciled to Church and State for any transgression sometimes they had fallen into. Their plea here was, that we had Answered these Queries so as we were persuaded in conscience was according to God's word, the law of nature and nations, the constant and never-controverted practice of our land, or of any land, and the constant practice of these who now are in power, as much as any. This then was all their quarrell.

When they feared the Generall Assemblies of St. Andrewes would approve of these our Answers, and would not be gotten to countenance their new most dangerous and unnaturall both tenets and practices ; before that ever any question came to be debated, they gave in their Protestation and declination

against that Assembly, and the two other we had since, as Null, upon reasons which make null all Generall Assemblies with us for ever, till they be masters of them, and have them of their own framing. We were content, for our passion to peace, to burie all these high insolencies, and never more to mention those controversies, if so they would live peaceable with us in time to come. This, in a publick write, they flatlie refused, except two points farder were granted to them, which were not before in question. First, That all the Presbyteries and Synods in Scotland should, for the time, be deprived of their power of ordination and jurisdiction in all cases that any man should controvert; and that standing committees of an equall number of them and us, they nameing their owne, and we ours, should be appointed for finall determination in all things controverted. In many of our Presbyteries they have none of their mind, and in some Synods none; in most of the Presbyteries and Synods where they have any, their number is very few. The grant of this demand to us was impossible: We had no power to deprive all the Presbyteries and Synods in Scotland of that power which Christ, and the laws both of our Church and State, did invest them with; nor thought we it reasonable to give our brethren a negative voice in all the ecclesiastick jurisdiction of Scotland. This was too rich a reward for the divisions they had raised, and so long needleslie kepted up; and it was evident this concession had not at all been for peace, but for the continuing and encreasing of our differences. Yet all this would not content them; but they pressed on us another concession, that since the pluralitie in Presbyteries were men corrupt, we should agree to them a freedome and exemption from all subordination to those judicatories in their present condition. This to us was a desperate demand, to make us content to cut the sinews of all Presbyteriall government in our land till the Presbyteries were fully conformed to their mind; nor could we inflict so fore a punishment on all the Kirk Judicatories before they were heard to clear themselves of so base an imputation. The presbyteries and synods, to which subordination was denyed, was none of the worst temper, but those chieffie of the very best: Lothian and Fife, Edinburgh and St. Andrewes, more nor Argyle or Caithness. Beside that, we in our hearts were persuaded the challenge was exceeding unjust; for notwithstanding of much infirmitie in many of our presbyteries, yet we dare say the Presbyteries were never in Scotland generallie so good, and so free of feen faults as

they are this day, nor are church judicatories in any Reformed Church generally so good as ours, our Brethren themselves being judges; nor to any indifferent beholder are these presbyteries which our Brethren have gotten made up fullie to their mind, in any thing better than others who are all opposite to them. Nor count we this challenge from our Brethren ingenuous, since we see it evidentlie, that so soone as they become masters of any presbyterie or synod, as by their over-diligence they have made themselves of some, there is no more dinn in these places of purging: the insufficiencie or scandals of their friends is no more heard of. When union could not be obtained but on these and the like absurd conditions, with sad hearts we committed our cause to God; but our Brethren presentlie did make their address to the English Councell, petitioning to be erected in a Committee to visite, to purge, and plant all the churches in the land. We did supplicat also to avert so terrible and so unexampled oppression, and, by the justice of that court, got it for the time declined: Ever since, in their own wayes, both clandestine and open, they have been about the obtaining of that exceeding irregular power. We knowing their resolution to deale with the Protector himself for it, when our brother Mr. Sharp, on his friends occasions, went up with my Lord President Broghill, some at Edinburgh gave him instructions to guard, by right information, against their attempts. Our Brethren, finding that Mr. Sharp's representations had marred all they thought to have obtained by letters and by their Independent agents, they have openlie sent up the chief of their partie to desire, by the great favour they have themselves every one of them with the Protector, and diverse about him, a Commission to doe by force what we could not yield to them with our consent. Their great plea will be, that the government of our corrupt Church should be put in the hands of them who are the Godly partie till the Church be well purged. We would have taken this plea the better at our Brethren's hand, if they had not seen, and confessed with us, the great iniquitie, hypocrisie, and falsehood of this same alleadgence among yow to this day by the whole circle of the Sectaries; albeit never one of all the sects among yow did arise to this enormitie of desire to have jurisdiction over their opposites: they were glad of a toleration for themselves, but a domineering power over those who loved not to joyne with them, they never fought.

When the other year our Brethren had obtained ane ordinance for putting

all the Magistrates of the shires and burroughs in the Godly, that is, their partie's hands, the clamour was so great against this injustice, that quicklie the Councell got that order recalled. When, about that same tyme, those who are now commissioners had drawn a new large Covenant, farr different from the Solemn League, to be sworn and subferyved by all whom they should admit to their Godly partie, it was so hatefull to the English Councell, and so grievous to many of their own side, that they were forced to lay it aside; but this their last designe which now they come to represent to the Protector, (however, we doubt not, in low, soft, ambiguous words, yet, in effect, importing the ruine of our Church government,) will be found worfe than any thing which lately they have designed.

This much I thought fitt to signifie to yow, and a few which yow and Mr. Calamy think meet to acquaint with it: Mr. Sharp can fully, and will faithfully report the truth of every particular. Sometimes yow have written sad letters to us for our help, by our prayers to God, and industrie with men, against the Malignant and Episcopall partie: you know we were never inlaking to yow to the uttermost of our power; our distres now is great, we desyre your compassion, your prayers to God for us, and your countenance to our cause, when yow know it may profit us, and not hurt yourselves. We are not so much feared that the most unreasonable desyres of our Brethren can be granted, by any of farre lesse understanding and justice than these who now have audience with the Protector, as that, by our Brethren's suggestions and importunitie, both they and we, to the ruine of our dearest Ecclesiastick liberties, be put under a new Erastian government, which shall end in persecution of those who are truly godly among us. If by your countenance and counsell to Mr. Sharp, or by your dealing with your friends about the Protector, (if so be yow have any,) yow can help to keep this very dangerous storme from us, yow shall doe an acceptable service to God, and a great good deed to our groaning Church, and a seasonable favour to all of us here who desyre, in this hard tyme, to be faithfull to God, and the trust he hath committed to our keeping. Expecting herein a comfortable answer, I rest

Your loving Brother in the Lord,

January 12th 1657.

R. B.

(D.) FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL HIS ASSURED FRIEND,
MR. FRANCIS ROUS.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

THE constancie of your kindness towards me, which from tyme to tyme yow are pleased to signifie, in this season, when old friendship by the most is buried in oblivion, makes me still confident to use with yow my wonted libertie. I hope what I wrote some five moneths agoe with Mistres Lammie, yow did receive. The purpose of my present writing is to acquaint yow with the imminent danger of the Church of Scotland, (which I know yow have sincerely loved and highly prized,) to be pitifullie opprest and enslaved to a few of our brethren, who long have vexed us with their most causeless divisions; and when we have been willing for peace cause to have past by all their former (as we esteemed) high misdemeanours, yet flatly they refused peace, unless on new conditions, which we never heard of, nor expected to have heard of: 1. That they behoved to be freed from all subordination to our Presbyteries and Synods till they were new constitute and purged: 2. That, for the interim, the whole jurisdiction of the Church, in every thing controverted, should be put in the hand of a committee, consisting of an equall number of them, to be named by themselves, and of us, to be named by ourselves, who should finally determine in all questions anent purging and planting of Churches, and every thing else that concerned the whole Church. The first is the total subversion of our Presbyteriall government, on a very injurious and false pretence, that subordination must be denyed, not to the worst or weakest of our Presbyteries and Synods, bot the very best, from which they are most averse, as those of Lothian and Fyfe. That our brethren would have broken all in pieces our Church government by weaker and worse pretences than professed Independents we would never have expected; but that they would have attempted, as they doe in their second demand, the usurpation of all Ecclesiastick jurisdiction to themselves, a farr smaller and more inconsiderable faction among us than the Independents are among yow, we did never dreame till themselves did openly profess it; and when we did refuse it, they supplicat the Counsell here to be invested in it; and now when

the justice of that court has rejected their strange desire, they have assumed the boldness to present in effect, albeit in more low, soft, and ambiguous words, the same desires to the Protector himself. If any of your sects there would not only petition for a toleration to themselves, but also the privilege to have the full Ecclesiastick jurisdiction over the land, I doubt not their desire would be rejected with scorn, though it were sweetened with a clause to have an equal number of others joyned with them, whom yet they know assuredly would never associate with them in any such work. Such an enormous phantasm was never yet proposed by any of your heteroclitics; yet the present desire of our brethren seems to be very like, certainly to the body of this land, even to these who are esteemed justly, as we conceive, the most godly in it, it would be one of the heaviest church-grievances that ever yet befell them, nothing lighter than that of prelates tyranny, the fountain of all our late troubles. We are no wayes feared that the Protector's justice and wisdom can give ear to any such motion, if he were rightly informed; but we are feared indeed, that our brethren, by the great favour they have with fundrie there, and their great diligence and boldness to misinforme, may obtaine, as the result of their unhappy, rash, unadvised, and causeless contentions with us, some one thing or other that may be very dolorous to our nation, and vexatious to the most of the truly godly in our land. There is a brother of ours there, Mr. James Sharp, who can give full and true information of all things which concerne our present condition: I wish you had some time with him. When you have heard him, I put no question but the love you have to God and his truth, and the respect you have to the peace of the Church of Scotland, and the quiet of the nation, (which for the tyme is so quiet as any could wish, if these men could but rest, and go about their own station,) you will be willing, in this tyme of our distress and danger from our owne, (whom least it became, of all men, to have put us to this vexation,) to speak a word for us to the Protector, that at least we may be secured from the incroachments of these restless men, who, so long as they expect countenance and assistance from him, will never cease to put their quiet neighbours to new troubles. I would be loath to marre them in any favour they could desire in other things, for the men are my good friends in all things personall and private; but the crushing of their foresaid designe, I count it piete and justice, their own good, the Protector's honour, the good

and peace of our land, whereto (by all the entres yow have been pleased to grant unto me in your affection) I humbly beseeke yow to contribute what yow may, that with the greater cheerfullness I and many more here may continue to pray for your remaining yet sometime upon earth, for the perfecting of all yow have in hand, for the glory of God and the good of his whole Church. So doe I truly pray,

SIR,

Who am your affectionat and most honoring Friend,

January 16th 1657.

R. BAILLIE.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER MR. ROBERT DOUGLASS,
MINISTER AT EDINBURGH.

SIR,

As yow desired, so I have written my sense: as it is, if yow mislike it cast it in the fire; if yow desire any thing eiked, or paired, or changed, I shall doe it; if yow let it goe up, desire Mr. James [Sharp] to conceal, so far as may be, my name; for my name, I know, is unluckie and unfavore to those in power there, nor like I myselfe any thing the worse for that. God help and guide yow.

Your's to power,

January 18th 1657.

R. B.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WELL-BELOVED BROTHER MR. JAMES SHARP,
MINISTER AT CRAILL.⁴

JAMES,

Yow see what I have written in the inclosed, at the desire of our friends here; if they mislike my writes, I have desired them to suppress them; if otherways, to send them to yow. If yow, on the place, think fitt to deliver

⁴ It seems scarcely necessary to remark that Mr. James Sharp, Minister of Crail, who appears so prominently as the agent of the Resolutioners, afterwards became Archbishop of St. Andrews.

them, either to those they are directed to, or to the fire, doe as yow think fitt ; only I desyre, so farr as may be, my name to be suppressed ; for yow know, beside elder quarells, how oft my name stands printed in Mr. Love's proceffe ;⁵ so intreat those to whom yow delyver my letters to keep them to themselves, else my name may hurt yow, and the cause yow have in hand. I hope yow shall, by God's help, easily get the desyres of those headie men crushed ; but all my fear is, that the end of your strife will be the Protector's determination to subject our poor Church to some new Erastian modell, which shall be very grievous, albeit farr more tolerable than the tyrannik Turkish yoke of the Protestors. If for the averting of this mischief, yow finde it necessar to cause send up for any more, I think M. R. D., and M. J. W., shall be sufficient : if there were need of more, I think G. H., or J. F., or R. K. of H.⁶ might doe weell. If yow come speed in the maine, I wish yow laboured to get abolished that very unjust commission of visiting the Univerfities ; and that which M. P. G[illespie] did obtaine, that no Independent should violently take the church and stipend of any parish, as was done in Kilbryde and Leinzie, and much less that such should take up our Univerfities, as they have done Aberdeene, etc. I pray God help yow and guide yow ; yow had need of a long spoone :⁷ trust no words nor faces, for all men are liars.

Your's,

R. B.

January 18th 1657.

FOR ME [MR. ROBERT BAILLIE].

RIGHT REVEREND SIR,

BECAUSE I fear I did it not before, I thought fitt now to shew yow, that your old friend, my Lord Warristone, did, in that conference before the Protector, affirme, (while he was speaking of the evill effects of the Resolutions,)

⁵ *Vide supra*, foot-note p. 105.

⁶ These initials stand for Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. James Wood, and George Hutcheson, James Fergusson, and Robert Ker of Haddington

⁷ "He should have a long-shafted spoon that sups kail with the devil,"—(David Fergusson's *Scottish Proverbs*. Edin. 1641, 4to.) Had Baillie sufficiently known his correspondent, he might have taken this Proverb to himself.

that there was one of the Resolutions, who, in the last conference for union, said, That the reason why he stucke so close to these Resolutions was, that he might keep himself in a capacity to act for the King when opportunities should offer; and when it was answered by Mr. James Sharp, That he hoped that would not be made good; in his reply he did correct it thus, It was true it was not publicly spoken, but one did speak it privately to him. I am fearing, by what I have heard of late, you may be the man that Warristone did meane; so you may think upon it, and make your own use of it. If you have had any thing lately from Edinburgh, or if Mr. Patrick Gillespie be come home, or coming before the rest, let me know, who am

Your most affectionat Brother to serve you,

Hafillhead, March 5th 1657.

PA. COLVILL.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

THIS is my third; I think it no reason you should be burdened with particular answers, only I desire to know, by a word in yours to the Brethren of Edinburgh, that mine did come to your hands. You see the enclosed. If I were with Warristone I would say to him for answer: 1. That his professions to me constantly, since he was a child, and my scholar, were of so great friendship, and that such offices of uninterrupted kindness had allways past mutually betwixt us, that I could never have thought, that for any cause whatsoever, he would have spoken of me to any living, much less before the Protector, words which tended so exceedingly to my hurt, without the least signification ever to myself, directly or indirectly, that he harboured any such thoughts of me. 2. The thing that I am informed (by this letter of a worthy Brother,) he did speak, if truly he meant it of me, (whereof my old and continuing respects to him make me doubt,) is exceeding false; for I doe utterly deny, that in all that long, and weell near a moneth's conference, there was one word spoken by me, or any other, that looked any thing like the speech here written, to my knowledge; nor was there any occasion of it, for in my judgment, as he weell knows, his new singular tenets in the Publick Resolutions were no more prejudiciall to the late King than they are to the

present Protector, and to all that ever were or are in power in any nation, or are like to be hereafter on this earth. 3. That not only that which he spoke of our publick conference was utterly false, as himself granted upon your reply; but also, that in any private conference I did ever say any such thing to him, is no lesse untrue, as I am ready to depone upon oath; and I hope my positive negation will be as much believed, where I am known, as some other men's affirmation without proove. 4. It hes never been the Protector's pleasure to trouble any man for his simple judgment or heart's affection in questions anent the Covenant, especiaillie where persons did live peaceably and without all offence: Now, as for my peaceable and inoffensive living hitherto, if I were put to an inqueit even of those who differ from me in judgement of the Publick Resolutions, I hope I would pass with alle good a report as others of my neighbours. 5. I have had many free private discourses with my Lord Warristone, these twenty-nyne yeares, as use to be among most intime and more than ordinarily familiar friends, but that one which I suspect he meant in his speech, (if it related at all to me,) was long before our last conference; and, to my best remembrance, all that then I said might have been spoken in the Protector's owne audience, without all offence, for it was bot to this purpose, That a noble friend of his and mine had told me of a late distinction of his, which I desired to understand from himself, to witt, that he was clear, notwithstanding of our League and Covenant, of the lawfullness to change our present civill government, so farr as concerned the *terminus a quo*, but that he was not clear of the lawfullness to joyne with the present *terminus ad quem*. Herein I desired to be cleared by him; as oft times, in such questions, I was wont to seek and receive light from him. While I was declareing to him the grounds of my scruple only upon the *terminus a quo*, and of my full clearness in the *terminus ad quem*, without any scruple of conscience, if I were loosed from the former; and while he was beginning to shew me how I might be loosed from it, a gentleman did come in to him, and interrupted us, that we proceeded no farder. Since which time, to my best remembrance, I had no discourse with him, private or publick, concerning any serious bussines; and why he should have spoken before the Protector, of this, my proponing to him alone, so innocent and simple a case of conscience only for my own satisfaction, and why he should have so fearfully metamorphosed it, I cannot conjecture. Surely if any

other man's rashness, (for malice, I know no man living that professes to have it at me,) had brought me to any trouble, either for my words or deeds, I would have addressed myself to none sooner than my Lord Warristone for his counsell and assistance; as he may remember, in his late distresses, I had been one of his fastest friends.

This, and much more to this purpose, I would say to him if I were near him; which, as you find occasion and expedience, I wish you did communicate unto him, or any other, for my clearing from his unadvised speech, if so be he will expone it of me; whereof yet I doubt. Praying God to help you in your very hard, dangerous, and vexatious task, I rest,

Your's,

Glasgow, March 9th 1657.

R. BAILLIE.

(J.) FOR THE RIGHT REVEREND MR. ROBERT BAILY, PROFESSOR OF
DIVINITY IN GLASGOW.¹

REVEREND AND MUCH RESPECTIT,

London, March 21st 1657.

YOUR third I received yesterday; and that I sent no returne to your former two, I hope will not be imputed to my neglect of the respects I owe and bear to you, when you consider that, in my letters to Edinburgh, I give notice of the receipt of your's; and that the employment I am putt upon doeth so take up my time, as that I have much a doe to give the full account which is necessarie of all passages relating to our publick concernements to the correspondents at Edinburgh, by whom I trust there is such notice given to these of our judgement, and to yourselfe in particular, of the state of matters heir, as may plead for my omisions in making these particular returnes to letters sent to me, which are in my desire to doe, could my leasure allowe it. Sir, I delivered your letter to M[aste]rs Calamy and Ash, which was acceptable to them; and have often inquired for Mr. Rows, but by reason of his infirmity, which occasioneth his seldom being in town, I have not as yett had the opportunity of meeting with him; which caused my delay of wreiting to you before this. As to the matter of your last, I shall briefly relate to you what is fresh upon my memorie of the ground of that report, which your worthie

¹ From the Orig.—(Wodrow MSS. Folio, Vol. XLIX. No. 4.)

Brother signifies unto yow. While in our debate befor his Highness, I had occasion to bring for the proof of my assertion, that ther was that printed to the world by us which did make it out, and was not answered by them to this day: The Lord Waristoun, among other particulars, in his reply, was pleasit to say, that they had printed that which we had not answered to this day; which was, that we had asserted, that one of the reasons why we could not disclaim the Publick Resolutions was, least heirby we might barr the body of the land from ryfing in armes for the assistance of the King, in case of his invasion. Why I was speaking in answer, I took notice of that instance, posing the Lord Waristoun if he could awerr that ther was any Judicature of our Church which passed any act or declaration to that purpose. He answered, He did not charge any of the Church Judicatures with it, he had only sayed that one of our judgement had professed so much in privat to him, which they had putt in print, and was not taken notice of by us. I answered, That what was spoken by the suggestion of any one in privat to him, I knew not, nether came I hither to make answer for it; but if he could alleadge any thing to that purpose of the Judicatures, I was ready to make my reply according to my knowledge; but I left it to be considered, how impertinent and bloody such an allegation was in such an audience, upon the privat suggestion of any one person. This is the truth of the whole which passed as to that, which I think will not be denied by the Protesters heir. If the Lord Waristoun did mean yow, I think he hath dealt injuriously with yow upon many accounts; but he did not name yow then, nether have I since heard, by any in this place, yow wer the man he aimed at. Howbeit, I did this day read your letter to one, who hath promised the next week to acquaint the Lord Waristoun with it. I hope it shall not much trouble yow, that through an inconsiderat heat, such an expression was uttered by the Lord Waristoun which did strike at yow, when yow consider, that all the arguments hitherto brought by them heir, after a full hearing, have been no other then reproaches and calumnies upon the constitution, acts, and the ministers of the Judicatures of our Church; though, blessed be God, they have little advantaged their own cause, or prejudiced yow, and the other honest men who stand for the interest of Christ, with unbiassed and rationally men heir. And I may say it upon ground, that ther are none of the Presbyterian judgement, in and about London, who doe not disown them,

and exprefs ther greif for ther scandalous way ; and that they are owned and befreindit by none but fuch whose principles lead them to oppofe that intereft, which we are bound to maintain and plead for. Our holy and wife Lord who is the living protector of his Church knoweth how to plead his own caufe, and to overrule the rage they have expreffed, the reproaches they have caft upon our poor Church, and to order the fadd exercifes his fervants are putt to becaufe of thefe, for the beft : faythfull is He who hath promifed ; and that I may be kept up by his ftrength, under this tafk, which yow truelie terme hard, dangerous, and wexatious, your prayers are expectit by him who commends yow to the grace which can ftablifh and perfect yow ; and is,

SIR,

Your verie loving Brother in Chrift,

JA. SHARP.

The relation of our late paffages I leave to what may be given yow from Edinburgh.

A PARCEL OF A LETTER TO MR. JAMES HAMILTOUN.

HOWEVER, for securitie hereafter, I pray that no fylab come to me from yow that yow care all in the Meal-merket did know, fo Mr. Sharp will be at ease, and I and yow will need no excufe for our fluarie and rash efficiencie ; yet I fear our too great and too wife filence is our greateft fin. I fee by the Englifh letters, which doubtlefs yow all muft know, wherein yet my name needs not be heard, that as the moft articles of the City's Remonftrance for kingfhip are paff, *nemine contradicente*, fo especiallie that of religion, as weell for us in Scotland as them in England, that the publickly professed fhall be the Chriftian proteftant, according to the Scriptures ; whereby all our Confessions and Covenants, and abfolutely all forms and modell befide the text of Scripture, are abolifhed. Also, that who differ from thir fhall be protected, if they worfhip God in Jefus Chrift, and doe no civill injurie to the peace, which I think all the fefts profefs, Independents, Anabaptifts, Antinomians, Familifts, Seekers, Arminians, Lutherans, Socinians, moft of the Quakers. The only excepted are Poperie, Prelacie, and Licentioufneffe in

the abstract: but seeing popish, prelaticall, and licentious men profess the qualification, and will give securitie for this, their exclusion seems to be but of freewill, which is not durable. That this should be concluded in a Civill judicatorie for Scotland by so many of our Nationall commissioners, *nemine contradicente*, and in presence of our chief Protestors and grand Remonstrators, Argyle, War[istone,] J. G[uthrie,] P. G[illepie,] with their absolute silence, when they are clamouring the Protector for a number of small and very false accusations of our Church, not long ago would have been counted a wonder, if not simply impossible. Yea, I fear we be not free, that our Commissioner joins fully, so far as we know, in that silence with them: too great declining of perfection has never been the surest way to escape it. Any counsell to yow there, much my wifer and better, I offer not. God help and direct yow.

Your's,

March 30th 1657.

R. B.

(K.) FOR THE RIGHT REVEREND MR. ROBERT BAILYE, PROFESSOR OF
DIVINITY IN GLASGOW.²

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE received laity three letters from yow, expressing the great resentment yourselve and others have of the Provifo past heir concerning qualifications, etc. It is known what endeavours I usit to prævnt the passing of it; and, if our freinds had been in the House, or, as the House was at that time constituted, had that busines been carried by reason, and not by violence and faction, the motioning of it had been explodit with shame. I know not what may be the apprehensions of these with yow of the consequences of it, and though I find that the sticklin of one heir for the passing of it was mainly with an eye to your citie; yet I doe not think that the agitators have reached all ther defyres by it, and am of the mind that it shall tend to ther disadvantage, beeng a demonstrable evidence of ther spirit and way to

² From the Orig. (Wodrow MSS. Fol. Vol. XLIX. No. 5.)—The passage at the end, inserted within brackets, appears to have been purposely omitted in Baillie's MS. In this, and the preceding letter of Sharp, his own orthography is retained.

all sober men heir, who see clearlie they drive at domination and rule, and can be satisfi'd with nothing lesse; and doe conceive, that for all ther being reputed with yow that they have overactit and outwitted some heir, yet they have not kythed great policy as to this, by making use of the advantage they had at that time, so as at the first to stretch matters to the highest pinn. Sir, my opinion is, that your people would doe well to compose themselves to silence and patience as to what is past. The lesse notice they take of it, or noise be made about it, the lesse fear they may have of the præjudices of it. Were yow heir at the source of effaires, yow would see that the Protestors and ther abettors have not such cause to boast and bragg as they doe. It is fitt they doe so, but good for us to wait on God. Doe not think that the late transactions heir will be the measure and rule of future actings in reference to us. Beleeve it, ther will be a greater change then some doe imagin, though it is not to be expected that we can have a just satisfaction to our desires in reference to our established discipline; yet doe not think that our necks shall be put under the yoke of these men.

I had of late an large conference with the Secretary of State, and made mention of the case of your City in particular. He promised to me that somewhat would be done speedilie for rectifying of matters. If yow marre not your own busines by unseasonable stirring, and not keeping close what may be suggested to yow as a remedie for the present, that may be done shortlie which will give satisfaction; towards which I shall not be wanting in my endeavours, so far as they can reach: I cannot wye [vie] with your grandee Patrick. [What yow did hint of your beeng caution for your Town, I did not take up till 2 or 3 dayes agoe, when I was so pressed by your Bailie heir, that he would thrust into my pockett five peeces, that I might not come from London without a pocket-watch. I was surpris'd with the motion, and could not obtain of him to take them back. Yow would doe me a favour to wreat to him that he may take them from me, for I know not upon what account they are given. I have not been unfit to the lyke, and without budding, if I could serve the interest of honest men with yow, I am very free to it.]

The Spirit of counsaile and courage rest upon yow. I am Your's,

JA. SHARP.

London, July 28th 1657.

Yow may have a fresh allarum by the agitators procuring of a committee, of which the most are Independents, and favourers of them, to hear our differences, and certify ther opinion to the Councill: but let it not trouble yow; that engyne, I trust, throw the Lord's mercie, shall be countermindit.

(F.) FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.

JAMES,

It seemes yow are a very grosse *ignaro* that can no so much as read Arabick letters; yet it's good yow can gueffe at their sence. Your neighbour Patrick Gillefpie's discase, is the maine thing has been here talked of these three weeks. For myselfe, I wishe his person in all things weell; however, I have exceedinglie mislyked his way. If the Lord at this time remove him, we are in hazard to have his place quicklie filled with a worfe. Waristoun's restless diligence will labour his friends there to put in one of his owne humour. Patrick Gillefpie's wife will ply her husband's friends, Dr. Owen, etc. to obtain the Protector's order to our Councell here, to command us to make ane election of ane other; but the faction in our bounds are like, if they can start in time, to use all possible means for a third. The brethren here who correspond with yow, as also your friends in Fife, conceive it a matter of very great concernment to have that Colledge out of the Protestors hands, if possible: what way yow may guard against the two or three parties moving there, yow best know. It is my wish and others yow did assay to obtaine from Secretary Thurloe, and others there, yea, if yow can in time, from my Lord Broghill in Ireland,³ such letters to the leaders of the Councell here, that they might be pleased to call for Mr. Dowglafs and Mr. Dickson, and follow their opinion in planting of that place; if so, they shall nominate a man whom they themselves, and all who are for the Presbyterian way in both nations, shall acknowledge to be als fitt for that charge, and als

³ Roger Boyle, third son of the Earl of Cork, was created Baron of Broghill in 1628, before he was seven years of age. After the death of Charles the First, having been gained over by Cromwell, he distinguished himself by his services in Ireland; and was persuaded to come for one year, to Scotland in 1655-1656, as President of the Council: *Vide supra*, pp. 315, 321, 325. In 1660, he was created Earl of Orrery, and died in 1679, aged 58.

acceptable to the Protector as any in all this land:⁴ Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Wood, myself and others, are of this opinion. If yow in this also can marre the Protectors designe, and further ours, it will be a notable service; and we all shall be much bound to yow for it. The way and means to accomplish it, we leave to yourself: we know it will be the harder to perform, that we think it expedient to keep up the man's name for the time. I hope yow will be loath to returne before the agitators goe before yow: thereafter come so soone as yow will, not before. I find already the great diligence of the faction to provide that place; doe your best to marre them. The Lord help yow to doe out your vexatious service with successe, and return yow safe to us.

Read what I have written at Mr. Dowglafs's desire to Mr. Rous: close and deliyver it if yow think fitt. Forget not the buffines of our Town.

FOR MR. ROUS.

SIR,

I DID expect to have heard from yow with your Grandchild, when yow sent him to us. However, upon my many obligations to yow, from his first coming to this time, I have, (as I hope he will bear me witness,) been so carefull of him in his person, studies, company, dyet, and all things concerned him, as it lay in my power. I purpose, God willing, to continue my oversight of him, and am glad to have the occasion to doe service to one of your so near relations: This is all I have for the time to signifie to yow. Only one word concerning our brother Mr. Sharp; that so farr as yow may be pleased to give credit, not so much to me, as to the farr most part of the gracious ministers and people in Scotland, what he has delivered in our printed Representation⁵, and from time to time in write to the Councell, and others, there is to our best knowledge the very truth, unjustly contradicted by these men who have broken the peace of our Church, and continue, by their obstinate error, and restless pursuing of their oppressive designes, to keep our dangerous rents from all possi-

⁴ Baillie here points at the nomination of Sharp to be Principal of the College of Glasgow.

⁵ "A True Representation of the Rise, Progress, and state of the present Divisions of the Church of Scotland. London, printed in the year 1657," 4to, pp. 58. This tract, according to Baillie, (*infra* p. 352,) was written by James Wood.

bilitie of healing. Had not your wifdome and equitie there been pleased to have opened one ear to our anfuers, we were afrayed they should, by your power, before this have brought on a heavy and very caufeless persecution on us. As in God's mercy to us yow have not hitherto concurred with their unhappie propofals, however gilded with specious pretences, fo our trust is in God, that he will not permitt yow hereafter to affist them, without all caufe, to put us to farder griefe and trouble. Without your help they have these diverfe years vexed us to purpofe.

I will hold you no longer at this time, but heartily falutes yow, praying that the Lord would continue yow yet fome tyme to be instrumentall, with these who here have power, for the good of them in both Nations who, in quietness, desire to serve the Lord Jefus in all fincerity of heart. So prays

Your very loving and much honouring freind and Servant,

September 23d [1657.]

R. BAILLIE.

(O.) FOR MR. R. BAILLIE.

SIR,

BEING now sick, I make use of the hand of another, and doe thank yow for the letter yow sent me, whercin yow expresse fo much care towards one in regard of his relation to me. But if yow knew the manner of sending him to Glasgou, yow would not have thought it strange that he was not recommended to yow ; for, upon some reasons, I did put him away from mine own care, and delivered him over to one who was heretofore Clerk to the Committee for the Univerfities wherein I had the chair, as perchance yow may remember, who did take the care of providing for him: He, meeting with Mr. Gillespie here, learned of him the way of the Colledge, and of bringing him into it, not knowing your interest therein, but only as a Divinitie Profeflor there. But now yow have gone fo farr to take notice of him in respect of me, I must acknowledge myself engaged to yow, and shall desire yow to continue this charitie to him, he being there upon his good behaviour, without which he is like to be lost both with God and man.

As for your publick business, I am forie that there are such differences between those that are fo near in spirit, and desire heartily that to the unitie of

the spirit there might be added the bond of peace. True it is, there have been such differences heretofore between fains, and as great as Barnabas and Paul; but they are rather for lamentation than imitation; yet howsoever, it is to be hoped God will produce a good effect out of them, who turns all things to good for his children. As for my part, I was not particularly engaged on either side, neither will I as to taking parties, but only apply myself to truth and peace. When the business had been long in hand, then Mr. Sharp acquainted me concerning the matter of the Commissioners, and the unequal interest of them. Hereupon I made such application, that it was returned to me for an answer, that there was not such inequality in them; and hereupon I fell presently into my sickness, and so had not opportunity to act further in it personally, but am ready, if God shall give power and opportunity, to advance such a work of truth and peace as this is; and so recommending you and your Church to the grace and favour of God, and to his Spirit of unity, peace, and holiness, and remains,

Your very faithful Friend to serve you,

Whitehall, 10th [October] 1657.

F. Rous.

(L.) [FOR MR. R. BAILLIE.] LONDON, OCTOBER 13TH 1657.

REVEREND SIR,

YOUR'S from Edinburgh I did receive, but because the subject to which the purpose of it did relate, hath been since in another condition than was supposed at the writing of it, I thought you would the more easily dispense with my delay to give you a return to it. Your's of September 29th came not to my hand till October 12th in the afternoon, and that casually. I had taken my leave of his Highness that day in the morning, and had your letter come sooner, I had an opportunity to have spoke a word for our friends in that particular; however, upon the receipt of your's, I went straight to a significant person of the Council, of whose active friendship I have had many proofs; I did acquaint him with the business: he bade me give to him the full state of the matter in writing. Accordingly I did draw [it] in paper, with the desire for a present remedie expressed in your letter: I inclosed the copie of his Highness letter you sent to me. I waited the opportunity of putting it

into his hand ; when I ſaw he was to ſpeak to other members of the Councell, and probably to his Highneſs, I befought him to move effectually in it ; which he promiſed to doe, and give me ane account to-morrow. That letter hath been ſurreptitiouſly purchaſed, I know by what inſtrument ; it could not have paſſed here by the knowledge of the Councell ; howbeit the Lord may be pleaſed to order that particular (as he hath done other paſſages of their ſtickling here) for a further diſcoverie of the practiſing domineering ſpirit of theſe men, to render them leſſe capable to oppreſſe, if the honeſt men of your Toune do ſtand to the maintaining of their juſt rights, and ply the Councell in Scotland. I know by letters from ſome of them lately ſent to leading perſons here, that they have both friends there and here, and hope that your Metropolitan ſhall not be able to bring them under his yoke : It might have been expected, that when that letter was obtained, he was in ſuch a condition as might have barred violent, carnall, and revengefull intendments ; and his co-agitators ſhould have ſeen the Lord's rebuke of their injurious wayes. He intended to be at home before the day of election ; but being under the Lord's arreſt, he would interpoſe by his agents for this delay.

I have nothing now to doe at London, where my ſtay and toill hath been ſo long that I may be excuſed (when the Lord hath now defeated all the aſſaults of that faction for Church-power) if I meditate a ſpeedy return ; which I ſhall delay till the next week, that I may doe what I can for the ſervice of your honeſt men. I was not forgetfull of them when I had occaſion to ſpeak with Mr. Secretary, and others of the Councell, theſe weeks paſt ; and believe it, they have a prettie good ſenſe of their condition, and I think they will evidence it. I ſuppoſe yow have ane account from Edinburgh, to what paſſes our publick buſineſs is brought, ſo that I may ſpare anie more writing of it. Only I ſhall prevent the time of my diſcharge of the Protector's order to me, at his very civile dimiſſion of me, in one particular, in that he named yow as one of our Brethren to whom he deſired twice to be remembered by me at my returne. I ſent your letter by a ſure hand to Mr. Rous, who ſtayes in the countrey, and hath not been ſince at Whitehall. I doe remember my reſpects to your R[everend] colleagues, Mr. George Young and Mr. Hew Blair. The Spirit of the Lord Jeſus reſt upon yow. I am, Sir,

Your's,

JA. SHARP.

I received one from your baillie, James Pollock, and was mindfull of his desire signified by it, though I could not prevent what was in a clancular way here drawne from the Protector to your Towne's prejudice; which may be in time yet remedied. These who covet to rule among yow, I think doe not expect to have it by your good will. I pray yow excufe my not sending a particular returne to him, to whom I desire my service to be remembred; his ufrage of me while he was here, lyeth yet upon my stomack. Yow know how it may be talked of. But I shall forbear till meeting.

(M.) [FOR MR. R. BAILLIE.]

REVEREND SIR,

Your's of November 9th, I received the 20th. I thought yow had gott notice before this what was done by the Councell here in reference to the Town of Glasgow. Upon my representation of their case in paper to some of the Councell, they dealt so effectually in the busines, as by the Councell's order here, it is whollie referred to be determined by the Councell of Scotland, but with this exprefs caveat, that they doe nothing to the infringement of the liberties of that burgh. This was told by one of the Councell two weeks agoe, but after the receipt of your letter I did speak this day with Mr. Secretary concerning it, who hath assured, that it is so as above written; which is the expreffion *in terminis* uttered by him to me this afternoon. If Mr. Gillespie, upon his return, make any bustling in that matter, your honest men need not be discouraged from prosecuting their just rights by all he can doe, either there or here. Let them use their moyen with their friends in the Councell, at Edinburgh; and if they apprehend any hazard by the power of some there, let them labour for a delay of hearing of the busines before the Councell till it please the Lord to bring me home, (which I hope will be within 20 dayes at farthest), and then I may trust they shall get no wrong. I know not what the faction with yow doe bragge; but believe it, their cause of bragging is more slender since Waristoun's removeing from London, than it was. Mr. Gillespie, and all of them, are better known here than they suppose: the Lord our God is holy and true, and will not allwayes further crooked designs.

It is not fitt your Towne take any notice at all of me in this busi-
ness, I shall be ready to doe them any service upon an just and honest
account I beseech you, Sir, communicate nothing of this letter to any but
such as yow trust for secrecie. The Lord's Spirit and preference be with yow.
I am your's, in Christ,

JA. SHARP.

London, November 21st, in haste, 1657.

(N.) [FOR MR. R. BAILLIE.]

REVEREND SIR,

WHILE I am here in towne I receive yours of February 15th. The con-
cernments of your Towne are more upon my heart than that there needed any
requests to engage me to imploy my poor endeavours for preventing their pre-
judice. I take the libertie in these busineses to use the way I am accustomed
unto with these of the Councell here: I cannot upon all occasions sollicite
them at times when my being with them may be taken notice of; but I hope
the result of the Councell, in reference to these affaires, will evidence that I
have not been altogether neglectfull to improve the opportunities I had, with
all the members of the Councell, since my last coming to towne. I shall only
say this, that those among yow are much mistaken who think that Mr. Pat-
rick Gillepie can carrie here what he will. Providence trysted my coming
over with the very nick of the determination. In reference to what yow did
write, I spake to all of the Councell severallie in it, and had assurances from
them of what now is made good by their order; and if your honest men shall
take no notice of Mr. Patrick, but goe on in their usuall way of election, they
need fear no prejudice by all he can doe; but if either by his threats, or in-
sinuations, he prevaill with them to swerve from their liberties in the least, they
have themselves to blame for future inconveniences. One of the Councell
told me, he had satisfi'd Major Darnie [Dorney] with what was done. This is
but a hint in haste to yourself, which I hope yow will not make known as come
from me; but believe it, there is no cause why your honest men should in the
least recede from their way in owning their just rights, and though I doe not
make much dinn in busines of that nature, yet I have matter to blefs the

Lord I have not been altogether usefells in serving fo just an interest. I must lay it upon yow to make my excuse to your Magistrates and Councell that I have not given them a return to their letter. I pray yow, as yow love me, let not me be taken notice [of] as having any hand in what is now past.

Yours,

J. A. SHARP.

Edinburgh, 25th February [1658.] In haste.

Remember my respects to Mr. George Young. Goe on in your way of election where no scandall is made out to incapacitate any by the Act of qualifications.

(P.) FOR HIS REVEREND BROTHER MR. JAMES SHARP, MINISTER
AT CREELL[CRAIL].

JAMES,

How our Towne's busines will goe on Tuesday I know not: my neighbour is as high as ever. If it goe wrong we must be on yow again. In Mubbot's letter, the last week, from London, to the Governour of our towne, I see the Councell of England are on ane oath of renouncing of Charles Stewart's interest: This, to me, is point-blank a renouncing of our Covenant and Oath to God; if this be not prevented, it is a ground of fore perfection only for conscience. If we act any thing against the present power, let them doe to us as they find cause; but if we refuse ane new oath renouncing an old, whilk the last Parliament of England drew on us to keep them from ruine, and so to lay a foundation for Cromwell's present power, our sufferings for this may be heavie, but unworthie to come from them who drew us to the first oath, which we cannot renounce, though they have done it. If your power be any thing worth with Broghill, Thurloe, or any other, I humbly in-treat yow to prevent this great mischief, a most needfells ground of trouble only to tender consciences: to others, oaths are nought but cobwebs. I have given yow a warning; this course will undoe many whom yow love, and me with the first, for any thing I know: do in this what yow may. This, taken in tyme by yow, may easilly be remedeed: but if the Protector be once engaged in this perfection most needfells, he will not be so easilly brought off

it as he was from the idle oath of tender. Who cares now for an oath but a few quiet conscientious men, who will never trouble the present government, if it trouble not them.

Your's to serve yow.

Glasgow, May 3d [1658.]

FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR GEORGE MAXWELL OF
NETHER POLLOCK.⁷

SIR,

As yow desired, I did immediatly draw the inclosed, according to your amendments, as yow may see; but none calling for it, I would not be officious to obtrude it to any; only, Sir, I send it to yow, who made the motion of it to me, to be made use of as yow think expedient. So rests,

Your's.

May 3d [1658.]

FOR HIS REVEREND AND BELOVED FRIEND MR. JOHN YOUNG.

SIR,

UNDERSTANDING that some doubt of my consent to these of our Acts wherein indeed we were unanimous, I doe testify, that I did consent and subscribe not only that Act of the Colledge, allowing to Mr. Gillespie three thousand merks for his first service to us at London, but also to the Act allowing him, during his lifetime, the half of the profits of the Bishoprick of Galloway that should be by his pains and diligence augmented; and likewise for his procuring of our last gift, I did most willingly subscribe ane Act for a gratuitie to him of three hundred pound sterling, out of the first and readiest incumes of that gift: That my consent and hand was to all this, I am very willing yow assure, in my name, any whom yow shall hear to doubt of it.

May 3d [1658.]

[ROBERT BAILLIE.]

⁷ Rector of the College of Glasgow. This short note probably enclosed the one that follows it: See the postscript to Baillie's subsequent letter to Spang, (*infra*, p. 371-373,) respecting Gillespie's disputes with the College and Town of Glasgow.

FOR MR. SPANG.⁸

COUSIN,

THAT which oft I promised yow, a large account of our affaires this twelve moneth past, yow have it, but in a confused way for want of leasure. Our Church has been prettie quiet, our troubling Remonstrants not haveing yet prevailed with the English to get authoritie from them to exercise their tyrannie among us. The great instrument of God to cros their evill designs has been that very worthie, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr. James Sharp. The purpose of the few brethren that were on the advise of his going to London, upon my Lord Broghill's desire, yow may see in his Instructions, subscribed, and at first seen almost only by three, Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. David Dick, and Mr. James Wood. The Remonstrants agreed not very weell among themselves. My Lord Warristoun, Mr. Gillefpie, and Mr. Guthrie, these three restless heads, looked not one way. But after the affronts Mr. Gillefpie received from the Synod of Lothian; and my Lord Waristoun's domestick straits had made him content, contrare to his former resolutions, to embrace his prior place of Register from his Highness; and Mr. Guthrie's continuall vexation by Mr. Simpstone his colleague; and Mr. Simpstone of Airth being provoked by the Synod of Perth's meddling with the great scandall of the fatherless child, reflecting fore on him, they resolved at last to goe up together, and openly to petition his Highness for all their desires.

When the Synod of Glasgow had taken off the censure of the Generall Assemblie from Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and Mr. James Naefmith, in the strange way I wrote to yow of before, that partie thought it advantageous to them to have that act of Glasgow acknowledged by the other Synods. For this end they resolved to send Mr. Gillefpie correspondent from Glasgow to the Synod of Lothian: they thought they would not refuse him for many causes; and if they admitted him, it was a leading case to the other Synods to passe from the act of the Generall Assemblie in its censure without all satisfaction. That message was not much to the mind of Mr. Gillefpie himself, but Mr. John

⁸ This letter has no date in the MS. but it appears to have been written in June 1658.

Carftares and others would needs have it put upon him. When he came, his commiffion was ferupled at by Mr. John Smith and others, and laid afide to be cognofced on; they gladly would have fifted the matter, and efchewed all dinn, being unwilling to enter in conteft; but Mr. Patrick Gillefpie's high humour would not permitt it, but he muft needs have their pofitive anfwer to admitt or reject his commiffion. They lenified the queftion, and fince he would have it put, they made it Admitt or Committ. When the votes almoft of all wes for referring it to a committee to be cognofced on, he took it fo ill, that he broke out in a railing, telling them, "Their fword was but of wood, and their arme was broken," and much more evill language; to which Mr. Dowglafs gave ftout and fharp replies. I knew this irritation would not be eafilie forgott; it was a fpurr for their voyage to London.

There was a very foule feandall of new broken out on Mr. James Simpson of Airth: A young woman familiar with him, and oft in his houfe, was found with child; fhe granted the child, but denied fhe had known any man. Mr. James, with the advice of his prefbyterie, Mr. James Guthrie, and other two or three, (for their number is no greater in the Remonfrant prefbyterie of Stirling,) takes the woman's confeffion, in face of the congregation, that fhe was with child, and withall her purgation by oath that fhe knew no man. For this Mr. James and fhe are both cited to anfwer to the Synod of Perth: both of them fend in to the Synod a declinator (both written by Mr. James Simpson's hand) as of a corrupt judicatorie. While this is in agitation, Mr. James is fent to London, to wait on till his four fellow-commiffioners fhould be ready to come. Their commiffion I did not fee; but it was fuch as fome of their owne, as Mr. John Carftares, and others, refufied to fubfcrive: we may know it by their propofalls, (B.) which to the very laft they preffed to obtaine from the Protector: to wit; Ane order from him, that within the bounds of every Synod there fhould be named a committee, of equal number Affemblic-men and Remonfrants, who fhould have power to determine all differences in planting and purging in all the Prefbyteries of the bounds. 2. That there fhould be a committee of delegates from all the Synods, of equal number of Affemblic-men and Remonfrants, to determine finallie all differences ecclefiastick in the whole land. 3. That the Protector fhould nominate a committee to plant kirks, and that the power of giving of ftipends in all vacand churches fhould be in this committee. 4. That the Parliament

should renew the Act of Claffes, to the end the places of civill power should be in the hands of their party. The last they obtained, for Lieutenant-General Lambert, and the Generall-Majors in the Parliament were much their friends ; and others, whom their diligent agents Garthland and Tweddall made for them. At first their motion was rejected ; but thereafter, when our friends were out of the house, they got it past in an additional proposition. It was intended chiefly for the changing of our Glasgou magistrates ; whereupon I moved our brethren of Edinburgh to write to Mr. Sharp many reasons to stop the thing if he could. He wrought it so that it past with much difficultie, and however got private assurances it should doe no harme ; and so that Act of Parliament lay as good as dormant, till of late they obtained, on a supplication of procured hands in this toun, a letter from the Protector to suspend the new election of magistrates in our burgh till farder order. Our late magistrates, with the concurrence almost of all the burghs of Scotland, are dealing with the Protector to get the priviledges of their burgh preserved. What will be the issue we will see ere long.

For the other three desyres, Mr. Sharp, in diverse conferences before the Protector, made them appear so unreasonable, that after more than half a year's importunat solistation, they could obtaine nothing at all. One of the causes of frustrating their hopes was, that the London ministers was flatly for us against them. Yow see what information I writ up to Mr. Ashe, a prime citie minister, to be communicat to all our Presbyterian friends, (C.) ; also to my ancient friend Mr. Rous, one of the Councill of State, (D.). Mr. Rutherford did write to Mr. Ashe an information in the favours of his partie ; but after both his and mine were read, and Mr. Sharp with his five opposites had been heard at length, in diverse meetings of the Citie ministers, all of them professed their dissatisfaction with the way of the Remonstrants, and satisfaction with our proceedings. Mr. Wood had drawne a Representation of our differences, which Mr. Hutchison, in his smoothing, to my sense, had something enervat, not only in its sharpness, but vigour. This Mr. Sharp did print at London ; which (since these too readie scribes have not answered,) did us much good with all intelligent men.

The Remonstrants, finding no Presbyterian friends, plyed hardlie the Secretaries, did pray oft with them both privately and publictly, so that with all their power these befriended them ; I mean Dr. Owen, Lockier, Caryll, and

other Independents : Lieutenant-General Lambert and Fleetwood, with the great officers of the armie, most anabaptists, were affectionately for them. At last the Protector, being wearied, did name a duodenarie committee to hear both, and report their judgment to the Councell. Mr. Sharp refused to appear as being a mere private man, having no commission to transact anything of publick concernment to the Church of Scotland ; but being charged at the second meeting, he appeared, and gave such answers to his opposites challenges, that they could get nothing there for a good tyme. Of the twelve, six were conceived to be presbyterians, and the rest enemies to our church-discipline. Of the first fort none kept but one, Mr. Manton ; the others kept weell, and were readie at last to report to the Councell their advyce to grant all the desires of the Remonstrants, as they had reason, being avowed adverstaries to our church-government. When it was at this nick, Mr. Ashe, by his letters, procured Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Cooper, two presbyterians, who had been named on the committee, to meet ; they, with Mr. Manton, after a new full hearing, were so well satisfied with Mr. Sharp's replies, that they drew up their judgement by way of testimonie, (E.) against the Remonstrators desires. This wrought so upon the Councell, that they resolved not to interpose in our debates, only to write a letter to the ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Traill, and Mr. Stirling, to agree at home among ourselves ; yet in this letter, by cannie conveyance of their friend Mr. Scobell, (I think,) clerk to the Councell, they had gotten foisted in a very hurtfull clause, that where there was difference about stipends, it should be determined by the testimonie of four named in Mr. Patrick Gillespie's ordours, which the Parliament had expressly abolished. That clause was represented both to the Protector and Counsellors to be fo unreasonable, that it is like there shall no letter at all be sent to us. The storme we were afraid for, by God's mercy, for a tyme is put by ; but how soon it will waken again, we doe not know.

Mr. James Guthrie left them before they came to their greatest contest, whether for want of moneys, or difference among themselves, I know not, though they put all the ministers of their mind in our bounds to pay, at the first, forty shillings sterling, for their maintenance, and all of their partie, men and women, to a voluntarie contribution ; whence, out of Glasgow, some say, there went up one hundred and eighty pounds sterling ; yet their charge was

fo great, and their friends charity, after the first fervor, so cold, that all of them were straitned enough for moneys, as I was informed. Also, they say, they agreed not so weell among themselves: certaine it is that Mr. Guthrie opposed my Lord Waristoun's resuming his place of Register. If it had been upon both their professed principle of the unlawfulness to take places subordinate to an unlawfull power, I could the better have excused it; but Mr. Guthrie, (as one, who should have known it with the best, informed me) with all his power, did labour secretly to get that place to his confident friend Swintoun, with the burden of a yearly pension of three hundred pound sterling out of it to Waristoun; I know not what to say to it. However Mr. Guthrie left them in the mids, having obtained nothing but a pension of a hundred pound sterling to his colleague Mr. Rule, out of the treasure of vacant stipends, the spoil of other churches, which is now dried up. My Lord Waristoun is now also returned, having, with his place, obtained the most of the Registers which were carried out of the betrayed (as many say) Castle of Edinburgh to the Tower of London.

Mr. Gillespie remains there forely sick, some think in displeasure that his desires were not granted. However, at his last going to Hamptoun Court, he got no speech of the Protector: if this grieved him, I know not; but he went immediately from Hamptoun Court to Wombledoun, Lambert's house, being Saturday at night; and having engaged to preach on Sunday morning, before sermon, he had five stools, and, after his painfull preaching, fourscore before he rested; thereafter, for many dayes, a great flux and feaver, together with the breach of an hulcer in the guts, put him to the very brink of death. Many thought it the evident hand of God upon him, and would not have forrowed for his death. For myself, I was grieved, foreseeing the hurt of our Colledge by his removeall. He had obtained from the Protector to us, all the benefices of the whole Chapter of the diocese of Glasgow; also the Abbacy of Corfregall, and fundrie other things, which, *jure devoluto*, fell in the Protector's power. This gift he could have made advantagious to us; but, as I suspect, no other man shall make any thing of it: beside, our rents are in a confused condition, and we in much debt, which hardlie, for a long tyme we will defray; which he, by his singular activitie in these things, could have taken course with; but my most grief was, that I feared we should truly have gotten a worse in his place, with whom my life should

have been more unpleafant ; fo that, after fome weeks desperat difeafe, when his flux and feaver began to abate, I was glad, and wifhed him to return quicklie in health. When I fand the faction fickle for fecuring his place to their fide, I writ to Mr. Sharp (F.) to guard againft that evill, if he could ; bot how all thefe things will goe, a little tyme will inform us. If he remove, my defire would be for Mr. Sharp, or failing him, for Mr. Ferguffon : for myfelf, God willing, I will medle with no place that comes through civill hands, and for that place as yet I never had the leaft ambition. If the faction fet Mr. Durhame in it, or Mr. Young, that his profeffion may be for Mr. Durhame, I mind not to fickle at all to the contrare ; we may foon be worfe ferved.

While thefe debates at London did continue, the refllefs humour of that partie at home was fomewhat quiet, waiting for the iffue. Our Synod of Glaſgow, whether for want of matter, or being deferted and contemned by many, has paft this year without dinn. Mr. Robert Semple of Lifmahegu's foule proceffe has been referred to a committee, and little done in it, the man being one of their fyde. Mr. John Hammiltoun of Innerkip, a prime man among them, of a long tyme under very grofs fcandalls, is not fo much as challenged. Mr. Harrie Semple, a bufy agent for them, prevented his proceffe by death. The Synod of Lothian and Perth has been carefull to try accurately the challenges of fundrie.

The Quakers make fome trouble among us, and increafe in Leinzie, Dowglafs, and other places, moft where that faction has been troublefome. Thus does our Church affairs ftand.

For our State, all is exceeding quiet : A great armie, in a multitude of garrifons, bydes above our head, and deep povertie keeps all eftates exceedingly at under ; the taxes of all forts are fo great, the trade fo little, that it's marvell if extreame scarcitie of money end not, ere long, in fome mifchief. What came out doors of the Parliament was this : All who came thither were complying and confident men, and none more readie to ferve his Highnefs, in every thing, than all that came from Scotland : if any were doubted, they were hold[en] off till their commiffions were weell examined. The malicioufnefs of the faction with us kepted out Commiffar Lockhart, commiffioner for Glaſgow, a large moneth : yet at laft, by Ambaffador Lockhart's letter from France, he got in. The great work at firft was, to fettle the excife, and maintainance for the army ; a vaft fomme of money was requifite

for the garifons in England, Scotland, and Ireland; for the navies in Spain, at Dunkirk, and Jamaica; for the armie in France; for the Protector's court. When this was agreed to without all contradiction, it was so laid by a few of the Protector's fastest friends, not above five, that the city should petition the Parliament to advyse the Protector to take upon him the title and government of King, after the way which, in a long paper of advyce, was sett doun. To this none did oppose but the officers of the army: to take them off, one of the articles of government was, the erection of a Houfe of Peers, to be nominat by the Protector, who doubtless was to make lords the chief of these officers; yet the thing was so farr against all that was professed, and so oft printed before, that it could not goe doune at first with them. That which made some of them, especially their head, Lambert, so adverse, was his owne evident interest; for in all men's eyes he was the heir-apparent to the Protector's power; but the Kingship cutted him off clearlie from that hope. About this, many sharp debates were in the Houfe and out of the Houfe by the officers; all other were to give the Protector whatever he desired, not so much for recent accidents, which were thought either invented or directed as opportune for that end: to wit, the seasing of a number of gentlemen in and about the citie, as if Charles Stewart had employed them for a present disturbance of the peace, which fear quicklie evanished as totallie groundless; also Sundercomb's plot to kill the Protector with a blunder-box; the man's denyall of all, and poyfoning of himself for fear of quartering quick, made not this to appear; the seasing of the declaration and standard of the Fifth Monarchie fools; the imprifoning of Sir Harie Vaine in Cairbrugh [Carisbrook] castle, and Generall Major Harifon, did quicklie evanish: But that which inclined the most to further the Protector's Kingship, was their expectation of a regular government thereby, without the perpetuating of a militarie rule by the sword, to which so vast and arbitrarie charges would allwayes be necessary; beside that, all did expect a more moderate and meek ruling from the Protector and his children, than from Lambert, or any of all the armie. Some also were glad of a professed and open royaltie, hoping, in tyme, it might further the returne of these whom they counted the lawfull heirs of the Crowne.

When the Protector, as they said, was willing to have come, and declared his willingnes to accept, after much debate, private and publick, of the

article of Kingship, alſe weell as the reſt of the advyce, that ſame morning his good-ſon Fleetwood came to him, with ſome papers, aſſureing a ſtrong combination in the armie to oppoſe that motion. Upon the which affrightment, his Highneſs went to the painted chamber, and called the Houſe to ſhew them, that he accepted the government according to the petition and advyce in all the articles, except the title of King, which he could not digeſt. His beſt and moſt intime counſellers, Broghill and Thurloe, thought this a great error; yet it ſeems it was the beſt expedient; for at that time Lambert and the Generall-Majors power was ſo great, both in the Houſe and Armie, that if their obſtinacie had continued, they might have overturned all. To prevent this miſchief, a few days thereafter he adjourned the Parliament from June 27th till October.

In the laſt day of the Parliament, June 27th, he was moſt ſolemnly inſtalled Supreme Magiſtrat in a canopie of ſtate and throne, with a royall purple, furr itrobe, a ſword of ſtate, a ſcepter, and Bible in place of a crown, by the Speaker of the Houſe, Withrington, and was graced, like a coronation, with a fermon and feaſt. In all the action the French and Dutch Ambaſſadors flood on his two hands, congratulating in their maſters name. The hearts of many were ſorie to ſee in effect all the Kingship eſtabliſhed on Cromwell in peace. Yet this did not ſatiſſie; for quickly Lambert was called for to a privie conference, wherein declaring himſelf unwilling to comply in all things, his commiſſion was called for, and he made a man moſt privat: the chief of the army, in a ſupplication, excuſed their adhering to his way. Broghill got paſt in Parliament a right of a thouſand pound a year for his good ſervice. All men expected that when ſo eaſily Lambert was quaſhed, the next ſeſſion of Parliament would have quickly made Cromwell King; yet it did not ſooner meet but great miſcontentments were apparent: the Houſe of Lords, according to the petition and advyce, did ſit; Manchester and many would not ſitt: Caſſilis diſdained it; there was no more Peers for Scotland but Wariftoun and Lockhart: yet the chiefe of Cromwell's friends were taken out of the Houſe of Commons to fill the other Houſe; and many then came in to the Houſe of Commons who were excluded before, no great friends to him; Scot, Heſilrig, Lambert, and many more, who quicklie began to move high queſtions about the power of the militia, the name and power of the other Houſe, to whom the Supreme Magiſtrate was to be anſuerable. Upon

their flicking so high, after a few dayes sitting, they were dissolved; the Protector calling to God to judge betwixt him and them, and they saying, Amen. In his speech, he attested God he had rather chosen at a wood-fyde to have kepted sheep, than have undertaken the office he had, if the love of the people's peace had not constrained him: he assured of Charles Stewart's readines to come from Flanders with an army, and fundrie lifting men for him in London. A storme after this was expected, some prodigies seeming to foretell it: A little after his instalment, a magazine of powder blowing up many houses and persons; about the house in Fogo-muir, near Duns-Law, in December, an army of pickmen appearing to many; and some dayes after, some thousands of canon, in a formall shape, for many dayes being seen by many, both English and Scots, made of the snow without the hand of man. For all this, nothing to this day is seen but a deep peace.

It's expected a new Parliament may be called, and fundry shyres are said to be forming petitions to his Highness to accept of the title of King. Many in the army, both in Scotland and England, are cast out; but who remaine, writ up their supplication, encouraging the Protector to proceed; it's thought, on the councill's act and armie's petition, the Crown shall be put on, and confirmed by the next Parliament. They speak of my Lord Fairfax and Lambert's committing. In a late speech of the Protector to the Mayor and aldermen of London, it is still averred that Charles Stewart is ready to come from Ostend, with six thousand men and seven thousand armes: All marvels how this can be; for the English navie is readie about that place to sink all that come that way; and the designe of raising men in England is so poor, that none values it, especiallie when it is so well known by the Protector in every circumstance; beside that, the most who profess themselves for the King among us, or over sea are of so exceeding ill principles and humour, that few do wish to be under their power.

For our more private affaires, thus they stand: The Magistrates of our towne have guided their affaires much better than they wont to be here, or any where this day in Scotland; by a voluntar stent on the malt, they have payed near two hundred thousand merks, or a verie great soume of debt left by the former Remonstrants, by buying the Gorbals, Craig's, Blantyr's teinds, &c. at great rates. They have payed the English maintainance, so that no man, these three or four yeares, of greatest burden, has been stented

to a shilling. They have made the Laigh-Church as good as new ; bigged a fair grammar schooll, a fair mill, and two wells, in the heart of the towne. For all this, Mr. P. Gillespie, so foone as recovered from his deadly disease, informes the Protector of them as so mishtent men, that he obtains an order to stop them to proceed at Michaelmas in their ordinarie election. When we heard of it, we writ to Mr. Sharp, who took such course about it at London that his returne was, we needed [not] care for it, for it could not prejudice us ; for, indeed, Mr. Patrick Gillespie's carriage at London was so high, vain, and sumptuous, that he became to be mislyked ; and his frequent familiar walking with Lambert, and some idle speeches, of the Remonstrants power to raise in Scotland twenty-four thousand able yeomen for the good cause, reported to the Protector, added nothing to his credit ; yet when he came to Edinburgh in his coach from London, with his horse of twenty-five peeces walking after the coach, he made a great business to have all our magistrates and councell cast off. Mr. James Sharp had procured a letter from the Councell of England to beware to hurt the priviledges of Glasgow. Mr. Douglas and Mr. Dickson, on my letters, had dealt with the counsellors against Mr. Patrick's oppressing and calumnious accusations. The Proveist and Clerk of Edinburgh, and other friends, dealt in the same, seeing Glasgow's case would be a leading one to all Scotland. So for all that Warfington, Swintoun, Argyle, and the rest of the faction could doe, little could be obtained against us ; only our folks, being foolishlie confident, went too soone home, and in their absence, Mr. Patrick obtains an commission to try and report what could be objected against the magistrates and counsellors. On the commission were five, Major Dorney, a sectarian preacher, but intime with that partie, the Governour of the Castle of Dumbartane, an anabaptist, as they say, Lieutenant-Colonell Simons, Commiffar Lockhart, and young [Hamilton of] Orbistoun. At their first meeting, their proceeding was so illegal, that Orbistoun and Lockhart protested against it, and refused to sitt. Our Magistrates appealed to the Councell, and refused to answer ; notwithstanding, Mr. Patrick moved the three English sojourns to proceed, as they did, till they had sworne and heard all they pleased, on proveist, baillies, and most of the counsell ; against some they swore about fourtie witnesses without any libell, but What know ye of this man ? in a way so irrational and illegal, that all cryed out on it.

In the meane tyme, I was called to Edinburgh, December 30th, to hear Mr. Sharp's report. He gave us a very notable relation of every passage, how, by the good hand of God, he had gotten all the designs of the exceeding buſie and bold Remonstrants defeat; that the Protector had dismissed him with very good words, assuring he should be loath to grant any thing to our prejudice. He commended himself in his last speech to four of us in particular, and by name twyfe, Mr. Douglafs, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Blair, and me, professing his sorrow that he was a stumbling-block to us. The reason of this kindness, I take to be, 1. My Lord Broghill and Secretar Thurloe's reports of us; 2. That the Presbyterian partie in England who adheres to us is exceedingly great and strong, and, after the armie, is the Protector's chiefe strength against the Sectaries, who generallie are out of conceit of him; 3. That our adversaries are found but unconsiderable, and a headie partie, much joyning with the way of his adversaries. However, we blessed God, that by Mr. Sharp's labours, was kepted off us for a tyme a much feared storme: At his coming from London, he appointed a correspondence with one Major Beak, a zealous Presbyterian, for assisting us in what we might have to doe. We appointed Mr. Wood to draw a short declaration of our willingness to have any tollerable peace with the Remonstrants, if so, for tyme to come, they would promise to be submissive to the established government: this now is printed, (G.); but they scirp at all we can doe or say for peace, except we subject ourselves to their good pleasure. There was something moved in our last meeting of a few, to doe a little more for ingaging the Protector: I crushed the motion at the beginning, inveighing against it; so for the time it's dead.

At this tyme, Mr. P[atricks] G[illespie] was diligent to get his accusations closed in Glasgow, [before] the three Sojourns with their clerk James Porter, (the factious clerk catholick of synod, presbyterie, common session, and the five particular sessions, and of every committee they have,) Mr. Patrick and Mr. John Spreul instructing every witness as they thought fitt. When all was ended, they went to the Councell with the depositions; but finding the Councell not so ready as they expected to goe their way, Mr. Gillespie takes himself to a new way, wherein he was like to have obtained all their designe. Their crafts-baillie, John Hall, a wavering and volage man, albeit the Proveit's nephew, suffered his lightness to be abused, and to tell all the evill tales he could of his colleagues. Walter Neilson, deacon-conveener, Mr. G[illespie's]

speciall enemy, against whom was more deponed of too much drinking and profanitie than any three of their companie, in his ambition to continue in office, was willing to joyne in a clanculary way with the former to serve Mr. G[illepie's] desires; and above all, W. Anderfone, employed by the towne in their most secret actions, and conceaved to be a most active agent against Mr. G. was in secret drawne over by him: to joyne with his partie. These three, by Mr. P. [Gillepie's] and Mr. John Spreul's directions, had laid it fo cunningly, that it was a marvell their plott miscaried. However, Mr. G. as minding nothing but peace and the Town's good, that which he knew the Councill had resolved contrare to all his desires, that he might seem to have some hand in that he could not help, puts in a supplication that all should be sent home in peace, and accusations laid by, as hopefull they would make a new election, which should be right and acceptable; the Councill, nothing the more for this supplication, but on Mr. Sharp and other solistation, and their order from England, sent an order whereby they removed the stop had been put to their election, and permitted them to go on to choise according to their priviledges. The day before the election, and no sooner, they fand out Mr. Patrick's new plott, and fundrie of them went about to prevent it the best might be. When they came to the election, they carried not only that W. Anderfone should not be on the lite to be Proveist, but should have no place in Councill, as being neither merchand nor craftman: they got John Anderfone of Dowhill, proveist, [John] Walkinshaw and James Barnes, baillies, James Campbell, dean of gild, John Hall put off the councill, and all made clofe contrare to Mr. Patrick's mind; only Walter Neilfone, by the power of his partie, was made baillie, but all his followers they gott off the Councill, so that Wattie now signifies little thing. At this disappoyment, Mr. Gillepie and his partie are intraged: they send back new supplications to the Councill against an irregular election; they obtained summonds against fourteen to answer to the former depositions; and now both parties are in Edinburgh to plead this cause: the event yet is uncertain, and both are very confident to get their desires. The chief of the Towne-Councill are John Bell and John Walkinshaw, right wife, diligent, and bold men, who hes had many shreud rancounters with Mr. Gillepie before the Councill: to his face they threaten to libell him, since they can no be quite of his cumber, as one who neglects totallie his own office, and in five or six yeares service, for which he

takes up a very great stipend, hes done nothing at all in his proper duetie, no so much as once to be present at a privat or publick examination. 2. That he invents one bufiness after another to be from his charge ; and spends up, beside his stipend, the Colledge rent excessively. That when he was at London, for a by-bufiness for the Town, he took off them fiftie pieces ; and for some gift he procured to the Colledge, beyde all the charges bestowed on it, which were great, he took three thousand merks from the Colledge as a grauity, and a pension for his lifetime of the half of that gift ; the whole whereof he calls two thousand merks, which yearly, must make to him a thousand. That for the last journey to London, where, only on the by, he purchased a new gift to the Colledge which they say is lyke to make nothing but much plea and expences, he took six thousand merks out of the Colledge rent at a time, when not only there was not any thing to pay the Masters stipends, but in the mids of the year there was nothing to pay the masters and burfars boord ; and as if this had not been enough, beside near three thousand merks of depurfements for compts of things needles to the Colledge, he took ane other gift from the Colledge, for the same service, of three hundred pound sterling, to be payed out of the first and readiest of any thing came in of his last gift ; he professing, at the receiving of the Act for it, that when all was payed to him, he was still a loser in his last journey, wherein few doubted bot he spoke truth in regard of his hudge waste. His partie, who employed him to London, contribute to him above one hundred and fifty pound sterling, which they supposed should have sufficed for his charges ; and the Protector gave him two hundred pound sterling, which he supposed should liberallie have defrayed him ; yet all did it not. They say that never Bishop in Scotland lived at so high a rate ; and the maine cause why he meddled to have his own faction in the magistracie, was his assurance, that these who now are in place, when they come to audit the Colledge counts, will not allow but complaine of his vast and unreasonab charge. This, and much more, they threaten himself to libell against him : How all will go we will hear shortly. However, he hes wakened a very great strife among our people, who without him would have been pretty quiet.

Aberdeen will never be out of some fire. Mr. Meinzie being wearied of his Independency, seems content to return to the Presbyterie and Synod ; yet Mr. Cant and he hes continuall fighting from the same pulpit, till at last

Mr. Cant is removed,¹ in small reputation. But before his death, his son, Mr. Andrew [Cant,] publickly had fould flytings with Mr. Meinzius, in the schooles, before all the schollers; whereof Mr. Meinzius hes written to all the other Univerfities, complaining, not fo much of the affront, as the erroneous tenets of Mr. Andrew. The queftions were *De Concurſu Dei in Actibus Liberis*, wherein Mr. Meinzius follows Twiſſe and Rhetorford *κατὰ πρόθεσιν*; the other oppoſes theſe expreſſly, and goes too farr the Arminian and Moliniſts way: however, that plea has made much dinn.

In St. Andrewes there is no more concord. The plea about Mr. Wood's fetling in the Provoftrie of the Old Colledge is ſcarce fetled, till a worſe does ariſe about the planting of his place in the New. While he and Mr. Sharp are too lingering in putting in it Mr. Scougle,² a good and noble ſcholler, miniſter of Lewchers, Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie, at Mr. Rutherford's deſyre, gets ſecretly the Proteſtor's hand to one Mr. Alexander Jamifone, a regent of St. Leonard's, a man very unfitt for ſuch an employment. About this there is a great preſent ſtrife.

In Edinburgh things are more quiet. There is little more concord in their Colledge: Mr. Lightoun³ does nought to count of, but looks about him in his chamber: Mr. Dickſon, for fear of Mr. Guthrie, was active to get him there. His ſon Mr. Alexander ſucceeded Mr. Lightoun in his miniſtrie at Newbottle; where my Lord Lothian, his earneſt caller, and many of the people, became quickly ſo unkind to him, in his ſtipend and other duties, that he was outwearied with them. His father,⁴ or rather Mr. Dowglaſs, moved my Lord Broghill to deſire the Toune-Councell to preſent him to the vacant place

¹ In the margin of the MS. Baillie has added, "This was generally reportit, but yit he lives." After the Reſtoration, in conſequence of various proceedings, Mr. Andrew Cant, ſenior, withdrew from his miniſterial charge in Aberdeen, and died about the year 1664. His ſon, in 1675, became Principal of the Univerſity, and one of the Miniſters of Edinburgh.

² Mr. Patrick Scougall, ſon of Sir John Scougall of Scougall, was miniſter of Leuchars in Fife. He was miniſter of Darsie in 1636; translated to Leuchars in 1645; from thence to Saltoun in 1658; and conſecrated Biſhop of Aberdeen in 1664.

³ Mr. Robert Leighton, Principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, and afterwards Biſhop of Dunblane, and Archbiſhop of Glasgow.

⁴ Mr. David Dickſon, Profeſſor of Divinity. His ſon was appointed Profeſſor of Hebrew, 3d September 1656.

of the Hebrew Tongue; which accordingly was done, and he settled there in Mr. Lightoun's absence at his yearly progress to London: on his return he stilled more than is ordinary to him, to have the young man out; but his labour was vain. In a late voyage to London he obtained, after Mr. Gillespie's example, some two hundred pound sterling to the College out of some Church lands, which, in my mind, will be also obtained as the flim-flams of Mr. Gillespie's gifts. However Mr. Sharp obtained, at London, that one of these hundred pounds, when gotten, should be Mr. Alexander Dickson's stipend. This angers Mr. Lightoun not a little; but all is quiet, for the ministry there of our mind, carry all things quietly and wisely, without much noise. In the Town Council there is too much, and seen division, the young Provost carrying all over the Clerk and others with a proud high hand, to the Town's hurt, as I hear.

We grieve for sundry unhappy accidents and sudden deaths among us. My Lord Killmars,⁵ a most gallant youth of nineteen years, among the tallest men of the Isle, in a few days sickness of a purple fever, died. My nephew, my best friend in Glasgow, the strongest man in the town, suddenly taken away with the same. So Sir John Grear of Lag, when coming to Edinburgh to marry the Earl of Athole's sister. Young Dughall,⁶ a very fine youth of twenty years, taken away with the pokes. John Bell, the only child remaining to Mr. John Bell our friend, died of a purple fever. My Lord Ross, a good young youth, as was supposed, fallen in adultery with his child's nurse. The Earl of Eglintoun's heir, the Master Montgomery,⁷ conveying his father to London, runs away without any advice, and marries a daughter of my Lord Dumfries, who is a broken man, when he was sure of my Lady Balclough's marriage, the greatest match in Britain: this unexpected prank is worse to all his kin than his death would have been. The Earl of Murray did little better, for at London, without any advice, he ran and married Sir William Balfour's second daughter; as my Lord Paflay,⁸ the other year, lost himself, in marrying, at London, a daughter of

⁵ William Lord Kilmaurs, eldest son of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn.

⁶ Porterfield of Duchal.

⁷ Alexander, eldest son of Hugh Lord Montgomery, after whose death he succeeded to the title of Earl of Eglintoun.

⁸ James, eldest son of James, second Earl of Abercorn.

Sir John Lenthal, who had born to Sir William Fleming some children ; and my Lord Kenmure cast himself away, in that same place, on a foolish marriage whilk will accomplish the ruine of his familie.

The Earle of Rothes is put in the castle on a most shameful occasion : My Lord Howard's sifter matched with my Lord Balgony, Rothes's sifter's son, Generall Leslie's oye ;¹ this Howard's wife, a very light woman, came to make a visit to Fife, where her carriage every where was exceeding wanton ; Rothes openly bure her too much company, to the offence of many. However, about that tyme she is gotten with child, which she bears at London : her husband, finding that he had not been near her for three or four moneths from her conception, falls in an outrageous jealousy with her ; suspects my Lord Bellafis, whom his brother fights in that quarrell : but suspects Rothes more, and in a rage posts towards Scotland to fight Rothes. The Protector hearing of it, causes follow and apprehend Howard, and sends an order in haste to secure Rothes in the Castle of Edinburgh ; where yet he lyes in great infamie.

My Lord Foster [Forrester,]² on a great suspicion of incest with his wife's sifter, his brother's wife, with grief of that and other misdemeanours, hes brought his wife to her grave. My Lord Lorne,³ a most excellent and honest-minded youth, prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, walking about while the Lieutenant of the castle with others are playing with hand-bullets, one of them, rebounding off the wall, stricks him on the head, whereon he fell down dead and speechless for a long tyme : his death fundry dayes was expected, but blessed be God, I hear this day he was better. My Lord Toftes,⁴ being weell at night, died ere the morrow. My Lord Clerkinton, Sir William Scot,⁵ going up weell his own

¹ Alexander Lord Balgony having predeceased his father, (*vide* vol. i. p. 203,) his son Alexander Lord Balgony, who is here mentioned, on the death of his grandfather, the distinguished General, in 1662, became second Earl of Leven.

² James Baillie of Torwoodhead, eldest son of General Baillie of Letham, by virtue of his marriage with Joanna, daughter of George Lord Forrester, succeeded to the title on his Lordship's death. The General's second son, William, was married to another daughter. See note in the Appendix of this volume, No. LXXIII.

³ Archibald Lord Lorne, afterwards Earl of Argyle, eldest son of the Marquis of Argyle.

⁴ Sir Alexander Belches of Toftes, a Lord of Session, died in 1656.

⁵ Sir William Scott of Clerkington, a Lord of Session, died 23d December 1656.

flair in Edinburgh, before he fat doune, fell dead in lefs than a quarter of ane hour. My Lord Balcolmy,⁶ the best Judge we had, going in weell to the Tolbooth, before he fat doune on the bench, fell dead immediatelie. Sundry other sudder deaths, both of men and women, have been among us this year: the other night Mr. William Forrest, an old schoolmaster, lay down weell at eight o'clock, and before ten was found dead: James Tran got not fo much tyme as to make his testament.

Our friends in town are all weell. Only good Mr. Durhame has kepted his chamber above these four moneths, and his bed more than this moneth, of a lent feaver and defluccion, that puts his life in great hazard: in the absence of Mr. Patrick Gillespie more than a year, and Mr. Robert M'Quare [M'Ward] seeking his health at London, a great burden of continuall preaching lay on him, and the perfecting of his work on the Revelation⁷ for the presse was very heavie: It were a great pity of the man; albeit I have my own differences with him, and sharp reckonings sometymes, yet I love him dearly, and counts him one of the best and ablest men in Brittain. Our good friend, Mr. William Wilkie, unhappilie, by a wrong step on the street, fell and broke his leg, which yet, after some moneths, is not whole.

I blefs God for his kindnes to myself, my health and chearfullnes continues. Being married October 1st [1656], it pleased God, the 15th of July thereafter, to give me a fair daughter, Margaret, who yet is weell. I married my daughter Lilius to a very good young man, Mr. William Eccles, the heir of Kildonald,⁸ who now is delivered of a fine child: as a little before my marriage, my wife married her eldest daughter⁹ to Mr. Hew Blair's son, minister near Lithgow. I took all these for favours from God; only my son Mr. Robert's long sicknes troubles me; he has a fore paine in his belly after a flux, that as yet we cannot get cured, but I hope God shall be mercifull to me in his delivery. Harie is a hard student beside myself, and profits weell. The rest of my children thryve, and are weell, and these are spurrs in my side to

⁶ Sir James Learmonth of Balcolmie, a Lord of Session, died 26th June 1658.

⁷ Durham's Commentary on the Book of Revelation was published at London 1658, folio, but it was posthumous. Baillie prefixed to it a commendatory letter, which will be inserted in the Appendix.

⁸ Mr. William Eccles of Kildonan, soon after this became Minister of Ayr, but was ejected for non-conformity in 1662. See the account of Baillie's Life, prefixed to this work.

⁹ By her first husband, Mr. Robert Wilkie, one of the Ministers of Glasgow.

mind God's service. I hope to get my Chronologicke Questions to something in tyme. Thereafter I purpose to deale in the questions of Grace, &c. against Baxter and Amirost; but I would have the ice better broken before I goe in that vast deep: Voetius I with heartilie were on that subject. These three years of absence from Presbyterie and Synod, has given me great peace be I wont to have. I know no how long I shall get this quietness enjoyed.

The publick affaires, as represented to us by your letters and other papers, sometimes give us matter of griefe, and sometime of joy. That the troubles of the Churches of Savoy are quieted, and the great threats of a sad war in Switzerland are turned to a fettle peace, we thank God. We are sometyms in fear for your States, their unkindness to the British familie, and that of Orange, their needles provocations oft of Sueden, by open favouring all his enemies, and drawing to their power Brandenburg from him; also their too strait allyance with Spaine, and neglect of France, portends no good, though their successe against the Portugall ships, in the very bay of Lisbon, and their boasting of the Bishop of Munster unto a peace with the City, were very pleasant to us. They are a very noble member of the Reformed Church, which we pray God to help and bless; albeit their State seems to stand but on tottering props, and they have lost much of the love and reputation sometyms they had, both at home and abroad.

We oft thank God that inables the Venetians so long to hold up with the great Turk, and are sorry for their losse this year, both of Tenedos and Lemnos, and what else they had conquered in the Archipelago. It's God that bridles and weakens that furious beast of Constantinople. If Ragotfi, that noble, wise, and good prince, should be put from his estates, either by the Turks or Austrians, I should be very sorry. They made us once believe that the Muscoviter had been slobed by his father-in-law; but it seems it was but a fable. We are glad that all his affayes against Sweden are proven fruitles.

It seems all the great warres of France and Spaine are but the playes of children at the baires, for no fruit at all. Their great armies in Flanders, all the last year thirty thousand a-peice, what did they but coursed about? Montmedy, Bourburgh, and Mardick, are but three feckles bicocks; the getting of Helden recompences weell the los of all the three. What has Conty, Savoy, and Modena, with all their noise in Millan this whole year,

gotten? And in Catalonia their conquest is nothing at all. We were sorry that the Portugall lost Olivenza, yet glad that all the Spanish power could obtain no more. It seems the Spanish patience has sent home the English navy without all fruit of their three or four yeares sumptuous attendance, but the loss of Blake their generall. As for the burning of some vessels in the Canaries, it was no great business, since now all the plate seems to be come home without impediment. Mr. Patrick Gillespie preached before the Protector, in his velvet raree cut cassick, a very flattering thanksgiving for that signall service, thanking God for the great reformation of the Church.

That young prince which Spaine has begotten on his sisters daughter in his old age, seems not to portend great good. But he whom all men begins to look most on, is Charles of Sweden: in his quarrell with Pole many were not satisfied, and generallie all here, for his league with the Protector, did maligne him. For myself, since the battell of Lipsick, I have loved the house of Sweden to this day above all foreigners, and by the strange successes God gives to their valour, I expect more good to the Church from them than from any others; however that unhappie Christina's apostacie, and after miscarriages, has grieved my heart. I was very glad that the incestuous Cardinall Casimir's crown, which his foolish and weak head could not bear, first, by a generall consent of the Polish nation, and then by many signall victories over them, who retracted their sworne consent, was lyke to be settled on Charles, so active, wise, and successful a prince; when the strong confederacie of Austria, Pole, Mosco, and others, raised that hideous storme on him, I was grieved and feared. But most of all, my disdain was against the Dane, whose friendship the Swede had sought by his marriage with his cousin, and all other honest means lay in his power, that the Dane would needs, against all could be offered him honestly, draw Charles from Casimir upon himself. Who can pittie him in all his present sufferings? This his madness seems to make good that, which many doubted, his fathers league with the Emperour, Pole, and others against the Swedes, as they alleadged, when Banier came downe and took from his father so much of his territorie. That Frederick in his late declaration for his breach with Charles, alleadges nothing of that loss, I marvelled, since all else he propones seems lighter than what Charles objected to Casimir at his breach with him. It seems strange, that Charles, with a handful of men, has so easily possessed himself of all almost that Frederick had on

the fourth side of the sea ; that the Danes every where proved fleeing cowards, especially in that last attempt against Funnen, where their advantages were so sensible. Strange that neither the Austrians, nor Poles, nor Muscovites, nor Hollanders, who drew that foolish weak Prince in their league, had either the courage or honesty to help him, in his greatest need, with the smallest support, either of men or money. It's mercy and wisdom in Charles that he left Frederick any thing, when easily it seems, in a month or two, it was in his power to have taken all from him that remained. I am glad that by a peace, however extorted, the Swedes are free to take course with other enemies. I wish Brandeburg may returne to his old posture, and not draw on himself next the Swedish armies, which the Lord forbid ; for after Sweden, we love Brandeburg next best. We wish Pole in good terms were agreed with Charles ; and that the Muscovite will agree with him we hope, finding nothing to be gotten from him but strokes ; and the Poles has promised their crowne to the Austrian for his prejudice. Our wish is that the Muscovite, for reforming of his churches, civilizing of his people, and doing some good upon the Turks and Tartars, were more straitly allied with Sweden, Brandeburg, the Transylvanian, and other Protestant Princes.

We should rejoyce if, on this too good a quarrell against the Austrians, in stirring up the Dane to invade Breme, which the peace of Munster gave to the Swede, he would turn his victorious army upon them and their associates with the assistance of France and a good Dutch league. It seems no hard matter to get the Imperiall crowne, and turne the Ecclesiastick Princes into secular Protestants.

A long tract of dreames I have on the success of Charles, if God help him to begin where his heroick uncle Gustave left, but all these I put in God's hands, who knoweth his own appointments. I expect out of the commotions which the Lord lets be now on the earth, his Majesty will be pleased to work out what he has promised of enlarging his Son's kingdom, of the bringing in the Jews, of abolishing Poperie and Mahometisme. And also, I pray and hope for the restitution of our sweet Princes to their owne, by the means himself knowes, though invisible yet to men.

POSTSCRIPT.

While these lye long beside me on the occasion I write to you, I add now

this furdur. Mr. Gillespie and our Toune's-folk had fundry hearings before the Councell, the end was, he got nothing at all of his will against them; yea they put in a libell against him of unfficiency for his place, and maladminiftration of the rents of the Colledge. This put him in a very high rage, for he imagined, that whatever libells he gave in against other, no man durst have been so bold as to have libelled him. -So soone as he came to Glasgow, it was his first care to call a Facultie, and shew us the libell, desyring we would joyne in a testimonie to clear him of it. All the rest were most willing to give him superlative commendations: I told them, I regrated these needles contests betwixt him and the toune, which he had drawn on himself by his perfeuing of them both at home and abroad with great eagernefs, that they did not concerne us; for myself, at his entrie, I had protested of his unfitnes for the Principall's charge, which under my hand did stand in the records of the Councell, which I could not contradict; for the other articles I should be willing to testifie any thing was true; however, I desyred they might draw a paper and shew it me, and if I could I should subscribe it. Our Rector¹ brought a draught to me, so simple as he could devise, for my satisfaction, as he said; but I shew him a number of clear untruths in it, which I could not attest. So excusing myself, the Facultie, without me, did write their testimonie, and appointed Mr. John Young and Mr. A. Burnett to present it to the Councell, together with a testimonie from diverse of the students of divinitie; the common Session of the Toune did send George Porterfield with another, but verie impertinently drawne; the town insisted in their petition to be heard, to prove their lybell; the Councell sent all home, advising to agree among themselves against such a day, otherwayes all should have a hearing. Mr. Gillespie's spirit permitted him not to speak of agreeance, while he lay under the infamie and scorne of their lybell, and so neglected to make an overture to that end. When the day came, the Commissioners from the towne were earnest to have their lybell put to probation; the first draught of it had been but extemporall, by John Bell's hand; but then, more advisedlie, Mr. Robert Govean had put it in a farr better frame. Mr. Gillespie and his partie imputed this to me and Mr. George Young. He denies his part in it: I avowed my assisting to my power, by my letters to my friends of our towne, in their just defence; but in their libells I truly medled not; I

¹ Sir George Maxwell, *vide supra*, p. 351.

thought it was no less than behoved to be expected, when so long and so violently Mr. Gillespie had been libelling them without cause; but for myself, their first paper I never saw till Mr. Gillespie brought it to our Facultie meeting; and the other paper, which amended the first, came only to my sight yesterday. I never libelled man but the Bishop of Canterbury, and at this time I was far from desiring the English to meddle with libells against any in our house, knowing in how dangerous termes I stood for the tyme with their government. If my open avowing difference from Mr. Patrick in the most points of the libell would make him take me for the author of it, I behoved to take in patience that mistake, as I did many others: for any thing in the libell, they needed no my information, for all was notour to many, as well as to me. However, Mr. John Young, the Colledge commiffioner, was very earnest in Edinburgh, with our town's-folk not to presse it furder; their friends also of the Councell pressed them to the same; so they were content to let it hing over his head for a tyme, till they see if he move any thing farther against them, which he threatens he will doe; but they doe not now regard his utmost endeavours.

Mr. Durhame yet continues extremely sick, much regrated by all: no man looks for his life.² My sweet boy Rab, on Tuesday May 25th, was removed to my very fore and just grief.³ All who knew him bore witness of his pietie,

² Mr. James Durhame, died at Glasgow, on the 25th of June 1658.

³ Baillie being alarmed for the state of his eldest son Robert's health, applied to Dr. Robert Cunningham, an eminent Physician in Edinburgh, for his advice, stating the case, and enclosing a letter on the subject from Dr. Sylvester Rattray of Glasgow. Cunningham's reply is still preserved, (Wodr. MSS. Fol. Vol. xlix, No. 8.) from which we learn, that in consequence of his absence from Edinburgh, Baillie's letter must have reached him after his son's death. The letter, "Datum Edinburgi, 29th Maij 1658," is addressed "For the Right Reverend Mr. Robt. Bailie, Professor of Divinitie at Glasgow. This." It begins,—

"Right Reverend.—Immediately after my returne from Winton, legi et relegi epistolam tuam perbreve quidem, sed ratione morbi diuturni et periculosi quo corripui audio dilectum tuum Filium, longiorem quam vellem. Morbum indignant presentes medici hydropem, in quorum sententiam pedibus manibusque eo:" &c.—The rest of the letter (in Latin.) is quite technical and too long to be printed. The writer expresses but slender hopes of his recovery, from the difficulty of expelling a disease that has baffled all the medical skill exerted to repel its approach; he regrets the prostration of strength; could that be recruited, among other things, he suggests a liberal use of water brought from Moffat Well, as it had proved beneficial in a somewhat similar case which he mentions.

wifdom, and learning, above many his fellows. He had two or three year a flux, and when it went away, there remained for other two year a great rumb-ling of wind in his bellie ; which within thefe two moneths did weaken him fore, and made him keep in. Both he and I did ftill expect a recoverie till the laft fourtnight, when his bellie and leggs began to fwell to an hydropick tympanie ; then my feares were great, and the doctōrs who had ſpent all their art in vaine became deſperate. All his feare was for a longſome diſeaſe and inſupportable paine, which the Lord mercifully prevented, far ſooner nor I or himſelf or any did expect, for till the laſt day he ſtill walked with his cloathes on. In that morning, after a potion which he ſaid to me, in my ear, he thought occaſioned his greateſt paine, he took ſome ſhots of wind in his bellie which tormented him fearfully, to a great crying of as great paine as ever woman had at her laſt ſhoure : they were indeed the paſſions of death : one of theſe, was in the morning at nine, laſted above an hour, another, at fix at night, greater and longer ; in both, allwayes crying to God in great devotion and patience, beſeeking a haſtning of removeall. When the height of theſe fitts were over, he craved all pardon for clamour, reſted on God, bleſſed him, exhorted all to the love and fear of God, recommended to me the care of his brother and ſiſters, exhorted me to a ſpirituall walk and diligence to make uſe of my gift ; and then, about ten a'clock, compoſed himſelf for reſt : He moſt quietly, without paine or motion, breathed out his ſpirit. Oft he told me, that many years before the Lord had ſettled on very good grounds his aſſurance of election and ſalvation ; this in all his paines was never brangled. He oft alſo profeſſed, that one of the grounds of his comfort was, that from his childhood, God had helped him to endeavour a keeping of a good conſcience ; that in the world he never had pleaſure, but the Scriptures of God had oft been his delight and great reſreſhment. I can write no more, this ſad ſubject, as ever I felt, makes me to cloſe. The Lord be with yow and all yours.

Your forrowfull Couſin,

[Glaſgow, June 1658.]

R. BAILLY.

Keep all theſe things to yourſelf: they are the inſide of all our affaires, which I deſyre none to know from me but yourſelf alone.

[FOR MR. ROBERT DOUGLASS.]¹

SIR,

BEING desired by yow to give my opinion of Mr. R. his Preface to his Survey of Mr. Hooker's Survey,² with all reverence to my much honoured and beloved Brother, I profess my grief and scandale with some pages of it, wherein I conceive, most needlessly, he is pleased, in the presses of London, among the midst of all the Sectaries, without any occasion, to spit in the face of our Mother Church, and to give her so fore wounds without all cause, that I doe not wonder of that Reverend man,³ (whom Mr. R. wont to reverence, and, as I think, yet does as much as any else living,) who, to diverse of yow in your High-streets avowed, that before he had written any such things, he could have rather choiced to have had his right-hand stricken off at the Crosse of Edinburgh by the axe of the hangman.

Mr. R. avowes,—That the Remonstrants among us are troubled on every side, in the streets, pulpits, in diverse Synods, and Presbyteries, more than under Prelacy, and are made to cry to God, under their helpless affliction, that the present power and all men neglect their miserie. This, to my best knowledge, is utterly false. I know fundrie whom they have persecuted, and, by their favour with the present power, have kepted from

¹ This letter contains Animadversions on the preface of a work by Samuel Rutherford. The original is preserved in Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. xxvi. No. 11. Except the signature, and one or two verbal corrections, it is not in Baillie's own hand. Neither copy has any address, but it appears (*infra* p. 387.) to have been written to Douglas.

² In 1644, Mr. Samuel Rutherford published at London his large work "The Due Right of Presbyteries: or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland:" To this an elaborate answer was written by Mr. Thomas Hooker, in New England, but printed after his death, as "A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, &c." London, 1648, 4to. It was this work that drew forth Rutherford's volume, "A Survey of the Survey of that Summe of Church-Discipline penned by Mr. Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford upon Connecticut in New England," &c. London, 1658, 4to, pp. 521. The publication having been delayed, (*supra* pp. 303, 306,) the author took occasion to prefix to it an Address to the Christian Reader, containing very severe remarks on the Resolutioners, being the only portion of the work on which Baillie animadverts in this letter.

³ This evidently refers to Mr. Robert Blair.

all possibilitie of remedie ; but I remember not any of them that has been put to the least suffering. Sundrie of them, whom whole Synods hes declared unlawfullie admitted, are, to this day, kepted in their usurped places, by their greatnes with the civill power. I have seen it too true what the fore-mentioned Brother, revered by them as by us, wrote of them in his letter, October 20th 1651,⁴ That he ever feared that they would usurp, and rather put others to suffer than suffer themselves ; and I have heard of a most precious and excellent man,⁵ who, with his colleague's continuall vexations and contentions, was so worn out, that he was put at last to leave his station, and accept of any other, for to gaine some quietnes.

Thereafter we are challenged, in the streets of London, before all the Secretaries, and from thence to the world, of Six particular crimes : First, That we have framed an Engagement for the present power which we allow every intransigent to the ministrie to subscribe, or else to want his maintenance ; to wit, their resolution "to live peaceably under the present government." That any man, let be meeting of our mind, did ever frame any such write, is more than I know, or ever before heard of ; the lawfulness and expedience of the resolution itself, Mr. R. avows : now, that the subscribing of what is lawfull and expedient should become unlawfull, when these in power requires it, we must be better taught before we take it on trust. Why should the like of this be objected to us, when the whole Isle knows that their partie procured, and to their uttermost did keep up, an order from the present power, That no intransigent to the ministrie should have any maintenance, but they alone to whom they did give a testimonie under their hand. With how great difficulty this monument of their tyrannous injustice was gotten overthrowne, the world knows ; for this work was done before the sun.

The Second challenge : That our Synods make prelatie acts to debarre godly and able intransigents from the ministrie, because they will not be satisfied with the Publick Resolutions. Surely unsatisfaction to these, to my knowledge, was never censured among us. When, after much toyle and debate, all on both sides did profess their willingness to lay aside publick agitation of need-

⁴ Baillie here refers to a letter that was addressed by Robert Blair to James Durhame.

⁵ Mr. James Wood, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Mary's College, (of which Rutherford was Principal,) was translated in 1657 to be Principal of St. Salvador's or the Old College, St. Andrews. *Vide supra*, pp. 316, 365.

less questions, if one Synod (for of more I have not heard it alleaged,) did appoint their intrants to professè this much peaceableness of mind, whatever was their judgement, was this any great crime? I have knowne diverse very gracious and able intrants, without any Synodicall acts, by the secret actings of the faction, kept out of places for no other cause but their dissatisfaction with the way of the Remonstrants. That any one man can be produced, who even for his publick preaching against the Resolutions of the Kirk and State was actually kept out, is more than I think can be shewn: I am sure it never was in the Synod where I live.

The Third challenge: That we make such a subordination essentiall to Presbyteriall government as imports a necessitie of Obedience to knowne unjust acts, even a tyrannicall and popish, an absolute and illimitat obedience. Why should such an untruth be fastened upon us, which is point-blank contrary to these our papers on which it is fathered, where we speak expressly of that, and no other subordination, which, since our late Reformation, from 1638 to the 1648, was in ordinarie practise among us without all question; which is the doctrine and practice of all Presbyterians beyond sea; yea, of all Protestants who maintaine the jurisdiction of Assemblies. Why should the sword of such a calumnie be put in the hands of Sectaries against us, that we crave obedience to any of our judicatories, even when they command, not in the Lord, but contrary to the law. Such a question to us is moved very impertinently; for the world knowes, that we make no doubt but the acts of our Assemblies pointed at, concerning the Publick Resolutions, are, so farre, according to scripture, reason, and the sense of all churches, of all nations, both friends and adversaries, that the opposers of them will be disallowed by all unbyassed men, to the world's end. Mr. R. might have remembered that the question betwixt us and the faction, in the paper cited, was come to this; Whether, when we had fully agreed with them in all things else, and granted all their desires, they would be willing thereafter, without more debate, to be obedient to the ordinarie Judicatories of the Kirk, as they and all were wont, before the rise of the late questions. This they flatly denied, and gave us a formall answer that they could promise neither to presbyteries nor synods, as now constitute, any subjection at all, in regard that the body of our presbyteries and synods was made up of persons so faultie, as no subjection was due to them; and that their purging of all the judicatories

behoved to precede their acknowledgement of any duetie to them as they now stand. This to be the true Scots of their papers, both their formall words, and constant practise since that time, puts it out of all doubt.

That new started question by them, we alleadge, it did abolish the very foundation of Presbyterial Government in our Church; for grant what subordination they pleased to a presbyterie in general, or to a presbyterie in Utopia, or any where else, yet denying it to the Presbyteries of Scotland, as now they stand, the Independents by this gets all their desire, by the overthrow of the whole government of our Church for the time, and ever till it be framed over again according to the Remonstrants modell.

Farder, what here is added to that new Question, seems to overturne not only the presbyterie among us, but all government, civill and ecclesiastick, in all places for ever, and brings in every where a necessitie of anarchie and confusion; that every particular person may and must follow the judgment of his own braine, without controll of any judge or judicatorie upon earth, whether civill or ecclesiastick. No Christian doth question but it is better to obey God than men, and when it is known that God commands, the countermand of men is not to be followed; but the question is supposed alone in a matter of controversie betwixt the judicatories and a particular person. Let all the judicatories proceed as conscientiouslie as can be required: let the Session, Presbyterie, Synod, Generall Assemblie, yea, Œcumenick Councell, unanmousslie determine this to be the will of God: let a particular person pronounce them all to erre;—If such a person, not upon any truth, but his own false apprehension that an error is truth, shall be permitted to preach and act at pleasure, contrare to all judicatories, when they avow the truth and righteoufness of their proceedings, and proves it sufficientlie, though they cannot convince and satisfie the obstinatelie erroneous person; if such a practice be maintained, shall there be any order remaining under the sun? What possible remed shall there be for the ending of any controversie great or small, till every Quaker, every Anabaptist, every Papist, be not only convinced within, but brought to profess without, the justice of the sentence pronounced by the Judicatories against them? This extravagancie cuts the sinews of all government ever was, is, or can be imagined: It makes every erroneous person the supreme judge on earth to himself of all questions, without any subjection to any power; were its judgement never so right, if so the errant

man think it wrong, and adhere to his own fancie, though contrare to scripture and reason. It concerns our brethren, and all men on earth who are for any government, as much as us, to see to the issue of such conclusions. The Judicatories believe their acts to be the will of God; the particular person believes his contradiction to be according to the will of God: the Judicatories, all of them, higher and lower, propone their scriptures and reasons, wherewith the whole Church is satisfied; the erroneous person continues resolute in his opposition and rebellion to all directions of all judicatories on earth, unwilling to be silent for an hour. What shall the end be? When our Generall Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, Sessions, are all cast off, and when opposers has joynd themselves in new societies of their owne minde, what will they doe when that befalls them, which ever to this day has been the ordinarie case of all these who has opposed and divided themselves from the orthodox Church? One or more of their company disagree from their conclusions, contradict them, and counteract them; when for this they are reprov'd and censured, they deny subordination in that case, avowing themselves to be right and their censurers wrong. What here shall be the remeed? Must all order give place to confusion for ever?

The Fourth challenge is a fearfull railing against the body of our ministerie, and, as their papers for union speak, the pluralitie of our presbyteries and synods; also against the bodie of our people in all our congregations. The Quakers may weell equall this language, but in any Independent that yet has written I have not read the like. Experience might have taught our Brother at last to have written more modestlie of others. He knowes how that exceeding false Testimonie against the King and our last Armie, most unseasonable sent before them in their last marche into Lancashyre, was received by the judicious brethren there; and the no lesse false witness for the Remonstrators against our Church sent thereafter to London, was received by the gracious brethren there. He knows likewise, I suppose, how the most, if not all, the fained fables which are the great grounds of this verie comprehensive slander, were convicted of evident falsehood in very publick audiences latelie at London, where by the agents of the faction they were very boldlie spread. I am sure in the Synod where I live, where these invectives against the crying weakness and scandalls of foul-murdering ministers, wont to be most frequent and vehement; so soone as that partie, through their opposites wear-

ness to contend, became masters of the presbyterie and synod, we have heard no more to count of concerning that subject. The few upon whom they tried their inquisition, after near an hundred witnesses, beside all the elders, were sworne upon their proceſſe, were found honest men; and although I have heard say after than once openlie in the face of the synod, that the true weaknes and reall scandalls of ministers would be found on their side of the house, yet, to this day, not any of their faction with us has been put to the least tryall: so doe they purge the Church where they have no impediment!

The Fifth challenge is our receiving to the Covenant and Church-fellowship men who, again and again, had broken their ingagement. This needed not to have been objected, for the taking of men's publick repentance, even when they are hypocrites, so long as their hypocrisie does not appear, will not be counted a fault except by Novatians and Donatists. The unjust severitie which some men would have used in our land's extreme distresse was the lesse regarded, when their designe became evident by this severitie to put the King and the armie, yea, the whole land, Church and State, in the absolute power of their owne faction, in the mean tyme, when their prime leaders intime familiaritie with these who had forsaken their Covenant, and was excommunicat for it, did appear visible. And what doe they speak of Covenants who openlie has torne our Solemne League and Covenant in peices, and at their own hand has cutted off divers prime articles from it? framing to us a new one of their own mould; which, had no the present power impeded, behooved to have been subscribed by all who would not have chosen to have been excluded from the societie and advantages of their godlie and thryving partie.

The Sixth challenge is but a repetition of the Fourth, that so many insufficient ministers are admitted by us. Our order of admiffion is as strict as in any Reformed church; nor has there for practice greater accuracie been used by our Church in any bygane time than since these late differences. If either the way of tryall, or qualities of men admitted by us and our brethren, were weell examined, it will be found that they needed not to have made any challenge of this nature. They can dispatch, when their interest requires it, all the tryalls, which use to cost us presbyteriall meetings for a whole quarter or half a-year, in one morning. Sundry are grieved with the great weaknes of many whom they have admitted most upon the great qualification

of a professed zeale toward their faction. The challenging of us for admitting so many scandalous and ignorant to the Lord's table, is but the strengthening the arme of calumniating Sectaries, whose professed aime long has been the dissolution of all the standing congregations in the Reformed churches, that a new gathering of churches in their way may be fet a foot. Doubtless more strictness is now generallie used among us than ever was before in admitting to the Lord's table, and much more than is used in any church over sea; and whatever farder strictness either scripture or reason shall require, will not be refused by us.

It is in vaine to mention the Ministers of London, for they all weell know how little their judgements in our present debates is valued by the Remonstrants. When, after their full hearing of them and us, we were approven, and the Remonstrants dislyked, did this hinder their agents, by the help of their better friends the Independents, Anabaptists, and Erastians, their only intime familiars and confidants, with whom they kept frequent fastings and prayers in their conventicles, to seek from the civill power a tyrannick jurisdiction over us, for the ruine of all the present government of our Church? Was not this their passionat perfute weell near for a whole year at London? which the Lord, cheefly by the wise and gracious endeavours of our Presbyterian brethren there, did break, or at least delay till this long. How much, first and last, they have made themselves the Godlie partie in Scotland, though in the streatching of their charitie they will admitt some of us to stand with them in that catalogue, even this Preface will evidence. But that either in the year 1648, or any year before or since, the chief leaders of their partie were counted by any but themselves to stand in the first rank of the Godlie in our land, it is a great mistake; and they will not doe weell to put to the inqueist of their neighbours, the true pietie, let be the degree of it, of fundrie no the meanest of their faction.

So farre for the time I have told yow my mind of a few pages in that Preface. I blesse the Lord that keeps yet yow and others there at the helme of our Church, when from time to time new stormes arise, from whom least they should. The Lord continue yow still till better times come, when yow may be better spared than now yow can.

Your's to be commanded,

Glasgow, Julie 31st 1658.

R. BAILLIE.

[FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.] GLASGOW, NOVEMBER 11TH 1658.

COUSINE,

ALL yow fent with Robert Smith, with James Maxwell, and the box directed to George Sutie, your gear also, and all I think yow fent hither, I received; to yourself I use to send no thanks, but to your kind wife, my wife sends many. I am glad all your children are weell; I pray God bless them all. Your count with Robert Smith shall quickly be payed to your nephew John: your one hundred and fifty gilders shall be payed likewise, with the first of that legacie I receive of Dr. Strang's: the Colledge and yow will reckon. I shall, God willing, have some eye on James Maxwell, and on all yow send hither. Your nephew Mr. William's heart served him most for Ireland; and I also did long much to have him in the ministrie, without the reach of our good faction: his prosperous success yow will see in the inclosed. My boy Harie, blessed be God, grows in pietie, learning and wisdom; at his own desire I permitted him to goe to Sir James Dundas of Arncliffe, near Edinburgh, to be his chaplaine for some tyme, to see some more of the world, and to fitt him to speake in publick: he always repents your kindness and your kind wife's. I have thought fit to send to yow the second part of Dr. Strang's writ.⁶ The Latine that is printed either here or at London, is so exceedingly ill done, that I will be very loath, if I can otherways doe, ever to employ them either for myself or others. I sent in Summer, with one of our boyes, the memorandum yow have here; yow see the Elsevir's answer. When yow get a fure bearer, send the book to them, with so much encouragement from yourself and your friends as yow can, for them to print it. If yow cannot get it done, send it back to me with a fure hand, but doe your best to have it printed there; for here it will be but spoiled, for all the English fair promises to the contrare. Give me an account of Elsevir's returne to yow, so soone as yow can.

Though since my last large one, there is not much I can writ, yet to

⁶ Probably Dr. Strang's work, "De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturæ;" the publication of which, however, was completed at Rotterdam, but not before the year 1663.

shew yow my diligence, have our affairs since. Our Towne now is prettie quiet, haveing at Michaelmes chosen not only such a proveist and baillies, bot also a councell as hes not one man in hazard of Mr. Gillespie's accusations; yet still he is pyking some one pettie quarrell or another, to hold them waking. The chief difference is now about planting their churches. Mr. Durhame, a little before his death, advifed for peace cause to put in his place one of three, Mr. Francis Aird, Mr. Ralph Rodger, Mr. George Campbell; not only since his death, June 25th,⁷ bot some moneths before, Mr. Carftares, his brother-in-law, out of his exceffive affection, did continuallie preach and pray of him, in a very extraordinary way, the nomination of his successeur, he took it weell near for ane oracle of God. My owne judgement was that two of the three were very unfitt, and the third but of very ordinarie sufficiencie. Mr. George Campbell, a boy of twenty yeares, laureat two yeares ago with my Harie, who was in the circle with him, and in all things thought his match but in his extreame flattering of Mr. Gillespie: this boy, when named, had never so much as spoken in any publict exercise. Mr. Francis Aird, of ordinary parts, but so exceeding sickly, that halfe a year's service of our towne was like to have buried him; but he was good enough, since a prime Remonfrant. Mr. James Fergusson, my succesor in Kilwinning, was earnestly desired by the towne: my entres in Kilwinning hindred me to joyne in his removeall thence, but I could not deny, that evidently he was much fitter for us than any named. Mr. Patrick Gillespie led all our seffions whither he pleased. Mr. George Young's power with the Councell was no lesse. The seffion went on first with the unfitteft, Mr. George Campbell, though none of them ever had heard him preach; the towne protesting against his election, till he were heard, he refused the call. The seffion fell next on Mr. Francis Aird. The towne fell on a very good overture, that they should joyne with the seffion in the call of any whom they pleased, if so they would joyn with the Councell in a call to Mr. James Fergusson, for whom they should provide both a new church and a new stipend, as good as any other, which would have been above fourtie thousand merks charge to them; this was so fair, that the most of the seffion was readie to have accepted it, but Mr. Patrick caused it to be shifted; so the

⁷ In the MS. the date has been altered, apparently from June to July, but Durham's death took place in the former month.

towne refused to joyn in Mr. Francis Aird's call, and on this difference he could not hearken to it. Therefore, last, the session called Mr. Ralph Rodger, who is as unliklie to accept as the rest. The end of it, I think, shall be that the session, being refused by all the three, will turn themselves to some headie one of the faction, who will like their call the better that the Magistrates oppose it; and the body of the towne finding themselves so misshantlie abused, and continuallie tyrannized over, without hope of remeed, will endeavour, as it is in Stirling and Lithgow, the erecting of a new Session, with the misregard of the old. This had been done ere now, if I had not both openly and by my owne private wayes opposed it. Strange, what a few yeares will produce! Some foure yeares agoe, when our Presbyterie and Synod both divided, I was the last who consented to that division, and when thereafter, Mr. George Young and Mr. James Fergusson, on very ill termes, had made the reunion, I was the only man who then and to this day refused it; and now no man repents more that union than the contryvers of it, for had our division but a little continued having the fashion of a Presbyterie and Synod, we might legally and orderly have planted new sessions in Glasgow, and gotten a legall call and transportation to Mr. James Fergusson, or any we had lyked: that this now can no be gotten, the authors of that evill union now grieves, and I laugh at their too late repentance.

For the Colledge, we have no redresse of our discipline and teaching. Mr. Gillespie's work is building, and pleas; with the dinn of mafons, wrights, carters, smiths, we are vexed every day. Mr. Gillespie, alone for vanitie to make a new quarter in the Colledge, hes cast downe my house to build up ane other of greater show, but farr worfe accomodation; in the meane[while,] for one full year, I will be, and am exceedingly incomodat, which I bear because I cannot help it. And also because Mr. Gillespie hes strange wayes of getting money for it, by his own industry alone; an order he got from the Protector of five hundred pound sterling, (but for an ill-office to the countrie, his delation of so much concealed rent yearly of the Crown;) also the vacancy of all churches, wherein the Colledge had entres: this breeds clamour as the unjust spoil of churches and incumbents. Upon these foundations are our palaces builded; but withall our debts grow, and our stipends are not payed; for by his continuall toying our rent is mouldered away. When our magistrates represented this, and much more, in a libell against him, his good

friend, Swintoun, obtained to him a fair absolution from all without any cognition of the matter; but to please the Toune, his accusations against them were also as good as waved.

Ever since Dr. Strang's dimission our oeconomie has been in an ill condition; the matters went to have the best table in the country, and payed no more than fifty merks in the quarter; but thereafter, for the bettering of the table, four pound sterling was allowed in the quarter; a very high rate. Yet when I was last in Edinburgh, Mr. Gillespie had agreed with a new *Œconomus* for five pound sterling a quarter, and to bring all the Divinitie-burfars to a second table at fiftie merks a quarter, and the Philofophie-burfars at a third table for twenty four pounds a quarter. With this I was not content, for it burdened our rent with above five hundred merks of needles charges yearly. For the Principall and four Regents twenty pounds sterling; for the six Divinitie-burfars of the towne we behoved to add one hundred pound, because Struthers's two and Wilfon's two had but eighty pounds a piece; and when Mr. Zacharie's three were turned to two they would be bot ninety pound a piece. So, among these six, a hundred pound was needfull to make them fifty merks in the quarter a-piece: the six of the new donation for Divinitie, and as many for Philofophie, had to doe their own turne. I thought also, that the towne boyes would be hurt who would get nought but their boord, which they had freely from their parents or friends, and employed their pension on books and cloathes; also, fundry most hopefull young men would refuse, for shame, to come to a Burfars-table. Against this was alleaged, the comelie order of all other Colledges, and the grudge of the schollars when some were put to the table, and some not; for the charge, that the fourth vacation quarter of the twelve burfars of the new donation would doe much to supply it: hereupon I was content they should try it for one year.

At our counts we did not well agree, yet had no dinn. The Magistrates were not called to them, which was against both right and custome. I refused to subscribe without an exprets exception of the article of six thousand merks for Mr. Gillespie's journey to London. The other year, when I was in Edinburgh, Mr. Gillespie had obtained from the Facultie twenty shillings sterling a day, for the eleven moneths he had been in England, beside three or four thousand merks of other charges in particular accompts. This, to me,

was unupportable ; for his vaſt expenſes before, and the lowneſs of the prices of victuall, had put us that we were hardly able to defray our ordinary charge. But this donative I foreſaw would make us unable, for ſome years to come, to win to our very ſtipends. Upon this we had a found reckoning in the nixt Facultie ; Mr. Gillepſie aſſerting his loſſe in that journey, and his great ſervice to the Colledge in the great gifts he had obtained. To the firſt I ſaid little ; for I knew indeed he had ſpent large ſumms that year, and I doubt if twenty thouſand merks, one way and another, did not paſſe through his fingers : But I ſaid his expence concerned not the Colledge, for that journey was not at all for us, but for the ſervice of his partie, to trouble the Church : that the commiſſion he had from ſome of us, (from myſelf he had none,) it was but on the by, in his ſpare time, to deale for the profits of the Colledge ; what he had done in this kind I was very willing he ſhould be liberallie acknowledged, but out of the profits of what he acquired, not out of our other rent, which could not bear it : Withall I told him, that we were not in uſe to give money to the purchaſers of our gifts, much above all his ; that the purchaſers of the parſonage of Govane, of Kilbride, of Renfrew, of the Biſhoprick of Galloway, had not receaved of the Colledge a groat. The end was, I diſſented ; the reſt went on, as his own ſilly creatures, ready to doe whatever he deſired. The clamours of his utter inſufficieny, for any thing of a ſchollar, made him, at the laſt Laureation, make long prayers, and orations, and diſputations, in Latin ; which he ſaid in a jolly way. He found that Mr. Thurloe, Secretar of State, had been very inſtrumentall to doe Mr. Sharp's buſineſs at London againſt all his deſignes. To draw that man off us towards himſelf and partie, he invents this trick : In a Facultie meeting he preſſes the expedienſie of having a courtier Chancellor of our Univerſitie, and that Thurloe was fitteſt. I was againſt all Engliſh fleſh ; but he carried it, and ſent up to him a ſealed parchment of that honour. But before that came, we got Mr. Thurloe informed of the deſigne, who therefore civillie reſuſed it. But the beſt was, to choiſe a Vice-Chancellor ; I could not dream of the purpoſe while it was done ; himſelf, by all but me, was voted *Pro-Cancellarius*, ſo I laugh when I ſee this noveltie alſo in his ſubſcription, " Pat. Gillepſius Pro-Cancellarius et Præfectus : " A poor glory !

Our Church lyes as it did : the Representation printed by Mr. Sharp at London, they durſt never aſſay to answer ; but our late Declaration of new

desires of peace, they answered a peece of it with a very bitter pamphlet ; to which Mr. Rutherford printed a preamble in his Preface to a late answer to Hooker. Being desired, I sent my observations on that preamble⁸ to Mr. Douglass ; but on that and their whole pamphlet, Mr. Hutcheson has written a very accurate and solide Review,⁹ with some additions of Mr. Wood's ; all which I think are now on the presse. It is very like the end of this obstinate difference will be a formall separation : the sooner the better for the Kirk ; for they abide among us only to encrease their partie ; and if they were formally separate, they could doe us the lesse harme.

The Countrey lyes very quiet ; it is exceeding poor ; trade is nought ; the English has all the moneyes. Our Noble families are almost gone : Lennox has little in Scotland unfold ; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and the Baronrie of Hamilton, is fold ; Argyle can pay little annuelrent for seven or eight hundred thousand merks ; and he is no more drowned in debt than publick hatred, almost of all, both Scottish and English ; the Gordons are gone ; the Douglasses little better ; Eglintoun and Glencairn on the brink of breaking ; many of our chief families [c]states are cracking ; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the tyme. What is become of the King and his family we doe not know : some talks that he should be in the Hague : many takes his unkindness to Balcarras very ill ; especially that he should oppose his Ladie's provision to the oversight of the little Prince of Orange : His obstinate observance of Hyde offends all ; but what he minds, no man here knows, and few cares.

The Protector's death was unexpected : the way of it we doe not learn ; men speak as they list. What some speak, of troubles of bodie and mind, and, after a suarfe, the crying out of the Devill and an Northerne armie, must be but a fable. We were feared for trouble after his death, but all is settled in peace. We doubted what might become of the Officers of the armie their petition for the Generalitie to Fleetwood ; if they insist in it, it cannot but breed evill blood ; but they are wiser than to differ when some would be glad of it.

⁸ In a letter which is printed *supra*, p. 375.

⁹ " A Review and Examination of a Pamphlet lately published, bearing the title of Protesters no Subverters, &c.—By some Lovers of the Interests of Christ in the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, printed Ann. Dem. 1659," 4to. pp. 139.

For things abroad, this is the common sense; that since all this year the French has ravaged in Flanders at their pleasure; has taken in Dunkirk, Graveling, Hirer, Oudenard, and many more townes; since the Spaniard has not been able to keep the field; since his fortune in Millan and Catalonia has been little better, and all he makes in the end of the year, to relieve Badajos in Castill, so near Madrid, from the long siege of the Portugals, be within twenty thousand men; it's thought his condition every where is very low, and the Frenches very high, so that the former danger from the Monarchy of Spaine may quickly become as great from the Monarchy of France, and that all neighbours, for their own safety, may be forced to guard as much against the one, as they wont to doe against the other. What the great causes have been to draw back the Swedes from Pomer to Copenhagen, we are expecting to know by that peece lately printed, at London, for that end. All marvell that the Danes, after all their cowardice, have been able so long to defend Copenhagen from the victorious Swedes. Brandenburg's armie, and his confederate Austrian and Poles, is great in Holsten; but the country, by these pretended friends, is plundered to the bones. I fear Brandenburg shall pay dear for that rode. We hear that Opdam, in the Sound, has done yet naught against the Swedes; and that the fear of the French and English will keep your States from all action there, for all the shew they have made. Upon this men's eyes are fixed more than on any thing else: for if they should yoke in earnest against the Swedes, all doe think the French and English will fall on them, both by sea and land, and neither the Spaniards nor High Dutch will be able to maintain them. The Lord himself guide these great affaires. We blese God that the Turkish threats has this year produced no more harme, neither to Ragotfi nor the Venetians. It seems the articles of Munster are totallie tread under foot; yet it will be a hard pull to cast the Swedes out of Breme, Pomer, and Pruis, and the French out of Alfatia and Lorain. It's much that Torn has stood out all this year. What is the cause that Douglafs is the man employed in Lifland, and not Lagard?

Here I must end, wishing all welfare to your wife and children. My wife sends to your's a half-barrell of herring, the best my friend could get.

Your Coufin,

R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

In Edinburgh, at their election, there fell out a passage much against the mind of many. Sir Andrew Ramfay,¹ a right sharp young man, but very proud, had carried himself for two yeares in the place of Proveist, very haughtilie; and in his abode at London had been at vast charges to the Towne for no profit; yet was still in hope to have gotten from the Protector what might have done the Towne good in their exceeding low condition. Mr. Thomfson, the Clerk, who had brought him to his place, became very ungracious to him, by the suggestion most of Baillie Jausie, who desiring to have his son conjunct clerk with W. Thomfson, was refused, on fear that such a conjunct should put himself to the door. Upon this differing, the Provost and that Baillie, did what they could to bear down the Clerk, and were readie, when able, to have shuffled him from his place. The Clerk, and all the Towne, would most gladlie had Archibald Sincerf for Proveist, the farr fittest for the charge: bot Ramfay kept Sincerf² from the lites, according to the late act of the English Parliament, for his guilt of the Ingadgement; and got on the lites himself, Baillie Jausie,³ and (being persuaded that none would give him a vote,) Sir James Stewart.⁴ Thomfson finding it so, he wrought underhand, that any living might be chosen rather than his enemies Ramfay or Jausie: thus Sir James caried it. This offended many, and feared them, lest (the man being very wise and active, and an open favourer of the Remonstrants,) it might make a great change in Edinburgh and all the land for that parties advancement. When I met with Thomfson, my good friend, I railed on him, that for revenge of his private spite and spleen against Ramfay, he had betrayed the publick interest into the hand of a Protector. I was impatient of all apologies; yet I hear Sir James has given assurances enough to Mr. Robert Douglass, and others, and denies his Remonstrantism. For myself, I do not

¹ Lord Fountainhall, in his MS. Decisions, has preserved an account of the litigation between Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall and certain inhabitants of the Town, for his having, at a subsequent period, continued to hold the office of Provost of Edinburgh for the space of no less than twelve successive years, during part of which time he was also a Lord of Session.

² Archibald Sydeserf was First Baillie in 1656.

³ John Jossie was First Baillie in 1655 and 1657; and again in 1660.

⁴ The father of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees. He was Lord Provost in 1648 and 1649.

weell believe, nor much trust him ; but feares the great evill of this pranck of the clerk : Sir James once cast him out of his place ; if he doe it again, no man will pitie him.

Being wearied, I have now laid aside my Chronologie. I have drawn the storie, sacred and profane, shorthlie from the fountains through the whole Old Testament, in seven epochas, to every one of which I have subjoynd the most of the ordinarie questions of chronologie ; and, after a prettie free debate with all forts of men, determines them after myne owne mind. I have also fett downe the storie of the New Testament, the first epocha of it to the death of John the Evangelist, and at the back of it, seventeen of the chiefest questions : Being tyred, I subsist : It may be I revise it and adde more questions, especially from the Apocalypse ; therefore what yow find of new books that may further me in this designe, let the Colledge have them : I think we want few of the old. This year's studie I cast it on the noble head of Justification, most to meet with Bishop Forbes, printed latelie at London by Mr. Thomas Sincerf, Bishop of Galloway, T. G.⁵ and our moderat midmen, whom I have esteemed, ever since I knew them, reall Papists in the most and maine ; also to meet with Baxter, whom albeit I highly esteem for pietie and learning, yet I think a very unhappie bruiller, a full avowed Amiraldist, and a great confounder of the head of Justification. I pray yow in your first to Voetius, remember my heartie service to him, and tell him from me, that many his lovers here long for a third volume of his Disputations ; also, that they exceedingly desyre some Exercitations from him on the way of Amiraldd, and that the head of Justification were vindicat by him from Baxter and Forbes, and all other adversars. We love here very well Marefius's writts, all but his bitter flittings with Voetius : We long to hear, that these two very eminent and usefull men were better friends. What yow sent us of Jesuit Sempill is but a preface² to his *Dictionarium Mathematicum*, which we pray yow search for.

⁵ The initials, T. G. (Thomas Gallovidiensis) stand at the Editor's preface of the posthumous work of Bishop Forbes referred to, " Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ Contraversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, &c. London, 1658, small 8vo. pp. 466. The Editor, Thomas Sydeserff, was the only one of the Scotch Prelates deposed in 1638 who survived till the Restoration of Charles II.

⁶ Hugo Sempilius Craighateus Scotus, *De Mathematicis Disciplinis*. Antwerpæ, 1635, folio.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER, MR. SIMEON ASHE.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

THESE are to let yow know my defyre to understand your welfare, and if it be well with gracious Mr. Calamie, Dr. Reinolds and others our dear Brethren there. Blessed be God, your acquaintance here are all as before, except that our unhappy Remonstrants continue in their obstinacie. My maine purpose to yow at this time is, to let yow know that Mr. Baxter does us more harme than all your Sectaries. The man's pietie and parts make us still honour, pitie, and spare him; but his intollerable boldness, after his avowed Amiraldisfme, to follow and goe beyond miserable John Goodwin, in confounding the great head of Justification with such a flood of new and unfound notions, does vex us: since, this same year he has written so largely in this point against Mr. Burgesse, we earnestlie defyre that he would feriouslie reply; yea, that Dr. Reinolds, or if ye have any abler pen, would take him to task in all his errors, which truly he has a way to insinuate more than any heterodox I know in this side of the sea. I entreat that some of yow would advise how to gett this dangerous evill remeded, at leif stopped. Your addressè by Dr. Reinolds to his Highness, before the Independents by Dr. Goodwin, I doe not weell understand how it was not a very solemne and public buriall of the Solemn League and Covenant; but here we are exceeding spareing to put any censure upon any of your proceedings, the grounds and reasons whereof, at such a distance, we do not understand. Our prayer to God for yow is, that yow may be all faithfull to your Master to death, that yow may receive the crown of life; so prays

Your much honouring and loving Brother,

'Glasgow, November 29th 1658.

R. BAILYE.

[FOR SIR JAMES DUNDAS OF ARNISTON.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

YOUR kindness to my boy has been so great, that I know no how ever I

shall be even with yow for it. When I had thought fitt to fend him to some familie for one year, to serve [as] a chaplane,⁷ for to help his breeding, yow were not only willing to receive him, but to use him all the while as a child, not as a servant; and now, Sir, by your great favour having obtained in some measure my designe upon him, and finding myself fallen more tender than before, my purpose is to have him at home after the terme, but so that he stay till yow gett another. Surely your patience and dispensing with all his infirmities, and taking all his mean endeavours in so good a part, has putt upon me a greater obligation than I will be able to discharge; and whatever, Sir, I could doe with yourself, yet what to doe with my Lady, your Mother, I know not, who has been so kind and tender towards my boy. My purpose is to pray God for her Ladyship's welfare, and the prosperitie of your whole familie, and, when I come to Edinburgh, to come out and acknowledge in preference what now I write. Praying the Lord to blefs your Worship, and all yours, I rest

Your Worship's most obliged friend and servant,

Glasgow, 11th April 1659.

R. BAILIE.

FOR HIS REVEREND BROTHER MR. ROBERT DOUGLASS, MINISTER AT
EDINBURGH. APRIL 11TH 1659.

SIR,

I HAVE thought fitt to fend yow this account of our Synod and our other affaires. Understanding a designe of the Remonstrants, some weeks before the Synod, to have a petition sent up to the Protector and Parliament against Toleration, from the Synod of Glasgow, and their three correspondent Synods of Galloway, Dumfries and Argyle, I did desire some who came to salute me to beware of that motion, for these and the like Reasons. 1. This petition will be a formall addressè to the present power as the Supream Magistrate, which no Church Judicatorie in Scotland had ever yet attempted, and Glasgow Synod should not begin without the advyce at least of the Synod of Lothian and Fife, equallie concerned in that motion. 2 The petition to pre-

⁷ Baillie's only surviving son, Henry, had gone to be chaplain in the Arniston family, near Edinburgh (*vide supra*, p. 382.) and it appears he had been treated with great kindness.

ferve that part of our Covenant which toleration destroys, with silence of all other articles of our Covenant which now are openly laid aside and destroyed, does avow our contentment with or neglect of the violation of all the other articles against which we do not petition : So much the more as many of the petitioners are known to have framed a new Covenant wherein many articles of the former are destroyed and scraped out. 3. The Toleration we petition against is that which now is in practice, according to the petition and advice established in the late Parliament, for the fundamentall Government of the three Nations ; while we except only against one article of that act of Government, we doe add our seal to that not excepted against. 4. The Toleration we petition against is like shall not be full, as in our uncontroverted Assemblies our desires against toleration doe stand : We must be silent of Independents, Anabaptists, and Eraftians, these being the chief statesmen who must agent our petition, or else it is like it will never be read. 5. What securitie shall we have that our commissioner against Toleration, when he comes to London, shall not as much endeavour advantages to the Remonstrant partie as any thing else contrarie to the late articles of union of this Synod ; yea, is it not like that the petitioning against toleration, which none hes hope will be granted, is but a mere pretence for putting on their designs. 6. If the pluralitie of the Synod conclude any such commission, can the dissenters be guarded against a charge of horning for payment of their proportion of whatever expence a committee shall modify for carying on that petition.

When Judge Ker and Sir John Cheifly appeared as elders in the Synod, their designs were suspected the more, yet no such motion was made till towards the end of the Assembly ; at the back of an other triviall act it was like to have been past without observation, yet Mr. W. Eccles and Mr. R. Wallace topped it so that it was sent to a committee to be debated ; there, after much debate, it was resolved to acquaint the Synod of Lothian with the motion, and unless they gave them satisfactorie reasons to the contrary at the next diet of the adjourned Synod in the end of May, to proceed with the petition, and to send (for the opponents satisfaction,) Mr. P. Colvill up with it. Mr. P. Gillespie told them, that so soon as his health and affaires would permitt him, he would goe to London, but for no man's pleasure would meddle with that petition, nor any thing controverted betwixt any parties. In this he had the ill-luck to be believed but by few. Sir John told, that he had oft been sent

for to come up to London upon advantageous terms, but still had refused, and would not go. I was glad that unhappie petition was to come so flatly to your door: I doubt no but you will deal well enough with it.

I can observe no relenting at all in that good faction. Their cruelty against poor Mr. R. Hume is strange. The parishioners of Badernock, Montrose, Keir, and all the heritors, with almost all the presbyterie, people, and session, would gladly have Mr. John Anderson there placed, but Mr. R. Law has stirred up a few headie fellows of Bamor to presse for Mr. Nicol Black, a domestick of Mr. James Guthrie's. For the furthering of that designe the Synod has joyned a committee, of their sharpest hooks, with that Presbyterie for planting that kirk: without host, contrary to the Act of the Presbyterie of Irvine, and all the dissent and protestations of our towne, they appoint Mr. Ralph Rodger, before the first of June, to come hither.

Many were grieved, when the Judges were here, that one Foyer was not hanged; a most wicked hypocrite, [who,] under the colour of pietie and prayer, has acted fundry adulteries; but by some of our faction (to whom he was too dear,) their dealing with the Judges, no more was put in his libell than one adulterie, for which he was but scoured: great appearance of his witchrie also, if he had been put to a reall tryell. Yet that which grieves us most for the time is the very heavie oppression of our towne in all their plantations. Our session, by an Act of the last General Assemblie, claimes a divine right to elect the minister, albeit our session for the time is nought bot the good pleasure of Mr. Patrick Gillespie, who absolutely rules it; the Presbyterie is no lesse obsequious. The whole parish, almost all the householders of Mr. George Young's congregation did unanimously draw a petition to the session for a call to Mr. James Fergusson; wherefore the session this day made read out of all pulpits ane admonition against the misorderly subscribing of papers, and that the session, according to their right, would provide them of a minister. The other Sabbath, Mr. James Blair, minister of Cathcart, the first whom the Presbyterie had ordained to supply Mr. G. Young's place, did preach to the Magistrates in their faces that their opposition to the session in plantation of their churches (which was only by a petition to the Presbyterie and Session, now the third time, for Mr. James Fergusson) would draw on them the punishment of Core, Dathan and Abiram; and much more evils were threatened passionatly by that weak young man against them, for their

rebellion againſt Jeſus Chriſt. We are exceedingly grieved that there is no viſible remed againſt theſe violent unreaſonable uſurpations of proud men. I humbly pray yow to let me know your mind, if ye know any remedie poſſible againſt this hardly tolerable tyrannie That which many here would be at, if they cannot have Mr. James Ferguſſon, [is] to deal with ſome ſtout honeſt man, Scots or Engliſh, who on the Magiſtrates, Councell, and Peoples call, will be induced to come under the protection of the Engliſh, with a defiance to Seſſion, Preſbyterie, and Synod, all which, they ſay, is nought but their adverſarie, Mr. Gillespie. This I underſtand not. My owne remedie is a Generall Aſſembly, if ſo yow in your wiſdomes there find not that cure worſe than all our diſeaſe. I think Mr. Sharp might eaſily obtaine to us a Generall Aſſembly; and that he might get it cautioned againſt the moſt, if not all our feares; but this is a Spagyrick cure in a deſperate caſe, which I muſt leave to your wiſdomes. Indeed, we languish and daily decay; and if yow there have no other remead for us but this third, I ſhall acquieſce to it, though I think ere long it will come nearer to yow when we are gone: I meane, that ſtill we ſhall be patient ſufferers, when they in their high pride thruſt in on us whomever they pleaſe. However, my intreſt in the familie of Eglington and pariſh of Kilwinning hinders me to move for Mr. James Ferguſſon's removall from them; yet without all doubt, he were the meeteſt man in Britaine for this place, for many evident good ends, and therefore theſe good men are ſo peremptorie againſt him.

Your very loving and much honouring Friend,

R. BAILLIE.

FOR HIS REVEREND BROTHER MR. R. DOUGLASS, MINISTER OF
EDINBURGH.

SIR,

We have ſent unto yow this expreſſe. By what the town and I writ to Mr. Sharp, yow will ſee our condition: yow will read and cloſe them. I doe conceive our Church and Land was never in ſo great hazard to be hurt by the Sectaries and Remonſtrators as this hour. And however I ſee no appearance of any friends to us with this preſent power, yet I conceive it

exceeding neccessare that Mr. Sharp should stay still a little while longer. M. P. G[illefpie] is thought here to have taken journey this day, with the Lady Swinton, towards London. He expects no less than ask and have; yet I trust the Lord will marr him nothing the less that he has no visible impediment. Having little more adoe in the West, I think they will begin the execution of their new orders on Lothian and Fife. The Lord help you, who, under Christ, are at the helme of our poor tossed Church in this high danger.

Your's,

May 18th 1659.

R. BAILLY.

Will Mr. Blair ever be silent, and never neither speak nor write one word for us?

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVED BROTHER, MR. JA. SHARP,
MINISTER AT CREEL.⁸

DEAR BROTHER,

Glasgow, May 18th 1659.

I WISH this may overtake you before your coming from London; however, let me know if it comes to your hands. My neighbour, P. G., albeit he have as much to ty him at home as any man I know, having involved himself and us in great buildings, in a bargaine also of a thousand pound sterling for tithes, and many law pleas; yet yesterday morning going to loup on, as we thought, for Edinburgh, he told us he was going straight to London for urgent busineses of his owne. I know he expects the quick grant of any thing he can desire from those that now are in power, and many here fear he will renew all his former irrationall desires for the prejudice of our Church, of our Towne, of our Colledge; nor know we who will oppose him, but that, without all hearing and debate, by my Lord Fleetwood, Lord Lambert, and Dr. Owen, his familiar friends, he shall obtaine whatever he lykcs: His former committees, for stipends, yea, for tryall and censure, of his owne nomination, yea, whatever new forme he and Warriston shall invent for our

⁸ The original (Wodr. MSS. Folio, vol. xxvi. No. 17.) is addressed on the back, as above, in Baillie's hand, but without any signature or mention of the year. In his 4to MS. of Letters, the year 1659 is given; but the letter itself would have fixed that date.

whole Church ; lykwise, the renewing of that late act of Parliament for qualifications of magistrates in burgh and land, with such additions that their partie, to the great hurt and disquiet of the land, may be put presentlie in place ; and though Glasgou have conformed themselves to that act, yet by new calumnious inventions he will endeavour to have them displaced. One James Forfyd [Forfyth], not to be Laureat before Lammes, his wife's sifter's son or oye, must be, without tryall, put in a Regent's place at Michaelmes : that a place may vaik, he deals with Mr. Patrick Young to dimit ; on his refuseall he boasts him with a proecessé. When he finds that will not doe except he can carie more votes in our Facultie than in that cause he is confident of, he resolves to bring in more members to vote with us. Alwayes before it was his care that no Towne minister should be a member of our Facultie, and put them off who were on, and to this day kepted them off ; but now, on a meer desire to strengthen us, he propones to bring in Mr. R. M'Quard to be our Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. Alexander Jamefone to be Deane of Facultie. The most part of the Facultie knowing perfectlie the designe, though too solemnlie denied, did refuse the motion. To make Mr. Thurloe a friend to himself and his party, he sent him up for a bud, a patent from the Colledge of the Chancellorship, which I doubt Mr. Thurloe never accepted, being informed of the design ; yet in thankfullness he got Mr. G. the Protector's hand to a charter, and command to us, to add to Mr. Gillespie's stipend of a hunder and fourtie pound, out of our rents, whether new or old, a hunder pound more yearlie dureing life, with a narrative altogether untrue and unjust. When he named Mr. Thurloe, Chancellor he took to himself the Vice-Chancellorship, and since has ever subscribed Principall and Vice-Chancellor ; but yesterdai morning he peremptorlie layes doune his Vice-Chancellorship that it might be put on Mr. R. M'Quard, to be sure of a new vote. This we caried over him, that the Chancellor should name the Vice-Chancellor. His purpose and profession both is to move Mr. Thurloe to put his Vice on his confident Mr. M'Quard. I am sure if you prevent Mr. Thurloe with a right information he would not doe it ; for I believe that Mr. Thurloe never accepted that vaine-glorious place, or if he did, that at this time he will be loath to medle with it ; and however, if he knew that our Chancellor never named a vicar, but by the advyce, consent, yea, desire of the whole Facultie, would not in this oppressive designe, hurtfull to our house,

ferve Mr. G[illefpie's] humor. James, doe your beft in this, and, by whom God will be pleafed to help yow, lay a ftay in Mr. G.'s gate, though I know no faint now yow or we have there but the Wife's of Kilmarnock, Jefus Chrift alone, when the Reformers had pulled from her all images ſhe wont to pray to: Weell is us that Chrift cannot be pulled off his throne. By all means ftay there awhile, were it but to be a witnefs of our countrymen's great infolencies. The Lord be with yow, and give yow courage and direction.

Your's to ferve yow on occaſion heartilie,

R. B.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVED BROTHER, MR. JAMES SHARP,
MINISTER AT CREEL.

JAMES,

I AM glad yow are there, and fo weell accepted. Yow have always favoured our Towne, and all what concerned any of them. The bearer of this, Robert Cummin and James Ker, are ſent up by their partners for a particular of great loſſe and oppreſſion, for which our Proveſt wrote earneſtly to the Generall, and received a very kind and promiſing anſwer. Theſe are to intreat yow to hear the matter and information, and help my neighbours by your beſt directions and aſſiſtance.

The encloued is a double of one I ſent to yow by Mr. Douglafs, before yow came laſt from London; I fand after it never came to yow, whereof I was not very weell content. I hope, if things go right there, (whereof yet I am in doubt, ſince in their approbation of our Confefſion of Faith, they except the thirtieth and thirty-fiſt chapter, to which no Sectarie gave in a diſſent, but only two Eraſtians, that the world may know, within their juriſdiction, Chrift may be allowed no ſpiritual government of his Church; this is weell begun): I hope yow will get us Viſitations for all our Univerſities, who heſ great need of them, if we can get weell-fitting ſheriffs, elſe better to want them, and that we continue under our preſent preſours till a better tyme. Only, in the mean while, I wiſh yow advert to Mr. Gillefpie's diligence for our houſe. He heſ written to the Generall to get all our former gifts confirmed in Parliament; and to William Thomſon

to be his agent herein. I refused my hand to this, though I with he got the thing, only with the exception of one gift, most unjust, a hundred pound sterling a-year, out of our rents, to himself yearly, beside his stipend. Mr. Thurloe, whom I am glad to see again Secretary of State, got to him this order from the Protector, Richard, on three very false narratives. 1. That he was not sufficiently provided, while he has ane hundred and fourty pound, much more than ever any Principall here had; and, as I think, more than any Principall in Scotland hes to this day. 2. That his labours were extraordinary, more than any other before him; while his labours hes been as good as none at all in any part of his proper duetie, except in toys and folies, which concerned us little or nothing. 3. That our rents might weell bear that his augmentation, while it appears they doe not discharge our ordinary burdens. Our *Æconomus* for the masters and burfars table hes not received a tippens this year, but hes laid out of his own money two thousand merks, and is at the point of laying down his charge, which none will take up; no man hes gotten a fixpence of stipend this year, nor is like to get. This is not only for want of law, but also throw his needles waftrie, that hes cast us in much debt; who, at his coming had many thousand pounds to the fore. Mr. Thurloe is our good friend, but hes been abused by Mr. Gillespie to pass such a unjust gift; also, he got an order from him, (who, I suppose, never accepted of our Chancellor's oath,) to nominat Mr. Robert M'Quard our Vice-Chancellor, alone to serve Mr. Gillespie in his evill designs. I know yow could easilie have prevented all this, if yow had got my letter in tyme here inclosed. Only, now I defyre yow marre, if yow can, the passing of his gift. I with the rest were confirmed, but with a clause of excluding any personall gifts since the year 1650, or some such thing. Also, I think, Mr. Thurloe would doe weell, as a stranger to our nation and affairs, and, at such a distance, unable to be duellie informed of many things passes among us, in a letter to us, to signifie his unwillingness to continue longer under that title of our Chancellor, which Mr. Gillespie did put on him, alone for a trick, to serve his own designs. James, [I] craves yow many pardons for this long libell. Doe in all this as yow think fitt: only by a line, let me know if these be come to your hands.

Be carefull none see these, especially William Thomson, my old very good and familiar friend, with whom, at the Crosse of Edinburgh, the last

tyme I saw him, I bitterlie discorded for his putting Sir James Stewart in the Proveſtrie. Now and then I am praying to God for yow, and purpoſes to continue.

Your's,

March 10th 1660.

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.

JAMES,

THESE are only to let yow know that myſelf, and, I hope many my betters commends yow, and your employments, now and then heartily to God. If it pleaſe God to work out this wonder, his own onlie work, marvellous in our eyes, and more in the eyes of the poſteritie, to bring home our ſweet Prince in peace, I think, in this caſe, the greateſt pull will be about Episcopacy. Concerning this great difficultie I ſuggeſt unto yow this my advyce, to cauſe ſett with all poſſible ſpeed ſome ferious and judicious pen, (I think Dr. Reinold's were the fitteſt,) in a few ſheets of paper, to print the tenets, and point out the writes of the preſent leaders of the Episcopall party, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Pierce, Dr. Hamond, Mr. Thorndyk, Dr. Heilin, Biſhop Wran, Biſhop Bramble, and others. Their humour is exceedingly bitter, and high even, in their late writes, not only againſt the Covenant and all Preſbyterians, but the Reformers abroad: they are moſt expreſſe and bitter for all Arminianifme, for the farre moſt of Poperie, as much as Grotius maintains. If ſhortly and plainly, their preſent tenets, beſide Books and Biſhops, were put in the text, and the proofs in the margins, in their own words, (as I did in my *Ladenſium*,) I think it might prove a notable meane, by God's bleſſing, either totally to withdraw the heart of the King from them, and the heart of a potent party they have, I doubt no, in England ſtill, or at leaſt to allay and cool all honeſt Proteſtants towards their deſignes. No bodie can undertake this for purpoſe and in tyme, but ſome there. I think, if half-a-dozen were ſet about the reading of the books, and pointing or drawing out the paſſages, Dr. Reinolds, or Mr. Prin [*Prynne*], or fundry others, in a fourtnight, might get it readie for the preſſe and the view of the King and Parliament, for the cruſhing of that high, proud, malicious, and now very active and dangerous party, as I ſee ſpeciallie by Pierce's lateſt peeces. Baxter is unhappy;

he would be requested either to be silent, or simply regulat in his writing, by these brethren who are wiser than himself.

Tell my Lord Lauderdale that I am the old man towards him, and readily may dedicate my Chronologicall Questions to him, if he continue honest, and better tymes make him no worse. If you have leisure, let me know your receipt of this and my former.

Your's,

Aprile 16th [1660.]

R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. WALTOUN, albeit bitterlie Episcopall, yet, for his great work¹, I wish he were cherished, though it were with the Proveitrie of Eaton Colledge: that all^e Lockier² being cast out, it might be a means either to win or silence that highly deserving man. Our restless Remonstrators, as I hear, are still on plotts for new divisions; their first designe is, to divide Lauderdale and Glencairne, two most eminent men that now are left to our nation. The world knows the Remonstrants love neither, but would break the one by the other, and so, once more, us all in them. There is work enough, and reward also, for them both, if they agree. The ashes of our former ruine are yet smoaking, we are scarce begun to peep out from under that rubbish, whether the coal of our former remediable divisions, and it alone, lately did bring us: if so soon these begin again to besturr it, we are worse than mad. No man I know fitter than you to keep these two men together, in spite of the devil; see to it, as God shall be pleased to help you. I hear the great projectors are my Lord Lie³ and Sir John Cheissie, and that their maine end is to bring in Colonell Lockhart in employment for Scotland, a man exceedingly sincere, who, all this while, has been very zealous for our King, Kirk, and Countrie, no wayes self-seeking, as all the world knows.

¹ His edition of the Polyglott Bible: *Vide supra*, pp. 304, 309, 310.

² Nicholas Lockyer, an Independent minister, in great favour with Cromwell, by whom he was promoted, on the death of Francis Rous, to be Provost of Eton. 14th January 1658. He did not long enjoy this office, as he was deprived at the Restoration. and the place was conferred on Nicholas Monk.

³ Sir James Lockhart of Lee: (See Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 319. Edinb. 1832, 8vo.)

FOR HIS REVEREND BROTHER MR. WILLIAM DOUGLASS, PROFESSOR OF
DIVINITY AT ABERDEEN.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

Yow have here inclosed an account of my diligence about that knave : it's lyke he will flee from us to Ireland ; if he abide here, be assured of any reason of him which yow desire. For famous men of our University and City, I can say but little ; yet these following come in my minde for the present : Guil. Elphinstoun, B. of Aberdeine,¹ builder of your Old Colledge, borne in Glasgou, a merchand's son, but a landed gentleman, near coufin to the Lord Elphinstoun :—Mr. Peter Blackburne, Bishop of Aberdeine, whose hand was chief to order your Marishall Colledge,² just after our orders of Glasgou, borne and bred in Glasgou, an honest merchand's son ; a Regent of our Colledge, when translated by King James to Aberdeine :—George Buchannan, borne in Strablaine, seven myles from Glasgou, bred in our grammar-school, much conversing in our Colledge, the chief instrument to purchase our rents from Queen Mary and King James ; he left our library a parcell of good Greek books, noted with his hand :—Mr. Cameron, borne in our Salt-Mercat, a few doores from the place of my birth, a Regent of our Colledge, and then Principall of it :—Trochrig, borne with us, and our Principall ; see what I write of his life before his book³ :—Dr. Strang, borne in Irvine, but long our Principall, where he write all his books :—Mr. William Struthers, borne in our towne, minister of it, very pious and learned ; long chief minister of Edinburgh ; I dare say the most eloquent and gracious preacher that ever yet lived in Scotland :—Mr. Dickson, borne in Glasgou, Regent and Professor in our Colledge :—Mr. Blair, borne near our towne, bred in our Colledge, long a Regent in it :—Mr. Andrew Melville, long our Principall before he went to St. Andrews :—Mr. Thomas Smeaton died our Principall, one of the learnedest men of the

¹ William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and founder of King's College there, in the year 1494 : He was an eminent patron of literature, and died at Edinburgh 25th Oct. 1514.

² Marischall College, Aberdeen, was founded by George Earl Marischal, 2d April 1593.

³ The posthumous Latin Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, by Boyd of Trochrig, published in 1652.

nation, as his book against Jéfuit Hamilton⁴ doeth shew:—B[ishop] Spottwood, as the Superintendent his father, and the President his sone, were all bred in our Colledge:—Blafius Laurentius, Mr. R. Laurie's⁵ grandfather, born with us, and long a Regent in our house, one of the bravest philofophs and humanists in his tyme:—Marcus Alexander Bodius, that excellent poet, as I knew it of his brother and nephewes, was, I suppose, borne near to us, and bred with us; Joannes Rofa, Mr. Jo. Roffe, borne and bred with us, a brave poet, (as Robertus Magnus,⁶ borne here, a Regent here, and our Professor of Physick;) their verse yow may see in *Deliciis Poetarum Scotorum*:—Guil. Hegatus, Principall of the Colledge of Bordeaux, a good philofopher and poet, borne with us:—Tho. Jakeus, long Master of our grammar-school, ane able poet, as his Onomasticon⁷ shews; also Guil. Wallace, our late schoolmaster, a fine poet:—Mr. Spang, minister at Campheir, famous abroad, borne and bred with us. I shall hold here for the time, only add Mr. Durhame, laureat with us, and ever after, till his death, with us. Doubtless there are many more that I know no, or do not for the tyme remember.

As for your Sermon,⁸ I fend yow no censure upon it; for I was so much offended with your former book,⁹ before which the glorious name of your Principall, Mr. Row, did so magnificently stand, and your very idle and false gloriation of whole two hundred year and above antiquitie before St. Andrewes and us, that I have not read any of your writs in patience since, nor I think ever will, till, for these two lound escapes, yow give great satisfaction. The Lord be with yow. Our Remonstrators remaine what they were, men for their owne faction alone.

Your's to serve yow,

Glasgow, May 23d 1660.

R. B.

⁴ Smeton's work, dedicated to James the Sixth, is entitled "Ad virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii apostatæ Dialogum," &c. Edinburgi, 1579, 4to.

⁵ Mr. Robert Laurie, who was afterwards Dean of Edinburg, and Bishop of Brechin.

⁶ Dr. Robert Mayne: See his funeral inscription in M'Ure's Hist. of Glasgow, p. 258.

⁷ The "Onomasticon Poeticum, etc." by Thomas Jack, was printed at Edinburg 1592, 4to.

⁸ "The Stable Truths of the Kirk require a suitable behaviour: Holden forth by way of Sermon, &c. before the Provinciaal Synod of Aberdeen, April 18. 1659. Aberdene, printed by J. B. in March, Ann. 1660." 4to.

⁹ "Academiarum Vindiciæ, in quibus Novantium præjudicia contra Academas etiam Reformatas averruncantur, earundemque Institutio recta proponitur." Aberdoniæ, 1659, 4to.

FOR HIS REVEREND BROTHER, MR. DAVID DICKSON.

REVEREND BROTHER,

I RECEIVED your's with Mr. Spang's packet; yow see what he writes to me: send it back to me with these Thefes. What was written the 1st February, was too long in coming to yow and me. The end of May, I think, our Colledges must send their severall answers. Advise me if I shall communicat this to Mr. P. G. According to my protestations, I never acknowledged him Principall, nor any lawfull member of our societie; yet, if it be not communicat, he will raise tragedies upon it, as if I did take upon me to depose him before the time: advise me what to doe. Since he came from Edinburgh last, I find our factions in a new flame of spirit; it's like some thing has been resolved among them there-east, they are all discontent with some thing in this change. I have heard some of them preach these three last Sundays, bot not a word tending to any thanks, or any joy, for the King's returne; albeit they have some prayers for him. Their studie is to fill the people with fears of Bishops, Books, destroying of the Covenant, setting up of profanitie; and heirupon presses privie meetings, as in a tyme most necessar. The fermou this day was spent on that purpose. These sett meetings, to my sense, are exceeding dangerous, caveat them as they will. My heart is very grieved, that when myself and many others were content to have passed all their bygone misdemeanours, not few nor small, and made byganes byganes; yet I can see no hope of any fair play in tyme to come, but a resolution, to keep up a schisme and a partie of the godly, as they will have them called, for themselves, that shall obey no Church Judicatorie farder than they please: This spirit is now aloft more than ever, stirred up lately in their Edinburgh meeting, from Waristoun, Mr Guthrie, Mr Gillespie, and Mr. Rutherford's commission, by Mr. M'Quard: advert to it, lest it goe to a new mischief. Argyle and Mr. Gillespie are this day at the communion at Paisley, with a world at their back: what to do with them I know no; neither fair or other means are like to do with them, if God himself put not the evill spirit of causeless division from among us, both in Kirk and State, which now againe is burning. I think we shall yet be a matter

of scandall to the world for our imminent farder ruptures. God help yow who there are at the helme. My service to Margaret and Alexander.
I rest, Your's,

May 27th [1660.]

R. B.

Yow let us know nothing, neither what Mr. J. Sharp nor what yow there are doing. We are wearied with complaints of this and will fay no more of it.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

I WOULD have been loath to have broken of my long silnce towards your Lordship at this tyme of your so many and great affaires, if exceeding grief of minde had not for the present put me to it. I was one of those who, in my heart, and all needfull expressions, adhered to the King in all his distresses: He had my continuall prayers to God for his restitution, any way God pleased, even the most hard: diverse know my frequent expressions of readines to further his returne to his throne, by laying downe mine head on the block for it, and the utter ruin of all my worldly fortoun. Also yow, and your neighbour Crawford, were oft in my prayers. When the Lord lately, at a very cheap rate, had brought all my prayers, and much more than I could have thought upon, to pass, both for the matter and manner, there were few that had a more hearty joy for it than I, and was more offended (even in my pulpit) with those who were not so joyfull as I thought became them. While I am going on in my daily renewed joy, behold your unhappy Diurnals and letters from London hes wounded me to the heart. Is the Service-Book read in the King's Chappell? Hes the Bishop of Elie (I fear Dr. Wran), the worst Bishop of our age after Dr. Laud, preached there? Hes the House of Lords past an order for the Service-Book? Oh! where are we foe soon? The granting to us in Scotland the confirmation of what we have, brings us just back to J[ames] Graham's tymes. Is our Covenant with England turned to Harie Martin's Almanack? Is the solemne oath of the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, subscribed so oft

by their hands to eradicate Bishops, turned all to wind? Why did the Parliament, a few months since, appoint the Covenant to be hung up in every Church of England, and every year to be publickly read? Is Cromwell, the great enemy of our Covenant, so soon arisen out of his grave? Can our gracious Prince ever forget his solemn Oath and Subscription? He is a better man than to do it, if these about him be not very unfaithfull servants. For myself, such are my rooted respects, both to his person and place, that do what he will, and tolerate what he will, I purpose while I live to be his most loving and loyal subject. But, believe me, if I were beside him I would tell him sadly, and with tears, oaths to the Almighty are not to be broken, and least of all by him for whom the Lord has wrought at this very time a more marvelous mercy than he has done for any or all the princes in Europe these hundred years. Bishops were the very fountain of all our mischiefs: Will they ever change their nature? Will God ever bless that plant which himself never planted? It's a scorn to tell us of moderate Episcopacy, a moderate Papacy! the world knows that Bishops and Popes could never keep caveats: The Episcopall faction there were never more immoderate than this day. You know how far Pierce, Hamond, Heylen, Taylor, have in their late writs justified all the challenges in my *Ladenium*, and gone beyond them to all the Tridentine poperie of Grotius. T. G., Thomas Gallovidianus¹, for his printing Dr. Forbes, B[ishop] of Edinburgh's wicked dictats, is now on his way to London, sent for by the English Bishops, who scoffe at our Church's excommunication. You were the man who procured and brought downe to us the ordinance for abolition of Episcopacie. I doubt not but you and Mr. Sharp has done your endeavour, but could I ever have dreamed that Bishops and Books, should have been so soon restored, with so great ease and silence of the Presbyterian Covenanters in the two Houses, the Citie and Assembly of London, of Lancashire, and other shires? Be assured, whatever surprize be for the time, this so hideous a breach to God and man can no fail to produce the wrath of God in the end. Shall all our blood and labour for that Covenant be so easilie buried? Though all flesh, English and Scots, for their own designs were silent at so needfull a time, I doubt not but the Lord himself will hear our cries against that beast, which has gotten so deadlie wounds as all the kings and parliaments of the earth will never be able to

¹ Thomas Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway. *Vide supra*, note p. 390.

care. I, and many more, who have, and will ever rejoyce for the Restitution of our King, resolve to complaine to God and man, while we live, for the returne of Books and Bishops.

Thus farr I have poured out my heart to yow at this tyme, who, I believe, will be loath for any cause to apostatise from your well-tryed constancie. This is from your L[ordship's] old friend and fervant,

R. B.

June 16th 1660.

[FOR THE EARL OF LAUDERDAILL.]

MY LORD,

I RECEAVED on the 30th of June, what long before yow sent to me by Mr. Jo. Wilkie, two copies of the French letters, vindicating the King's constancie in his religion. The one, as yow directed, I sent immediatlie to our noble friend L. M. Kennedy²; for this favour I thank your Lordship. I write the 18th [16th] of June, by Mr. Jo. Wilkie's packet, a very sad regrate, which I hope your Lordship hath received. This is on a particular. Mistris Gillepie has gone to her friends at London to folicite her husband's pardon and confirmation in his place of Principall in our Univerfitie. I would no be strait-laced in pardon almost to any penitent man; but truelie if his Majestie should be that farr abused by any there, as to confirm him in that place whereto he had never any call, but the English intrusion, nor any parts to discharge it as all the nation knows, I would be forced to subscribe what his partie preaches in my eares, though not in their sense, that we are fallen out of the thornes into the briers. The Generall Assembly is that man's judge; the King knows him not, nor his ways: Whoever will plead for him, may as well plead for Nye, Goodwin, Peters, or for Owen to keep him in Christ Colledge of Oxford, and Lockier in Eaton. My Lord, the word goes that his chief confidence is in your Lordship for the good offices he did to yow with Lambert in your prifon. But by all the interest I have in yow, I con-

² Lady Margaret Kennedy, eldest daughter of John Earl of Cassillis: At a later period, (in 1670 or 1671,) she became the wife of Dr. Gilbert Burnet, then Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

jure yow not to medle with him. It would draw infamie upon yow, and the offence of our whole Church, and all who truelie loves the King and hates the Remonstrance. Ye would wrong our Univerfitie, opprest by his evill talent, and myself in particular, who deserves no injurie at your Lordship's hands. Yow are too wise to be enchanted by that fiend's songs: for her venturous boldnes she ought to be sent home, if not with ane affront, yet with a severe frowne.

This is from your Lordship's old friend and servant,

R. B.

Glasgow, July 2d 1660.

FOR MR. HUTCHESONE.

GEORGE,

I GOT your last, and all my papers back on Saturday. I am obliged to yow, and yow only, for a ferious care to revife them. Most of your corrections, both literall and reall, are right, whereof I will make use. Your difference from me in some points I take very weell, and shall confider of it. The Scripturall hiatus in the seventy weeks is my great grief, and I would count him a happie man who could help it. The third edition of my *Ladenfium*, at London, had additions: I shall endeavour to send yow one of them. In your notion here of pointing out the Episcopall faction I agree with yow: Yow have here a double what I write about it to Mr. Sharp, April 16th, whereof he gave me no account, nor of any thing I write to him, this twelve moneth: Would God my opinion had been followed in tyme. I am not pleased with what is so oft inculcat to yow from London, that the more we medle with the Kirk of England, it will fare the worfe both with us and them. What is the Scotts of this, but that we shall fitt dumb and never open our mouth, neither to the King nor Parliament, nor our brethren the ministers of England, to request them to adhere to their Covenant and Petition against Books and Bishops? I fear we cannot answer for our miserable slackness herein already. It is more than time that all the gracious ministers in the citie and countrie should doe their best to procure so many and so strong petitions as possible, to the King and Parliament, to hold out Bishops and Books. We who had by our Covenant but too great interest, and knew

their temper to be but dead and cold till quickened and warmed, should not have so long neglected them. I was fore afflicted when it was told me, by my neighbour, that Lauderdaill went to the chapell to hear Bishops preach, and say Amen to all the service, as much as any about Court, and defended his practice by conscience. I hope this must be false; as also what I heard, of four and twenty hunder of gracious ministers violently put from their places by the old Service-book men. If it be so, we are in a hard taking. I pray you let me know what you hear of these things. They are, if true, deeds openly done, which easily you will get tried by daily comers from London. We have lost a fair game by meer misguiding. A pitie but Hyde and some others had been removed from Court long before this. That Middletone, a sojour, is to be Commissioner of our Parliament and Assemblies, I fear it import some unpleasent service to be in hand. The Remonstrance, the Act of the West Church, the Protestation, I abhorre, as very base and intollerable pranks; but God forbid that any would be put to suffer for them, who will play fair in time to come. I doe inclyne, as you advyse, to deall with Hamond and Jesuit Petavius, and King Charles's Reasons for Episcopacie; but I cannot determine when, till I have seen Hamond, (I expect him shortly from London,) and I have gotten my Chronologie to the presse: in this advyse me. It is not framed so that any part of it can goe alone. If Thomas Catherwood, on your recommendation, or your printer at London, would undertake it, I should require nothing but some bound copies, to be distribute to friends. Assist me in this, else I must let it lye still, I know no how long. Let me hear from you so soon as you can. Adieu.

Yours,

August 13th 1660.

R. B.

[FOR MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

THE Lord having returned me to this place in safetie and health, I have taken the opportunitie of this gentleman, Sir Adam Blair, to give you an account thereof. I have need begin with a large apologie for my silence to you all the tyme I was at London, even after twice provocation from you,

but at present neither tyme nor expedience will allow me to write that which may acquit me from that charge of neglect yow may commence against me, and therefore shall entreat your patience, and exercise of your charitie towards me, till I have the opportunitie of satisfiing yow. The King at my first addressse in Breda, was pleased to ask me very kindly about yow; and at my taking leave at Whithall, commanded me to remember him to yow by name, with others; and I can assure yow, he hath a particular kindness for yow, and will give a demonstration of it. His Majestie hath been pleased to fend by me a gracious Letter to the Presbytrie of Edinburgh to be communicated to all the Presbyteries in Scotland, which I am confident will satisfie all who are satisfiable; it will be printed, and within a day or two, a copie transmitted to yow.⁵ However the affaires of the Church of England may be disposed, which I see are tending to Episcopacie there, the blame whereof ought not to be laid upon the King; yet we need fear no violation of our settlement here, if the Lord give us to prize our own mercie, and know our dutie. I have brought a letter from some citie ministers, bearing an account of their late procedure to an accomodation, for moderated Episcopacie, and the Church contests there are swallowed up by these who are for Prelacie in the former way, and these who are for a regulated Episcopacie. The King by his declaration, which will be speedilie published, will endeavour a composeing of these differences untill a Synod be called. Your noble friend who hath sent yow the inclosed, (however he is represented by some with yow,) is a fixed friend to the interest of the Church of Scotland, and to that cause we have owned: we have cause to blesse God that he is putt into such a station by his Majestie, wherein he is capacitated to doe good offices to our Church, and honest men in it, for which I am persuaded he will lay himself forth to the utmost. I hear of stories vented by some with yow to the prejudice of that Noble person: they are calumnies, and I hope will not have belief with yow, and other honest men. I think it were not amiss yow did make a step hither

⁵ The King's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, dated the 10th August, and received 3d September, with the answers from the Presbytery, to Charles the Second, and to the Earl of Lauderdale, on the 20th September, are contained in Baillie's MS.; but they may be found in Wodrow's History, and in other works.

⁴ It appears unquestionable that Lord Lauderdale, up till this period at least, was averse to any change of the Presbyterian form of worship in Scotland. How far Sharp himself was sincere in his professions, might best appear were his own correspondence fully published.

to Edinburgh, how soon you could; there are matters fit for you to know, and give advice, which cannot in this way be communicated. The expectation I have of your coming doth put a stop to my further writing. I commend you to the Lord's grace.

Your's to serve you,

Edinburgh, September 5th 1660.

JA. SHARP.

I shall entreat you to present my service to Proveist John Bell. I beg his pardon for my incivility in sending no return to what he wrote to me at London. I trust the reason upon which I fell into that omission will plead for my excuse when communicated to him, which I purpose to do at meeting.

[FOR MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

SIR,

Your letter of complaints was long of coming, or rather never came, (for I have only got a copie of it,) and I am not unsatisfied with it, for I desire not to know the complaints of my friends, when I cannot help them. Your letters of fears and jealousies of me came too soon; for, let me tell you, charity and old acquaintance ought to have made you not to have been so credulous as to have hearkened so much to clatters. My crime, I thought, should have been feverish, and not too much acting for Remonstrants. But we will, I hope, agree when we meet. All the account I can now give you is, that instead of pleading for Mr. Gillespie, I have obtained a grant for another to be Principall of Glasgow, and waits but for a formall presentation for his Majesty's hand; he was presented by the Ufurper, and therefore the King makes no bones of the disposing of that place, and, I assure you, I did not plead for his continuance. This you may believe better than these who told you I was pleading for Remonstrators; this honest bearer, Mr. Sharp, will tell you all that you would know from this place. I shall only add, that whatever ye hear, I am where I was, and by consequence,

Your affectionat friend to serve you,

LAUDERDAILL.

Whitehall, the 22d of August 1660.

[FOR THE EARL OF LAUDERDAILL.]

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED what yow wrote to me with Mr. Sharp. His Majestie's remembrance of me, I thank yow for it, for it was your Lordship's information that, first and last, made him take any notice of me. I can say (I think truly) that yow did not deceave, neither his Majestie nor yourself, in assuring him of my hearty affection, both to his place and person, since my first acquaintance, and of my readines, with all the little pith I had, to doe him willing and sincere service; nor did yow deceave yourself in believing my true respect towards yow now of a long tyme, above any in our land of your qualitie. As for my late grievances, I am content to suspend their debate till we meet. For the presentation yow write of, I shall advyse it, when it comes to my hand, with the brethren of Edinburgh. I was never desirous of any place but one, the regencie of the Bajouns. The Principall's charge of our Colledge twelve years agoe, I have been oft intreated to accept by all who had interest to call to it, but ever I did peremptorie refuse it, Dr. Strang, to whom it did truly belong, being then alive. Age and weaknes make me now more unfit for it than I was then. Beside that, Mr. Gillespie, by his good administration, has put that place for the time in a very miserable condition, as at our first Visitation will be apparent. Beside other grievous burdens, he has left upon us, by his vain-glorious buildings, the debt of above ten thousand merks, and ten thousand pound will not perfite, what fore against my heart he has laid a necessitie on us to perfite, or be accounted poor feckles snitties, who has no witt nor action to end what he has so magnificentlie begun and advanced. It is true, *vix et modis*, he got to spend on it above five and forty thousand pound, whereof from the English he had above twenty thousand merks, and was confident of other twenty, if Lambert had stood to this day. But eternal praise to the Lord for that blessed change that God himself had wrought, become of us and our building what God pleases. The Chancellor assures me, that the King and State will help us to perfite that work, (which indeed is the prettiest building in all our land,) and will not be outstripped by Cromwell in kindness to our Universtie;

but of the time and wayes we muſt advyſe with your Lordſhip at meeting. Only there is one favour for the time we muſt intreat your Lordſhip for : His Majeſtie's Royall Father, when in Scotland 1633, in the firſt page of our Contribution book for our building and library, ſubſcribed to Dr. Strang, two hunder pound. This our good Theſaurer Traquair ſhifted ever to pay till our troubles began. The world now knows his Majeſtie's care to ſee his Royall Father's debt payed, ſo far as he can, with increaſe. The Chancellor and others aſſure me of their endeavours, notwithstanding all their povertie to get that payed to us, if we can have the King's order for it to the Theſaurer. I hope your Lordſhip, who gets his Majeſtie's hand to ſo many things will get it alſo to this little particular,⁵ were it but for your kindneſs to me. And what, if in the precept his Majeſty would, of his royall bounty, double it, as oft he hes done to others who can doe him leſſe ſervice? Surely if we get it, or if we get it not, I ſhall, God willing, be carefull to ſett on the frontſpiece of our work, his Majeſtie's name and armes, (which the Engliſh defaced,) in a more ſtately forme than yet they are in Scotland. And for your Lordſhip's procuration we will advyſe of ſome bud that may be moſt fitting your temper. So ſoon as yow may, let me know what to expect, or rather let me receive from Mr. Sharp, who will ſend it ſafely to me, his Majeſtie's warrand to the Theſaurer for the reall and ready payment, of which his Majeſtie and your Lordſhip ſhall think fitt. I purpoſe never to ſeek, nor to have any thing for myſelf; for, bleſſed be God! I have enough for myſelf, and all my fix children; but I would fain ſee our Colledge out of that debt [in] which the vanitie and prodigalitie of that man has almoſt drowned us. The Lord bleſſe and help your Lordſhip in that high and tickliſh ſtation wherein now yow ſtand.

Your Lordſhip's, after the old faſhion,

October 12th 1660.

R. B.

⁵ It is ſingular that Baillie, in this urgent appeal ſhould have overlooked or concealed the fact of this ſubſcription having actually been paid by Cromwell. This appears from the entry in the Subscription-book to which he refers, viz. :—" CHARLES R.—It is our gracious pleaſure to grant, for the advancement of the Librarie and fabrick of the Colledge of Glasgow, the ſum of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling." Above this is written, " His Majeſtie's Contribution was gratioſlie granted at Seton, the 14 of Julie 1633;" and beneath it, in a different hand, "*This ſomme was payed by the Lord Protector, An. 1654.*" Baillie indeed talks of Cromwell's "kindneſs," which he muſt have eſteemed as in no way cancelling the original obligation.

[FOR MR. GEORGE HUTCHESON, EDINBURGH.]

GEORGE,

SINCE I saw you, reflecting on what I heard and saw there, and somewhat hes come to me since, I am fallen in jealousies and feares, I hope causeless and vaine, yet for the tyme they vex me, and I communicate them to you alone. For the time you may doe some good, as I conceive, but I know no how long. If the wrack of the Remonstrators, with our help, be but a state designe to make us instrumentall to weaken the Kirk, to oppose their farther designs we are egregiously abused. I fear this Parliament, if they will abolish not only the Act of Patronages, but that whole Parliament, yea will medle with our Solemne League and Covenant, with our connivence and silence, it will be Mr. W. Ruffel's prayers, "Lord ! thou knowes, we are false knaves together." I think the matter of English Episcopacie, and Hyde's Chancellorship has been guided with a great deal either of imprudence or worfe. I think my Lord Caffillis will inform you of more than I know. God knows all, and time will discover a part. Exhortations to you are needless ; yet you can no be the worfe of a little advyse ; you have more power than any man with Mr. Dickson and Mr. Dowglas : you three hold fast together. When Mr. Wood and Mr. Sharp comes over, advyse of our best way to keep the King and Parliament from meddling with our Covenant, else be assured all honest men will exoner their hearts to testifye against mainforn villanie, and to cry to God against it. We needed not to have been brought to this point, if these at London had not been befooled and bewitched. However, look about you, and let us not be cheated nor forced from our dear Covenant, without a witness to purpose. That business of Robertson, in Kirkaldy, which flowed from your Turner and Wood,⁶ try the bottome of it, and be not complemented out of that search. Make much of our correspondent for he is worthie. These to you alone.

Yours,

R. B.

Glasgow, November 5th [1660.]

⁶ This refers to a letter intended to have been sent to the King on his Restoration, signed by Smith, Wood, Thomson, Turner, Hume, and Robertson. Wodrow, (MSS. Fol. Vol. xxviii, No. 26,) describes it as being "in an odd style for Presbyterian Ministers."

Let me know if yow have gotten this. I incline to write to Mr. Aithe and Mr. Clerk, to doe their best for a strong petition from the Presbyterian ministers and Citie against Episcopacie and Liturgie : who hes marred it till now, they have been fools or knaves. Yow there should have done it, but ere it be not done I will try it, if yow alone approve. I am fore grieved: simple men are impatient of cheating.

FOR MR. DICKSON.

REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER,

Yow have here what, on your desire, I promised to send ; dispose on it as yow, Mr. Douglafs, and Mr. Hutcheson shall find expedient. If yow find meet to send it abroad, let it be nameless, and well corrected at the press by Mr. Archbald Cameron.⁷ But by no means let it come out before the Parliament have ended with all they purpose towards the Protesters ; for I would be forie that any write of mine should bring trouble to any man : I would rather choice to burne it.⁸ But yow three are wise enough. I fear for the ill of this Parliament. God help us. My service to Margaret and Alexander.

Yours,

December 3d [1660.]

R. BAILLIE.

[FOR MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.]

REVEREND SIR,

Edinburgh, 13th December 1660.

YOUR former letter came to my hand at Craill, seventeen dayes after the date of it ; and I put off the sending yow a returne, till my coming to Edinburgh, where I apprehended yow might be at the meeting of Parliament : this is the cause of the delay of the account, which now I shall give yow concerning the matter of that letter. I sent your letter to Lauderdaill, which came

⁷ A brother of the celebrated divine John Cameron : *vide* vol. i. p. 482.

⁸ This " write " against the Protesters, (to which Baillie again alludes in his subsequent letters,) was probably never published, in consequence of the unexpected change that soon afterwards took place in regard to the Church.

to his hands the feventh day after I fent it to Edinburgh. My Brother was with his Lordship in the time when he received [it]: the King's haftening to meet his Mother the Queene, did divert my Lord from fending to yow an anfwer, which he promifed to my brother, at his parting from him, to fend by the poaft. Since which tyme I have received no letter, fave one the other day by my Lord Crawford; and all my Lord Lauderdale writes in his letter of 2d December to me touching that matter is, that "The King's commands keep me here, fo that I fhall not fee yow till the Spring. In the mean tyme, I long for your advyce as to what I wrote of Glasgou, with a draught of the prefentation." Thefe are the words. In that letter I fent to his Lordship with your's, I was pofitive in my defire that the prefentation might be fent downe for yourfelf; and fure my Lord, through multiplicite of bufinefs, hes forgott what then I wrote; but I fhall this night, by my letter to his Lordship, renew my defire; and I think it will be fitt that a draught of a prefentation, conform to Dr. Strang's, be fent up, if that can be had with yow, or any other which will be valide. Upon fending it hither to my Brother, (if I be not in towne,) I will engage for his fecrecie and fidelitie in tranfmitting it to my Lord Lauderdale, who, I am confident, will take care of it. Courtiers, they are fo taken up with other bufinefs, that they have neither leafure nor mind for framing draughts, and the readieft way will be to fend a draught to them. I doe not think but he hes either alreadie written to yourfelf, or will writ to yow by his brother Charles Maitland of Halton, who is now coming down.

Mr. Young did his bufinefs, before my coming to towne, with the Committee of States, fo that I had no oportunitie to ferve him, which I would have done upon your accompt. He can acquaint yow with proceedings here. I fhall only tell yow this, that I am confident at this Parliament there will be no meddling with the matters of our Church. I believe reports and apprehenfions with yow, may lead into fears of the contrare; but I fee no caufe for them. I wifh from my heart the peace yow ftand engaged to complete were fent lither. I fhall be in this towne again within a fortnight. Let me know wherein I can ferve yow, who am in finceritie,

Sir, Your's,

JA. SHARP.

[FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.]

JAMES,

YOURS of the 13th I received the 15th ; whereby I see your great kindness to me continues, for the which I remaine obliged. That pamphlet (as I write to you before, which yet I see is not come to your hands), I made ready for the presse, and sent a good while agoe to Mr. Dickson, according to my promise, and had done sooner, had not Mr. Andrew Kerr made me write once, twice, thrice, for some papers I thought fitt to add. You will see the frame I have put it in, and my additions, and doe with all what you and the brethren in Edinburgh think fitt. I think indeed it will help to discredit that faction for ever, and, in reason, make them silent, whatever course either Church or State take with any of them; but far be it from me to create any trouble to any flesh by any of my writs; therefore I write to Mr. Dickson that it should not goe to the presse till the Parliament (and I with the Church also) had ended all they have to say to any of them. However, I have performed what I have engaged to you.

Lauderdaill should not play the courtier with me: since he has forgot, (as I believe it well,) both what you and I write to him, I send you herewith the double of mine, that if you think fitt, he may look on it with one of yours to second it. Mr. Gillespie indeed has left us in such a condition, that (as I hear he boasts, on too good grounds, few shall desire it in haste,) I will be loath to meddle with it, if his Majesty, by Lauderdaill's means, will not help us out of our straits. My first motion for a præcept to the Thesaurer I thought would have had no difficulty. For a præsentation you have here Dr. Strang's last⁷: he had a larger

⁷ The following is a copy of the Warrant for Dr. Strang's presentation to the Principality of the College of Glasgow as inserted in this place in Baillie's Manuscript:—

CHARLES R.—RIGHT Reverend Father in God, right trusty and welbelovèd counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas we are credibly informed that since the departure of Mr. John Cameron out of that our Kingdom, the College of Glasgow hath been without a Principall, and being likewise informed of the sufficiency and learning of MR. JOHN STRANG, Doctor in Divinitie, and of his fitness to discharge that place, we have made speciall choise of him,

the year before from King James, which I cannot get, but I think yow muft draw the forme blank, to be changed by my Lord as he likes. The direction, I think, would be to the Moderators of the Univerfitie, and the narrative, the vacancie of that place fince the death of Dr. Strang, with a line of his Majestie's difallowance of Mr. Gillefpie's intrufion. When fuch a præfentation, with a kind letter from the King and Lauderdaill, comes to me, it's tyme, and not before, for me to advyfe what to doe. For the prefent my name is toffed more than needed, by all here about, and our Houfe fuffers many wayes by this vacancy : put it to fome point, the fooner the better.

I have many things to fay to yow which I cannot write. Cannot our peace be fecured without Argyle's head? See they go no farder with Mr. Rutherford; whatever be his deferving let him have his ftipend for his fhort tyme. If the Parliament medle with our Covenants they will grieve many, and me with the firft. For the tyme yow can help many things [as much] as any man I know, but be affured no man's court lafts long : be doeing good while yow have tyme. My fervice to James Wood, if his Archi-Epifcopall pride will permitt him to accept it; but I let him weell to wit, that the Arch-bifhops of Glasgou were large as proud as ever St. Andrewes could be. James, God help yow!

Your's,

December 17th 1660.

R. BAILLIE.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

My answer of the 17th of the laft to your verie kind one of the 13th, came to your brother, and I hope before this is received by yow. The reafon of my preffing yow with this fecond is a little impatience by the fcarce good carriage of fome of my neighbours. I think, indeed, that fince Dr. Strang's death, the firft place in our Houfe is no leffe than my due and juft deferving, and whoever medles with it, without my confent, is injurious; but the

and presented him thereunto. And therefore, by these presents, have thought good to require yow to give him collation, and induct him in the foresaid place according to the order. Wherein, nothing doubting of your ready obedience, we bid you Farewell.—Given at our Court at Sarisburie, the 10th of October 1625.

whole tract of my life, as many know, and of my heart, as I think, has been fo farre averfe from changes and advancement, that I have ever embraced, moft contentedly, my prefent condition, with a true loathnefs to leave it. This difpofition hes kepted me from moving hand or foot, directly or indirectly, to feek that which I count my due otherwayes. Only when yow advertifed me, and Lauderdaleill by his letter alfo was pleafed to fignifie unto me, that it was his Majestie's pleafure to appoint me for that place, I returned to yow and Lauderdaleill, the procurers of this without any defire from me, (as yow know better than any man,) my thanks, fhewing, when that prefentation came to me, I would advyfe about it with my friends. While too long a time goes before any conclufion herein, I find, at leift from many airths I hear, that my neighbour, Mr. John Young, by the diligence of his brother-in-law, Proveift Bell, whose credit with the Chancellor, Register, Advocat, Clerk of Edinburgh, and diverfe of the State, is very great, not only is procureing that place for himfelf, but laying thefe things on me with our Statesmen, which are either falfe or no faults : of this I am not content ; and, as I wrote to yow in my laft, I repeat, to entreat yow, who I think can doe it, to put that matter to a quick iffue and hafte, at leift to bring me fairly off it, that it may be fettled on fome honeft man who may be for it, but not, if my opinion be followed, on my neighbour, for many reafons I could tell yow. I could ever have lived rather with Mr. Gillespie than with him ; and if he fhould be the man, I think I would leave the Houfe, and go to a country church. From time to time I have had ingratitude and difpleafures from him that hardlie I can bear long. I hoped for a remead of many thing by a Vifitation of our Colledge, but I fee, by his and Proveift Bell's cunning and aëtivitie, that hope is turned into fear, for if our vifitors fhall be the perfons which they will choice, and moft eafily, by canny convoyance of the Register, or Advocat, or Chancellor, on the Proveift's fuggellion, will be paff in Parliament, we may get no good, but much harme of fuch a Vifitation ; and I fee now clearly that they are confident, doe what I can to the contrare, to have fuch a Vifitation as they fhall name. I have no way to help this but by yow. I think yow, Mr. Wood, Mr. Dickfon, etc., would refolve upon a way to vifite all our Univerfities, for fome good purpofe. I think poffible it were good that the Parliament fhould give that power, for this tyme, to the Generall Affemblic ; or if this can no be, that the men chofen for us might

be impartiall: for Noblemen, the Chancellor and yow would advyfe of some who might keep with us, such as Montgomerie, Fleeming, not Cochrane at this time, nor Montrose: [for] Gentlemen, Commissioners for the Lennox, Luffe, Kilmahew, for Baranthrow, young Houfton, Craigends, also Killyth, Heiflet, Cunninghamhead, Bedlay, Commiffar Fleeming: for Burroughs, the Proveft, and Bailzies, Dean of Gild, and Deacon Conveener of Glasgow, (at least two of them, Walkingshaw and Baillie Barnes,) the Proveft of Aire, Irvin, Dumbartane: for Ministers, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. Alexander Nisbet, Mr. P. Colvill, Mr. Gabriel Cunninghame elder, Mr. R. Wallace, Mr. Hew Eccles, Mr. R. Birnie, Mr. James Hamilton of Camnathen: Nine a quorum, four ministers and five others. This, if yow please, yow can manage well, or something like this; and because there may be some Sederunts at Edinburgh, the Thesaurer and Caffills might be put in, Mr. R. Douglafs, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Hutcheson, yow, and Mr. Wood, Mr. Smith, etc.

James, I pray yow let me know if this and my former have come to your hand, and what I may expect from yow; for it is on yow only, under God, that I lay these affaires. The Lord assist yow; the selfishness and ill designs of my neighbours diverts me from the publick and better thoughts. I expect yow will ease my present discontent.

Your's to serve yow,

January 1st 1661.

R. BAILLIE.

FOR THE RYGHTE REVEREND MR. ROBERT BAYLY, PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY
IN GLASGOW.¹

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED two of your letters laityly, the one whyl I was at home, two dayes befor I was sent for to attend the Commiffioner; the other by the bearer, who seems to be a discreet person, and can give yow such an account of matters relating to your letters, as will make it unnecessary for me to send yow a large returne. I would not have imagined that such an abuse and gross injurie could have been designed against yow. I shall doe my best, by the Lord's help, to give them check-meat. Any court I may be supposed

¹ From the original, addressed as above, (Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. xlix. No. 6.)

to have, (upon the continuance of which I doe not build,) shall be with all readines and good will, layed out to doe Mr. Baily service. My Lord Commissioner² is a very judicious and moderat perfon, and, by his carriage in the publick councill, hath gained wery great esteem: I have layed the way for engaging him to be your freind. Yow will not, I hope, doubt of my Lord Chancellor,³ nor the Thesaurer:⁴ my Lord Lawderdail will not play the courtier with yow. I have now in readines the draught of a presentation for yow, which I will without faile fend up by to-morroue's poast; and I doubt not of a speedie and good account therof, though I wish ther be nothing spoken of it to any befor it come doun. I am sure, befor my coming from London, yow had the King's word for it, which I trust he will not alter. It is necessarie yow come, within eight or ten dayes, to this place, to pay your respects from your Universitie to his Majestie's Commissionar; then we shall have opportunity to commune about your visitation. The late Act of your Synod, to my apprehension, and of the brethren heer, was unseasonable, and will doe more harm then good; it scapes not the construction of imprudencie and unhandfomenes putt upon it, at the left. I have not yet seen your peece yow sent to Mr. Dickson. I was pressed to preach the last Lord's day⁵ to the Parliament, of which I hear variety of reports are spread, which will be increafed by the foolishnes of the diurnall maker; but I know yow will allow me charity till yow speak with me. Yow see how I scribble; I make no doubt of your coming hither, and therfor shall adde no more, but commending yow to the grace of Christ, I am,

Your's,

JA. SHARP.

[FOR MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.⁶]

REVEREND AND WORTHIE FREIND,

To convince yow once more that yow was too credulous in beleeving that I was dealing for Mr. Gilespie, receive the inclofed paper, which indeed

² John Earl of Middleton.

³ William Earl of Glencairne.

⁴ John Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay.

⁵ On the 6th January 1661, which serves to fix the date of this letter.

⁶ From the original, (Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. xlix. No. 7.): the address is not preserved.

is all that I have done in favors of Mr. Patrick. But such reports are now no strangers to me. Every week I finde, by letters from Edinburgh, that I am reported there to be the great agent for my Lord Argyll, a calummie as fals as the former; but I am so hardend with twentie sorts of lyes, which I heare are vented of me there, that they make little impreffion on me. By God's grace, I shall study to serv my gracious Mafter and my Countrey faithfully, let idle men talke, and others beleev what they please; it shall little trouble me. This paper should have comd long agoe, if I had fooner gotten a copie of a presentation. His Majestie gratioously promised it at his first coming, and readily signed it the other day. So to him yow owe all the thankes. I can onely say for my self, that I shall ever be ready to witnes to yow that I forget not old freindship, and that I am, in the old manner,

STR,

Your most affectionate freind to serv yow,

Whitehall, 24th January 1661.

LAUDERDAILL.

[WARRANT OF THE KING'S PRESENTATION TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE AS
PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.]

CHARLES R.

OUR Sovereign Lord taking into consideration that, since the death of Dr. John Strang, late Principall of the Colledge of Glasgou, the said Colledge hath been without a Principall, and that the intrusion of Mr. Patrick Gillespie into that place, in these late tymes of Usurpation, hath been no small prejudice and detriment thereunto, and being very sensible how necessarie it is for the good education of youth, and the flourishing of pietie and learning therein, that this place be filled with a man able and well qualified for discharging thereof, and knowing well that MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, Professor of Divinitie there, is a fitt and well-qualified person for this employment: Therefore his Majestie ordains a Letter to be made, past, and expedé, under his Highness Privie Seall of his Kingdome of Scotland, nominating, presenting, and appointing, likeas by these his Majestie nominates, presents, and appoints the said MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, during all the dayes of his naturall lifetime, to be Principall of the Colledge of Glasgou; giving, granting, and dif-

poning, likeas his Majestie by these, gives, grants, and dispones to the said Mr. Robert the stipend, fees, profites, emoluments, casualities, with the priviledges, liberties, and immunities belonging, knowen, and accustomed thereunto formerly to belong; with full power to him to ask, crave, uplift, receive, intromet with, brook, joife, use and dispone thereupon at his pleasure, all and every the famen, sicklike as freely and fully in all respects as any other Principall of the said Colledge has, might, or ought to have done heretofore: Heirby requiring the Moderators of the Univerfitie of Glasgou, with all convenient diligence after sight hereof, to enter, admitt, and receive to this imployment the said Mr. ROBERT BAILLIE, and that the said Letter be further extended in the best, due, and ample forme, with all claufes needfull and in such cafes accustomed.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the 23d day of Januar, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty and one, and of our reigne the twelfth year.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

This contains your Majestie's nomination and presentation of MR. ROBERT BAILLIE to the place of Principall of the Colledge of Glasgou for all the dayes of his life, with the stipend, priviledges, profits, and casualities belonging to the same.

LAUDERDAILL.

[FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

COUSIN,

I LONG much now to hear how it goes with yow and your familie, and what is become of Dr. Strang's book; for it is long since I have heard from yow. As yow desired, and as my custome is, I give yow here ane account of our affaires since my last long letter; though yow readilie know all, yet it's not unfitt yow should know our sence and conception of them also. We expected this year for great quietnes at home, and for troubles abroad; but God, who governs all, has much disappoynted both our hopes and fears, making farre more confusion at home, and quietnes abroad, than was expected.

When the Portugalls had defeat the Spanish army at Elvas, and Turein had possessed so many places in the midst of Flanders; the English being master of Dunkirk, and, with their navie on the coast of Spaine, scarring the plate-fleet from comeing home; the Suede being ready to swallow up Denmark, and thereafter, with his French and Dutch friends, to fall on the Emperour, a child; the prosperous fight of Ragotsi, of the Venetians, and the Bassa of Aleppo, increasing the tumults in Constantinople: These things made us expect great changes abroad: but before we were aware the scales turned; France in the midst of his victories stopped, on what true motive we cannot dreame; his allyance with his cousin of Spaine seemed not so desirable, the Lady being so farr in years beyond the King, and no great matter for tocher offered, as we can hear. How Pimentillie, who cheated the poor Queen of Sueden out of her religion, her kingdome, and reputation, should have gotten the Cardinal of France so farre enchanted as to lay down armes, when they most prospered, we marvell, and wait for the end. In the meantyme, Spaine has gotten tyme to breath; the riches of his safe-landed fleet; the death of Modena; the discontent of Savoy for the French refuse of his siter, after the interview at Lions; Archduke Sigismund [in] readines to march to Flanders with the Imperiall army; the changes in England drawing our thoughts home for the time; the Pope's obstinate adherence still to the Spanish against the Portugall; the Queen of Spain's two sons has put that old languishing King once again on his feet; your States beating of the Suedish navie; the King's repulses from his too furious and unreasonable assaults of Copenhagen; the Imperiall, Brandeburgish, and Polish armie, falling on Pomer; the Dutch league of Colen, Mentz, and others, making no diversion; France lying off; the English navie's goeing home, makes the valour of Sueden to be overpowred, and all doubtfull of the event: for we doe not expect any agreement of Denmark without all his confederates; and that they never will put Denmark in the poor terms of Roskill's capitulation. However, the fearfull ruining of all Denmark's countrie, and the stopping of Sweden in all his designs through the strong armies leagued against him, seems to be the work chiefly of your States, on some reasons of their own, more than yet are visible to the world. We bless God, that lesse blood is shed in these bounds than we feared: we are forie for the ruining of the Prince of Holsten and Courland; the Turks also seem to be in a much

better condition ; the Perfian invafion of Babylon being a mere fable ; the Baffa of Aleppo and all his partie ruined ; Ragotfi put to depend on the Emperor for a fubfiftence ; the Vizier, by fea, putting in Candy what men he will ; the Mufcoviters victories againft the Tartars and Cofaks being of no confequence : So, where we expected a quick overturning of ftates and impires in a fhort time, affaires are fo turned about, that what was fhakeing is more firmly eftablifhed.

But with us all contrare : our very firm-like foundations in a moment overturned. The Proteftor Oliver endeavouring to fettle all in his familie, was prevented by death before he could make a teftament : He had not fupplied the blank with his fon Richard's name by his hand, and fcarce with his mouth could he declare that much of his will ; there was no more witneffes of it but Secretary Thurloe and Thomas Goodwin. Some did fearfully flatter him as much dead as living. Thomas Goodwin, at the faft before his death, in his prayer, is faid to have fpoken fuch words : " Lord, we pray no for thy fervant's life, for we know that is granted ; but to hafte his health, for that thy people cannot want." And Mr. Sterrie, in the chapell after his death,—“ O Lord, thy late fervant here is now at thy right hand, making interceffion for the fins of England.” Both thefe are now out of favour at court as court-parafites. But the moft fpoke, and yet doe fpeak, very evill of him ; and, as I think, much worfe than he deferved of them. His buriall was large as magnifick as any King of England. Richard immediately fate downe on his chyre ; and, after a moft folemn inftalment, got addreffes almoft from all the fhyres, cities, regiments of the armies in England, Scotland, Ireland, Dunkirk, from the navy, from the miniftrie, Prefbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptiftick, all ftriveing who fhould be firft and moft promifeing. All neighbour-ftates of France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Brandeburgh, Ham-burgh, Portugall, congratulating his fueceffion. No appearance of the fmalleft air of oppofition, till the officers of the armie did begin to petition for a General, and payment of their arrears. For their fatiffaction a Parliament was fummoned againft the 27th of January. This did meet frequently : fome fay it was prettie well chofen, of men who for the moft had good defignes for the publict, and aimed at a folid fettlement both of Church and State ; but among them were many for contrare defignes. The firft fencing was about the Act of recognition : for albeit, at the entry in the Houfes, every one took

the oath in the humble Petition and Advyce ; yet when it came to an Act of recognition, many and sharp debates arose. It was carried to acknowledge Richard for Protector ; but withall, that the Bill could not passe till the limitations of his power, the full securitie of the privileges of Parliaments, and libertie of the subjects, should passe in the same Act. A committee was appointed for that work, and Sir Harie Vaine sett in the chaire. The House of Lords also did passe ; but in a poor and slighting way of another House.

In the meantime, Opdam, with the Holland fleet, passed to the Sound. All was alarmed with this ; and in a very short time the Protector, with the consent of all, sent Montagu with as great a fleet, to wait upon them. All did expect a present breach betwixt us and yow ; but since your fleet did nothing but supplie Copenhagen with some men and victuals, and did not transport any of the confederate army to raise the siege ; it seems the English and Holland instructions have been, not to fight, and so to do but little service to either partie all this long summer. Whether yow will do so still, when the English are returned, we will shortly see.

The Parliament's next work was about pay to the Armie. This was a business, and yet is, almost inextricable. The land-armies in Scotland, England, Ireland, Flanders, and Jamaica, with the navie, reckoning every frigate of fourtie guns to a regiment of foote, could not be within a hunder thousand men of daily pay ; the revenue, all being exactly counted, did not amount to nyineteen hunder thousand pound sterling ; the necessary charge of the Armie and State was above twenty-two hunder thousand ; it was no marvell then that the arrears of the armie should exceed twenty-five hunder thousand, and the Protector's debt many hunder thousand pounds also : How all this should be payed without the countrie's ruine, was the Parliament's great care. While they are about this, the officers of the army have their daily meetings, in Fleetwood's lodging or Wallingford-house. The Anabaptistick and Republican partie had, by many papers, which now are printed, been secretly, for a long tyme, plying Fleetwood and the officers in conscience, to returne to their first principles, to overthrow Oliver's selfe innovations, to abolish the other House, and all government by one, under whatsoever name. The Parliament finding these popular addresses take much with the officers, and that such meetings on such high consultations could not stand with their au-

thoritie, resolved an Act for dissolving the meeting of Wallingford-houfe, and to command all officers to attend their severall charges in the three Kingdomes, and to take an oath of obedience to the present Parliament. While the other House is advyding on that vote, the Protector joyns with it, and accordingly commands the officers to be gone to their charges. He and the House supposed that they had so great a partie of the armie and citie for them, that there was no hazard of any force: but they fand themselves quicklie mistaken; for the officers, with all speed, making a randivous at the back of St. James's Park, in the Pell Mell, at eleven a'clock at night, before the Protector had provided any thing for opposition, they came immediately to Whit-hall, and made the Protector consent, under the Great Seall, not to the adjourning, (which at first would have satisfied,) but the dissolution of the Parliament. To this most hardly he did consent; but his uncle Disbrough, and brother Fleetwood, drew him to it with firme promises of the armie's readinesse still to serve him. When the officers saw the Parliament so easily dissolved they fand themselves unsecure, till, contrare to Fleetwood and Disbrough's mind, they made the Protector lay downe his place, and took, for a tyme, the government of all into their own hand. To this also the Protector did quietly submitt, and, from a very great Prince, did descend to a very private and quiet gentleman. The officers immediately put down the Councill of State; removed out of the armie all the Protector's confidants; the regiments of the Protector, Ingolfsby, Whalley, Goff, Falconbridge, Howard, and others, were given to Lambert, Overtoun, Okey, and such whom Oliver had outed. The Tower was taken from Barksted, the Great Seall from Nat. Fynes, and a strange change made. But the officers were quickly wearie of the burden of the government. After much advyement, they fell on a very unexpected overture, to set down with a Parliamentary power, so many of the Long Parliament that remained uncast out, when the Protector, in the year 1652, had dissolved them. Of these they fand in the citie and about it, about fourtie; whom, with Lenthall, their speaker, they moved to sit downe in the house, the sixth of May; who since that time hes ruled as a Parliament. At the very first all the Armie's propofalls past in Acts of parliament: A Councill of State of threttie-one was constitute. All this was done without any dinne, except what Mr. Prin and some other sharp pamphleteers made; which they misregarded. For the citie of London, the most of all the regiments in the three

nations, did fend them congratatorie addressees, so full of good words as ever were made to either of the Cromwells; whose names by many were then teared in the worst language, pictures, and pamphlets, that could be. Some flurr was expected from Henry [Cromwell] in Ireland, Monck in Scotland, and some other of the Protector's friends; but all came to just nothing.

The new old Parliament's first and chief work was to constitute the armie. A committee of nomination was to nominate everie officer in every regiment; the crouner, lieutenant, major, every captain, ensigne, etc. All these were appointed to come to the barre of the House, to receive their new commissions, and make their oath there to the Parliament. This was a long and fashious work, and is not yet ended. Many officers were left out without any accusation. Nothing in this was the work of the Generall, which many took for a flighting of him. The armie indured all this as coming from the hands of their trusty friends; but an other work of the Parliament startled them more; the establishing of the militia of the counties in such hands as the Parliament nominat: these went, if complete, to the number of twenty thousand horse, and four-score thousand foot, to be paid by the counties when they were in service. This was a visible curb to the Armie's power, and a hazard to their pay: for the countrie was unable to pay both. But it seems this countrie-militia was but for a tyme.

While these things are in doing, there arise a generall discontent among the people every where in England, which bred a conspiracie in many shyres, to take armes at severall rendezvouses, the 18th of August. But before the 1st of August, all was revealed: Maffey, Titus, and others, from the King, were said to have been for diverse moneths at work in the citie and countrie to make a partie. The chief stickling was where least expected, in Cheshyre and Lancashyre: Sir George Booth had drawn the most of the people after him. The report of this thing flew every where, and increased the number and strength of the conspirators hugelie above truth; for when it came to the proof, they were found unconfiderable. Fleetwood and the militia of London, kepted down the citie, the rising whereof was most feared. A few old troupes and the new militia of the shyres did preveene, and easilie suppressè, the rendezvouses in Kent, Hartfordshire, Gloucestershire, Notingham, Derby, Leicester, Shropshire, and other places. Lambert, with four or five thousand horse and foot, making a quick march north-

ward, did meet with Sir George Booth at a bridge some myles from Chefter: his ten thousand horfe were become towards two thousand horfe and foot; the difpute was nought fcarce half an houre; Sir George had not threttie killed, and Lambert hardly one. Chefter, Manchester, Preston, Liverpool, randed on the firft fummons; Sir George fleeing towards London, in women's apparell, was taken at Newport-Pennell [Pagnet], the Earl of Derby in Shrewsbury: in a very few dayes all wes compefcit without blood. Sir George Booth's confeffions, they fay, are fo liberall, that manie talks he hes been but ane emiffarie of purpofe to difcover who were difaffected to the Parliament, to have them crufted; but others, who know the gravitie of the gentleman, and confiders his declaration, doe not believe neither this, nor his rumoured confeffions. At the firft, many of the Prefbyterian minifters in the city and country, was faid to be on this plot; but this lykewayes appears now to be a vaine report. Ere long, doubtlefs, we will hear of all the bottome of the bufinefs; for the tyme we know no more but what the Diurnall tells us.

So foone as this was over, the armie was carefull to caufe the Parliament diffolve, and pay off the countrey-militia, that it might not ftand when there was no more ufe of it than to be a vifible curb to them. Yet the people's generall mifcontentment remains: for though the decay of trade hes increafed the povertie of the countrey, yet the neceffities of the armie and navie increafes the taxations very much, nor is yet any government eftablifhed. The Parliament and army agree againft all monarchie, whether of Kings or Proteftors, and againft the Houfe of Lords; but what forme of Republick to fettle, this they differ on. Some are for the perleverance, if not perpetuitie, of this part of the old Parliament that now fits; others for a new Parliament of Commons, chofen according to the qualifications which this Parliament fhall agree upon; others for a Parliament of two or three thousand of the people, with a coordinat power of a Senate, to be a check on the peoples extravagancie: what of thefe fhall be determined we expe&t to hear. Some think that difference in the Parliament, not like to be agreed. Prevalencie of the Quakers and Fifth-monarchy men fo farr, that they have obtained James Naylor, that monftrous blafphemer, out of prifon; and have moved fome wife Presbyterians, Independents, and more sober Anabaptifts, to fyncretifme againft their danger, will force the armie once more to raife the Parliament, and fupplicat

Lambert, a very wise, stout, active, sober, gentleman, to take the government upon him : but what will be the end of all, we refer it to God.

Scotland's condition for the tyme is not good : exhaust in money ; dead in trade ; the taxes near doubled ; since the sixth of May without all law, nor appearance of any in haste. My Lord Waristoun was called to the House of Peers by the last Protector : when the Parliament was dissolved, his old friend, Sir Henry Vaine, got him in the Councill of State, and the most ordinarie chairman thereof : all the weight of Scots affairs lyes on him alone. Argyle, though he went thither a Commissioner for Aberdeenthyre, and sat in the House of Commons, complying with the Protector so long as he stood, and with the new Parliament so much as any desired ; yet was misregarded ; and for fear of arreistment for debt, slipped away home with small credit or contentment. The rest of the Scots commissioners, Swinton, Garland [Garthland], Major Barclay, Earle of Lithgow, Earle of Tweddale, etc., comply as they pleased, did signifie little thing ; but Waristoun was all. He was made to believe that our union would be a short business ; and that it was better to want law than for to have it before the union : but that conceit hes made us want the Summer Session, and may be the Winter too ; for the debates of the union grew so long, that they say it's laid aside till they have agreed once on the government of England, to which we are to be united. No man pays any debt but of his own accord. That which much retarded our union, was a petition from many hands in our countrie, put on by Garland, young Dundas, our Quakers, and many others, for a full tolleration to be insert in the act of our union. This was so well backed by some of the officers of the armie, that till it be satisfied, nothing can be gotten done, though Warriston doe his uttermost against it.

Upon suspicion that some in Scotland might be on the English plot, the Generall called all who had been in armes, and were under bands, to take a new oath, of renouncing the Stewarts, and adhering to the present government : Who refused were laid up in prisons ; Montrose, Calendar, Lorne, Selkirk, Kenmure, Didup, Loudoun, David Lesley, Sir James Lumsden, and others. Some took it, as Glencarne, and, as they say, Rothes, Montgomerie, etc. : but it's thought there was no Scots flesh on this designe, whether because not trusted, or not desired by the English, who would doe it all their alone, is not known ; but, however, it's thought none of our nation were upon it.

What was talked of Kinnoul and General Major Montgomerie, landing in our Hielands was found a mere fable. Our people are so ill bitten, and so exceedingly low, that though there were no garrisons to hold them downe, they have neither a mind nor abilitie to make any noife.

Our Church lyes as it was, full of grief, for inward divisions, and outward hazard. As yet the English troubles us not : and truly they have no cause ; for, whatever be our thoughts, yet in all expressions we are so quiet and peaceable as they could wish. Being afrayed for Waristoun's uncessant designs, the brethren of Edinburgh moved Mr. Sharp to goe up again to attend his motions. The Protector Richard took very weell with him and fundry members of Parliament ; but when these were put down, Warriston deferred him to the Councill, as corresponding with Maffey and Titus. Being upon this called to the Councill, Sir Harie Vaine and Mr. Scot were sent out to conferr with him, to whom he gave abundant satisfaction, and a little after was sent home in peace.

The passages of our last Synod of Glasgow, yow may read in my letter to Mr. Dowglas ; and of our Colledge, in my letter to Mr. Sharp. Mr. Gillespie, by Secretary Thurlow, had procured from the Protector Richard a patent, commanding us, out of our rents, old and new, to adde yearly to Mr. Gillespie's former stipend, a hundred pound sterling yearly, upon three very untrue narratives. 1. That he was not sufficiently provided ; while he had a hundred and threttie pound, which is more than any Principall hes in Scotland. 2. That the Colledge rent could weell bear it ; while as now, it does not pay our stipends and table till the year after. 3. That the labour of his charge was extraordinar ; while he does as good as nothing in his proper charge, but goes about buildings, pleas, and journeyes, all the year over. We thought neither law nor reason would bear throw that procured patent, and all were displeas'd with it ; yet since I was to plead nothing before the English, and knew no other would, I was content he should have the thing, [1.] Upon condition, he held out the narratives ; 2. That it should be out only of our new rents of his procurement ; 3. That he should passe from his former gift of the half of the augmentations of Galloway ; 4. That this his gift should not be for his successor. On this a write was drawn, and all subscribed ; but herein I was offended, that when he desired the by-runs of the augmentations of Galloway passing from them in time to come, and we

granted his desire ; in the very first article, he put in the teinds of Staplegortoun, which came to two thousand eight hundred pound, which wes to him one thousand four hundred pound ; at this I stormed, that composition being obtained in Dr. Strang's tyme, though formallie closed after his coming, and long agoe spent. From this he passed ; yet, by debts and compositions made, these bygone augmentations amounts to above two thousand merks, the half whereof he took. We would have been glad he had rested here ; but his next motion was, to pull down the whole forework of the Colledge, the high Hall, and Arthurlie, very good houses, all newly dressed at a great charge. I was very grieved at this not only totallie needles but hurtfull motion, and got the most of our number to be in my mind, though he offered to get it builded without any cost to the Colledge, out of the remainder of Mr. Zacharie Boyd's mortification, eight thousand merks in my Lord Loudoun's hands, the vacancies of kirks, and other means he would procure. All this satisfied no diverse of us, yet warring us by Mr. John Young's vote, we behoved to let it goe. I reasoned much for a delay, till in the next spring we had gotten some money, and saw how the world would goe ; but all in vain : presentlie the Hall was pulled down. All since, I think, repent their rashness, and all beholders cry out on us. This year and the next our Colledge will lye open ; want of law makes us void of money, yet now we must goe on by our private borrowings, and any other way he can invent. I am now more ready to further it than any who voted to it, for we cannot now let it lye. Another of his notions has also fashed us : we expected great things of the Deanrie and Subdeanrie of Hamilton ; all came to four or fyve chalder of victual ; but he took a conceit of the great advantage to buy the benefice, and bestow on it eighteen thousand merks. We had fourteen thousand merks of burfar-money, there would be two or three thousand of by-run duties, and we behoved to borrow the rest ; to this also we consented, but not very willinglie, for fear of claspers in the end. The bargain yet sticks unperfected. He appointed a new factor to take up the bygones, of the readiest, his wife following him to London, a thousand merks, as he had done another when he went. Our order is, that our stipends should be payed to all men proportionable ; but when he had that two thousand merks, there was not a groat to give any man of that year's stipend, the half whereof was due at January 1st, and the other at July 1st.

We were afraid he would do much harme to our Church and Town when he came to London ; yet we hear not what he has performed. Finding the weight of living there on his own charges, he wrote to our Rector to see if we would defyre him to stay on our affaires. We understood that this did import twenty shillings sterling a day to him from the Colledge, from what day to what day he pleased ; also, we conceived that all our gifts, which concerned none of us but himself, which then were fallen, would easily be gotten renewed by his missives to his great friends ; all of us, therefore, did refuse to send him any defyre to stay. This he took very ill, professing great content that he was free of the burden of attending our buisnesses ; but grieved that we misregarded our buisnesses so far as not to have sent up some other of our number to wait on it. He went up and came down with my Lady Swinton in her coach. What will be his next designe we know not, but I think we will not be long a-hearing it.

Our Towne has been in more peace than formerly. Mr. Gillespie's four months absence, want of publick judicatories has helped to it ; but no good will in some is lacking to keep in the fire. The last trick they have fallen on, to usurp the Magistracie, is, by the diligence of their sessioners to make factions in every craft, to get the deacons and deacon-convener created of their side ; and herein they have much prevailed : but with such strife as sometimes it has come to strokes : but this lent-way does no satisfie. It's feared, by Waristoun's diligence, some orders shall be procured by Mr. Gillespie, to have all the Magistrates and Counsell chosen as he will. These in place has guided the towne so moderately and wisely, that none are expected to doe it better : notwithstanding of their hudge charge to defend themselves against Mr. Gillespie's pleas, they have still kept the towne free of all taxes, when all our other burghs are wracked with them. They have builded a fair meal-market, which has been near three thousand merks ; a fair bridge at Colin's port, which will be above one thousand merks ; a very fair merchant-hospitall, near the bridge, which will be a great soume, and is most done by contribution. Their losse of Mr. George Young¹ was very sad to them ; he was wise and active, and very watchful for their good, kepted them at peace among themselves, prevented and crushed many designses of their opposites, set them

¹ Mr. George Young was brought from Mauchline, in 1644. to be one of the ministers of Glasgow.

upon many things for their own good. He preached on March 20th with his ordinar health, only he had a cold, which encreas'd upon him, and made him take his bed with some fever, which grew still with a great defluxion, where-with he was choaked, being hale in all his noble parts, and in vigour enough; he spok but little, but very well and graciouſlie, and expired without paine on the Saturday March 26th, the ſixty-fiſt of his age, with the great regrate of all, except the faction to whom he ever profeſſed oppoſition. He was one of the beſt and kindeſt friends I had. For the provideing of his place there has been much dinn, and like to be more. The Magiſtrates, Town Councell, and all the pariſh, who are conſiderable, did choiſe Mr. James Ferguſſon; but the ſeſſion choiſe Mr. John Liviftoune as one moſt active for their partie, wife and powerfull with the Engliſh. Mr. John Carſtares's ſuperlative praifes of him, in his preaching and prayers, were according to his manner exceſſive. At the intimation of his call the pariſh and magiſtrates proteſted, but they went on, and ſent to invite him from preſbyterie and ſeſſion; but the town and pariſh ſent to intreat him not to come, on the reaſons of their proteſtation. His answers to both were but coldriſe; yet the great diligence that is uſed with him, by the chief of the party, may make him to come. If his Synod louſe him, which readilie they will, for any oppoſition of magiſtrat or people he will not regard it, who diverſe times has admitted others contrare to the mind of ſeſſion, preſbyterie, ſynod, and all. We will ſhortlie ſee the end.

Mr. Ralph Rodger, for all his averſneſs, his Preſbyterie's determining him to ſtay, and our Town's proteſtation, yet on the Synod's aſt is come; and if he goe on as he has begun, will be as ſober and profitable miniſter here as any they have. Mr. Francis Aird, whom they would have had, is dead ſhortlie of a feaver in five or ſix dayes. Mr. David Veitch, one of the ableſt of our preſbyterie, miniſter of Govan, having preached on the Sunday, was buried before the next; ſo unhappie is it to ſucceed depofed men. In Decerſe [Dalferſ] poor Mr. John Hamilton was put out, I know no for what: his two ſucceſſors, good men, Mr. John Weir and Mr. Francis Aird, did both die unexpectedly. Mr. William Wilkie, I thought, was unjuſtlie put out of Govan, albeit his very evill carriage ſince has declared more of his fins, yet both his ſucceſſors, Mr. Hew Binny [Binning], and Mr. David Veitch, died in their youth. Mr. John Crichtoun was too juſtlie depofed from Paſlay,

yet his fuccellor, Mr. Colvert, was fuddenlie overtaken with a palfie and died; and Mr. Alexander Dunlop is fo gone with the ferubie, that he is not like to live long. I have a long catalogue of fuch fad examples. I believe guiltie men, of crimes deferving depofition, ought not to be fpared; but the violence of fundrie perfuing their brethren without reafon, I never did approve.

Sundrie heavie accidents have latelie fallen out amongst us. Baillie Walkinshaw's moft prettie boy of four or five years old, on a Sunday afternoon, fell down his ftair, and fpoke no more, but died. Thomas Brown, late baillie, having fupped, lay down and died before midnight. Thomas Main, our faftor, at his breakfast weel, while he ftretcht out his hand to the cup, is fuddenlie overtaken with a palfie; fpoke no more, but in a day or two dies. Thomas Robifon, in Salcots, fitting at his own fire-fide, is flobbered to death by a highlandman, put upon him by Pennimor to get his goods to his fon who had married Robifon's daughter. A daughter of Mr. Archbald M^rLauchlane, minifter at Luffe, a widow, a very weell-favoured woman, being found in the aēt of bafe adulterie with William Watfon, and William Hume, was put in the tolbooth where fhe hanged herfelf. Janet Hieगत in Falkirk, of a lewd life, vexed with a naughtie husband, did the like.

My Lord Belhaven, without any example I ever heard of in Scotland, with his Ladie a very wittie woman's advyce, did faine death, and for feven yeares was taken by all for dead, yet now appears againe fafe and found in his own houfe. He was much ingadged for Duke Hamilton: fearing the creditors might fall on his perfon and eftate, and knowing, if he were reputed dead, his wife, by conjunct-fie and otherwayes, would keep his eftate; he went, with his brother and two fervants, towards England. Thefe returned, affirming, that in Solway Sands my Lord was caried downe by the river, and they could no refcue him. His horfe and his hatt they got, but when all fearch was made, his bodie could not be found. His Ladie and friends made great dool for him, and none controverts his death.² In the mean time he goes beyond London and farmes a piece of ground, and lives very privatelie there. He had but one boy, a verie hopefull youth,

² Sir John Hamilton of Broomhill, raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Belhaven and Stenton, 15th December 1647. The above incident is also narrated with some additional particulars, by John Nicol, who states that Lord Belhaven was absent for six years, and returned to Scotland in January 1659. (Diary, &c. pp. 233, 234.)

and prettie scholler ; God strikes him with a fever, as his Mother said, but, as others, with a fall from a horse, whereof in a few dayes he dies. In this reall death, by God's hand, who will no be mocked, the hope of that house perished. So soon as the Duke's debt was satisfied by selling his own lands, the secret journies of my Lord to his own house were espied, and so much talked of, that he now at last appears in publick, for his great disrepute ; and though he disposes of his estate to his good-son Sillertoun³ after his death, yet many think both their estates will goe.

There has been a great plague amongst the horse in all Britain, to the death of many thousands of the best. What you inquire of the apparition in Galloway is notourlie known. In Glenlufs parish, in John Campbell a webster's house, for two or three yeares a spirit did whiles cast stones, oft fire the house, and cut the webs in the looms, yet did never any considerable harme. The man was a good, pious, resolut man, and never left his house for all ; fundrie ministers of the Presbyterie did keep fasting and praying in the house without molestation ; sometye it spoke, and the minister, Mr. John Scot, was so wise as to intertain large discourfes with it. It were long to write all the passages : this twelvemoneth it has been silent. A sturdy beggar who had been a most wicked and avowed atheist, for which he was hanged at Dumfries, did oft lodge in that house ; about his death it became more quiet, yet thereafter it became troublesome enough, but for the time is silent. There is much witcherie up and downe our land ; though the English be but too spareing to try it, yet some they execute.

For myself, blessed be God, I am weell. My last yeare's fitting in a riven chamber, gave a swelling and tinging in my bellie which yet remains. I have no pain, yet it makes me lumpish, and unwilling to travell. Harie is well and studies. My daughter Lilius lives weell in Aire, and hes heired Kildonel [Kildonan] with a fine boy. I married my step-daughter the other moneth to Mr. Robert Watfon, minister at Cardrossie, a young man of verie good reputation. My daughter Helen is almost a woman : Elizabeth and Mary are growing fast up in grace and stature. My youngest, Margaret, Dr. Strang's oye, is a very prettie quick child of two years old. I bless the Lord in these evill dayes I get leave to lurk within our precinct ; except on the Sabbath to church, going very rarely any where abroad.

³ Sir Robert Hamilton of Silvertownhill.

My desire is that it may be weell with yow, your kind wife, and all your children. Our cousin, good Nanie Gibson, had a felt gravel ending in a huler; it created her great pain, till in a moneth or two it took her away. A daughter of Ja. Tran, of a great stone, but after a yeaer's great pain, of late expired: her husband and his parents were doggittly unkind to the young woman, though a good one, of a good portion. Catehnikk, a good meek gentleman, near fourscore, healthy all his dayes, fitting down weell to breakfast, presently fell downe in a sound, and died in a few houres. John Gibson of Clayflop, a vigorous old man of eighty yeaeres, going home from Glasgou on foot, steps in to Matthew Colquhoun's for a mutchkin of wine, while he is drinking it at table, falls down and dies immediately. John Herbertson long weak in his chamber, yet on the bonefire-night supped, drank the King's health, and within an hour died unexpectedly. Mr. Gavin Hamilton, late minister of Cader, was abroad on the Thursday, on Fryday all day up, but died ere midnight.

This farr had I written with my former long letter much of a year agoe; but it lay beside me, that I might see some settling of these extraordinar and happie changes, which the hand of God, above all humane hope or reason, hes wrought its alone. After Sir George Booth's defeat, all did almost despaire of human help for our evils. I heard sweet Balcarras at the Hague did die of grief for that calamitie;⁴ his bodie his lady brought home, and caused burie honourable at his parish-church: without doubt that was one of the most brave and able gentlemen of our nation, if not the most able. I am not yet satisfi'd with Chancellor Hyde's very unjust breaking of his neck: God will see to it. It was the Parliament's work, especially Vane, Hafilrig, and Scot, to search out all the complices of Sir George Booth; and doubtless, if God had not, in answer to the prayers of the choice ministers and people of Lancashyre, given them somewhat else to doe, they had made much execution of many good and honest men. But behold, when they are running to suck this blood and spoile, the Lord casts ane other bone in their teeth. The officers which had defeat Sir George, lifted up with that deserving, expected from the Parliament all they could defyre. With this confidence they approach the citie. Many of them subseryve a petition, to get all the generall officers established, and when this did not weel relish in the Houfe, (for Hafilrig and

⁴ Alexander Second Earl of Balcarras died at Breda 30th August 1659

Vane were very jealous of Lambert,) they prest it harder : whereupon the House, trusting to the late oaths of obedience from all the officers, makes bold to calheir Lambert, Ashfield, Cobbet, and diverse others. Upon this affront, the officers went to the House, and with threats dissolved them. In this new confusion, all was put to a stand, not knowing what to doe : a judicall blindness fell among them : all were malcontent, and raised in mind to expect and desire a change ; but none durst venture on any more action.

Our Noblemen, very secretly, most by the mediation of the Lady Weims, a wittie active woman, whose daughter Buccleugh⁵ was in Monck's custodie, at Dalkeith, did oft solicit him to attempt for the King ; but doubts and feares still kept him off : yet when Haslrig and others had importuned him from England to assist the Parliament against the violence of Lambert and his partie, he called the most of the armie to draw near to Edinburgh. He sent for Commissioners from every one of our shires, and desired them to advance six moneths maintenance. Though this in our deep povertie was almost to us unfeasible, yet on good hopes, it was cheerfully and quickly done. He had of his owne above fiftie thousand pound sterling, which helped him to give good satisfaction to his sojors, while the armie in England was put to live on free quarter, all the shires refusing to pay any more money till a free Parliament did command it. There went a strong Remonstrance amongst the most shires, against an arbitrary sword-government and all taxes, till a free Parliament ; but to sugar it, there were two clauses put in, one against the Stewarts and all Monarchie, ane other for full libertie of conscience to all Sectaries. This encouraged Monck to declare to the officers of the armie at London, his desires of a free Parliament. This did much startle them ; and when many papers had past among them, and Monck continued resolute to march into England for that end, Fleetwood sent down to him Mr. Caryll, Colonell Whalley, Goff, and his brother-in-law Dr. Clargis. These wrought him to a treatie, for which he sent three of his officers to London, Cloberry, Wilks, and Knight : these were so laboured on by their friends, that they made an accord, and subscribed it. But Monck being more and more encouraged both from Scotland and England, and having purged his army from Cobbett, Young,

⁵ Mary Countess of Buccleugh in her own right, the greatest heiress then in Scotland, married, in the 11th year of her age, Walter Scot of Highchester, who was created Earl of Tarras in 1660. She died without issue in 1661.

Sortie, Holmes, and many Anabaptists, filling their places with a number of Scottish old fojors, he refused that accord as done contrary to his instructions. Finding him grow in resolution and strength, they sent to the north Lambert with five thousand of their best horse, and some three or four thousand foot, with which he came to Newcastle on free quarter. Monck came to Berwick in the mids of December, and lay on the fields in a very cold winter, near Caldstreim, with six or seven thousand good foot, and within two thousand horse. Many of our Noblemen came to him at Berwick, and offered to raise quickly for his service all the power of Scotland; but the most of his officers refused it, fearing the stumbling of their armie and friends in England; for as yet all of them, in their right-weell penned papers, did declare as positively as ever, with divine attestations, against all Kings and Monarchie, and for a free Parliament, and all former principles. Lambert was the far strongest, and easily might have cutted in pieces all Monck's partie, and made havock in our poor land, as they say it was their purpose, designing the chief of our nobles and ministers for the scaffold, and many ministers for Jamaica, whereof I heard myself was one; but blessed be the Lord who kepted us from their bloody teeth. Monck resolved to keep his ground at Caldstreim, and if he were beaten, to retire to Stirling, and take our help. Our nobles, by his allowance, but without all ingagement, sent Major Buntein to Breda, where the King was, with his Sister, in a very hard condition. He had gone to Bayonne, conferred with the Cardinall and Du Haro, to gett his interest considered in the treatie. He got from both courteous words; but, in effect, was by both neglected. Coming back with a perplexed heart, with his brother York, through France and Flanders, to his Sister at Breda, scarce tollerat by the States Generall's connivance, to abide in the Prince of Orange's bounds, he is much refreshed by what he heard from Scotland. About the same time Broghill and Sir Charles Couets sends Sir Arthure Forbessé to him from Ireland, and some from England makes him hopefull of Lambert. This puts him in an uncertaintie to what partie first he should apply himself: Hyde inclined most to Lambert; Lauderdaill's letters, and these from Scotland advised to trust Monck or Scotland; however, Ormont inclined to accept the Irish offers. All the messengers he dismissed kindly, with good answers. But in the meane time, Colonell Wotham invited Hafilrig, and some of the militia of the late Parliament, to Portsmouth, where he commanded. Here,

incontinent, forces are gathered, some four or fyve thousand men, who march directly to London. The people favoured them rather than their opposites. But Fleetwood with his forces in the citie, and Desborough with his canon from the Tower, held the citie at under. Yet so soon as Hafilrig came near with his forces, reported to be far above the truth, both Fleetwood and Desborough retired, and Hafilrig entered; and incontinent sat downe in the last Parliament, sent letters to Monck to haste up, and emitted an act of indemnity to all who did submit. Lambert was not able any longer to keep his people in order, so retired speedilie towards London, and, with Fleetwood and the rest, accepted the act of indemnity, and retired to their houses.

On the 1st January 1660, Monck did march orderly, and at leasure, to London: wherever he came he was received as an angel; bells and bonfires welcomed him. All declared their earnest desires of a free Parliament, and gave him great encouragement to procure it: he was civill to all, but reserved himself to see farder. Mr. Dowglafs and Mr. Sharp had been free with him in Scotland; on his letter, Mr. Sharp followed him and overtook him. So soon as he reached London, he was to him the most wise, faithfull, and happy counsellor he had; and if it had not been for God's assistance to Mr. Sharp, Monck was diverse times on the point of being circumveened, or of himself to have yielded to destructive counsells. The Parliament sent two, and the citie three, to meet him at Nottinghame, with many fair words and great honours; but did joyn three with him in commission, to curb his power. They had put Vain, Whitelock, and others, out of the House; they were secure of Fleetwood, Lambert, and the rest of the army; their only fear was Monck. They desired he should not bring his army to the citie: he quartered about it; but himself came to the House, and got many good words, and gave als many. Sundry shyres did petition for a new free Parliament. Sundry of the petitioners were laid up for this. Monck at all was silent and ambiguous. There had sitten long in the citie, very secretly, a committee of two from every shyre, and four of the citie, advising how to cast off the yoke of slavery. When they fand the rump of the Long Parliament of forty-four to reject the petition of manie shyres for a new free Parliament, also the petition of two hundred and fifty members, unjustlie by Cromwell cast out, to be readmitted; and all that could be obtained from Hafilrig, who then ruled all, was to supply the House against such a day with members of many qualifica-

tions, which they made, and whereof they would be judges, chiefly that all should swear against the Stewarts, and all government by one; the people, almost desperat, mett in common councill, and voted no more addressés, nor more payments, till a new free Parliament did fitt. Herewith the House is inradged, and votes the uncitizing of London, a calling down of all their gates, posts, and chains; for walls they had none since Cromwell pulled down their lanes of communication; the common counsell was abolished, and a new one appointed to be chosen. Monck was commanded to see these votes execut, and so to become most odious to the people, that the more easily they might destroy both. Monck was in a very hard taking, yet did obey; and the people permitted him patiently to doe all he pleased: The gates and posts are pulled down; the common counsell is changed; but behold a present change. The fool Hasilrig had wyped the Citie's and Monck's nose to the blood. Monck, by conference with the secluded members, presbyterian ministers, and chief citizens, is encouraged to write a sharp letter to the Parliament, of his repentment of their feveritie to the Citie, and dallying with Fleetwood, Lambert, Vaine, Ludlow, and others, though declared against; farder, of his owne ingagement to the Citie, that within five dayes they should issue letters for calling a new free Parliament against the 25th of Aprile.

In the meane tyme, Hasilrig, Scot, and others, did send many messáges to him; and near had gained him to come out of the Citie, and lye at Whitehall: but Mr. Sharp's night labours here were happy. On the 20th of Februar Monck went to the House, and sett down the secluded members. At this the citie and countrie's joy was unexpressible; bells and bonefyres every where; Monck made Captain-General of all forces by sea and land of the three kingdomes, and General-Major of the citie-militia; Hasilrig, Secretarie Scot, and others of the rump, sneakit away to the countrie; Lambert and Overtoun were put in the Tower; a Councill of State of thirty-one, Lewis, Holice, Crewe, Knighton, Peirpoint, and such; the Covenant appointed to be hung up in the House, also in every church, and to be read solemnly once every year; Sir George Booth and all his partie were let free; also Lauderdaill, Crawford, and all of ours, were freed of their long prisons. Commissioners from our shyres, Glencairne, Durie, Carden, William Thomfon, with Monck's good allowance, came to London. Frequent private messengers went to the King. He, from Breda, sent over Sir John Greenville and Dr. Morley, with a very gracious messáge,

to both Houfes, to the Citie, to the General, which fatiffied all. An order of Parliament given to proclaime the King, May 8th; which was done over all England moft folemnlie. A Committee of fix Lords, twelve Commoners, three Aldermen, nine Common-Councillors, with fundry citie-minifters, Calamy, Manton, Reinolds, etc. fent to Breda to hafte the King home; fifty thoufand pound [fterling] fent him in money, ten thoufand in gold; to his brother [York], ten thoufand in money, one in gold; to Gloucefter, five in money, one in gold. Landing at Dover, he ftayed Sunday in Canterburie, Monday in Rochefter, Tuefday, May 29th, his birth-day, came to the Citie, with the moft folemn fhew and heartieft joy that, I think, was ever in England. At Whitehall, Manchefter and Grimftone, the Speakers of the two Houfes did welcome him in more cordiall than eloquent fpeeches. He had from Breda given full securitie, on his word, to men of all profeffions, to live in peace; for fatiffaction to the fojourns of their arriers; for keeping them in poffeffion of the Croun and Church lands, till they were fatiffied; for pardoning of all byganes, except a few, whom the Parliament might except, for their eminent hand in his Father's murder. The firft morning he came to Whitehall, he iffued a proclamation againft profanitie, fwearing, and healths. Thanksgivings to God for this his own work, with bells and bonfires, went quickly through all the three Kingdomes. Monck was made Baron, Earle, and Duke of Albemarle, mafter of the horfe, one of the Privie Councill, General of all the forces under the King; Ormond, ftewart of the houfe; Manchefter, chamerlaine; Lauderdaill, a gentleman of the Bed-chamber; Hyde, Chancellor; Nicolas and Culpeper, Secretars; Reinolds, Calamy, Manton, Baxter, chaplaines; the countrey militia put in hands confident; the King, Duke of York, Gloucefter, Ormond, the moft of the courtiers, made Colonells of the ftanding regiments, the Colonels willingly ceding to be Lieutenants. But quickly the Parliament fell on a better way, with all poffible fpeed to difband all forces by fea and land. For this end, befide the maintenance and excyfe, a pole-money was appointed to defray arriers; great fumes came in, and a cheerful enough difbanding was made; fo that before this, except a few garifons, and a very few horfe and foot, are all peaceably difbanded in the three Kingdomes: a mightie, unexpected work.

The King, in wifdome, moderation, pietie, and grave carriage, giving hudge fatiffaction to all; the Parliament reftored him the power of the militia, his

negative voice, the determination of all ecclesiastick differences, and whatever he could have wished ; took a course for buying back his revenues, and much augmenting them. He endeavoured carefully to relieve all that had been sufferers for him or his Father. He pressed the Houses to haste the bill of indemnitie. They excepted a very few from it ; scarce a dozen execute : in which the people had much more satisfaction than he ; for he could have been induced to have pardoned all ; but it was the justice of God that brought Peters, Harrison, and others to a shameful death ; to hing up the bones of Oliver, Bradshaw, Ireton, Pride, on the gibbet at Tiburne ; to disgrace the two Goodwins, blind Milton, Owen, Sterrie, Lockier, and others of that maleficent crew.

The most of our Nobles, with very many of our Gentry, run up to Whitehall : all were made welcome. Old places were restored to Crawford, Cassillis, and others. No wonder the Chancellor's and Secretar's place were taken from Loudoun and Lothian, and given to Glencairne and Lauderdaill ; yet with recompence enough to them both, whom some thought deserved little. Loudoun had his pension of a thousand pound^s, and gift of annuities continued ; Lothian got his second son Director of the Chancelrie, which Sir John Scot⁶ was thought not to deserve. Montrose's Marquisat was confirmed ; the customes of Glasgow given to him till he was payed of a great soume ; Argyle ordained to refund him a great soume. Selkirk made Duke Hamilton, and out of the customes of Leith twenty thousand pound sterling assigned. Marshall got ten thousand pound sterling of the customes of Aberdeen. Dudup, Earle of Dundee, a soume out of the customes of Dundee. The King gave among them all he had in Scotland, and much more. For Judicatories, he appointed the Committee of Estates of the year 16[50] to sitt down, and the Parliament, December 12th. For a Commissioner, by our Nobles consent, least strife should be for it, the Lord Middleton, Earle of Fettercairne, was nominat ; who was not very acceptable to many ; especiallie not keeping the day of the Parliament, but causing it to be adjourned to Januar ; yet when he is come doune, his wisdom, sobrietie, and moderation,

⁵ In the MS. it is " 10,000 p.:" but see vol. i. p. 390. In Scotch money it would be £12,000.

⁶ Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, Director of the Chancery, pathetically laments that, " albeit he was possessor of the said place of Chancery above forty years, and doer of great services to the King and Country, yet by the power and malice of his enemies, he has been at last thrust out of the said places in his old age, and likeways fined in £500 sterling, and onc [Sir William Ker] altogether unskilled placed to be Director." (Staggering State of Scots Statesmen, p. 163.)

hes been such as makes him better beloved, and reputed as fitt for that great charge as any other we could have gotten. So farr it went every where weel, to the great joy of all.

But as nothing is perfectly blessed on earth, some water was quickly poured in the wine of many; I am sure in mine, as I expressed it in a sharp and free letter to Lauderdaill. Bishops and Liturgies were every where sett up in England and Ireland without contradiction: our League and Covenant, by a number of printed pamphlets, was torn to peeces. This was the more grievous, that at the beginning it appeared most easie to have been remedied: his Gracious Majestie was ready to have been absolutely advyfed by his Parliament; the leading men there were avowed Covenanters and Presbyterians: Lauderdaill and Mr. Sharp, both at Breda and London, had very much of the King's ear; Monck was for us in that at the beginning firm enough; the Queen and her partie was on our fyde: the Episcopall men were fundrie of them as evill as before; Bramble,⁷ Wran, Helein, Thorndik, Coofins, Sincerfe, Hammond, Peirce, none of the best or most orthodox; Jukson and Duppa, smallie learned; Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very wise men; but the overturning of all the Reformation of England, without a contrare petition, to me was strange, and very grievous, and I suspect we know not yet the bottom of that mysterie. I with all our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faithfull: sure they have not been so prudent and industrious as, I think, they should have been. However, as this was the original of all our late trouble, I think it will not fail in time to procure new commotions, if petitions and remonstrancies doe not prevent them.

It's like the generall joy for the King's happy returne, and the generall abhorrence of our late confusions and miseries, together with fear least any juggling, even by petitions, might give occasion to these who were watching for it to make some new commotions, made our friends easie to be prevailed with not to oppose the King's desires; especially the King promising, by conference with the chief Presbyterians and Episcopalls, to doe his endeavour for their agreeance; as indeed he laboured much in this, and, by his declaration, did draw both some nearer than they were; but for little satisfaction to either of the parties: the Episcopall, not having all they wont, were discon-

⁷ The names of the English Bishops are here somewhat incorrectly written by Baillie's amanuensis, for Bramhall, Wren, Heylin, Cosins, Sydeserf, Hammond, Pearce, Juxon, &c.

tent; the Presbyterians fand the other had gotten too much, and more than in confcience they could ever affent to; yet, for love to the King, they were filent, when all the Bifhops were folemnly inftalled, and the Liturgie every where reftored, clear contrare to our Covenant, and A&cts of the Englifh Parliament fince 1641. Chancellor Hyde was thought the great a&tor in all this Epifcopall bufinefs, while a few hour's treaty, or but a petition from the Houfes, General, and Citie, fent with the Commiffioners to Breda, might eafilie have freed us, for the great good of the land, of all thefe vexations.

It was a hudge grief alfo to us, and more to the King, that the Lord was pleafed to remove that moft excellent and exceedingly hopefull Prince the Duke of Gloucefter, in a few dayes ficknefs of the maifles or fmall poxes; and what came on the back of it, the noife of the Duke of York's clandestine marriage with the Chancellor's daughter,⁸ was to the King and all his loving people a very great grief; efpeciallie that third heaviest ftroke following, the death of that moft excellent Princeffe,⁹ and exceedingly beloved both of the King and all his fubjects. I wifh what fome fpeak of her [Mother's] clandestine marriage with Harie German's [Jermyn's] brother's fon may be found to be a moft falfe lie. However, thefe moft fad accidents did temper our exceeding great and juft joy. Alfo there were fome feares of the fe&tarian partie's plots; but, bleffed be God, they are come to nought: that bloodie mad fpirit of Munfter lodges in many of them. The Chancellor's fpeech, clofeing the Parliament, fhew their defigne, on the 25th of December, to have fired the citie, feafed on Whitehall, the King, York, Albemarle, and others. Overtoun, Ludlow, White, and many are taken for this; yet many did not believe it. But fomething of it did a&tually appear fince; for while the King is convoying his Mother to Portfmouth, fome of thefe fanaticks did rife two diverfe times in the night; but were eafily, by the mayor of the citie alone, compefcit, without any confiderable blood, bleffed be God; for fure it is, that partie is yet too ftrong; but likelie their own madnefs will fhortly annihilate them.

The Bifhop of London did baptize Charles the Duke of Cambridge at Worfter houfe; the Lady Ormont was godmother. The Queen entertained that night the Dutchefs of York, at her table; and to-morrow the King

⁸ Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor of England, better known by his title as Earl of Clarendon.

⁹ Mary, Princess of Orange, fiftter of Charles the Second, died 24th December 1660.

entertained her and her husband, his brother, at his table. The Queen went immediately with her daughter towards France, to agent her marriage with Monfieur Duke of Anjou; albeit some thinks discontent at her son's marriage did further her journey.

For us in Scotland, thus things have went among us. After Monck's march, some flickling there was in the west to have had meetings in thyres for new Commiffioners. They lyked not Glencairne's imployment; they spoke of Lauderdaill and Crawford; but their designe was, Lockart and the Remonstrators interest. My Lord Lie, Sir John Cheiflie, Sir George Maxwell, my Lord Stairs, Mr. Gillefpie, and others, were said to be the contrivers. They laboured to have had Selkirk and Caffilis with them, but this was soon crushed by Monck and Morgan; for they were informed of their inclination to Lambert more than to them. When the Committee of our Estates, to our great joy, had sit downe in our Parliament Houfe, to prepare matters for our Parliament, Mr. James Guthrie having mett before at Edinburgh, and elfewhere, with diverse of his partie, did tryft it so, as he and they met in Robert Simpfon's houfe, the next door almost to the meeting of Estates, and did draw up a petition to the King¹, making many professions of their joy for his returne, but withall remembering him of his Covenant to suppressé Bishops and Ceremonies in England, and to beware to put the government of Scotland into the hands of Malignants. They also writt letters to Mr. P. Gillefpie, and the chief of their partie in the west, to meet them at Glasgou the next week, with so many as they could bring with them. The Committee hearing of this, immediately sent some of their number to them, seafed on their papers, brought them before their court. They were forie, at their first doune-sitting, to have to doe with minifters; but Mr. Guthrie's restless and proud insolence did irritat, especially when all their number, Masters R. Traill, John Stirling, Alex. Moncreif, John Semple, Mr. John Murray, Mr. Gilbert Hall, and fundry others, did absolutely refuse to acknowledge any fault. Surely they had no warrant to meet, being no Kirk judicatorie, and their ill band of Remonstrance could give them no priviledge in a bodie to admonish the King, how to govern England, and tax him for making malignants members of judicatories. Upon their obstinacie, all were sent to the Castle. At once Mr. Thomas

¹ This intended Supplication is printed by Wodrow, (App. vol. i. no. 2). Guthrie and the rest of the subscribers were apprehended on the 23d August 1660.

Ramsay went stark mad : he was allwayes but a weak foolish thing. Sundry of them fell sick, and were sent to their own houses, as at last all were sent to their lodgings in Edinburgh. Mr. James Guthrie was confined to the tolbooth of Dundee, and Mr. G[illepie] to the castle of Stirling ; Mr. James Simpson to the tolbooth of Edinburgh ; as also Mr. John Dickson, minister at Rutherglen, for many odious speeches in pulpit against the statesmen. Mr. James Nasmith also, for speeches in pulpit, was confined to his chamber in Edinburgh. But above all, Mr. Rutherford was disgraced ; his book, *Lex Rex*,² burnt by the hand of the hangman at the cross of Edinburgh and St. Andrews ; himself confined to his chamber, his stipend sequestered, and himself cited before the Parliament. Mr. Andrew Cant, preaching against Mr. Rutherford's hard usage, was accused before the magistrates of treason. He dimitted his ministrie, and came to his son at Libberton, where both live very quietlie : The Commissioner used the old man very courteously, and likelie will protect him from trouble. Sir James Stewart and Sir John Cheiflie were sent prisoners to the Castle, where yet they abide. Waristoun fled, whereupon he was declared fugitive, and all his places void : his poor Ladie could not obtain to him a passe from the King to live in banishment ; so he lurks daylie in fear of his life. Argyle, by his son Lorne's letter, being advertised that the King took kindly with all men, ventured to goe to London ; but in the chamber of presence, before he saw the King, a warrant under the King's hand meets him to be carried to the Tower close prisoner : yet when his Ladie came up she got free access to him ; but could not obtaine to him a hearing before the King. Swinton, who, either by a strange hypocrisie or tentation, had turned Quaker, was taken at London, and sent to Newgate. Argyle and he were sent to the Parliament by sea in one ship. By a great guard of citizens both were carried on foot, and Swinton discovered, through all the streets of Edinburgh, Argyle to the Castle, and Swinton to the tolbooth close prisoners. Captaine Govan was cast in the tolbooth for a long tyme in irons ; Jafray of Aberdeen, Osburne the Quaker, were likewise put in the tolbooth ; the chief of the Remonstrators were cited, and made to subscribe their renouncing of the Remonstrance, and appearance before the Parliament, and something else whereat

² "*Lex, Rex* : the Law and the Prince ; a Dispute for the just Prerogative of King and People, &c." Lond. 1644, 4to.

they stumbled at the beginning; but at once Greinheid, Sir G. Maxwell, Mr. John Harper, and others, subscribed all. Our folks, John Graham and Mr. John Spreule, lay long in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for refusing; but at last they, John Johnston, and Thomas Pateron, subscribed it. James Porter, our catholick clerk, was confined to his house, and referred to our magistrates, to be disposed on as they pleased. That whole party was clean run down to the contentment of the most; for they have been ill instruments of irreconcilable division for twelve years, both in Kirk and Kingdome. For myself, I rejoiced not at the hurt of any of them; but wished all of them might have been spared, on their good behaviour in time to come, which now it's lyke will be easilie obtained, though before it was desperate. The pite and favour of many is turning towards them, by the insolent behaviour of some, who are suspected may make a new party among us. Our State is very averse to hear of our League and Covenant. Many of our people are banking after Bishops, having forgot the evill they have done, and the nature of their office. An exceeding great profanitie, and contempt both of the ministrie and religion itself, is every where prevalent: a young fry of ministers in Lothian, and Fife, and elsewhere, looks as if they intended some change, without any fear or reverence to the elder ministers, who latelie put them in their places. The wisest and best are yet quiet till they see whether these things will goe. The goodness of the King himself is the only hope we have to get any thing going right.

For our private matters in the Colledge, this twelvemoneth we have been at peace, our wanrest³ being quieted. He sent his wife to London, to offer all service to the King, as Sinclair⁴ said to Glencairne, and he to Mr. Sharp, who writ it to Mr. Douglafs, he offered to doe his endeavours for Episcopacie, (though this he denies.) However, she got no access nor countenance, only occasioned the King to remember me, and name me to his place. Lauderdaill writ to me, that it stuck only at a forme of presentation, which he desired Mr. James Sharp, when he came home to send up to him. The interveeing of other things maks it stick yet there; for myself, I never moved in it, directly nor indirectly, nor purposes to doe. Ten yeares agoe I might have had it with the likeing of all who had interest; but I fetled it on good Mr. Robert Ramfay,

³ *Wanrest*, or cause of inquietude, alluding to Mr. Patrick Gillespie.

⁴ John sixth Lord Sinclair. He was related I believe, to Gillespie by marriage.

by an Act of the Generall Affembly. Since his death, Mr. G[illepie] intruded himself by the English power. At his coming we were large one thousand pound sterling to the fore; this day we will be as much in debt, and a number of confused bussineses in our hands, which few who know will be very willing to undertake; yet, on the report of my refusall, fundry are busie seeking it by their friends, far and near. Many of my friends deale with me to take it: I have promised, when the presentation comes, to advyse; before, I can neither accept nor refuse.

Your Sister, I waited on her to her death, which was very peaceable and gracious as yow could have wished. Your Nephew is well, as yow may see in his last two to me: for the time there is no occasion of calling him hither, nor doe I think he desires it. For that which Voetius wrote to me concerning Mr. W. Bowie's widow, there was nothing possible to be done, nor will be yet for some tyme, till there be law among us; which, to the great prejudice of many, is not yet to be in haste. Mr. Patrick Bell's letter to herself will tell her and him the true cause of it. His diligence, indeed, has secured the thing, whilk else would have perished; for Kilpatrick is but a tricker and bankrupt. As for his Questions, I used all diligence to have had a quick and full answer to them, and was once fair to have gotten it from St. Andrewes, Aberdeene, and Edinburgh; yet since, they have changed, and thinks fit no to medle in that matter, though to my conception all of them be in his mind. For myself, I honour him⁵ above any divine now living, and thinks him the most orthodox, profitable, and deserving man we have, and would be glad to doe whatever is in my power for his pleasure. My own answer I quickly drew it, and sent it to Edinburgh, to be communicat to St. Andrewes and Aberdeen, who I think did like it, but were to draw an answer in common for us all, by Mr. Wood's hand; whereof I was well content; but since that now is refused, I have sent my own here as yow see it. Close my letter and send it to Utrecht.

I have now my piece⁶ ready for the presse: because it's in Latine, and long, I will not get it printed here. I debate fundry questions modestly, but roundly, with Doctor Waltoun, and fundrie of the chief Episcopall men; so I despair to get it printed at London. Most of my matter is new and pleasant. I have sent you the *Summa*, to be communicat to whom ye

⁵ Gisbertus Voetius.

⁶ Rob. Baillii Opus Historicum et Chronologicum.

will: I hope yow may get it printed there freely. If yow advyfe, I shall fend the book with the next: keep thir sheets clean, for they must be put in the book, either at the beginning or end. John now tells me, that the herring he undertook to me to fend to your kind wife are not sent, on this and that excuse, whereof I am not content. I have no forgot your debt, but want of law puts most men here to a stand. My heartie service to your good and kind wife, and all your sweet children.

Our information of forraigne affairs is this, which yow who dwell nearer the sun and the world can correct. My heart was very sad for the King of Sueden's death, though most here were glad of it. I hoped such a victorious valiant Prince was like to be fitted for putting the world in a new better mould; but God hath otherwayes appointed. That generall conspiracie against him, procured by your State, with the French and English deserting of him, hes broken his heart; though his sickness seems to have come from his too fore labours at the siege of Copenhagen. It was his happiness to die at Gottenburie, February 15th, in his Parliament, before he had lost any of his reputation, and to have his son crowned, under the tutorie of his mother and some statesmen, whereof I think neither his brother Adolph, nor La Gard his good brother, are any. It is good that peace is made there, which during Charles's standing was not probable. I thought the Kingdom of Denmark long before had been hereditarie, as weell as Sweden. It seems the peace hes taken more from Denmark than any other; however, it puts all that north countrey to quietness, blessed be God for it. What means the foolish Muscoviters, after so manie disasters, to trouble Pole? Shall that incestuous unhappie Queen still be scorning the world with the offers of the Crown of Pole to whom she pleases? Her last dealing in France, that Anguen might marry her sifter, Edward of Palatine's wife's daughter, is like a trick of Mazarin to get Condé and his son out of France, at leif to divert their fancies for the time, with that peak, from plotting against him. Christina grows in follie, in demanding of the Parliament at Stokholm the restitution of her crowne, her good behaviour hes so weell deserved. I fear a prison shall be her hinder end; whether in Sweden, or some monasterie in Italie, time will try: it seems none takes notice of her now wherever she goes. Ragotfi's calamitie hes grieved us fore; that gallant brave Prince should not have been left to the Turkish furie: I fear his states shall turne Turkish or Aufrian. Still we

marvell what Mazarin can mean by his Spanifh peace, when Weft Flanders, Catalonia, and Millain, were liklier to have been conquiefed by the French than thefe many yeares. Condé is brought home to France: Portugall is totallie deferted: What can the end of this be? The people are nothing eafed of their taxes; the clergie complains as much of their oppreffion. The Prince of Orange, too weell deferving of the houfe of France, fpoiled in his minoritie, by treafon, of his patrimonie. The Venetians not affifted either by France or Spaine, with any confiderable help, more in their peace than warre; but the Venetians put in a worfe cafe after their help than before. However, guide as they will, bleffed be God for the peace of the Kirks abroad, and the happy reftauration of our King, when all the world abroad abfolutlie, and at home alfo, weell near, had deferted him. At laft I break off.

Your Coufin,

January 31ft 1661.

R. B.

[REVERENDISSIMO CLARISSIMOQUE VIRO D. GISBERTO VOETIO.]

REVERENDISSIME FRATER,

TUAS ad me dudum accepi, etfi aliquot menfibus poftquam a te fcriptæ fuerunt; alteras in gratiam viduæ concivis mei Walteri Bowie, alteras de duabus quæftionibus a Facultate veftra Theologica nobis propofitis. Quod præter meum morem refponfum tamdiu dilatatum eft, culpa faltem primaria mea non fuit. In viduæ caufa nihil fere a triennio potuit peragi; nam leges apud nos a longo jam tempore filuerunt, et adhuc filent, adeo ut cum nullo debitore ob quodvis æs alienum alicujus momenti lege potuerit aut adhuc poffit agi; præterquam quod viduæ debitor lapfus fit bonis, nec, fi leges aperirentur, folvendo fuiffet, nifi Patricii Beli, de quo feribis, hominis honeftiffimi, et fingulari D. Bowio tam vivo quam mortuo amici, charitate ac diligentia remedium, fpero efficax et tempeftivum, fuiffet adhibitum, de quo ipfe epiftola hac inclufa viduæ rationem reddit. Aufim fpondere veram, tam a meipfo quam D. Belo, amicitiam viduæ in quocunq; noftra opera poterit illi effe utilis.

Quod ad alteras de quæftionibus, ut primum venerunt in manus meas, in paucis diebus refponfum, quod jam mitto, exaravi, et ad Edinburgenfes

transmiffi, ut cum Andreapolitanis et Abredonenfibus communicaretur, omnesque ad maturum, amicum, et plenum refponfum hortatus fum. Ipfis inftitutum fuit commune noftrum omnium nomine fcriptum concinnaffe, quod cum aliquot menfibus expectaffem, tandem comperi, ex quorundam tam apud vos quam nos cafuum interventu, confilium eos mutaffe. Ne autem ego etiam tibi deeffem, quem profiteor poft breve illud quod tecum habui Ultrajecti colloquium, et perlecta tua varia fcripta (omitto multa amiciffima tua erga me officia) tuliffe me femper et ferre in oculis animoque, ut theologorum qui hodie in ecclefia Reformata vivunt vere primarium pietate, eruditione, diligentia, zelo, et omni quæ theologum ornat virtute; ne, inquam, ego pro mea parte diutius tibi deeffem, et fi fero, tandem tamen, communico fententiam meam quam puto doctriinæ et praxi ecclefiæ Scoticanæ conformem, tuæque ac collegarum tuorum menti confonam. Rerum noftrarum ftatum, imprimis a feliciffimo Regis reditu, et diu defiderata fectariorum ufurpantium ruina, fcripti, ut foleo, fufe D. Spangio. In præfentia multa nobis funt *γλυκύτητα*, quæ fperamus mirabiliter nobis benignum Deum fuo tempore commutaturum in dulciora, prout infinita ipfius fapientia videbit fuum honorem noftrumque commodum requirere. Ipfe te tuosque collegas, omnesque reformatarum ecclefiarum veros doctores confervet a malo, et afpiret omnibus omnium alboribus. Sic precatur tui ftudioffimus et honorantiffimus Frater,

R. BALÆUS.

Glafguæ, Cal. Feb. 1661.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND NOBLE LORD THE EARLE OF GLENCAIRNE,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.

MY LORD,

I KNOW it's unfit to divert your Lordfhip by long letters. Your Lordfhip is now, by your goodnefs and all our defires, become the head of our Houfe.⁷ When I was with your Lordfhip I fhew our extraordinarie neceffitie; your Lordfhip was alfe willing as we could defire to help us to your power. We were, by the good English powers, (who, bleffed be God, are now annihilat,)

⁷ William, Earl of Glencairn, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was elected Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, 25th October 1660.

possessed in the vacant stipends about us. This was the chief ground whereupon Mr. Gillespie ventured to cast us in so great debt. The Parliament, we hear, hes for seven yeares decerned all vacant stipends to belong to the King, to be distribut unto the ministers who hes suffered for their loyaltie to him and his Royall Father. I am sure our Houfe hes suffered more by the administration of one intrudit upon us by the English violence, than all the ministers I know in thir bounds have done: If your Lordship can obtain to us a part of these vacancies, to wit, these we had before of the Chapter of Glasgou, and these of Galloway we have enteres in, of what is bygane undisposed of, and for the seven yeares to come, it were a work of great charitie, and, I hope, prejudiciall to no man. Also, when Mr. Gillespie comes before you, it seemes reasonable that he should be ordained to find caution to make count with the Colledge; and what he hes taken to himself more than was due, at the visitors of Parliament's sight, he should be obliedged to refund it: that Visitation we referre it wholly to your Lordship's discretion. Bedlay and Mr. Sharp will conferre with your Lordship about it at your leasure. The Lord blesse your Lordship and your whole familie.

Your Lordship's servant,

Glasgou, February 4th 1661.

R. BAILIE.

Had I been weell I would have come alongs to have agented these things with your Lordship myself.

FOR HIS REVEREND BROTHER MR. JAMES SHARP, MINISTER
AT CRAILL.

JAMES,

I HOPE yow got my last of thanks for your very kind and refreshfull one to me; Mr. Hamiltone writes he sent it over to yow. I would not have fashed yow at this tyme, had it not been the occasion yow will read in the inclosed; yow will be pleased to read, close, and deliver it, yea, for my cause, yow must agent it. I writ to yow I had no face to come abroad till yow got the returne yow promised from Lauderdaill; that which I most desire is a returne of mine, which yow sent him, for his Majestie's hand to pay

his Father's debt with some increase: two hundred pound in [16]33, now in [16]61, will excrese to a great fomme: we have great need of it; for we are turned the veriest divers [dyvours] I know. Mr. Gillespie fand us in twenty thousand merks to the fore, he leaves us large in twenty thousand merks behind; as the Visitors will see in our counts: he hes left us work now necessarily to be perfited, which ten thousand pound will not doe. James, if we get yow no a joynt beggar with us, we are undone. Good James, what shall I doe with the worme, it hes imprifoned me, and put me from all service this while: when I grow better, yow will have me to be the old man.

Your very loving Brother and servant,

February 1661.

R. B.

James, have yow no so much power as to stay the railing on us of that very malicious Diurnaller? If the Parliament would put on him the penaltie of my worme, I think it would quickly temper his very uncivill pen.

UNTO THE HONOURABLE THE ESTATES OF PARLIAMENT, WE THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW HUMBLIE MEAN AND SHOW,

THAT whereas, through the occasion of Dr. Strang, a most loyall divine, his removeall from his place, and Mr. Gillespie's intrusion therein by the English Usurpers, we are brought to great povertie and debt, so that this year we have been necessitate thus to give over our table, and no Master within the house hes gotten any part of their stipends; yea, the large half of our last year's table and stipend lyes yet unpaid; beside a necessitie is laid upon us to perfect our farr advanced building, which ten thousand pound will not accomplish: We doe humbly supplicat your Lordships that our suffering condition may be considered, and recommended to the Honourable Lords of Councell, to be redressed out of some part of the vacant stipends in our bounds, or what other way their Lordships shall find expedient. So shall your humble Supplicants and Servants allways pray for your Lordships prosperitie and happinefs.

In name of the Universitie of Glasgou, their Commiffioner,

R. BAILLIE.

ADDRESS BY PRINCIPAL BAILLIE TO THE COMMISSIONER.⁵

MY LORD,

I AM sent to your Grace from our Univerſitie, in all humble dutie, to congratulate your Grace's high employment, and to declare their very heartie wiſhes that, as yow have begun and litherto continued, ſo yow may go on to the end, to manage this great truſt, with that your wiſdom, moderation, and goodneſs, which has given good ſatiſfaction to all who have with any conſideration and judgment looked upon it. As for us of that Seminarie, it is our fixed purpoſe, by the grace of God, not only to remaine moſt loyall towards his Royall Majeſtie, but alſo to be readilie obedient to all your Grace's commandments, hoping that, by your Grace's favour and mediation, we ſhall enjoy theſe priviledges which, from our firſt crection to this day, his Majeſtie and his bleſſed progenitors has of their Royall bountie been pleaſed to confer upon us, and from time to time to confirm and encreaſe. I ſhall ſay no more for the time, but pray God to bleſſe your Grace with the continuance of his Spirit upon yow, for the refreshing of our languiſhing countrey after many fore diſtreſſes; for fully quieting of our Church from the trembling fears of diverſe, (I hope moſt needleſs,) ſince we have the word of the beſt, and, without all peradventure, moſt honeſt Prince in the world, for ſecuring our Church from all innovation; alſo for the cheriſhing and advancement of pietie, vertue, and learning, the fountains of loyaltie in all our ſeminaries, eſpecially that of Glaſgow, on which, ſince its firſt being, all our Sovereigns and their repreſentatives have looked with as becoming an aſpect, and beſtowed as ſenſible marks of their favour, as upon any other Univerſitie in the whole Kingdome.

FOR MR. JAMES ROBERTOUN [OF BEDLAY.]

SIR,

As I told you, I found my Lord Chancellor very kind and courteous to

⁵ John Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commiſſioner to the Parliament of Scotland.

me in all things. For our Visitation, I left it wholly on his Lordship,⁹ with your advyce. I heard of a list, I think drawn by Provost Bell and Mr. John Young's advyce; the persons were all honourable, and above exception: Duke Hamilton, Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Eglinton, Earl of Wigton; but what needs my Lord Cochrane? Gentlemen, Killyth, Luffe, Kilmahew, young Houston; but what have we to do with Kier and Carden, who are at odds with us, and lately, as the Chancellor knows, before the Committee of Estates have spoken their pleasure of us? What have we to doe with the Provost of Lithgow and Stirling, mere strangers? with Mr. James Ramsay, and Mr. Matthias Simpson, and Mr. Edward Wright? These are put on us for a trick, I know, and shall tell you at meeting. Why should the Provost and Baillie of Glasgow, and John Bell, the auditors of our compts, and for the time interested in our pleyes, be set over us? May no the Provosts of Aire, Irvine, Dumbartane, serve for burgeses? Mr. Gabriel Cunninghame of Miniabrock, Mr. Matthew Ramsay, Mr. James Fergushill, Mr. William Eccles, are good; but why should Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. Patrick Colvill, Mr. William Fullertoun, Mr. David Elphinston be omitted? Why should Craigends, Haislet, Cunninghamhead, and such be forgot? Thir things to yourself alone. It is by your advyce mainly I have embraced this place; the Visitation may doe us great harm, and me discouragement, if no weell managed. Albeit the condition of the foolcs of Aberdeen has procured one; yet both St. Andrewes and Edinburgh has declined it, and I with we had none at this time; it will cast out men for small faults, and put far worse in their place; it will be so composed as to pass over the most guilty. I know, if we must have it, yow will doe your best by the Chancellor to have it fo right as may be. I shall say no more for the time. The Lord be with yow.

Your Cousin,

Monday, Mart.

R. BAILLIE.

So far as I can learne by Patrick Hamilton, your sone, and his wife, and all in Bedlay, are weell.

If we needs must have a Visitation, see it containe no power to plant places but according to the settled order of our House.

⁹ The Earl of Glencairn, as Chancellor of the University. *Vide supra*, p. 452.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

THAT presentation ye sent me, with a kind letter, came to my hands long agoe, by the care and kindnesse of Mr. Sharp, as I write to your friend Mr. Drummond. What in his letter I promised, now when I have by my friends advyce, after some reluctation, accepted of it, I send up to your Lordship very heartie thanks for this addition to all your former favours, and withall an earnest and humble desire that your Lordship would be pleased, at your conveniencie, to offer in my poor name to his Majestie (whom the Lord ever preserve and blesse) my most humble duetie for his kind remembrance of me in that particular. It does not indeed add any thing to my heart's affection towards his Majestie, which ever I have found in my breast since my second meeting with him, by your addressse, in the Hague. But it is, and shall be one of my remembrancers, to walk in that place in my great weakness according to his Majestie's expectation, as one minding duetie to God, to his Majestie, and those over whom, how unworthie soever, he has been pleased to set me an overseer. And for your Lordship I have no words to change with yow; yow know me weell enough. It's my heart's desire oft-times to God to preserve yow from many, many snares are dailie near yow. I will write nothing of that I have to say, if God ever grant me a meeting with yow. Only what I wrote once or twice to yow before of the great necessitie and debt which Mr. Gillespie's gloriositie and vast spending has put our poor Houfe into, and our expectation of some remead of it by his Majestie's warrand to the Thesaurer to pay us that two hundred pound which his blessed Father subscribed to Dr. Strang in the year 1633. To this yow think not fit to answer one word. I shall say no more to this; but I know much more of his Majestie's goods has gone, and will goe farr worse ways. If I may by a line from your Lordship know of the receipt heirof, it will be a superaddition to your old kindness. However, I rest what long I have been,

Your Lordship's affectionat friend and servant,

Glasgow, Aprile 10th 1661.

R. B.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.

JAMES,

WHAT I promised to Mr. Drummond I now performe. Yow see what I write to the Secretar;⁶ I pray yow let it go under your cover. Yow will clofe it, and I hope affilt me in my petition. That I beg more quietlie than I have caufe, I have defired Mr. John Young, the bearer, to let yow read (and hear him verifie it all,) what havock he [Gillefpie] has made of our goods, and yet has the modestie to petition the Parliament for more off us whom he has wracked: I hope fuch impudence will not be heard.

The mater of our changes lye near my heart: I think they will hasten my death; yet I make no noyse about them. The Lord blefs yow and direct yow in your eminent station.

Your much oblidged friend to serve yow,

Aprile 13th 1661.

R. B.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

HAVING the occasion of this bearer, who promifes to me assuredlie to deliver to yow in hand or burn it, I tell yow that my heart is broken with grief, and that the burdein of the publict I find it weightie and hastening me to my grave. My prayers dailie, when my heart is loofed, are for the King and yow, for his blessing on yow both. I have no private desires nor fears; but I think we are very ill-guided, and very needleslie fo. What needed yow doe that disservice to the King, which all of yow cannot recompence, to grieve the hearts of all your gracious friends in Scotland to whom the King was, is, and will be, I hope, after God, most dear, with pulling downe all our Laws at once which concerned our Church since 1633?⁷

⁶ The Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland.

⁷ The Rescissory Act, on the 28th March 1661, entitled, "Act rescinding and annulling the pretendit Parliaments in the years 1640. 1641, &c." viz. to 1643 inclusive. (Acta Parl. vol. vii. p. 86.) There was no Parliament held between 1633 and 1640; and the Acts of Parliament and Committees for the year 1649 had been previously annulled, on the 9th February. (ib. p. 30.)

Was this good advyce, or will this thryve? Is it wifdome to bring back upon us the Canterburian tymes? The fame defignes, the fame practifes, will they not at laft bring on the fame horrible effects, whatever fools dreame? That old maxime of the State of England is wife and good, that the King can doe no fault, but the higheft minifters of State ought, in all reafon to anfwer on their higheft pain for all mifcarriages. It was one of King James's wifeft practifes to permitt his greateft favourites to fink, before that, by protecting them, the grief of his people fhould fall on his back: ye have feen the contrare principle deftructive, and it will ftill be fo.

My Lord, ye are the Nobleman of the world I efteem moft and love beft. I think I may fay and write to yow what I like. If yow have gone with your heart to forfake your Covenant, to countenance the introduction of Bifhops and Books, and ftrengthening the King by your advyce in thefe things, I thinke yow a prime tranfgreffor, and lyable among the firft to anfwer to God for that great fin, and opening a door, which in hafte will not be clofed, for perfecution of a multitude of the beft perfons and moft loyall fubjects that are in all the three dominions. And if otherwayes your heart be where it was, as I hope indeed it is, and that in your own way yow are doing what yow can for the truth of God, (yet dailie I have my great feares for yow,) I think yow ftand in a ticklifh place, and fome of thefe yow doe converfe with to be but men. Remember your coufin Hamilton's poifoning before King James's eyes without fearch: my heart whiles trembles for yow. I will continue to pray for yow doe what yow will. Mr. Guthrie, I ever oppofed his way, but fee that none get the King perfuaded to take minifters heads: banifhment will be worfe for them than death: how fhall they get bread if put without the bounds of the Englifh language? Send them to Orkney, or any other place where they may preach and live: yow may obtain this, I think, if ye will.

For myfelf ye have buried me: yow have put me in a place which Mr. Gillefpie got in wealth, but, through his waftrie, hes left in twenty thoufand pund of debt, and in a neceffitie of expending twenty thoufand pund in perfecting his glorious buildings. The Englifh furnifhed him liberally. For us we have nothing but what we expect by your Lordfhip from his Majeftie's benignitie. I am an ill beggar, yet I muft ftill craike to your Lordfhip while I live; which I think fhall not be long; for your Prefbyterians at London,

their misguiding hes slaine me. I hear there are some of my twenty year old pamphlets lately reprinted at London; this is totallie without my knowledge, though indeed I remaine fully in the mind I was then in, and which I write to yow and ye received, though the first copie perished. If yow or Mr. Sharp, whom we trusted as our own foules, have fwerded towards Chancellor Hyde's principles, as now we see many doe, yow have much to answer for. This possiblie may be my last to yow, therefore I crave no pardon for its length or impertinencie.

Your Lordship's old friend,

Glasgow, April 18th 1661.

R. B.

[FOR MR. ROBERT BAILLIE, PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT GLASGOW.*]

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

YOUR'S to my Lord Lawderdail, I have kept, till I present it from my own hand. I am commandit to take a new toyle, but I tell yow it is not in order to a change of the Church. I easly foresee what occasion of jealousies and false surmises this my journey⁹ will give; but whenever the Lord shall returne me, I trust my carriage, through the Lord's help, shall be such as my dear freind Mr. Baily will not condemne me. The reasons of my journey cannot be communicated in this way, but yow may think they are pressing, else I may be charged with exceeding folly at this time to enter upon the stage. Your [prayer]s I hope for me will not be wanting. I shall be your [Chancellor]'s monitor in reference to the papers concerning your [College, sent] to me by Mr. John Young. All peace and mercy [be with you. I] am,

Your's,

[Edinburgh, end of April] 1661.

JA. SHARP.

* From the original. Wodrow MSS. Fol. Vol. xlix, No. 3. It is not contained in Baillie's own MS. The left hand corner with the date, is torn away, but it was no doubt written from Edinburgh before the end of April.

⁹ Sharp on the 23d April, preached before the Parliament of Scotland, being the day of the King's Coronation; and on Monday the 29th of that month, along with the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, he set out from Edinburgh on the journey to London here mentioned.

FOR MR. HUTCHESON.

GEORGE,

YOUR's came hither when I was out of towne. What ye desire me to write to L[auderdaill] I have done it already, as my Testament to him, fully and sharply enough. There was no inlaik in that kind. It was to obviat the C[hancellor], R[othos], and Sh[arp], at their last going up. I think verily if that wicked change come it will hasten me to my grave. For the Oath, as I told some of yow when I was last there, I doubt your way is not right: yow give occasion to them, that seek no better, to cast the chief of yow out of Edinburgh, that they may plant in your roome the chief of the Episcopalls. Remember prayer for the King, whercupon some of us were resolved to suffer, but were drawne off by your example most; In this ye will have some, but, I fear, ere long very few followers. Yow are all satisfi'd if the word "Civill" were expresse added. In my own judgement, striving for this addition is but wrangling, which none of the anti-Episcopall divines in England ever offer'd, nor our folks did, so farr as I knew, ever move before. The Course of Conformitie sticks not on the oath of Supremacie. Not only the articles of the Confession of England, and Usser with King James's printed thanks, expone that oath only of a Civill Supream power *circa sacra*, but all, both Popish and Episcopall divines, that are for Divine right of Episcopacie, contradict the Erastians who will give the King any ecclesiastick supremacie. Did any prince ever plead that he was any more than the civill magistrate, though ἐπίσκοπος *ad omnia, τὰ ἐξω in ecclesia*? They have declared in face of Parliament, above twenty tymes, that they understand no ecclesiastick jurisdiction; that they will not, or dare not, register any such declaration; and for our satisfaction they will not alter a letter of what is come down to them. This is their wilfulness, and possible something worse, but is not ground enough for our refuseall of the Oath without that word. If they should build upon it a power to the King to bring in bishops and all ceremonies he lyked, and call us perjured if we did not on that Oath take all, to myself it is an evidently wrong conclusion and foolisli. Thirty-six years agoe, when I entered Regent in our Colledge, I took both oaths of

Supremacie and Alleadgeance, but was not hindred thereby to oppofe both books and bifhops to my pith. Though yow get your word "Civill," they would no leffe conclude all power they intend from it, than they doe without it. I pray God direct yow there in this particular; it may be an occafion of fore trouble to many quickly.

Your's,

June 24th [1661.]

R. B.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT WORSHIPFULL THE BRETHREN OF
THE PRESBYTERIE OF KIRKUBRIGHT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PARISH
OF TUNGLAND.¹

RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

YOUR's of the 10th of Julie I received. That Mr. James Scot I know no[t]; he was not at ws: be affured I fhall never countenance any fuch man as ye deferive. Aggree among yourfelf[es]: Let the Prefbyterie and people ther, with the fatiffaction of my Lord Kenmure, agree on a gracious able man; and for our part, we fhall further his plantation in any thing lyes in our power. Wifhing the Lord to be with you, I reft

Your friend and fervant,

Glafgow, the 15th Julie 1661.

R. BAILLY.

We fhall entreat yow to caufe deliver the tuo enclosed, by a fure hand, with your firft conveniencie.

FOR MR. SPANG.

COUSIN,

I HOPE ere now yow have received my book, and that ere long I fhall have your fenfe of the printing of it. Since my laft long letter, thus our affaires went, fo farr as I underftand and remember. The Commif-

¹ From the original, Wodrow MSS. 4to vol. xxix. No. 95. It relates to fupplying a vacancy in the parifh of Tungland.

tioner was met at Muffilburgh with a thousand horse. The Parliament sat downe the beginning of January, on the 'Tueseday ; it rode^d in a very magnifick way : few of the nobles were away. The Chancellor had so guided it, that the shyres and burroughs should choise none but these that were absolutely for the King. Diverse were cited to the Parliament, that they might not be members. The Parliament's pulse wes quickly felt ; for when Cassillis moved, that the election of a President should be by vote of P[arliament], the Commissioner obtained, that the Chancellor should preside by virtue of his office, as before it wont to be. The Oath of Alleadgeance was next appointed to be taken by all the members : there was insert in mids of it, the maine clause of the Oath of Supremacie : "That the King was Supreme Governour over all persons in all causes." About this fundry did scruple; yet when the Commissioner and Chancellor declared, that they intended thereby no Ecclesiastick power to the King in word, sacraments, or discipline, but a supreme civill power to put churchmen in all things to their duetie : all were satisfied, and took it in that sense ; only Cassillis and Kilburnie refused, because they could not obtaine that sense to be expressed in write. Thereafter it was appointed, that all Members of Parliament, all Officers of State, Lords of Session, and others in shyres and burroughs, should take it. The Miniters of Edinburgh desired a word to be added, which would have satisfied all, " Civill Supream Governour," and without that word, " Civill," they seemed peremptor to refuse it. At this I was very forie ; for I feared it should occasion trouble, and a new schisme, without great cause, as I wrote to them when the Act of Parliament came out, of putting all intrants in the ministrie to it ; and, as I hear, they will put all Masters of Colledges to it. For my self, I took the oath of Alleadgeance and Supremacie thirty-four years agoe, when I entered Regent, and yet never scrupled it. My Lord Cassillis, without doubt the truly best man of our nobilitie, and as loyall as any, for this scruple is as good as removed from Parliament : and though he be since at London, and hes favour and countenance enough of the King, as weell he deserves ; yet it is like to put him from the exercise of all his places, of Justice-Generall, Lord of Counsell,

* At the opening of Parliament there usually was a grand cavalcade, consisting of the Officers of State, the Members of Parliament, and other persons of distinction ; styled " The Riding of the Parliament." An account of the procession on this occasion, Tuesday 1st January 1661, is given in the earliest number of the " Mercurius Caledonius."

Session, and Exchequer. The Sheriffdome of Air had elected Sir James Dalrymple of Stairs, with the laird of Blair, the Chancellor's brother-in-law; but their scrupulositie being feared, a new election was made of Kilburnie and Hailead [Hazlehead]. Kilburnie, following Caffillis's vote, did no more appear in Parliament.

Their next work was about the Prerogative: with very little or no difficultie, all was given to the King he desired; sole power of peace and warr, of militia by sea and land, of calling and raising of Parliaments, and all things else was in question, which lately were called the liberties of the nation, and priviledges of Parliament. At first it was only spoken to annull the Parliament 1649, which had annulled that of 1648, and had sent for the King on an unreasonable Treatie. This passed easilie; but at once the designe appeared of annulling all the former Parliaments since 1633, which had given any civill sanction to the Generall Assemblies of Glasgow 1638, or any after Assembly which ratified our Sollemne League and Covenant or Church Government, and all we had been doing the years bygone. This caused a great noise and all grief over the whole land; so that for a while the motion was retired, and such intention denyed; but when things were better prepared, it was openly prest, and caried, scarce fourtie appearing in the contrare. While the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, Synods of Lothian, Fyfe, Glasgow, and others, were preparing petitions against this, they were sore threatened, and that of Fyfe raised by Rothes, that of Lothian by Callander, Dumfries by Annandale, etc. When, by our own privie wayes, we had gotten the King informed of all this, we were once in good hopes of a remeed; but yet that appears no. Lauderdaill, in whom we trusted, being overpowered and diverted by the greater court of Hyde, and the great zeall that sundry here hes to his service. However, we are filled with grief and fear of troubling both the inward and outward peace of our Church. His Majestie's letter to the Presbyterie of Edinburgh, confirmed our hopes that no change should be made in our Church; but seeing what is past since, we know not now what to say, who desire most gladly to get any true ground of apologizing for all the King's and State's actions. Some speak of a dangerous improvidence in these Acts, as if all possibilitie of any solide agreeance betwixt the King and his subjects were thereby taken away, if any discord, which God forbid, should ever again fall out: for what securitie is left to the King

to give to his people, when treaties confirmed by King and Parliament, in all due forms, are not binding, but so easily ranverfed, on the alleadgences of fears, tentations, inconveniences and the like, which will never be wanting.

The most of the Parliament's work was on delinquents processès. The great one was Argyle; many hearings had he on his long lybell; his defences were very pregnant; the Advocat was some tymes uncivilie tart to him; the Commiffioner also sharp enough; Sir John Gilmore in many things reasoned for him: there was no inlack of full hearing and debates to the uttermost. His aēt of indemnitie kepted him from all that was libelled before the year 1651; so all the odious clamors of his crueltie against the Lamonds, M'Donalds, and others, were cut off; albeit in all these he gave fair answers. Much of that guilt lay on his deputie George Campbell; and on his friends Ardkinglafs, Maconochie, and others: these appeared not when cited, and therefore were forfault; George appeared, and was made close prisoner: yet a pardon came from the King to him, procured, as was thought, by his purse; for many are poor, and he was very rich. His master's chief indytement was, compliance with the English, his sitting in the Parliament at London, his assifting Monck against Glencairne and Middleton on the hills.

When his libelled crimes appeared not unpardonable, and his son Lord Neill, went up to see his brother Lorne at London, and spoke somewhat liberallie of his father's satisfactorie answers; Monck was moved to send downe four or five of his letters to himself and others, proving his full compliance with them; that the King should not reprieve him. The Chancellor and Rothes went to Court³ to shew the hazard of his escape. The man was very wise, and questionless the greatest subject the King had; sometime much known and beloved in all the three dominions: it was not thought safe he should live. The condemnatorie sentence he took weell; sopped the night after cheerfullie; parted with his gracious lady that Saturday at night christianly. Mr. Douglass and Mr. Hutcheson preached to him in the Tolbooth on the Sunday; Mr. Dickson prayed with him all Sunday-night, except a little tyme of his sleep. On the Monday, he breakfasted and dined; about two o'clock he went through the streets, with his hat on, with his friends, very cheerfully; did mount the scaffold, at the Crosse; spoke well at the corners of the scaffold; prayed twyce: Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Hutcheson waited on him. He

³ Along with Sharp, on the 29th April: *Vide supra* p. 460.

bleffed the King and his family; attested God of his freedome from all defignes againft the King or his Father; gave fome pieces to the executioner; laid down his head on the block very couragioufly; at the ftretching out of his hand, (the figne agreed on,) the Maiden⁴ quickly ftroke off his head. However he had been much hated by the people, yet in death he was much regrated by many, and by none infulted over. His friends in the night, in Marifhall's fix-horfe coach, did cary him through Falkirk and Glasgow, and thence to Kilpatrick, where they put him in a boat for Dunnun [Dunoon], and buried him with his fathers in the Kirk of Kilmun. His head was fet up in the weft-end of the Tolbooth, where Montrofe's head had flood.

In the beginning of the Parliament, Montrofe's head, and bodie buried in the Borrow-Muir, was appointed to be carried honorably to the Abbay-Church; whence, on the King's charges, he was carried to St. Geiles to be intombed there, with a greater folemnitie⁵ than any of our King's ever had at their buriall in Scotland. His fon is a good modeft gentleman, hes given no offence to any, neither at London nor in the Parliament. The King's liberalitie, with his Ladie's portion and vertue, are like to put him in a better condition than was any of his predeceffors.

Argyle long to me was the beft and moft excellent man our State of a long tyme had enjoyed; but his compliance with the Englifh and Remonfrators, took my heart off him thefe eight years; yet I mourned for his death, and ftill prayes to God for his family. His two fons are good youths, and were ever loyall. The ruine of the family may prove hurtfull to King and Kingdome. Without the King's favour debt will undoe it: when Huntlie's lands are randered, and Montrofe payed near a hunder thoufand pund; his old debts of four or fyve hunder thoufand merks will not be gotten payed. Many wonder of his debt, and think he muft have money, for he got much, and was allwayes fober and fpareing. My goodfon, Mr. R[obert] Watfon, was with his Lady in Roseneth the night the King landed in England: he told me, all the dogs that day did take a ftange yowling, and glowing up to my

⁴ "The Maiden," or instrument used for beheading State-criminals, is preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

⁵ There was published at the time, probably by Sydserrf, "A Relation of the True Funerals of the great Lord Marquesse of Montrose, his Majesties Lord High Commissioner, and Captain General of his Forces in Scotland, &c. [Edinburgh] Printed in the year 1661." 4to, pp. 24.

L[ord's] chamber windows for some houres together. Mr. Alexander Colvin, justice-deput, an old servant of the house, told me, that my Lady Kenmure, a gracious lady, my Lord's sister, from some little skill of physiognomie, which Mr. Alexander had taught her, had told him some years agoe, her brother would die in blood.

After Argyle's processe, these of the ministers took up most of the Parliament's time. Mr. James Guthrie's libell was tartlie drawn, and wittlie answered; yet he defended all he had done; justified the matter of the Remonstrance, Protestation, Causes of God's wrath, and fathered all on the discipline of the Church and Acts of Assemblies, even his declinator of King and Parliament at Perth when cited for treasonable preaching. After many dayes hearing, persisting obstinately, he was condemned to be hanged, and his head to be sett on the Nether-Bow. Though few approved his way, yet many were grieved to see a minister so severely used. Mr. Rutherford, had not death prevented, was in the same hazard. Mr. Gillespie had gone the same gate, had not his friends persuaded him to recant his Remonstrance, Protestation, compliance with the English, and to petition the King and Parliament for mercy; all did agree to supplicat the King for him; and now he has obtained libertie to abide at Ormiston, and six miles about it, till the first of March. Mr. James Nafmith, and Mr. John Dickson of Rutherglen, Mr. John Stirling, and Mr. Traill, did follow his way. But Mr. Robert Mackward, Mr. Rutherford's servant at London four years, made minister of Glasgow the way I wrote to you before, in a sett sermon of purpose, declared his grief for the Parliament's hard usage of the Covenant, wherein all honest men did concurr with him; but in so high language, as entering a protestation in heaven against the Parliament's deed, whereof he took all his hearers for witnesses; such termes none did approve, yet for all that either one or other could say, he did obstinately stand to all; which provoked them to passe a sentence of banishment upon him.⁶

All the rest of the imprisoned ministers are set free, some upon one satisfaction, and some upon another. How long their or our libertie shall last, we know no; for the Parliament seems to have small regard of any of us.

⁶ Mackward was found guilty by Parliament, on the 7th June, but his sentence was delayed till either the 12th or 14th of July. Instead of banishment, he expected to have met the same fate as James Guthrie, and had prepared (for the scaffold) his Last Speech, which is still preserved among the Wodrow MSS.

They took a way to nominat to themselves preachers ; Mr. Douglass indeed began, but was no more employed ; Mr. Dickson, Mr. Hamiltoun, and others of the ministers of Edinburgh, were past by ; as all we of the west, except Mr. James Hamiltoun of Camnethan, and Mr. Hew Blair : but in all the nuiks of Scotland men were picked out who were thought inclinable to change our Church-government ; and according to their invectives, against what we were lately doing, were printed good, or feckless divines, at the pleasure of a very rascall, Tom Sincerfe⁷ the diurnaller, a profane atheistical papist, as some count him. Mr. Blair, Mr. Dickson, and Mr. Hutcheson, were, without all cause, mischantly abused by his pen, without the resentment of our State, till his Majestie himself commanded to silence him.⁸ To myself I fand the Commiſſioner very courteous : with much adoe I got myself shifted of preaching. Mr. Wood and Mr. Colvin did their duetie very honestly. Diverse of the northern ministers, and some others, play'd the sycophants ; diverse are staggering : but what his Majestie was informed, that the most part of the Ministrie, especially the most grave, wise, and learned, were for Episcopacie, is utterly false ; for the most and far best part are lying in the dust before God, for what they see, and for which they fear, the great plague of God, even for the encreasing abominations of burgh and land.

Many blames Mr. Sharp, as the great court-minister, by whose sole advyce the King and Statesmen, both Scots and English, are put on and directed in these medlings with our Church ; but I have always found him so kind a friend to myself, that I will be loath to admitt such thoughts of him. Indeed the Chancellor and President of the Council, when the Parliament sent them to the King for removing the garisons, took him up with them, as some thought, to be an agent betwixt them and Lauderdale, who was said to be colder in pursuing Chancellor Hyde's designs in Scotland than some others ; yet we hear no but Lauderdale and they agree weell enough, and that he keeps fully his court.

The Parliament laid on no taxation, for the land is exhausted, and very

⁷ Thomas St. Serfe, or Sydeserff, son of the old Bishop of Galloway. He afterwards opened a theatre in the Canongate, with a company of Comedians ; and was the author of a play "Tarugo's Wiles," printed at London 1668, 4to.

⁸ The diurnal or newspaper, published weekly under the title of "Mercurius Caledonius," to which Baillie refers, and of which Sydeserff was the Editor, appears to have terminated with No. 10 [12] on the 28th March 1661.

poor; yet they laid on a greater burden than many Parliaments before them these many yeares, fourty thousand pund sterling a-yeare during the King's life; but to be lifted in a way not very burdensome, a moderat excise on drink alone. When all this also is distribute among well-deserving men, the necessities of many, and greed of fundrie, will not be gotten satisfied.

At the beginning of the Parliament there were many brave designs for Fishing, and more use of Trade; but after much toome-talk, all seems to be vanished, the burroughs sticking absolutely to their old job-trot for their own hurt. The charge of the Parliament was great: it had fitten long for no very pleafant purposes. The most desired it to rise without adjournment, and choiced rather to be governed simply by the King's good pleasure, who was an equitable and wise Prince. While it's adjourned from July 12th to March 12th [1662], it was not very acceptable: they feared the intervall was but for the ripening the designs of bringing in books and bishops, either in whole or in part, as præparatorie to all was in England; also to fyne many for small faults, to supply the wastrie of undeserving men. The Act of debtor and creditor wes very heavy to these had to doe with it. It was a pitie, when the King intended nothing but to ease his people, and make the hearts of all that loved him rejoyce, it should fall out, through the improvidence at least of some, to the contrare. Our good Towne was particularly greived that the nineteenth part of the Excise should be laid on them alone, notwithstanding of all their very diligent commissioner John Bell could doe to the contrare. The Towne of Edinburgh got a part of their Excise to defray their present burdens: but get what they will, it does little good; for their debtyt is above nyne hunder thousand merks, though still they be stenting their Towne for their needles prodigalitie. They say, the dinner they gave to the Commissioner, in the Colledge-hall,⁹ did cost them large fyve hunder pound sterling.

In England and Ireland thus affairs are: After the King had dissolved the Parliament at London, December 29th, all things being done abundantlie to

⁹ On the 29th May 1661, the Lord High Commissioner was conducted, by the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, to the great hall of the Colledge; where "he was welcomed by Mr. Lighton, Principal of the place, with a Latine Speech, which with other pieces of poetry are printed by themselves. Here was prepared by the City of Edinburgh a most sumptuous and magnificent Feast, that it was thought by many, and these witty travellers, that all Europe could not out-do it," &c. ("The Work goes Bonnelly on,"—Edinb. 1661, 4to.)

the King's contentment, the day of Coronation was appointed to be April 23d, St. George's day. The ceremonie was very folemne, as ever any coronation before: our only grief was, that the Bishops, in anointing, crowning, and all, had so deep a hand. It was thought the former Parliament, how bountifull to the King foever, had one defect in the legalitie, that it was not summoned by the King, but called by the former Parliament; to remead this, another was called to meet May 8th. Great care was had to get, in all the shyres, men commiffionat according to the heart of the court: the Presbyterians also made some flickleing for this, but to no purpose; for the Chancellor was so active, as the most affectionat of the old Cavileer partie was generallie chosen. When they mett, the Chancellor's speech advertifed them to beware of the Presbyterian ministers, as pestiferous incendiaries: this grieved us fore. But when the Houfe of Commons did not only vote the Bishops into the Houfe of Lords, but the Solemne League and Covenant to be burnt with the hand of the hangman, all our hopes were turned in despaire.

The Parliament of Ireland, which satt downe the same 8th of May, was not behind, but put Bishops in the Houfe of Lords; yea, choiced Bishop Bramble to be speaker in the Houfe of Peers, though Mr. Davis of Derrie was readie to challenge him of many adulteries, and other odious crimes. The perfecution of Presbyterian ministers began to be very hot: almost all of them, both in England and Ireland, were put from their charges. The King, before the Parliament, after sundry conferences with the chief of the Episcopall and Presbyterian partie, had emitted a Declaration, albeit full enough for Books and Bishops, yet it had sundry limitations for the ease of Presbyterians; but all was neglected. The Bishops and Books were fully established, as of old, without If's or And's: this causes a very great miscontment in many. What the end will be, the Lord knows; only for the time, thousands, who heartlie pray for all good to the King, doe cry to heaven for help against the Episcopall oppressors, who little regard their prayers, knowing that they have neither any will, nor any power, to use any force against them. Pamphlets on both sides flee thick abroad.

The King declared to all his three Parliaments the unanimous advyce he had gotten from all his counsellors, to marrie the Infanta of Portugall; and all his Parliaments gave their heartie consent to it, though it was visible it brought with it a present warr with Spaine. This was little regarded,

especiallie since Holland adhered to our King, and submitted to him all their differences with Portugall. The great conditions, which yet are secret, and the great hopes of the Princeſſe readineſs to be of the King's religion, makes all to lyke the match weell, and to pray for a bleſſing to it. The Parliament at London would gladlie [have] been (as they ſay) at changeing the Act of Indemnity; but the King's peremptor adhering to it made them let it alone; only ſome more executions, and forfaultries of them in the Tower are expected. It was much, that Sir Henry Mylmie [Mildmay] and Robert Wallop eſcaped with drawing to Tiburne with ropes about their necks on hurdles. They ſpeak of Sir Harie Vaine and Lambert as to be tryed for their life: they are two of the moſt dangerous men in England. Their execution will be weel enough taken by all generallie; yea, though Solicitor Saintjons [St. John] ſhould be added to them. The King deſires the Parliament to adjourne till winter, that he may goe to his progreſſe towards Worceſter, and the places of his deadlie dangers, to viſit all who had been there friends unto him.

After the adjourning of our Parliament, fundry of our nobles poſted to court; the Commiſſioner, Duke Hamiltoun, Montroſe, the Theſaurer, Athole, Aboyne, and others. There was there before, the Chancellor, Rothes, Lorne, and more. It's thought their agreeance will be ſcarce good upon their private intereſts, and especiallie about Lorne, whether he ſhall be reſtored or not; but I feare they ſhall agree too weell to trouble our poor Church. The King's late declaration is no wayes ſatiſſactorie; it continues our Church-diſcipline only dureing pleaſure, and diſcharges any preaching, petitioning, or meddling with the Church-government. Mr. Sharp is the only man with whom the King advyſes; and many ſay he is corrupted by Hyde; which I wiſh [may] be falſe; otherwayes we are in an exceeding hard taking: yet the Lord ever lives.

For our Towne and Colledge all has been quiet this year. When my preſentation came downe at laſt, I was moved to accept of it, with the good will of all. No joy at all had I in it, for the burden is great, especiallie of debt and pleas; but importunitie of friends moved me to take it, left in theſe reeling times ſome unhappie man ſhould be ſet over our heads. I moved the Facultie to call to my profeſſion Mr. James Ferguſſon, a moſt wiſe, gracious, and able man: I was lyke to have gotten him; but when the Synod was ready to have voted his tranſlation, Mr. John [Young], my colleague, with

an unhappie overture, put them to a delay; and since, we were discharged by proclamation to meet, so I fear I shall lose him, which makes my burden the heavier. The Toune now is absolutelie guided by the Bells and Campbells alone. They guide indeed weell, but keeping the government among themselves almost alone: I fear ere long it cause new trouble among us. The act of presentations to patrons puts the planting of all vacancies in their hands, and I am afraid they make not a good choice. My boy Harie is now a preacher: God has given him a good and a sweet gift; I hope he shall doe weell. I was carefull to get the Chancellor,¹ my scholler, made Chancellor of our Univerfitie, and Bedlay² Vice-Chancellor.

I have gotten sundry of your's latelie, two yesterday together, May 3d and July 4th, for which I thank you. I think before this you have gotten sundry of mine also. I long to hear if you received my book, and your sence of it. My Speech at my entry to my place, you have herewith: If you think fitt, I would put it at the end of my book, as a publick testimonie of my loyaltie; also my prayer and exhortation at the laureation.

I expected from you, before this, the French Gazet of Amsterdam; whiles it is a refreshment to us to look abroad. It's to me a marvell that the French can sit so long quiet. I know not if this hunder year they were out of some motion four year together. Who can be the chief Minister of State in place of the Cardinall? We hear no more of their affairs than if they were all dead. That great earthquake in the south of France, what it may portend we expect in tyme. Our Queen's retireing out of England, with her daughter Henriet, some thought was more on discontent for Chancellor Hyde's too great power, than for any realitie of a match with the Duke of Anjou. The match of the Prince of Florence with the second daughter of Orleans, might weell have served the eldest. God be thanked your State is in so good tearmes with all their neighbours. We hope Spain, in his old age, and infancie of his son, will be loath to venture on a warr with England. If the warr of the Turk were reall with the Emperour, it seems Germanie and Italie would not be so slow drawn to it. Our heart is fore for the condition of Transylvania. Is that brave familie of Ragotfi clean rooted out? But what we hear of casting all out of Pole, by act of Parliament, who will not declare themselves Papists, grieves us fore. Though that fool Christina of Sueden be contemned

¹ William Earl of Glencairn, Lord High Chancellor.

² James Robertson of Bedlay.

of all, we think it juſt with God and man. Bleſſed be God ! who yet defends the Venetians againſt the height of the Turk's rage.

When the King was going to his progreſſe, and the Parliament of England to adjourne, July 20th, they changed, as we hear, their reſolution : the Parliament ſat ſtill ; the King gave over his progreſſe for this year ; he is not for to ſend for his Queen in haſte. What may be the reaſon of this change, we yet doe not know. I am glad to find yow continue juſt in my ſenſe of our publiſt affaires.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP AT LONDON. AUGUST 29TH 1661.

DEAR JAMES,

WHAT yow are doing there now I can learn from no man. I am forry that none of our old friends keep correſpondence with yow, at this ſo neceſſare a tyme. For myſelf I reſt on what yow wrote to me, when yow went from this, that your journey was not for any change in our Church. Diverſe times ſince the King came home, by your letters, yow made us confident there was no change intended for us : Bleſſed be God ! hitherto there hes been none offered. What now there among yow may be in agitation, yow on the place know. Yow were the moſt wiſe, honeſt, diligent, and ſucceſſfull agent of the nation in the late dangers of our Church in Cromwell's tyme : your experience and power now is greater. In this very great danger, apprehended by many, of other changes and forer troubles from the Episcopall partie, both here and there, I hope God ſhall make yow as happy inſtrument to prevent all our feares, and to allay all our preſent ſorrowfull perplexities, as yow have oft been before. Let others think and ſpeak of yow as they pleaſe, and in their follie give yow matter of provocation, if yow were not wiſe, grave, and fearing of God, yet yow ſhall deceave us notable, and doe us a very evident evil turne before I believe it. Since firſt acquaintance yow have ever been very faithfull and loving to myſelf in all occaſions.

For the tyme, there be two favours I intreat from yow : Firſt, that you would help our Colledge in its very great neceſſitie. This year we kept no table ; not one maſter of us hes gotten a fix pence of ſtipend, nor will get in haſte : for our laſt year's table a thouſand pound is yet aughtand

the prodigall waſtrie of Mr. Gillespie hes put us in above twenty-five thouſand merks of debt. Mr. John Young, as yow know, gave to the Chancellor, our noble Chancellor, ſome memorandums for our help, whereof yow promiſed to hold his Lordſhip in mind. I wrote to the Secretary once and again, as ye know likewiſe, in that matter, but without any fruit as yet; except yow join with thoſe our two Noble friends, I think we but threſh the water. Had I not expected by yow and them ſome relief of that kind, I had never put my head in that comfortleſs yoke, wherein now it flicks. Dear James, help your old friends out of beggarie and dyvorie if yow can: I am ſure his Gracious Maſtey hes, this twelvemonth bygone, given many thouſand pounds to them that hes farr leſs deſerved, and can doe him farr leſs ſervice for it.

The other courteſie I deſire to be in your debt for is, That if his Maſtey be pleaſed to fend for any from this to ſpeak with anent our Church, as he hes twyce declared he purpoſes, yow would ſee effectually that I be none of them; for neither am I able, in this my ſixtieth yeare, and frequent infirmities, for any ſuch journey, whether be ſea or land; nor does my mind ſerve me to give advyce for the leaſt change in our Church, as yow well know; but with all my ſtrength I behoved to diſſuade it, which would but offend his Maſtey; whom I will be loather in the leaſt to offend than any mortall creature, for the particular reſpect I have, and ever have had, ſince my firſt acquaintance in the Hague.

Yow ſee, James, how ſtill I make bold to put yow to ſaſhrie for me, which ſtill I purpoſe to doe, ſo long as ye like to continue the old man towards me. The Lord be with yow, and help yow, at this moſt dangerous nick of tyme, to doe our poor Mother Church your wonted and faithfull great ſervice.

Your Brother, to love, honour, and ſerve yow,

R. B.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND NOBLE LORD, MY LORD CHANCELLOR
OF SCOTLAND.

MY LORD,

THERE are many that long for your home coming; but few more than I. Without your Lordſhip's preſence we can get nothing done in our Colledge

affaire. I wish your Lordship, from my heart, a prosperous returne, so soone as the publick and your Lordship's own affaires may permit. These papers Mr. John Young delivered to your Lordship, I hope are remembered. If we get no help from the King, by your Lordship's mediation, we are undone. I sent by Mr. John Young, to be shewed to your Lordship, a list of above twenty-six thousand merks of debt, in which Mr. Gillespie hes left us, beside the ordinarie burden of the Colledge; and ten thousand pund more will not perfite his too magnificent buildings. He got from the Ufurpers to this work, most out of the excise of Glasgow, above twenty thousand merks, and yearly two thousand four hundred merks for twelve burfars,³ payed quarterly, out of the customs of Glasgow. I hope I am in no error, to think that your Lordship and I should be no lesse sibb to the King and his bountie than Mr. Gillespie and his Chancellor Thurloe was to Oliver. My good Lord, be intreated to do for us what ye can, to help us out of our beggarie and dyvorie, wherin we lye, by no fault of mine.

I have but one word more, as your Lordship's care and kindnes did save all the ministrie and gentry, be-west Glasgow, from the fore trouble otherwayes would have come on many of them: so, if ye would win and weir, while ye live, the blessing of us all, desert not our poor Church at this tyme of her greatest need. Permitt not our gracious Sovereigne to be deceived, by any whomsoever, that it will be so easy a matter, with his people's contentment, to make any change in our Church. It's true, if ye will make most humble and loyall supplications a crime and disloyaltie, (which yet hes been a naturall and necessar libertie for all subjects in all places and all tymes,) yow may doe what yow will, and none speak against yow so much as in a supplication: but I am sure our Prince will egregiously be abused, if truth be not told him, that putting of Bishops upon us

³ As Baillie so often reiterates his charge against Patriek Gillespie for gross extravagance, the following passage from the 'Mercurius Caledonius' may be quoted, in reference to Gillespie's appearance before Parliament, March 6th 1661:—"Mr. Gillespie was brought to the Barr: he had a handsome discourse, by way of Information, relating to a Vindication." It is a great pitty, that this man should ever have been ensnared in mistakes: *for he is a generous and publick spiri'd Sou, witnes his great enprovement of the University of Glasgove, both by the enlargement of the fabrick, and encreasing of the burser-ships,* which is the grand nursery of our Clergy, and the first degree of their advancement. *And if there be merit in the Fanaticks of either kinde, this man hath the largest share."* p. 102.)

at this tyme will caufe a more generall grief and mifcontent in Scotland, than any aëtion of any of our Princes hes done thefe hundred years. And fince God hes put your Lordfhip for the prefent in the chief place of authoritie in our land, and credit with his Majefty, be not content to lye by, but as ye would be faithfull to your Prince, Countrey, and Mother-Church, to which three after God ye are moft obliged, lend us now a lift; that, in the true account I may readilie give to the world and pofteritie of what is pafte among us thefe thirty-fix years, your Lordfhip's juft character may be with the faireft of all, as I wifh and hope it fhall. The contience of my loving and honouring of your Lordfhip from a child, emboldens me to all this freedome. The Lord blefs your Lordfhip, fo prays

Your humble and much obliged fervant,

R. B.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

THAT I get no answer of any I wrote to your Lordfhip, I take it weell, knowing what elfe yow have to doe. It fatisfies me when I know ye receive mine, to be made ufe of as ye think fit. I was a while in perplexitie for yow, hearing ftories of combination againft yow; but as I took them for fables at firft, fo I am glad they have proven fuch in the end. At this tyme I have but two things to fay: The one concerns our Colledge; the other our Church; concerning the firft I have written, I think thryce alreadie.

Mr. Gillefpie hes left us both in a debt of above twenty-fyve thoufand merks, and in a neceffity to perfyte his buildings, whilk ten thoufand pound more will not doe. No Mafter of our houfe hes gotten this year a tuppance of ftipend; yea for our laft year's table we are in debt yet above one thoufand pounds. Had I not furely expected, by your Lordfhip's mediation, to have obtained fome help from his Majefty, when fo many of no greater deferving have obtained fo liberallie, I had never put my head in that yoke, under the which already I groane. Shall Mr. Gillefpie for his vanities gett between twenty and threttie thoufand merks of the Ufurpers, and we for our neceffities get nothing from the King, no not his Father's debt fubfcrived to us in the year 1633, the Acts whereof, as yet, I hope are no

revoeked? My Lord Chancellor and Mr. Sharp know our condition, and I believe would be willing to assist your Lordship for our help; but I hope yow need no assistance for any such matter.

Concerning our Church, we are informed our dangers are daily encreasing. Yow lately subscribed a Proclamation discharging all supplications anent Church-Government. Were supplications discharged to any subjects in any tyme or place in the world, when modest and loyall? and for such alone, were ever the chief judicatories of the Church dissolved by authority? What will the end of such work be? If I were able to travell, as truly through age and infirmity I am not, I would venture to come up and doe, at least as Willie Hill did to King James, the 17th of December, to greet to him for mere love and favour, and shew him how he was misinformed of the state of our countrie, that Bishops would become so lovelie creatures to us as we were ready to receive them, without so much as a supplication to the contrare. I think I could make good that, by his Majesty's permission, in twenty dayes tyme, I should get the hands to a most earnest supplication against all novations in our Church, of all the ministers of our Synod without exception of one man, and there will be of us above six score in Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, Clydsdaill, Barranthrow, and the Lennox. Also, in the Synods of Galloway, Dumfries, Argyle, and the Isles, I hear not of one man that would not joyn on their knees with us. The qualities of these light men about Aberdeen, who have been ever for all changes, are weell enough known. It is all the pitie in the world, that when his Majesty has no other intention but to give contentment to all his good people, that by the false information of some, none of the best men, he should doe that which infallible would bring the greatest grief and discontentment, generally, on all here, that for some hunder years any action of any of our Princes ever brought on this land. I am sure, though we be debarred from supplicating either King or Parliament, yet many thousands of the truly best of this land would cry loud to the heaven, and never be silent, till that God did deliver them from all these novations and their inevitable consequences. If the most gracious and just Prince in the world be not fully informed of all these things in tyme, before he be ingadged, fye on yow all who are about him. Let the King doe what he will, he will ever get the blessings of us all; but believe it, that the too just grieves of the people will light at last, fickerlie, on some of your heads.

I have fent my Chronologie to Holland for the preffe. I hope it shall give offence to no man, though I fall in debates with many. The dedication will not goe this three moneth, and before it goe your Lordship shall see it, that there may be no word into it which may be displeasing. The Lord bleffe your Lordship to be doing good while ye have tyme. Remember your two coufins, the Father of the laft two Dukes [of Hamilton], and eminent Balcarras. Your Lordship's fervant, as ye shall deserve.

R. B.

If our Kirk were out of danger, and our Colledge out of debt, I would give little for the kindnes of all the courtiers in Christendome.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

As the world goes now, I fear I will be forced to importune your Lordship oftter farr than I purposed. My Lord Chancellor told me, that his Majestie had spoken to him and yow of me, that some there had given him an evill information of me for reprinting lately my Parallel. I told my Lord Chancellor the simple truth, wherewith he was presently satisfied, and promised to write up for my clearing. Yet I thought fitt to informe your Lordship also, that at your conveniencie yow would clear my innocencie to his Majestie. These observations on the Scottish Service-book I writ twenty-four years ago, and delivered for the most part in the Generall Assembly of Glasgow; by the advyce of the chief of our Church and State, were printed at London 1640; since that time I never looked after them, till within these few weeks I saw a copie of them as reprinted at London 1661. This is a very false lye; for there is not a word of them reprinted but the title-page alone,⁴ by some cheating printer there, to make some old copies of the first and only impreffion sell. However, believe me, I knew no more of that cheater's deed than the child unborn; nor know I at all who is the man. Your Lordship knows I have

⁴ This is a mistake. as the edition of his "Parallel of the Liturgie and Mass Book," printed in 1661, is unquestionably not the same as that of 1641. See the account of Baillie's publications in the first volume.

written half-a-dozen of little tractats againſt Books and Biſhops, and near as many againſt Sectaries; but I would be loath now to reprint any of them. Yet if any there ſhould reprint them utterly without my knowledge, it were not my fault. I expect your Lordſhip, in this particular, will right me with his Maieſtie.

Your Lordſhip's Servant,

September 9th [1661.]

R. BAILLIE.

FOR MY LORD LAUDERDAILL.

MY LORD,

I HAVE written fundrie to yow of late, with greater freedome poſſible than the tymes doe admitt, but I ſhall endeavour to trouble your Lordſhip with little more of that kind, reſolving fo great ſilence as I may towards all men; but mourning to God, while I live, for theſe things I never thought to have ſeen. I hope your Lordſhip hes righted me with his Maieſtie for the miſtake of my reprinted Parallel, according to my information ſent up September 9th.

At this tyme I flee to your Lordſhip, as my laſt anchor on earth, for help in ſome things concerning our Houſe, wherein if ye ſhould neglect me, I will be exceedingly afflicted, and ignorant what to doe nixt. Mr. Gilleſpie, beſide the great debt he left us in, having found us in none, continues to vex us yet farder. By his numerous and powerfull friends, in the laſt day of the Parliament, got through an Act, whereby he claimes of us fifteen moneths ſtipend ſince October laſt, (twelve whereof are expreſly in my preſentation); and, by other cavills, great ſumms of money farther. He hes begun to vex us already before the Councill; and if he get not his will there, (as he is too like to doe,) he is ready to keep us in plea before the Seſſion all this winter: there was never more affronted impudence ſeen. I humbly befeech your Lordſhip, if ye may think it convenient, to get a line from his Maieſtie to the Chancellor, to command Mr. Gilleſpie to deſiſt from ſuch fycophantick perfuits of us, whom he hes peeled to the bones alreadie. His Maieſtie, in my preſentation, hes under his hand declared, That Mr. Gilleſpie *ab initio* was an intruder, and had never any right to his ordinarie ſtipend as

Principall, which, on that declaration, seems, might in law be repeated from him ; but wishing him no harme, we only desire that his Majestie would declare to the Chancellor his pleasure, that he might be discharged to crave any more money from us, especially since the first of October 1660, the tyme when he was removed from us to prison for his crimes against the State ; and to command him to be comptable for the sommes of money he has taken from the Colledge, over and above his ordinarie stipend : such an order from his Majestie, and nothing else, I know would ease us from great trouble and expence, which otherwise his restlessness will quickly put upon us.

In a second [thing], also, I beseech your Lordship to pitie our condition. My Lord Chancellor, when last there, obtained, under the King's hand, a recommendation of our hard case to the Council, to be helped out of the vacant stipends, and other wayes they could think upon ; but notwithstanding of all our Noble friend could doe, our petition was laid aside, to our no small grief. There remains now to us nothing but to renew our sute to your Lordship, to present a line to his Majestie for his hand, not to the Exchequer, but the Collector of the Excyse of Glasgow, to pay us at last that two hundred pound sterling which his blessed Father, in the year 1633, gave us a præcept for to the Exchequer, and for which the officers of the Exchequer gave us sundry tymes an order, as the doubles here enclosed do shew, but never a penny of it could we obtaine to this day. Indeed Mr. Gillespie got from Oliver, well payed, a gift for our building of fyve hundred pound sterling, also for twelve new burfars out of the customs of Glasgow, which puts us in the greater hope of his Majestie's fatherly bounty in augmenting the two hundred pound we crave.

There is a third thing I have to supplicat your Lordship for, above all the rest ; the Bishoprick of Galloway, a great part of our subsistence, is now taken from us. His Majestie, I hear, does graciously promise to all the Univerfities liberall recompenses for all is taken from them ; in that we shall humbly wait with the rest for his Majestie's conveniency, hoping your Lordship will not be forgetfull of us when other Univerfities are provided for. But for the Subdeanric of Cader and Monkland, which we lately did purchase from the Dutchesse of Hamilton, with all the mortified money we had, as my Lord or my Ladie, I hope, will testify to your Lordship ; our lawyers advyfed us to seek from the King a signature of *novodamus* for that our interest : We

did prepare it; but our great friends, my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Sharp thought it unexpedient to fend it up at this tyme. Only we hope your Lordship will be carefull that no other gett a presentation to that Subdeanrie, which we have bought at a dear rate, without the which we are not able to substist; and if your Lordship could think it expedient to get a line from his Majestie, signifying his pleasure to ratifie to us what the Dutchesse and her Father were secured in by his Majestie's blessed Father, and all the law which then was in Scotland, it would be a singular benefit to us; for without this we are in hazard of a present stop of all our rent there, whereof for some years we have been in peaceable possession.

My Lord, I shall be loath in haste to fash your Lordship with so long epistles; but you know I am one of your old servants, and it is for an Universitie which in the tyme of my Presidencie is like to ruine, if yow my old patron put not to your hand quicklie to help it. What you can get done, or fees yow cannot get done, I intreat with all possible speed I may be advertised. What yow direct your servant, John Don, to write to me with, if it come to Mr. Hamilton, minister of Edinburgh, he will fend it me with a sure hand. I presse haste because our action with Mr. Gillespie, before the Councill, begins 19th of this instant, and ye know he drives furiously. I hope old kindness will not yett permitt yow to desert me in this very evill world. I remain a supplicant to God for your Lordship's prosperitie; and this is all I can doe in the recompence of your Lordship's favours.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

R. BAILLIE.

What I write of Monkland and Mr. Gillespie, let so few know it as may be for causes.

Glasgow, October 1st 1661.

FOR MR. JAMES SHARP.

JAMES,

I WAS glad when I looked on the double of my last to yow, to find your mistake to be the clean contrarie way. Whatever grief my heart has from

our changes, and is like to have till I die, I hope it shall stand with tearms of great respect to yow, from whom I have received so many favours, and still expect to receive more. As we left, I have now sent to yow a double of the King's grant to us, 1633, with the Exchequer's order thereupon: as yow promised, I expect yow will present a line for us to his Majesty about it. I have written to Lauderdaill to concur with yow. If yow two in this new world desert me, I must take me to my books and my beads, and leave this station wherein yow two moved the King to settle me. Our signature for Monkland, as yow advyfed, I have delayed till the thick of your business be over. In our recompence for Galloway I expect yow will deal for us as for St. Andrewes.

Are ye not able to conjure for us this new forme that comes on us, by a new claime of Mr. Gillefpie of ten thousand merks, that found us much to the fore, and leaves us in twenty thousand merks of debt, as he must confesse, but, as I count, thretie-fix thousand? Should he be heard to plead for more money from us, even since the first of October, when by the States order he was removed from us, for his crimes, and declared by the King never to have any right among us? Should this impudent injustice be tolerat? If it goe on, I will be forced to entreat yow to complaine of it to the King; and if no redresse can be had of it, earnestlie to defyre yow to procure for me so honest a regresse as may be to my former station; for truelie, almost dailie anxious perplexities for his heavie debts, does oft take my meat and sleep from me, and may bereave me of my life, if I be not some way freed of them. James, I doubt not of your kindness; and if I did, I would not thus trouble yow with my letters.

Your twenty-year old friend and fervant,

R. BAILLIE.

Glasgow, October 1st 1661.

FOR MY LADY DUTCHES OF HAMILTOUN.

MADAM,

YOUR Ladyship is my old friend; and, before yow were borne, your Father and Uncle were oft very kind to me. That bargaine good Mr. Gil-

lespie made for us with your Ladyship, our last payment of it to Prestoun of two thousand merks, with annualrent, we purpose God willing, to performe faithfullie at the terme of Martinmas. In our consultation with our lawyers, we find, they think us very unsecure by this new world in our bargaine, except by your Ladyship's and my Lord's help we get a new signature of it from the King. For the time we requeist your Ladyship, or my Lord, may be pleased to declare to my Lord Lauderdaill the truth of our bargaine, and your willingnes that the King's hand should be put to a signature for us, so soone as we can gett it present. Expecting this justice and favour from your Ladyship, I remain,

Your Grace's humble and much obliged servant,

R. BAILLIE.

Glasgow, October 1st [1661.]

[FOR MR. WILLIAM SPANG.]

DEAR COUSIN,

My last was by the hand of my lad Harrie. I have kept my chamber these six weeks, and yet does keep it through a rose in my legge; but, blessed be God, I now walk up and downe my chamber and yaird. The Doctour thinks I have a scrubie: I find an univerfall weaknes, especiallie of my stomack. It were a favour to me to be gone; yet I am willing to abide my appointed time, and take my part with others in these very hard tymes. It was one of my speciall defyres to have my Book printed, which yow, of your singular kindnes, have procured fullie to my mind. I will not be able to return yow this special favour. It is in fyne paper, a brave letter and volume; I could not have wished it better; only I would intreat yow would hasten it so much as may be, that it be not *opus posthumum*. As yow have sent me the two first sheets, I with yow sent me likewise what since are cast off. The corrector had need, for the credit of the presse, to be more carefull: in these two sheets yow see what grosse faults are escaped, which makes solæcisms and nonsenses. Do your best to cause help this.

Your new peice of Vossius is but a bagg of clatters, blown up with insolent pride, unbeseeming a schollar, or any modest man; whom I mind

never to know. The rest yow sent us were without catalogue or price, but it is good yow keep beside yow an account of all such things. Send me with your next an account of all the Colledge is due, but be intreated to be only in English money which we understand. I have delyvered to Mary Hamilton, as yow desired, one hundred and one pound, fiftein shilling: yow have herewith her discharge to yow of it, and such testimonialls from our Toune as yow desired. Let me know your receipt heirof with the same bearer.

The stuffe for my Wife's gown, which came not to her till the other day, was very good, but in the measure there is some mistake as it seems. Yow write it is elevin Dutch ell and a quarter: it hes gone through many hands; what came to her is but nine Dutch ell and three quarters; so that it is a Dutch ell and a halfe lesse than what yow sent, when Adam Ritchie with a Dutch ellwand hes measured it sharplie. This cannot be helped. I have sent yow here a patterne of the stuffe, that yow may send me two Dutch ell and ane halfe of the same stuffe, for my wife's gowne does require it, and cannot be made up without it.

The publict affaires yow know them as well and better than I. Our Kirk, all the English tymes, had been very faithfull to our King, and so instrumentall as we could for his restitution. We had lost much blood at Dunbar, Worcester, and elfewhere, and at last our libertie, in his cause. We did firmly expect, at his Restitution, a comfortable subsistence to ourselves, and all our Presbyterian brethren, in all the dominions; and believe the King's intention was no other; but, by divine permission, other counsellors thereafter prevailed, and now carry all. When the King was at Breda, it was said he was not averse, from establishing the Presbytery; nor was the contrare peremptorily resolved till the Saturday at night, in the cabbincouncell at Canterbury. At the beginning it went on softly: Calamy, Baxter, Manton, Reynold, were made chaplains: but at once it altered. This did come from our supine negligence and inadvertence; for the Parliament, then consisting of the secluded members, the Citie, Monck also, and the Armie, were for us: Had we but petitioned for Presbytrie at Breda, it had been, as was thought, granted; but fearing what the least delay of the King's coming over might have produced, and trusting fully to the King's goodness, we hastened him over, without any provision for our safetie. At that time it was, that Dr. Sheldon, now Bishop of London, and Dr. Morley, did poyson Mr. Sharp, our agent, whom we trusted; who,

peice and peice, in so cunning a way, hes trepanned us. as we have never win so much as to petition either King, Parliament, or Councell. My Lord Hyde [is] the great Minister of State who guided all, and to whom, at his lodging in Worcester-houfe, the King weekly, and often, uses to resort and keep counsell with him alone some hours; and so, with the King, Mr. Sharp became more intimate then any man almost of our nation. It seemes he hes undertaken to doe in our Church that which now he has performed easly, and is still in acting.

He had for co-operators the Commiſſioner, Chancellor, and Rotes; Lauderdaill, and Craufurd, were a while contrare; but seeing the King peremptor, they gave over. His Majestie's letter to us at first, penned by Mr. Sharp, promised to keep up our Church government established by law; and to send for Mr. Douglass and others to conferre about our affaires. The last Mr. Sharp hindred; for with him alone it pleased his Majesty to conferr: and the sense of the first, few of us dreamed till it came out thereafter. We were amazed at the Proclamation, discharging all petitioning against Episcopall government established by law, as it was in the year 1633; of putting downe our Synods, and Presbyteries, and Sessions; of calling up Mr. Sharp, Mr. Fairfoull, and Mr. James Hamilton of Camnethan; also Mr. Lighton, then at London, to be consecrate by the English Bishops; which, after some tyme, they were by the Bishops of London and Worcester, and others, with many English guifes. Their feast to all the Scots, and many of the English nobilitie, was great. They staid there some moneths longer than was expected, that they might be sufficiently instructed in the English way. When they came downe, they were received by a number of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, magnificklie: the Commiſſioner's Lady feasted them and the Nobilitie that night, as the Chancellor did the morrow thereafter. Mr. Sharp had bought a fair new coach at London, at the sides whereof two lakqueys in purple does run.

The Parliament of England did all things for the King he pleased; augmented much his revenue beyond what any King in England ever had. After some conferences at Worcester-houfe, betwixt the Bishops and a few of the Presbyterians, where it was hoped his Majesty would bring the Bishops to a great condescension, at last it was found they would yield in as good as nothing: so the House of Commons formed a Bill of Uniformity, that

all should be put from their charges who did not conforme to the Bishops orders. On this the House of Lords did make some demurre, and yet does; but we doubt not of their agreeance to it at last; and from thenceforth a fearfull persecution is expected, for the prevalent part of the Episcopall faction are imbittered, and, both in doctrine and practice, it seems, fully of the old Canterburian stamp. God be mercifull to our brethren, who hes no help of man, nor any refuge but in God alone: We fear our case shall be little better.

Our Parliament was adjourned from the 10th of March to the 8th of May. The Commiffioner and our Nobles defyred not to leave London till they had seen the Queen. Also much talk was of discord betwixt the Commiffioner and Thefaurer, about the collection of the new revenue of fourty thousand pound sterling. The Thefaurer pleaded it might come in to the Exchequer, and the other had obtained a gift of collecting it to his good-brother Lord Lyon: the Secretar parted the one, and my Lord Hyde the other; the strife was more long and loud than was fitt; the King agreed them at last as it might be. The Commiffioner came from London on the Wednesday, and came hither on the Sunday morning; the Archbishops did consecrate other five on the Wednesday at the Abbay-church, Mr. Haliburton to Dunkell, Mr. Paterfone to Roffe, Mr. Murdoch M'Keinzie to Murray, Mr. Forbes to Caithness, Mr. Robert Wallace to the Isles; Dr. Withart designed for Edinburgh, and Mr. David Mitchell for Aberdeene, are not yet come out of England; nor old Sincerfe appointed for Orkney. Mr. David Fleasher [Fletcher], whose patent was for Argyle, refused it, the rent being naught. The Commiffioner gave the feast after the consecration, as his Majestie had defrayed liberallie all their charges in England.

Our Bishop,⁵ the other weck, took a start to come to Glasgow. The Chancellor convoyed him, with Montrose, Lithgow, Calender, and fundry more noblemen and gentlemen, with a number of our town's folks, both horse and foot, with all our bells ringing, brought them to the Tolbooth to a great collation. He preached on the Sunday, soberly and weell; but Mr. Hew Blair, in the afternoon, ridiculoufly worse than his ordinarie. Some of my neighbours were earnest that the Chancellor and he should have a collation in the Colledge on Monday morning. Against this I reafoned much; but was over-voted, to our great and needlesse charge: two hundred pound

⁵ Andrew Fairfoull, Archbishop of Glasgow.

payed not our charge. Mr. John Young made to the Bishop a speech of welcome, beside my knowledge. The Chancellor, my noble kind schollar, brought all in to see me in my chamber, where I gave them feck and ale the best of the towne. The Bishop was very courteous to me: I excused my not using of his styles, and professed my utter difference from his way; yet beloved to entreat his favour for our affaires of the Colledge; wherein he promised liberallic. What he will performe tyme will try.

The Councell did call for Mr. Robert Blair some moneths agoe, but never yet made him appear; we think they have no particular to lay to his charge, but the common quarrell of Episcopacy, only will not have him abide in St. Andrewes to be a dayly eye-fore to his Grace.⁶ Also they called Mr. John Carftares, that he should not fitt in Glasgow, to preach after his manner against the tymes, to bear him company. Mr. James Nafmith is likewise written for, as is thought, that the Deanrie of Hamilton may vaik for Mr. James Ramfay; and with him Mr. William Adair of Air, the two ministers of Kilmarnock, Mr. James Veitch of Machlin, and Mr. Alexander Blair of Galtoun. The guife now is, the Bishops will trouble no man, but the State will punish seditious ministers. We are in the most hard taking we have seen at any tyme. It's the matter of my daily grieffe, and I think it hes brought all my bodily trouble on me, and I feare it shall doe me more harme.

I pray yow hasten my book. I intend no other preface than it hes. I purposed a dedication for Lauderdail; but it seems it now will not be welcome to him. I writ to him of it, but he did not answer: however that will be the last sheet. For verses here, I intend none: I care no for vanities. Let me have my count with yow, that I may know what English moneys to send yow. My hearty service to your dear kind Wife, and all your sweet children. I rest, after the old fashion,

Your Cousin to serve yow,

Glasgow, May 12th 1662.

R. BAILLIE.

⁶ James Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrews.

A P P E N D I X
TO
VOLUME THIRD
OF
BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

APPENDIX No. I.

LIST OF PAPERS INSERTED IN VOLUME THIRD OF THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

M.DC.XLVIII.—M.DC.LXI.

1648.

- Fol. 9 b. My Sudden Thoughts, on Saturday 12th February 1648, of the Motion of Warre then in all men's mouths. See page 37
12. The humble Petition of the Presbytery of Glasgow, unto the Honourable Estates of Parliament. This paper was drawn up by Baillie, who adds, in the margin of the MS., that "P. G. [Patrick Gillefpie] changit much of this to the worfe." 47
25. Baillie's "Extemporall Notions," in answer to the Queries, If men who have been active in the Engagement should be suspended from the Lord's Table? and, If the monthly maintainance may lawfully be payed, before the first Question be determined? 58
- 26 b. Instructions to the Commissioner of the Univerfity of Glasgow, for the Correspondence of the Univerfities, 56
28. An Oath of Affociation, in pursuance of the ends of the Solemne League and Covenant: Baillie adds, "by War[rington] and Gil[lefpie,]" 37

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69. Collection of Letters and Papers from the Commissioners sent by the Generall Assembly and the Estates of Scotland to King Charles the Second, at the Hague, in

March 1649. These papers are either printed in the Appendix to the present volume, (Nos. LXXIV.—LXXXIII.) pp. 458 (498) to 521, or in Mr. Thomson's edition of the Acts of Parliament, vol. vi. pp. 451-459.

1650.

70. Reasons why his Majesty's owning the League and Covenant for Scotland, cannot be satisfactory, 17th April.
- 71 b. Reasons presented to the General Assembly, by the Commissioner of the University of Glasgow, against the Act of their late Visitors concerning the Election of Regents.
- 72 b. The Humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Commission of the General Assembly to the King and Parliament, 29th November.
74. The King's Speech to the Committee of Estates, after "the Start," [11th October.]
 Sir James Balfour's Works, vol. iv. p. 118.
74. A few Animadversions on the Western Remonstrance, by Baillie, addressed to Mr. Robert Ramfay, but left unfinished, December 1650.
77. The sense of the Committee of Estates upon the Western Remonstrance, Perth, Friday 20th November.
- 77 b. The sense of the Commission of the General Assembly upon the Western Remonstrance, 26th November.
- 77 b. An Answer from the Commission of the General Assembly to the Quærie of the Parliament, [concerning the admission of Engagers to the Army,] 14th December.
78. Act [of the Commission] against those that joyne in counsell or armes, or that complie with the Sectarian Army, 14th December.

1651.

79. Reasons of Dissent by Baillie and others, from the vote of the Presbytery in behalf of Guthrie and Bennet, ministers of Stirling, 11th or 12th March.

- 85 b. The Commission's Confolatorie Letter to Edinburgh. (Baillie adds in the MS. "by my hand.")
- 89 b. The Humble Petition of the Commission to the King's Majestie, and to Parliament against the promiscuous admiffion of Malignants to the Army, 18th March,
96. Reafons of Diffent (by Baillie, and others ?) in the Synod of Glafgow, against a vote of diffatiffaction with the proceedings of the Commission, 4th April.
101. My Anfwer to Mr. Robert Ramfay's Quærie, Whether Ingadging Officers who have fatiffied the Church, may lawfullie be employed in our prefent Armie ?
- 102 b. Two Aëts of Affembly, in reference to oppofers of the Publick Refolutions, 31ft July.
103. Lancashyre's Quæries Anfwered, by L. Colonell, (the name is left blank in the MS.)
104. A true Information of the Affaires of Scotland, by one who truelie feareth to lie. In Baillie's MS. this paper is faid to have been "Drawen by Mr. Rutherford, and fent in by Mr. Murecraft to Mr. Gee, in Lancashire, immediatlie before the Kingis March to Worcester, June 1651."—There muft, however, be a miftake in this, for the paper itfelf comes down to May 1652, with a Poftfcript evidently written in July or Auguft that year. 379
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- 106 b. The Commission's Letter to Mr. John Robertson, minifter of Dundee: (Baillie adds, "by my hand.") 7th March.
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APPENDIX No. II.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS CHIEFLY RELATING TO
ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

M.DC.XLVII.—M.DC.LXII.

CONTINUED FROM VOL. II. PAGE 516.

LXXII.

MR. GEORGE GILLESPIE'S SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AT EDINBURGH, 6TH AUGUST 1647.

[Wodrow MSS. 4to Vol. xxvi. No. 12.—In the Appendix to the previous volume, pp. 499-512, are inserted various original Letters of Gillespie, while attending the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in the year 1644 to 1647. That other Letters written by him during that period are still extant, is probable from what Wodrow states to his friend James Frazer, Esq. London, in a letter dated 22d July 1722. “As to MR. G. GILLESPIE, (he says) beside what writs are in his printed papers, I have 20 or 30 of his Originall Letters when at the Westminster Assembly; his Speech, giving account of his procedure at London to our Generall Assembly on his return; and I know his Notes which he took of what passed in the Westminster Assembly, in 12 or 14 volumes, are yet remaining in his Grandchild's hands, a minister here of my acquaintance.” It is not improbable, that Wodrow, writing from recollection, may have mistaken the precise number of such Letters and Note-books; for it does not appear, from the Catalogue of his Manuscripts, that he possessed more than the twelve Letters which are printed in this work. But it would be desireable that further inquiry should be made in other quarters respecting such MSS. The publication of Gillespie's Notes of the Proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, from two copies in Wodrow's collection, although these apparently contain only a portion of the 12 or 14 volumes he mentions, would form a most suitable companion to Dr. Lightfoot's Notes, or “Journal of the Assembly of Divines.”

Gillespie returned from London, along with Baillie, to attend the General Assembly at Edinburgh, August 1647; and on the 6th of that month, as our author informs us.—

“ He and I made our report to the great satisfaction of all.” Baillie’s own Speech on that occasion is already given at p. 10 of this volume; and Gillespie’s, hitherto unpublished, is now subjoined from a contemporary MS.; but not being in his own hand, the peculiar orthography has not been retained.

George Gillespie was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly in July 1648, while he was in a declining state of health. Having gone for change of air to his native place, Kirkaldy, he died there 17th December 1648, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, to the great loss of the Church of which he was so distinguished an ornament. He left under his hand, subscribed on the 15th December, a “ Testimony against Association and Compliance with Malignant Enemies of the Truth and Godliness:” Written two days before his death. This, along with a Letter to the same effect addressed to the Commission of the General Assembly, on the 8th September, are subjoined to his posthumous Tract, “ An Usefull Case of Conscience Discussed and Resolved, concerning Associations and Confederacies with Idolaters, Infidels, Hereticks, or any other known Enemies of Truth and Godliness.”—Edinburgh, 1649, 4to.]

[MODERATOR.] SIR,—I HAVE been long desirous to return here, that I might as waitt upon my particular charge, so also give a farther account to this Honorable and learned Assembly of our employments with the Assembly of Divines at London.

I speak ingenuously, the Lord knows, that I was altogether insufficient for so great a work, and such an employment. My Colleagues indeed, have been both painfull and successfull. Only this I would desire to profess, that with some uprightnes of heart I have studied to lay hold on occasions of promoting the work of God there, and the service of his Church in this land. Neither have our labours been altogether without success, which we ascribe wholly to the blessing of God, and therefore desyre, that as prayers have been made to God in behalf of our Commissioners and that Assembly of Divines, so thanks may be given in behalf of both for their good success, and peaceable setting about the work wherein the Lord hath employed them.

Ye know we have acted in a double capacity according to our Commission: We have gone on in a way of treating with the Committee of Parliaments and Divines jointly, and have given in many Papers, as concerning the Officers of the Kirk excluding scandalous persons from the Kirk Sacrament, the growth of Heresies, and such things, as in your judgment and ours, was defective among them. We have acted in another capacity, debating with and assisting the Assembly of Divines their debates: much of their time hath been taken up with the triall of Ministers, for Presbyteries not being established in that land. Ministers to be admitted in several places behoved to be tryed by them: yet the heads of our Commission have been carryed on to no small measure of perfection.

The Confession of Faith is framed, so as it is of great use against the floods of

heresies and errors that overflow that land: nay, their intention of framing of it was to meet with all the considerable Errors of the present tyme. the Socinian, Arminian. Popish, Antinomian, Anabaptitian, Independent errors, &c. The Confession of Faith sets them out, and refutes them, so far as belongs to a Confession. This Confession of Faith hath been, to my knowledge, very much commended of them that had occasion to see it, even by some of the Prelatical party too. It is not yet fully approved by the Houses of Parliament. The House of Lords have approved it; the House of Commons have approved the first chapter of it, and was going on in consideration of the rest of it, at that tyme when they were taken off by the late commotion there, and emergent differences.

For the next Head of our Commission, ye know the Directory for Worship is settled long ago by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. I confesse it is not yet observed by all there so as it ought, yet it is observed by many, to the great good of that land. We shall only add to that head, the matter of the Psalms; all grant that there is a necessitie of the change of the old Paraphrase. This new Paraphrase was done by a Gentleman verie able for the purpose, but afterward it was revised by a Committee of the Assembly of Divines, according to the originall, and was approved by the whole Assembly. The House of Commons hath given it a full approbation. The House of Lords hath not as yet, many desyring and pressing other Paraphrases also to be made use of in congregations, if they please. All the Animadversions sent by you were taken in due consideration. There are also here some new amendments made by the Gentleman himself: Here is the book, the perfect copy and *ultima cura* of it.

The Third Head was Church Government, which, as it was the most contraverted of the rest, so it hath suffered manifest obstructions. There was a practicall Directory for Church Government drawn furth without Scriptural Propositions; but because some thought a Model of Church Government could not be framed, which were *Jure Divino*, there was another Directory for Government drawn up in Propositions, with Scriptural truths, proving the same. Here they are both.

Now in relation to this head of Church Government, there was a Committee of the Assembly and Parliament appoynted to see if the Dissenting Brethren might be drawn to agree upon a common rule, according to the word of God, peace of the Kirk, and the Covenant. There was some hopes of an Accommodation, but because of some difficulties, especially for that they would have had a liberty of gathering their seperate churches out of others already constitute; upon this it brake up. Only a new motion was made of it for establishing that Committee of Accommodation before I came away, and their differences are yet lasting, and their ways, as I conceive, inconsistent.

Now, the erecting of Presbyteriall Government hath been opposed by diverse parties: First, By these that deny all Governments: These are Erastians. 2dly, By these that would have another form of Government than the Presbyteriall; of those some have

studied to get in a moderate Prelacy, and a model of that fort hath been put in the hands of some Parliament men, as I have seen, others labours mightily for Independency. 3. It hath been obstructed, and received many wounds, by these that would have a Church Government framed in a prudentiall way by the wisdom of the State, and limited as they shall think meet, as the Parliament hath studied to do in the poynt of suspension from the Sacrament. They have made a great deal of restrictions in that business, which the Assembly and godly ministry there dare not condescend to in conscience; whereupon the Assembly, sticking to that that they conceive agreeable to the truth, they presented a Petition accordingly. The Petition was casten, being conceived a breach of priviledge. Among other incongruities, they urged a double number of Ruling Elders at least to that of ministers, and if they please, four tymes more, so that all what ministers do say, may be made null by the major part of Ruling Elders. To this we gave in our Reasons to the contrarie. It wes upon the occasion of this prudentiall modell, that the Nine Queries were sent to the Assembly by the House of Commons, that the Assembly might be put to it for a particular model of Church Government, which was expected by many, they could never doe it, and so this might be ane ground to go on in their intended prudentiall way. These Nine Queries, as I am very confident they may have a full and satisfactory answer from Scripture, so I believe they [would] have gotten ere now, were it not the Assembly had been necessarily diverted by other things, put in their hands by the Parliament. There is a fourth impediment that did hinder much the Presbyterial Government, because there be many that would be content of it, so being it were with Liberty of Conscience that, if they pleased, they might come under it, otherways not. This is become a common plea, not only to Sectaries, but also to the Prelatical party: Doctour Taylor, the King's chaplain, hes written a large book for the defence of Liberty of Conscience.

The last Head of our Commission was the Catechism. The framing of this the Assembly have been very laborious in, and have found great difficulty how to make it full, such as might be expected from an Assembly, and, upon the other part, how to condescend to the capacity of the common and unlearned. Therefore they are a-making two distinct Catechisms, a Short and plaine one for these, and a Larger one for those of understanding. They have had no time yet to do any thing in the latter, bot here is the copy of the Greater, which is almost compleat.

Now, to add to these particulars the Dangers threatening religion, as affairs now stands, which are very great; and though the wisdom of this Assembly can very well judge of them, without great information; yet, since ye are pleased to desyre ane account of affairs there, I shall shortly expresse what we conceive to be the greatest dangers hindering the advancement of the desired Reformation in that land, and these we conceive are growing greater, when we were in expectation they were growing less than before. The disease was in the body; now it is broken furth in the spirits,

before the grosse humors were purged away, and so the danger is double. There is a conjunction of interests among those that have been averse from the Covenant, and those that have been aiming [at] a Reformation of religion hitherto, the Prelatical party and Independent. There is a great deal of indeavour used to unite them, although, I believe, that by this tyme they see that their interests and principles are inconfissible.

2. A second danger there is, which needs must be great, because there is a redivation which is worse than the first disease; that which hath been built up is now a-casting down, and that which hath been a-casting down is a-building up. The Service-Book, which we thought had been buried, is now allowed at Court, and the sequester Ministers are by this means animated to intrude themselves in their former places, and sundry are received.

3. Before, our difference was with the Prelates and Sectaries, so much as we knew, only concerning Church-Government, scarce imagining other differences; but now they are grown to that, that there is not an article of the Christian Faith but it is contraverted; and some have drunk in that principle, The more fundamentall the poynt denied or contraverted, the more it ought to be tollerated, because being the more remote from sense and reason, and so the denyers or affirmers of it ought the less to be controlled.

4. As the Solemn League and Covenant was justly conceived to be a soveraign remedy against the former evils, so when that is cast aside, it must make the dangers the more and greater: many refuse to subscribe that League and Covenant, and it is no wonder, seeing it hath not a civill sanction urging it upon the people. The King hath not agreed to it. The Parliament, though it hath enjoyed the subscription of it in all the Kingdom, yet there is no penalty charged upon the not-subscribers of it; and so by many is not only slighted, but also it is written against, of late, by the whole University of Oxford, which hath not as yet gotten an answer, but I hope it shall shortly.

5. The present commotions there makes the cause to be in a great hazard. Now there is a division between them that have taken the Covenant, as there was formerly between them that took it and them that took it not. As for the Army, it is true they do profess, in their publick papers, that it is not their intention to oppose Presbyterial Government: They take God to witness their intention is not against the Covenant. What is the *intentio mentis* we know not, or the *intentio operantis*, but *intentio operis* looks far otherways. Nevertheless of the forementioned dangers, yet, on the other part, there is hope in Israell concerning this thing; We want not our grounds of encouragement for hoping better things.

1. The hand of God that hath done verie great things for us already, gives us strong hope to believe that He will do great things still; and I have heard many godly both ministers and people there say, That if the Kirk of Scotland which hath had so many great proofs of an Almighty hand working for them, should distrust the thorow bearing of this work, their sin were greater than of any others. Now, as God's honour is engaged in

it, so hath he given many hearts to pray for the carrying on of the work, and, to my certain knowledge, assuredly to believe, the full satisfaction of their prayers, and a happy clofure of the work.

2. Next, we have grounds of confidence from the petitions of many, especially of London: Ye may understand very well the hearts of many by the petitions that have been occasionally from tyme to tyme published.

3. There is hope from that that is put in execution already: You know there is no government owned by the Parliament but the Presbyteriall; although they have not come up so far as the Assembly of Divines have holden forth to them, yet that is the only government owned by them, and is put in execution in fundry places in England. They have Claffical Congregations, Presbyteries, and Synods, in London; and elsewhere there are beginnings. There is a parochial elderthip in Yarmouth and other some in Suffolk: they have received appeals from parochial elderhips, as the superiour judicatory from the inferior. There is so much done as is more than a day of small things: so much as we would have greatly accounted of, if we might have hoped for it ten years ago, when we were a-coming out of Egypt.

4. There is encouragement to us, from the great discovery of the ways of Sectaries: Many who by their being very plausible gained ground before, are now down in the opinions of many, and their army, though now they prosper very much, yet have lost very many of their friends by their carriage of late, being fully persuaded their ways are not of God.

5. From the Assembly of Divines: God hath blessed that Assembly very much, and they do resolve, that whatsoever others shall do, or whatever dangers or fears shall arise, that they shall not suffer themselves to be led away from the prosecution of that Solemn Covenant, and the ends of it; that they will adhere to that Confession of Faith, Directory of Government and Worship, which, according to the written word, they have resolved upon.

And truly, Sir, they have desired me to assure this Assembly of their solid resolution of adhering to Presbyteriall Government, and the other ends of our Commission from this Church. I speak with warrant from the Prolocutor of the Assembly, as is clear in this paper, which, for my memory's sake in the premises, I have here, being subscribed by the Prolocutor and the Clerk; And withall, their desire was to make their excuse for their not giving answer to diverse Letters from the Parliament and Assembly of Scotland; for that they being only Assembled for giving advice by the Parliament, not being a National Assembly as you are, they were loath to interrupt the Parliament, whose warrant they behoved to procure, the Parliament being now otherways most seriously employed. I shall only add, friends in England do blesse God for this Assembly's writing at such a seasonable tyme, and expects so much shall come furth from you as shall refresh their saddened hearts, and advance the opposed work of Reformation.

LXXIII.

ATTESTATION IN FAVOUR OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BAILLIE.
22^D AUGUST 1648.

[The following paper forms a sequel to General Baillie's Vindication of his conduct at Kilsyth, and Preston, (Volume 2d, pages 417-425,) which he addressed by special request to "his cousin" Mr. Robert Baillie.—In addition to the few notices there given, it may be mentioned, that Lieut.-General WILLIAM BAILLIE of Letham, was the son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, by Mrs. Home, but born during the life of his father's first wife, Margaret Maxwell, Countess of Angus. In order to legitimate his son, Sir William, after the death of the Countess, married Mrs. Home; but this proved ineffectual, his son having failed in an attempt made in 1641, to have the settlement of the estate of Lamington reversed, and himself declared to be "the righteous air." (See Lamington family, Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. App. p. 131. General Baillie, in early life went to Sweden, and served under Gustavus Adolphus. In 1632, in a "List of the Scottish Officers that served his Majesty of Sweden." we find him styled "William Baily, Colonell to a Regiment of foote of Dutch." He returned to Scotland in 1638, and was employed by the Covenanters on many important occasions. In the unfortunate "Engagement," or secret treaty between the Royalists in Scotland and England, Baillie was appointed Lieutenant-General of foot. in the army under the command of James Duke of Hamilton. The fatal result of the expedition into England, towards the end of July 1648, is well known. From the accounts collected by Bishop Burnet, (Dukes of Hamilton, p. 357, &c.) we may infer, that the defeat of the Scottish forces by Cromwell at Preston, on the 17th August, was in a great measure owing to the contradictory orders issued by the Duke as General. and the Earl of Callander, as second in command; and that no portion at least of the blame could be thrown upon Baillie. The capitulation entered into is thus mentioned by Oliver Cromwell in his letter to the English Parliament, 20th August 1648:—

"The next morning the enemy marched towards Warrington, made a stand at a Pass near Winaick. We held them in some dispute until our army was come up, they maintaining the Pass with great resolution for many hours; but our men, by the blessing of God, charged very hard upon them, beat them from their standing, where we killed about a thousand of them, and took (as we believe) about two thousand prisoners, and prosecuted them home to Warrington Town, where they possessed the Bridge. As soon as we came thither, I received a message from Lieut.-General Bailey, desiring some Capitulation; to which I yielded, and gave him these terms:

That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, and horses, upon quarter for life; which accordingly is done. Here are took about four thousand compleat arms, and as many prisoners; and thus you have their Infantry ruined." (Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 1238.)

This Capitulation may be considered as presenting the termination of General Baillie's military career. How long he survived is uncertain; but a few words may be added as to his family. His eldest son James Baillie was born 29th October 1629. He married Joanna Forrester, daughter of George first Lord Forrester, on whose death, in 1654, without male issue, he succeeded to the title and property, as Lord Forrester. His affairs, however, became much involved; his Lady, as Baillie reports, (*supra* p. 367,) died of a broken heart, about the year 1657; and he himself closed a profligate life in a tragical manner, being murdered in his garden at Corstorphin, 26th August 1679, by Christian Hamilton, wife of James Nimmo, and a grand-daughter of the first Lord Forrester. (See Fountainhall's Hist. Notices, p. 233. Mr. Sharpe's Note in Kirkton's Hist. p. 182, and New Statist. Account, Edinburghshire, p. 212.) General Baillie's second son, William, born 12th December 1632, married another daughter of Lord Forrester, and on his brother's death in 1679, he succeeded as third Lord Forrester, but did not assume the title. He died in May 1681, and his son William, after an interval of 17 years, claimed his right of patent, in 1698, and became fourth Lord Forrester. (See Douglas's Peerage, by Wood, vol. i p. 602.)]

At Warrington, 22d August 1648.

WE Under Subferybers doe hereby declare upon our faith and honour, that We, with the rest of the Officers and Souldiers then present, did advyse LIEUT.-GEN. BAYLIE to accept of the under-written Capitulation, and consented to the famyn, before ever it was signed.

At Warrington-Bridge, 19th August 1648.

It is agreit betwixt LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL and LIEUT.-GEN. BAYLIE, that all armes, ammunition, collours, and other furniture and provision of warre, be delyvered without imbattellment to Lieu^t-Gen. Cromwell, or to whom he shall appoint. That Lieu^t-Gen. Baylie, with all Officers and Souldiers with him, shall be prifoners of warre, and that with the consent of all the said Officers and Souldiers.

That they who shall foe rander themselfes, the said Lieu^t-General Cromwell shall assure them all of faiff lyves, goods, and what else belongs to them, except horses, to be delyvered after they are disposed of, for their better accomodation; and in the meantyme to be furnished with horses for their journeys.

O. CROMWELL.

W. BAYLIE.

WE doe lykewayes declair upon our faith and honour, that these Reasons following, were the motives of this appointment:—

1. We were abandoned by all our Horfemen.
2. The number of our Foot then with us did not exceed 25 or 2700.
3. Scarce the halfe of them had kepted their armes.
4. Since the 13th of August they had received bot 2 pound of victuals a-peice.
5. There wes no ammunition at all amongft them.
6. When by Lieu^t-Gen. Baylie's ordour they were brought from the open field nearer the Bridge of Waringtone, for the defence of the same, into ane inclosure, the whole collours were not accompanied with scarce 250 foldiours; the rest left their armes and ran to the Muir, from whence no persuasion of Officers could bring them untill the Capitulation wes closed.
7. Before Lieu^t-Gen. Baylie had brought up the reare of all that were uncutt off, my Lord Callander had given ordour to diverse officers, to witt, to Lieu^t-Col. Kerr, Major Knox, and Capt. Rutherfoord, as Kerr deponeth, to prepare for a baricade to the Bridge, and stopping of all the fraggling foot at the Bridge, till they could see what best appointment they could make for themselfes. Likewayes Lieu^t-Gen. Middletone did advyfe Col. Dowglas, by Collingtoun, and by mouth, Col. Turner, to cause barricad the Bridge-end and guard it weell, and to tell Lieu^t-Gen. Baylie, when he should come up, to make the best appoyntment he could for himselfe and the rest of the foot. The lyke commision he gave to Major Wm. Dowglas, and desyred that the rest of his horfemen might be sent him up from our reere. (*Sic subscribitur*).

Col. DOWGLAS. Lieu^t-Col. ALEX^r. HOUME. Lieu^t-Col. JOHNSTONE. Lieu^t-Col. ANDREW KERR. Major W. DOWGLAS. Col. WM. BUNTEN. (and the rest of the Officers in the field, who rode not away with the horfemen.)

INFORMATION WOULD BE HAD OF THE REASONS :

1. Why the Horfe quartered, ever after we went from Kendale, so farr from the Foot ?
2. Why the Horfe drew not nearer the Foot after their parties were beat in unto Blackburne? This being made known to the Generall Officers there, on Tuyfday in the night.
3. Why we left Preston-Muir, and our provision there ?
4. Why we left our quarter above Walton, and our whole ammunition, and did not rather make our Horfemen come up ?
5. Why the resolution at Standish Muir to fight wes altered ?
6. Why in the march from Wiggan, there wes not left such a reare-guard of Horfe as wes requisite for the retreat of the Foot ? for want whereof the most of them were ruyned.
7. Why at Waringtone the Horfemen did abandon the remnant of the Foot ?

LXXIV.

LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND. 7TH FEBRUARY 1649.

[This and the next eight articles of the Appendix, are given from Baillie's MS.]

[Charles the First was executed on the 30th January 1649. The Parliament of Scotland, immediately upon receiving intelligence of this event, proclaimed Charles the Second King, on Monday the 5th February; and, as Baillie writes to Spang, (*supra* p. 66,) "We have sent the bearer, a worthy gentleman, to signify so much to his Majesty at the Hague: We purpose speedily to send a Honourable Commission from all Estates." The following is the letter of which Sir Joseph Douglas was the bearer; and which may serve to introduce some of the subsequent articles. Baillie himself was one of the Commissioners who were sent on the part of the Church; and his private letters, written while in Holland, have already been inserted in this volume, pp. 84-90. See also the preliminary note to No. LXXXIII.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,

As we did allwayes acknowledge your Royall Father his juft power and greatnes, and powred forth our supplications and prayers to God on his behalf, and doe abhorre these unparalleled proceedings of Sectaries^{es} against his Majesty's persone and life; so we doe willingly and cheerfullie acknowledge your Majesty's most juft right of succession to reigne as King over these Kingdomes, and doe resolve, in the power of the Lord's strength, to continue in prayer and supplication for your Majesty, that yow may feare the great and dreadfull name of the Lord your God, and reigne in righteoufnes and equitie, and the Lord's people under yow live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineffe and honestie.

These Kingdomes now for many years past have been involved in many calamities and confusions, by which the Lord's work hath been obstructed and retarded, and the blood of his people shed, as water spilt upon the ground, and we cannot but look upon the counsells of the ungodly as a maine cause of all these evils. It hath been the cunning of the Popish Prelaticall and Malignant partie to traduce Presbyteriall Government, and the Solemn League and Covenant as destructive to monarchie, and with so much witt and industrie they manage these calumnies, that your Royall Father, to our exceeding griefe, was kept at a distance in his judgement from these things, that doe much concerne the kingdome of Jefus Christ, the peace and safetie of these Kingdomes,

and the establishing of the King's throne, and was estranged in his affection from them who most tendered his person and authority.

And seeing the Lord now calls your Majesty to succeed to one of the greatest and most important employments upon the earth, which is much heightened by the present condition, it is our earnest desire unto your Majesty, in the name of the Lord Jesus, whose servants we are, that ye would not only shut your ears against calumnies, but avoid the company, and shun the counsells of the ungodlie, who studie to involve your Majesty's publick interest, and that which concerns the preservation of your royall person, and the establishing of your throne, with their private interest and ends and to make your loyall subjects odious, that they only may be gracious. And that your Majesty would avoid all the temptations and snares that accompanie youth, and humble yourselfe under the mighty hand of God, and seek him early, and labour to have your senses exercised in his word, and that your Majesty would establish Presbyteriall government, and allow and enjoyne the Solemn League and Covenant, and imploy your Royall power for promoteing and advancing the work of uniformitie in religion, in all your Majesty's dominions. It is by the Lord who bears rule in all the kingdoms of the sons of men, that kings do reign, and whatever carnall policie suggestt to the contrarie, there is nothing can contribute so much for securing the kingdom in their hand, as being for his honour, and studying to doe his will in all things. Therefore we know not so speedie and sure a way for securing of Government in your Majesty's person and posteritie, and disappointing all the designs of enemies both on the right hand and on the left.

We trust it shall yet afterwards be no griefe of heart to your Majesty to hearken unto us in these things, (we have hithertill obtained mercy of God to be constant to our principles, and not to declayne to extreame, to own the way either of Malignants or Sectaries, and we were faithfull and free with your Royall Father, would God he had hearkened to our humble advyce.) The Lord grant unto your Majesty wisdom to discern the tymes, and to make use of the opportunitie of doing acceptable service to God, and engaging the hearts and affections of your people in the beginning of your Majesty's reigne, by condescending to these necessarie things; so shall the Lord bless your Majesty's persone, establish your throne, and our spirits, and the spirits of all his people in these lands shall, after so many yeares of affliction, be refreshed and revived, and encouraged not only to pray for your Majesty, and to praise God in your behalfe; but in their places and stations, by all other suiteable means, to endeavour your honour and happines, that your Majesty may reigne, in prosperitie and peace, over these Kingdomes, which is the earnest desire and prayer of

Your Majesty's loyall subjects and humble Servants,

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE.

Edinburgh, 7th February 1649.

LXXV.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CHURCH
SENT TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE. MARCH 1649.

1. You shall be carefull to try, so far as you can, what is the King's inclination and disposition, what are his principles, who are his Counsellors in whom he most confides, and whose counsells he most followes; especiallie, how he is grounded in Religion, what countenance he gives, or what affection he bears to Prelacie, the Service Book, and the government, worship and ceremonies that were in the Kirk of England; and what forme of worship he uses in his familie; what ministers he hath with him; whether he seeks God in private or not.

2. You shall expresse our deep sence and detestation of the proceedings of the Secretaries against religion and government, and of their proceedings against the persone and life of his Majestie's Father.

3. You shall represent unto him the affection of the Kirk of Scotland unto Monarchie, and the continuance of the same, as in the persone of his Father, so in his persone and posteritie.

4. You shall show him how Presbyteriall government is not only consistant with, but helpfull to Monarchie; and to take off calumnies to the contrarie.

5. You shall represent unto him our faithfull dealing with his Father, and our continueing constant in our principles in reference to religion and government, without declining unto the extreames either of Malignants or Sectaries.

6. You shall in a discreet way, at fitt opportunities, represent unto him the finnes of his house, because of oppression to the work and people of God, and persuade him thereupon to humble himself under the Lord's hand, that the guilt thereof may be taken away.

7. You shall labour to informe him of things contained in the Nationall Covenant, and League and Covenant, and the true grounds of ours and England's entering thereunto, and persuade him to subscribe these Covenants, and to enjoyne the same, and to advance the work of Uniformitie, and establish Presbyteriall government, the Directorie of worship, and Confession of Faith, and Catechisme, in all his Majestie's dominions. And you shall show him how that this only and effectuall way for securing Religion, establishing his throne, and settling and securing the union and peace of these Kingdomes.

8. You shall take occasion to show him that Prelacie was a mere usurpation in Scotland, and never established by a law. That he is as yet under no oath nor obligation, as his Father was, for Prelacie in England.

9. Yow shall labour to persuade him to lay aside the Service Book, if he use it in his familie, and to conforme himself to the practise of the Kirk of Scotland.

10. Yow shall effectually and seriously represent to him the evils of the counsells and designs of the Popish, Prelaticall, and Malignant partie, and labor to persuade him to forsake their counsells and courses, and to cleave to those that are straight for Religion and Government, and will be faithful both to God and him.

11. Yow shall shew him that we look upon the former idolatrie of his Mother as a maine cause of the evils, both of sin and of punishment, that have afflicted these Kingdomes. And thereupon seriously to represent unto him the evill and danger of Popish marriage, and labour to disswade him from marrying any that is not of the Reformed religion.

12. Yow shall labour to persuade him to hearken to the desire both of Church and State, as that which will secure Religion, establish his Throne, satisfie his People, and settle Peace.

LXXVI.

LETTER FROM THE COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TO DR. FREDERICK SPANHEIM.

[This letter, as well as the next, was the composition of Baillie. He introduces them both as being of his *draught*. Spanheim was Professor of Divinity at Leyden.]

REVERENDE VIR,

Humanitas tua vere singularis, quam expertes abunde se sunt professi fratres a nobis ad Synodum Westmonasteriensem deputati in suo ad Hollandos diverticulo, efficit ut nostros jam ad Regiam Majestatem in Hollandia delegatos tuæ curæ fidenter audeamus commendare. In magnis cum Rex tum res tota Britannica in presentiarum hærent angustiis. Attollimus oculos ad Dominum, in quo nostrum auxilium et unica spes fixa remanent. Expectamus a fratribus transmarinis perseverantiam in suis ad Deum pro nobis precibus, omnibusque qua se dat occasio charitatis officiis et mutuis operis, ut Christi Regnum, quod mancipia Satanae cunctis infernis machinis labefactari student, factum tectum conservetur, et incrementum capiat. Non laborabimus, scienti, ut putamus, monstrare quæ sit rerum nostrarum hodie conditio. Si quæ, hac in parte, dominum lateant, docebunt quam voles prolixè coram quos mittimus fratres. Abs te, Reverende Vir, obnixè petimus, ut pro magna tua prudentia, et auctoritate qua in Aula Arausionensi ac Reginae Bohemæ polles, velis pro virili promovenda curare quæ Serenissimo Regi per deputatos fratres humillima postulata et saluberrima consilia deferenda committimus.

Quam hic navaveris Deo, Regi, Ecclesiæ, et nobis operam, fausta sit et felix, remunerabitur certe cœlitus Jehova; et nos gratissima mente repositam confervabimus.

Tui in Domino Fratres amantissimi a Nationali
Synodo Deputati, ac, omnium nomine,

Dabantur Edinburgi, pridie Kal.
Martii 1649.

R. DOUGLASSIUS. *Conventus Moderator.*

LXXVII.

LETTER FROM THE SAME TO DR. ANDREW RIVET.

CLARISSIMO VIRO AC FRATRI IN CHRISTO DILECTISSIMO, DOMINO
ANDRÆ RIVETO, IN ACADEMIA LUGDUNENSI SACRÆ
THEOLOGICÆ PROFESSORI.

REVERENDISSIME, DILECTISSIME FRATER,

EXPLORATUS a multis jam annis tuus in domum Dei zelus, compertumque de reformatis omnibus ecclesiis studium efficit, ut quis sit rerum apud nos in præsentia status per fratres nostros dilectissimos tuæ prudentiæ confidenter aperire, et a tua pietate fraternum auxilium expectare non dubitemus. Probe novisti, fat scimus, quam atrociam, quam diuturna mala, Regna hæc et Ecclesiæ jamdudum vexent. Maximum semper bonorum hic omnium desiderium fuit per prosperam pacem imponendi tandem aliquando finem durissimis calamitatibus, quibuscum integro jam decennio, et quod excurrit, conflictati sumus; sed ecce nova semper tempestas, prioribus sævior incumbens, rejecit in novum malorum mare. Dederant nostri quantam maximam valebant operam, ut æquis conditionibus thronus, pristinusque splendor, et quæcumque desiderari ullo jure poterant, Regi restituerentur; sed male feriati susurriones, calamitatum nostrarum vel primi auctores, vel assidui fautores, nunquam desinebant pessime consultum principem suis artibus perdere. Status Regni, ut primum infaustum de Patris nece (quod facinus toto pectore execramur) nuncium accepere, quam fieri potuit maxima solennitate absentem statim Filium edicto publico Regem declararunt, et Literas egregiæ suæ voluntatis plenas tam terra quam mari perferipserunt; Legatos suos Londino vestram Hagam proficisci jufferunt, et alios istius Legationis socios hinc amandarunt, qui humillima sua postulata, et saluberrima consilia novo Regi communicarent. Id quod ante alia in præsentiarum sollicitos habet, tenella est Regis adolescentis indoles, licet optimæ spei, quem circumfederalunt jam multi piorum in utroque regno consiliis vel aperti semper hostes, vel non satis constantes amici: hoc est, Reverende Vir, in quo tuam operam industriamque nobis necessariam arbitramur. Scimus quo zelo flagres erga Dei veritatem, et quo tenearis desiderio videndi nostram Britanniam in puritate religionis, et justa legum libertate, fir-

maque pace stabilitam : scimus quantopere abhorreat tua æquanimitas ab eorum hominum perversitate, qui vel suis erroribus pervaciter adherentes, vel suis privatim compendiis promovendis, aut reparandis dispendiis inbiantes, incautum regem in præcipitia secum abducere, totaque regna, ac integras nationales Ecclesias novarum ruinarum faxis illidere flocci non faciunt. Hic est ubi magnum Legatis nostris a Diabolo certamen metuimus, et ubi tuam pietatem exorata cupimus, ut velis non gravate consilio et auctoritate tua, quibus plurimum istic locorum vales, adesse fratribus quos illuc delegavimus ad res omnino maximas procurandas, quam non nostram tantum tam Regni quam Ecclesiæ, sed et totius insulæ, regis insuper regięque familiæ salutem, imo vero reformatarum omnium Ecclesiarum emolumentum, unice spectare certissimum habemus. Existimamus Aurasie Principem, et regiam ipsius conjugem, Regiamque Bohemie, flectendi tenellum Regis animum ad sana consilia non medioeri facultate pollere. Scimus quanta meritis gratia apud istorum omnium Serenitates vales : quantumcunque tuæ prudentiæ visum fuerit piissimo huic operi incumbere speramus Dominum in suo die remuneraturum, nos certe gratissima semper mente recognituros pollicemur.

Tui in Domino fratres amantissimi, a Nationali
Synodo Deputati, et, omnium nomine,
ROBERTUS DOUGLASSIUS, *Conventus Moderator.*

Dabantur Edinburgi, pridie Kal.
Martii 1649.

LXXVIII.

BAILLIE'S LETTER TO RIVET.

[A BLANK IS LEFT IN THE MS. FOR THIS LETTER; BUT NO COPY OF IT HAS BEEN DISCOVERED.]

RIVET'S ANSWER TO BAILLIE.

REVERENDO, CLARISSIMO, ET DOCTISSIMO VIRO D. ROBERTO BALÆO,
S. THEOL. D. ET PROFESSORI, ET VERBI DIVINI FIDELI
ADMINISTRO, NUNC INTER NATIONALIS, DELEGATOS
DEGENTI HAGÆ COMITIS, S. P.

REVERENDE VIR, ET MIHI OBSERVANDE IN CHRISTO FRATER,

MEMINI probe quantum debuierim ab octennio, et ultra, humanitati et benevolentię omnium vestrum, quorum Londini confortio et communicatione sum usus, tua imprimis, qua etiam Hagæ Comitum, sed, vobis festinantibus, ad breve tempus sum fruius. Filius meus, qui inter Principis domesticos Hagæ vivit, monuerat quidem venisse ex vestra Scotia delegatos, qui agnitum Regem salutarent, et cum eo agerent de iustis condition-

ibus ei proponendis, ut Regnum apud se inchoaret, et inter eos esse quosdam eximios Dei fervos; sed eorum nomina non mihi indicaverat, alioquin ego te saltem prævenissem, et veterem inter nos consuetudinem renovassem; quod nunc facio, tuis literis, et nostri Spangii fratris & amici conjunctissimi, admonitus. Ego certe, si ab initio accepissem literas, quas a celeberrima Synodo ad me misistis, et credidissem me aliquid posse, ut aliqua ratione negotium vestrum promoverem, nihil me retinisset quo minus ad vos excurrissem, præsertim hac anni fati favente et non incommoda tempestate. Sed cum mihi fuisset nunciatum Celsissimo Principem meum pronum fati ex seipso esse ad res vestras promovendas, et Regi Serenissimo consilia omnia suggerenda quibus flecteretur ut se fidei suorum apud vos subditorum committeret, quod etiam D. Spangii nomine fuerat confirmatum, atque ita apud eum necessarium non esse meum interventum, substiti hic meque ad preces converti, ut Deus vestræ negotiationis eventum ad optatum finem dirigeret. Non sine angore animi intelligo alia prævaluisse consilia, et Regem esse in procinctu, ut ex Gallia in Hiberniam se conferat, et per nos etiam hic brevi iter suum instituat; quæ via mihi videtur ad perniciem Regis et regnorum, reformatæ in illis ecclesiæ, tendere, et indicium esse iram Dei nondum deferbuisset, qui hæc consilia finat prevalere. Vices etiam vestras doleo, et laboriosæ peregrinationis parum felicem successum, nisi quod perceperitis bonorum omnium in his regionibus benevolentiam vestris rebus faventium, sed efficaciam deesse, cum solius Dei sit animos regum inflectere ad meliora consilia. Scribo ad Reverendissimos Synodi vestræ Pastores; eis gratias maximas ago pro suo de me iudicio, et omnia defero quæ a me expectari possunt in communi Ecclesiarum causa, quod apud te, Vir Reverende, iterum profiteor; tibi que, et D. D. Collegis, felicem et faustum ad vestros reditum, et meliorem eventum rerum vestrarum voveo, quam qui expectari debeat a consiliis eorum, qui non solum a carne et sanguine pendent, sed qui, affectibus etiam suis indulgentes, animos gerunt adversus Dei causam exacerbatos, quos vel flectat Deus, vel reprimat. Interim me precibus tuis commendo, et mearum vicissim subsidium vobis promitto, tibi que omnia prospera voveo. Vale.

Tuus omni officio et affectu in Christo,

ANDREAS RIVETUS.

Brædæ Brabantorum, 5 Kal. Junias CIO.IOC.XLIX.

LXXIX.

MEMORANDUM FROM A FRIEND TO REPRESENT TO THE
QUEEN.

[“ This I intended (says Baillie) to have sent with my Lord Percie, but did not being offended with the untowardnes of his discours.”]

1. THAT the King's refusing to take the Covenant, and to give assurance for his consent to ACTS of Parliament, injoining it in England and Ireland, seems destructive to his affaires, for it alienats from him his greateſt ſtrength, the hearts of Scotland and the Presbyterians of England, more than from his Father, who had more impediments with in his owne breaſt to take the Covenant than the King can now have.

2. The Scots and English Covenanters will never forſake that Covenant, nor joyne armes with any of the Anti-Covenanting partie, for any perſuaſion, for any terror, as they love God and their ſoul, and will not be perjured; to this they are fixed.

3. The King's joyning in that Covenant, joines together, for his ſervice, not only the whole Covenanting party in the three Kingdomes, bot alſo the moſt of the Malignant, who have no ſcruple of conſcience to enter in that Covenant, and will have no ſcruple of honour if the King were into it.

4. The uniting of all his ſubjects of the three Kingdomes for the King againſt the Sectaries, is neceſſary, the only viſible meanes for it is his cordiall joyning in that Covenant; his refusing of that meanes is clearly to keep all his friends devyded amongſt themſelves, and to force the moſt of them to ſitt ſtill and doe nothing for him.

5. Upon this diſſatiffaction, the Scots and the English Covenanters ſitting ſtill, the King muſt putt himſelfe upon ſtrangers and his Father's broken party, whoſe firſt ſervice muſt be to overthrow the Presbyterians in the three kingdomes, who gladly would have been ſerviceable friends, but when once their blood is ſhedd by the hands of ſtrangers, and their former enemies the Malignant party, they may turne deſperate. In the meane tyme, the Sectaries gett time to ſettle their new Repnblick.

6. It is believed, generally, that the King's obtinacy comes not from himſelfe, bot his Counſellours, and that they durſt not hold him on ſo apparently destructive wayes, if they had not warrant, and encouragement from ſome other elſewhere.

7. That it is marvelled what can be the true ground of the ſtick. The Popiſh party are no more at all hurt by the Covenant, than by theſe ACTS of Parliament againſt them, to which the King's Father allwayes promiſed his full conſent. The Covenant cannot come near any Papiſt, bot by particulare ACTS of Parliament; and ſuch ACTS can bring all the trouble on them they feare, as much without as with the Covenant.

8. As for the Prælates, the King's father offered ACTS of Parliament to abolifhe their vote in Parliament, to divest them totally of all civill employments; to ſett up Presbytries with them, to put the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction in the Presbytrie, as much as in the Biſhop, their Moderator. Theſe conſeſſions deſtroy whatever argument either his Maſteſtie or the Prelats can bring for keeping up any roote of Epifcopacie, either of honour from former lawes and cuſtomes, or of conſcience from ſcripture: For the legall and alledged ſcripturall Biſhope is offered to be abolifhed, and a new one eſſentially different from the former, a meer ſtranger to England and the world abroad, altogether alſo unſatiffactory to the Covenanters, is urged to be put in his place.

9. See if they be happy and wife Counfellours who will have the King and all his people destroyed for such a necessity as this; and if satisfaction in this point may be obtained, consider if his Majesty's affairs do not require that with all speed, cheerfulness, and fullness, it be offered; how often his gracious concessions by parcells, and out of time, been for no purpose?

1. But it is Objected, The King, by granting this desire of the Scotts, will lose the service of many more than he gains.

Ans. This is a groundless alledgeance. No Scottsman at all will fall off him for the Covenant. All the late ingagers profit ever for it. James Graham's friends also do boast of zeal against Bishops and Ceremonies. None of the English or Irish Protestant nobility or gentry, and very few of the Clergy by their own principles, believe Bishops and Ceremonies to be so necessary, but the Church of England may want them as the rest of the Reformed do, and that the King and Parliament may lawfully lay them aside on the press of smaller inconveniences than now do compass the King and his kingdoms. If any of the Clergy be in another judgement, their number and power is so inconsiderable, that their obstinacy in this needs not be stuck upon. As for the Papists in Ireland, they need be no more offended with the King's joining in the Covenant, than with his assenting, as his Father did, to Acts of Parliament as severe against them as the Covenant. Their offence here is not much to be valued, the King will not employ them, being idolaters, and the most of them guilty of much innocent blood. Howsoever these things may be, let it be considered whether, by taking the Covenant, his Majesty's gaining to his service of Scotland entire, of all the Covenanters in England and Ireland, and so many other, as by his Majesty's example and authority, will be added to them, be a more sensible advantage than by refusing of the Covenant, his keeping these of the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant party, who will in no terms joyne in the Covenant, with the certain loss of all the true Covenanters in the three Kingdoms, who are tied in conscience not to associate in arms or counsels with Anti-Covenanters remaining in that condition.

2. *Object.* His Majesty's conscience is contrary to the matter of the Covenant.

Ans. How can it be so? Shall the King enjoy in Scotland what is against his conscience? But what in the Covenant is against his conscience? The abolition of Popery cannot, for in this he is no more tied to pursue the persons of Papists than his Father and Grandfather, and Queen Elizabeth, were by many Acts of Parliament, neither, any farther than the Oath of Coronation bindeth Kings of England to do, though there were no Covenant for it. Is it the abolition of Prelacy? I hope the King's conscience may be gotten clear from Holy Scripture, that there is no more a necessity for a Bishop in England than in Holland, or any other of the Reformed Churches, who all have laid them aside; his Majesty's Father offered to devoice Bishops of all civil employment, and to joyn with them for ordination and jurisdiction a pref-

byterie. This is to abolifh the legall and alleadged fcripturall Bifhop, and to put up in his place a new Bifhop essentially differing from the former, whofe abolition, not being the fcripturall Bifhop, cannot be againft a rightlie informed confcience, nor againft the honour of the King of England, not being the Bifhop which either the law or cuftomes of England did ever know.

LXXX.

A NOTE INTENDED FOR MYN HEERE WILLEMS.

I EARNESTLIE defyre, fince his Majeftie in his third paper to the States Generall does plainlie declare his refolution to go for Ireland, that the Prince, Princefs Douager, and fome of the States Generall, were dealt with to indeevour, that the States Generall in their anfwers to his Majeftie's defyres, might be pleafed in a friendlie earneftnefs to advyfe his Majeftie much rather to goe to Scotland than Ireland, for fuch reafons as their own wifdomes will eafilie fuggelt; for the prefent thefe come in my minde.

1. His goinge to Ireland now joynes him with the worft part of his fubjects, and declares that his chiefe confidence is in them who, beyde their avowed Poperie, are fo defiled with innocent blood, that ane affociation with them cannot bot be curfed of God, and detefted by all the reft of his good fubjects.

2. This cannot faile to blaft his Majeftie's defignes at the very beginning.

LXXXI.

THE COMMISSION FROM THE ESTATES OF PARLIAMENT.

[Only the Title of this Commission and of the Instructions that follow are contained in Mr. Thomfon's Edition of the Acts of Parliament: *Vide* Vol. VI, pp. 400, 435.]

THE Estates of Parliament being moft defyreous that his Majeftie by his authoritie would joyne and give his Royal affent and concurrence in all things for the good of Religion, his own honour and happinefs, and the welfare of his Kingdomes; and confidering how neceffarie it is that this Kingdome make their speedy addreffes, and render to His Majeftie their faithfull advice in thefe things which are neceffarie and effectually for thefe ends, doe hereby therefore nominate, appoint, and authorize, and give power to the Right Honourable the Earle of Caffills, Earle of Lothian, Laird of Brodie, Laird Libbertone, Sir John Cheefly, Alexander Jaffrey, and William Glendinning, all feven being prefent together, or to anie two of them in cafe of the abfence of the reft, to repaire to the King's Majeftie, for doing, acting, and profecuting every thing which

may tend moſt to the good of Religion, ſettling of the Government, and peace of his Kingdomes, according to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the inſtructions given, or to be given to them, in purſuance of theſe ends, firm and ſtable holding whatſoever ſhall be done by them.

A. JOHNSTON, *Clericus Regiſtri.*

LXXXII.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMISSIONERS OF PARLIAMENT
SENT TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE. MARCH 1649.

Yow ſhall, with all poſſible diligence, repaire to the King's Maſteſtie, deliver our letter, ſhow your commiſſion, and tell the true reaſones and excuſes of your not coming ſooner to his Maſteſtie.

Yow ſhall ſhew his Maſteſtie, that as this Kingdome was not wanting in their faithfull counſells to his Royall Father, for preventing the dangers which were then feared, and have ſince, to our great grief, fallen out; ſo did they, with all care and faithfullneſs, contribute their utmoſt endeavors for the preſervation of their late Sovereigne, as their letters, inſtructions, declarations, and their Commiſſioners papers witneſs.

Yow ſhall ſhew his Maſteſtie with what unanimitie, alacritie, diligence, and ſolemnitie, the Parliament did acknowledge him King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland.

Yow ſhall ſhew his Maſteſtie that his Father's oppoſition to the Covenant and work of Reformation was the chiefe cauſe of his and theſe Kingdomes troubles.

Yow ſhall ſhew his Maſteſtie how unacceptable the enemies and oppoſers of the Covenant and Reformation are to his Kingdome.

Yow ſhall communicate to his Maſteſtie the Act of the date of the 7th of February inſtant, as that which contains the neceſſarie ſatiſfaction which is deſyred and expected from his Maſteſtie by this Kirk and Kingdome, for ſecureing religion and the peace of the kingdome, and for gaining, not only the outward obedience, bot alſo the inward affection of all his good people to his Royall perſon, authoritie, and government, after ſo great diſtractions and troubles, and notwithstanding the appearance and apprehenſion of new ſturrs and dangers; lykewiſe yow ſhall, by all the good reaſones which yow can thinke upon, endeavour to perſuade his Maſteſtie to give the ſatiſfaction deſyred heartilie and ſpeedilie.

If his Maſteſtie ſhall ſhew his willingneſs and reſolution to give the ſatiſfaction deſyred in the ſaid Act, and to make the ſame known to the Parliament here, and to the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, yow ſhall in our name invite his Maſteſtie to come to his kingdome of Scotland, and aſſure his Maſteſtie, that he ſhall be received and entertained with all ſafetie, freedome, and honour, duty and reſpect, which can be demanded or expect.

ed by a gracious King from contented subjects, who are tied to him by so many bonds and oaths.

If his Majestie upon these grounds resolve to come hither, his Majestie would be pleased to leave all these persons who were excluded by the Propositions of both Kingdomes, or against [whom] this Kingdome hath just cause of exception; and declare, that he will in matters civill, follow the counsell of his Parliament, and such as are or shall be authorized by them. and in matters ecclesiastick, the counsell of the Generall Assemblie, and of such as are or shall be authorized by them.

Yow shall deliver our letters to the Queen of Bohem, to the Prince of Orange, and to the Princess Royal; and yow shall desyre them to interpose, and make use of their assistance to move the King to give satisfaction as is above specified.

Yow shall likewise deliver our letter to the Estates of Holland, and shew how sensible we are of their kinde respects to our King, and our desyres to entertaine all friendship and amitie with them; and you shall deal both with the Prince of Orange and them for a safe and honourable convoy to his Majestie to this Kingdome.

Yow shall shew his Majestie the great dangers, and irreparable losses which most inevitably ensue upon his delay or refusal of the foresaid desyres; for by delay his enemies will be encouraged and strengthened, and the people be forced to couch under the burdens, and submit to their yoke, despairing of any meanes of reliefe or deliverance, and then the redresse will be more difficult, and opportunities once lost cannot be recovered. The neglect of opportunities which were frequently offered, and not taken hold on by his Royall Father, (as may be evidently instanced,) was the chiefe cause of his and the kingdomes troubles, and proved sad and fatal at last.

And the sooner his Majestie begins to move that way which may be acceptable to God and good men, and offer to settle religion and peace, and upon these grounds claime the right of his Government, before Democracy, or any new modell of Government under the name of an agreement of the people, or any other name or devyce be settled or take root; it will be more easie to maintaine Monarchicall Government, than to repeal and cast out any new forme of Government, after it is once established, and the people habituated thereto. And if now, when by the power and prevalencie of Sectaries, and the armie in England, that Kingdome is subdued and almost lost, and Ireland in very great distraction, his Majestie shall delay or refuse to satisfie the desyres of the Kingdome of Scotland, especiallie concerning Religion and the Covenant, which is the strongest bond to tie subjects to their King, it will weaken all who love Religion and Government in England and Ireland, and will wholly discharge [discourage] and disable Scotland to doe for him, and constraine them in such an extremitie to resolve upon some effectuall course by the Parliament to preserve Religion and the Kingdome from ruine and distraction.

And his Majestie's granting of the foresaid Desyres, will so farr indeare him to this

Nation, and assure their affection and duties to him, as they will not only receive him with all thankfullness, and most willinglie render to him that subjection and dutiefull obedience which can be expected from loyall subjects to their King, bot lykewife to contribute their utmost endeavors by all necessarie and lawfull meanes according to the Covenant, and the dutie of loyall and faithfull subjects, that his Majestie may be restored to the peaceable possession of the Government of his other Kingdomes, according to his undoubted right of succession; and as his Majestie's coming in the Covenant with God and his people for settling religion, is the surest foundation of a weell-grounded peace, so it will certainly be the best and the most effectual way to establishe his Throne in righteoufnesse.

Yow shall concurre with, and be assisting to the Commissioners of the Church, in pursuance of their Instruccioncs, taking their advyce also in manageing of your's, especially in these things relating to Religion.

If the King's Majestie be willing to give satisfaction to this Kingdome, yow shall desire him to recall all Commissions issued forth for acting any thing by sea or land, to the prejudice of the Covenant or this Kingdome, or the prejudice of any who doe or shall adhere to the Solemne League and Covenant, and Monarchical Government in any of his other Kingdomes.

LXXXIII.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CHURCH, OF
THEIR PROCEEDINGS WITH HIS MAJESTY AT THE HAGUE,
MADE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, JULY 10TH 1649.

[The Commissioners, on their return from the Hague in July 1649, presented a Report to the Parliament, and also to the General Assembly, containing copies of the several Papers interchanged with Charles the Second in the course of their negotiations. Most of these papers and letters are included in Baillie's Manuscript; but they were published officially at the time under the following title:—

“The Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland with his Majestie at the Hague, and the Papers interchanged betwixt his Majestie and them, as they were Reported in Parliament and the General Assembly. Appointed by Authority to be published. Edinburgh, printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie, 1649.” 4to, pp. 30. There is also an edition reprinted the same year at London, 4to, pp. 27. The first portion, or the Report to Parliament, may be found in Mr. Thomson's edition of the Acts of Parliament of Scotland, Vol. VI. pp. 451–459. The other portion containing the Report of the Church Commissioners, in which Baillie was more immediately concerned, is here subjoined.]

REPORT, &c.

As We were commanded by the Commission of the Church, we made ready with all the speed we could for our voyage to Holland. According to your prayers, the good hand of our God brought us safe through the sea. On Tuesday March 27, we made our first addressees to his Majesty, we delivered our Letters and Commission, expressing in our speech, according to our Instructions, the deep sense and grief of this Church for his Majesties afflictions, their detestation of the principles and proceedings of the Secretaries in England, their constant affection to Monarchie, and most hearty desires for the blessing of God upon his Majesties person and government. All this was well taken from us, and we were courteously dismissed, to return when we thought fit with our Propositions.

The Commission's Letter was as foloweth :—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WHILE the Parliament of this Kingdom are making their [humble] addressees to your Majesty by their Commissioners, We thought it our duty to send some of our number also instructed with Commission from us, by whom your Majesty may understand the integrity of our intentions towards Monarchicall Government, and the continuance thereof in your Majesties person and posterity, and our utter detestation of these abominable and unparalleled practises of some against the Person of your Majesty's Father, and their subverting the ancient and fundamentall Lawes and Government of these Kingdomes. Our humble and earnest petition to your Majesty is, That you would be pleased to grant the desires of your loyall subjects, who sincerely seek the establishment of your throne in righteoufness; and as you love the glory of God, the good of religion, your own honour and happines, and the peace and welfare of these kingdoms, you would not hearken to the counsells, nor countenance, or own the courses of them who have been, and are usurpers upon the priviledges, and disturbers of the peace of this Kirk and Kingdom. Our Commissioners will acquaint your Majesty more fully with our minde, unto whom we humbly desire your Majesty may give credit, and interpret our freedom and plain dealing by them, as a reall testimony of our unfained affection to your Majesty's person and government. We have hitherto laboured to approve our selves in all fidelity to our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and in all loyalty to Kingly authority; and we are resolved to walk still after the same rule, in our severall stations and vocations, amidst all the difficulties and oppositions wherewith we are assaulted on either hand. Praying for your Majesty, that the Lord of the whole earth would multiply all sorts of mercies upon your Royall person, and graciously incline your young and tender heart unto the speedy embracing and following of the counsells of truth and righteouf-

neffe, and grant unto your Majestie a long and happy reign, that we may live under you, a peaceable and quiet life in all Godlineſſe and honeſtie, who are

Your Majestie's loyall and loving Subjects, and humble Servants
in the Lord, the Commissioners of the General Assembly,

[And in our name, and at our command.]

Mr. R. DOUGLASS, Moderator.]

Edinburgh, March 1, 1649.

Before we offered any of our desires, we thought it convenient to assay the putting away of that which we feared might prove obstructive to all our intentions: Before our coming, that unhappy and curst man James Graham had been sent for, and too well entertained by these of the English Council, who left affected our Covenant, and all the late proceedings of our Nation: Our first Paper therefore on Fryday, March 30, was for the removal of this evill man from his Majestie's presence and Court. The Commissioners of Parliament had desired the same before, the first answer they got was but dilatory: we conceived it the more necessary for us to joyne with the same their desire again: our Petition was in these terms:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

ACCORDING TO OUR COMMISSION, we do represent in the name of the Kirk of Scotland their earnest desire, that such as lie under the censure of Excommunication may be discountenanced by your Majesty, and removed from your Court; especially James Graham late Earle of Montrose, being a man most justly, if ever any, cast out of the Church of God. It hath been the custom of Christian Princes in all places and times, to maintain so far the discipline of all Churches which themselves did protect by their laws, as (according to the order of Christ) to decline the familiar conversing with every one whom the highest censure of excommunication made as Ethnicks and Publicans. Your Majesty's walking in any other way would be contrary to the rules of Scripture, to the practise of these Princes whose gracious examples will be your Majesty's most wholesome patterns, and would certainly give a great stroak to all the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, which your Majesty's Royall Grandfather by many of his laws, and your Royall Father in his Parliament of Scotland 1640, hath expressly ratified, and we trust your Majesty will never intend to alter: least of all at this time, in the hopeful beginning of your reign: for gratifying of a person, upon whose head lies more innocent blood, then for many yeers hath done on the head of any one, the most bloody murderer in our Nation.

We hope for so much mercie from our God, that his gracious Spirit shall incline your Majesty's heart to give us just satisfaction in all our necessary desires, that the cordiall union of your Majesty with your people, so much longed for on all hands, may with all

speed be fully accomplished: And that this cursed man, whose scandalous carriage, pernicious counsell, and contagious company, cannot fail (so long as he remains in his obstinate impenitencie) to dishonour, and pollute all companies, and provoke the anger of the most high God against all places of his familiar access; shall not be permitted by your Majestie to stand any longer in the entry of our hopes, to our great discouragement and fear, left by his guilt, example, and acting, all the humble desires and wholsom counsels which we are intrusted with, should be obstructed and frustrate.

Friday March 30, 1649.

CASSILS. ROBERT BAILLIE.
GEORGE WYNRAM. JAMES WOOD.

His Majestie's Return to us both was in this Paper.

I do insit upon my former Answer, and do desire and expect that you do deliver all the Propositions or Desires you or any of you are entrusted to present to me, before I make an answer to any particular one, being resolved to consider of the whole, before I declare my resolution upon any part.

April 10. N. Stil. 1649.

C. R.

We took it for no good preface, that notwithstanding all we could doe by ourselves, or by others, this man remained still in our way, as an open enemy to all our designs; also that his Majestie's answer to us was put in one paper, and was altogether the same with his answer to the Commissioners of Parliament, without any direction either to them or us, expressing his acknowledgement of our capacity as Commissioners; yet having obtained the King's promise of a satisfactory answer in reason, to that our first Petition, so soon as the rest of our propositions were given in; and judging his Majestie's receiving of our message, and answering of all our papers without any quarrelling of our Commission, whereof in every paper we made expresse mention, to be a reall acknowledgement of us as Commissioners from the Church; and not being instructed to break off all treaty at the beginning, upon dissatisfaction in such things, as the Commissioners of Parliament, so we also thought fit to proceed.

The main things we were instructed to propose to his Majestie, were the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, the Solemne League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, the Propositions for Presbyteriall Government, the two Catechismes, as they were agreed unto by the Generall Assembly and Parliament of Scotland. These six peeces we did bind together in a book, and delivered them to his Majesty, speaking somewhat to the matter of every one of them, and entreating that his Majesty would be pleased to read and peruse them all, what ever scruple might arise in his mind from any of them, we offered our best endeavours to

fatiffie him therein ; But our poftive defires concerning thefe particulars, we gave in on Thursday, April 1⁵, in this Paper.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WEE the Commiffioners of the Church of Scotland, hoping for an answer fatiffactory in reafon to our firft paper, according to your Majeftie's gracious promife, do go on according to our Commiffion, to fignifie, in the name of that Church, that after their hearty prayer to God, for his bleffing on your royall perfon and government ; It is their moft earneft defire that it may be your Majeftie's pleafure to give them affurance, under your hand and feale, of your approbation of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, fubfcribed by your Royall Grandfather, approved and enjoyned by your Royall Father in the Parliament of Scotland, 1640. And of the Solemn League and Covenant, which now, for divers years, the Parliaments, and Generall Affemblies of Scotland, the two Houfes of the Parliament of England, and the Affembly of [Dyvines at] Weftminfter, after long and ferious deliberation, have unanimoufly found to be the beft and neceffary means of fetling Religion, of eftablifhing the Throne, and bringing back profperity to your Majefty, and all your three now lamentably diftrefsed Kingdomes ; alfo of the Directory of Worfhip, Confefion of Faith, Catechifme, and Prefbyteriall Government of the Church, agreed upon, according to the Word of God, by the Affembly of Divines at Weftminfter, and the Generall Affemblies of the Church of Scotland : the copies of all which we did, the other day, deliver to your Majefty. Likewise that your Majefty would be pleafed to fubfcribe the Nationall Covenant, with the Solemn League and Covenant, and give your royall affent to fuch ACTS of the Parliament of Scotland as fhall be offered to your Majefty, for the eftablifhing and enjoyning of the premifes in Scotland, and to fuch ACTS of Parliament as fhall be offered by the two Houfes of the Parliament of England, for the eftablifhing and enjoyning the fame in England and Ireland ; and in the mean time, that your Majefty would be pleafed to lay afide the ufe of the Service Book, and conform the worfhip of God in your Royall Family to the Directory. We are fully perfwaded that your Majeftie's cordiall joyning with your loving fubjects in thefe means of advancing the honour of God and true religion, fhall procure from heaven the Lord's powerful affiftance, to bring your Majefty and your people out of the great tribulations and dangers wherein both for the prefent are plunged. We are alfo confident that your Majeftie's granting thefe moft humble and earneft defires fhall be a chief and effectuall mean to knit to your Majefty, in all duty, the hearts of all your good fubjects, not in Scotland alone, but every where elfe, and fhall loefe to your Majefty none at all, who either loves the truth of God, or minds your Majeftie's happineffe above their own particular unjuft interefts.

April 1⁵.

CASSILS. ROBERT BAILLIE.
LIBBERTON. JAMES WOOD.

Upon Friday the day following we received from his Majesty this short Return.

C. R.

April 16.

I DESIRE, for the reasons mentioned in my former papers, to know whether the last papers I received from you contain the full demands and propositions you or any of you have to make in reference to Church or State, and if not, that then you deliver what remains, that I may consider of the whole, and proceed accordingly.

April 16, 1649.

To this on the Satterday we made this Reply.

UNTO the paper delivered to us by your Majesty this day, we doe make this humble return, that the last your Majesty received from us the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, doth contain the substance of all we have to demand of your Majesty, the grant whereof will make any other humble advice we are to propone most easie. What the Commissioners of Parliament have to deliver in reference to the State, we leave it wholly to themselves, they being in a commission and capacity altogether distinct from that which we have from the Church alone.

April $\frac{7}{17}$, 1649.

CASSILS.

R. BAILLIE.

LIBBERTON.

JAMES WOOD.

The dayes thereafter, his Majesty and the Commissioners of Parliament interchanged divers papers about points of State, wherein we had no place to meddle; in the mean while we were not idle, but went about our instructions, both by conferences with his Majesty, and by frequent dealing with divers persons of quality whom we conceived to have ability or any opportunity to promote with his Majesty the grant of our desires; Also by answering sometimes even in print, a multitude of calumnies wherewith our malignant enemies, with much artifice and malice, did labour to poison the eares of his Majesty and all about him against our Church and Kingdome.

But finding time to drive over, and no answer according to our mind appearing, we gave in on May $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{8}{8}$, the following Writ.

UPON the $\frac{5}{15}$ th of April, We, the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, did in their name present their humble and earnest desires of these things, which they conceived necessary for the security of religion, for the establishment of your Majestie's throne, and for putting of them in a confident expectation of the Lord's blessing upon your Majestie's Government; since that time we have been alwayes wayting, and often humbly moving for an answer; but as yet none at all is given, we cannot conceal, but so long a delay hath affected us with griefe, so much the more as your Majesty hath

declared your resolution to be gone from this on Thursday next, which makes the time we have to consider what your Majesty shall be pleased to offer very short. Wherefore with all humility and earnestness we doe supplicate that without the losse of more time, 'now at last we may have so gracious and satisfactorie a return to our former papers, as may make us leave your Majesty with joy, and carry home to them who have sent us, matter of praise to God for inclining your heart towards these their counsels: which are most likely to procure to your Majesty and all your dominions, an happy deliverance from all their present distresses.

May $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{8}{9}$, 1649.

CASSILLS. Ro. BAILLIE.
LIBBERTON. JA. WOOD.

Hereby we obtained from his Majesty, May $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{9}{9}$, this Answer.

I HAVE considered the severall Papers and Propositions, delivered to me by you, and do assure you, that I desire nothing more, then that I may entirelie unite the hearts and affections of all my good subjects of Scotland to me, and amongst themselves als well for the honor, peace, and prosperitie of that Kingdom, as that they may joyntly and unanimously assist me, in the revenge of that horrid and impious murder of my Father, and the recoverie of my just rights in my other Dominions, (to which they are equally engaged by the laws of God and of that Kingdom;) and to the obtaining of such an Union, I will consent to all that in conscience and honour I may, without imposing on my other Kingdoms. As first I will maintain, confirm, and defend the Government, Ecclesiastical and Civill, of Scotland, as is settled by law, and the ancient known laws of that Kingdom, as likewise all such Acts of Parliament as have been actually consented unto by the King my Father, being personally present in Parliament, or by his Commissioners lawfully authorized by him; and particularlie, the laws concerning the National Covenant, the Confession of Faith, and Presbyteriall Government of that Church; touching that part of the League and Covenant which concerneth my other Kingdoms of England and Ireland, it is not in my power justly to take any resolution therein, without the advice of my respective Parliaments of these Kingdoms, by whose advice and consent onely, lawes are there to be made and altered, neither can I consent to any thing which shall oppose or disturb the Peace lately concluded in Ireland, but I am very willing to refer the full consideration of the said League and Covenant, and of all the other particulars you mention (as to England) to a free Parliament to be convened there by my writ, as soon as the condition of that Kingdom will permit me so to do, by whose advice I am resolved to govern myself therein; in the mean time, as I am very ready to do all that is in my power to the safe and quiet protection of my people in Scotland, under the benefit of the laws of that Kingdom, as likewise further to gratifie them in all that may

really tend to their welfare; so I shall expect that obedience and duty from them in the exercise of my Royall power, as is due to me by their allegiance, to which they submitting, and for the burying all bitternesse and animosities which the former distractions and divisions may have produced, and the better effecting the happy union before mentioned, I am very willing and desirous to consent to any Act of Oblivion and Indemnity to all persons of what condition soever of that Kingdom of Scotland, excepting onely such persons, (if any such there be, in or of that Kingdom,) that shall hereafter, upon sufficient and due evidence in a lawfull tryal, be found actually and expressly guilty of that late, unparalleld, horrid act, of the murther of their late Sovereign. And if it shall appear unto me, that the League and Covenant containeth any thing in it not comprised in these Acts concerning the Nationall Covenant, and Presbyteriall Government of the Church of Scotland, and necessarily to the welfare of the said Church and Kingdom, without reference to England or Ireland; I shall, upon the first settling of such an Union, and the passing of such an Act of Oblivion as is before mentioned, apply myself to give full satisfaction therein. Passionately desiring to remove all occasions of misunderstanding between myself and all my good subjects of that my Kingdom of Scotland; and what is not particularly answered at this time, shall be supplied by an express, whom I will dispatch into Scotland as soon as convenientlie I can.

May $\frac{1}{2}^{\frac{9}{9}}$ 1649.

CHARLES REX.

OUR grief for this Paper was great, it was much worse then any thing we expected; not only the hand of the worst of the English counsell, but of James Graham also, and others of our evil Countrymen, was visible therein; we resolved to give unto it this plain Reply.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,

WE the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, having considered your Majestie's Paper of May $\frac{1}{2}^{\frac{9}{9}}$, given to us in answer of all our former, must in conscience of our duty with all humility make known to your Majesty, that to our great grief, we find it in many the chiefest points of our desires very unsatisfactory. Unto our first paper, for discountenancing excommunicate persons, to which a satisfactory answer in reason was promised, nothing at all is said. To our other desires no proper return is made unto us, but we are sent to gather it here and there out of your Majestie's Answer to the Commissioners of Parliament; wherein, though we find some things returned to their desires which they had common with us, yet the most part thereof runneth upon matters of State, wherewith our condition permits us not to meddle: but rather then to goe away without all further conference, we are willing, in obedience to your Majestie's desire, to consider what in that writing we conceive may have any reference to our Propositions.

We blesse God that your Majesty assures us you will maintain, confirm, and defend

the Ecclesiastick Government of Scotland as it is settled by law; and particularly, these laws which concern the Nationall Covenant, Confession of Faith, and Presbyteriall Government of our Church: their blame must be the greater, who have been authors to your Majesty, to give so frequent, open, and familiar access to James Graham, most solemnly and justly excommunicate by that Church: which thing cannot but be thought, as it is indeed, a great violation of the Ecclesiastick Government. To our desire in the matter of our Nationall Covenant; that as your Grandfather by his own hand, and your Father by the hand of his Commissioner, had subscribed it, so your Majesty would be pleased to subscribe the same; no answer at all is given. But our prime dissatisfaction is, that what we petitioned concerning the Directory, Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and approved by the General Assembly and Parliament of Scotland, Catechismes and Propositions for Government is clearly denied; and our greatest desire about the Solemn League and Covenants fully frustrate. The Covenant itself is broken in pieces, some parts are avowedly laid aside, the other parts are refused to be taken unto consideration till they be proven, first not to be comprised in the Acts concerning the Nationall Covenant, and Presbyterial Government of the Church of Scotland, next that they are necessary to the welfare both of the Church and Kingdom, and thirdly, that they have no reference either to England or Ireland. When all this is made to appear, an Act of Oblivion of all that James Graham and his complices, or any other have done during all the time of these sad distractions, must be past, and a union with all these men must be fully settled, before your Majesty do so much as apply yourself to give any satisfaction in these things.

Such an Answer we know cannot fail to grieve the whole Church of Scotland, and all their Covenanted Brethren in England and Ireland; who, under the pain of most solemn perjury, stand bound to God, and one to another, to live and die in that Solemn League and Covenant, as the chief and necessary security of their religion and liberties: which the popish, prelaticall, and malignant faction, by their pernicious counsels and actions, now of a long time have been overturning, and to this day continue diligent in promoting to their power that their destructive designe. We marvel how any can object conscience or honour against your Majesty's granting to us what we desire in the Covenant for securing the Protestant Religion, who have themselves been counsellors and perswaders, that your Majesty, without all scruple either of conscience or honour, should conclude, subscribe, and seal, antecedently to, and without any Parliament, yea contrary to all the Parliaments of England these hundred years, a libertie of the Popish Religion to the bloody rebels of Ireland.

Your Majesty would be pleased to consider, that any relation these things we desire may have to England, hindereth them not to be lawful Acts of the Generall Assembly of Scotland, legally ratified by the Parliaments of that Kingdom; which, when your Majesty does approve, nothing is imposed upon England, since their own Houses of Parlia-

ment and Assembly of Divines did not only act the same things, but in all their treaties with the King and with Scotland, for divers years together did earnestly presse them. Your Majestie's Father, in his last message to the Commission of our Church, did offer to ratifie the Solemn League and Covenant for all that had taken it, or should take it in any of the three Kingdoms, and in his last treaty with the English Commissioners in the Isle of Wight did, as we are informed, offer to confirm the Directory, Presbyterial Government, and what else was required for Religion in England and Ireland, ever till he and his Parliament should agree upon a settled order for the Church. We do not conceive what in this Covenant can stumble your Majestie. The abolition of Episcopacy and of the Service-Book your Majestie maintains, confirms, and defends in Scotland: the duty done with a good conscience and allowance of God in Scotland cannot be against conscience, nor offend God in England: no Reformed Church, no Protestant Divine out of England, did ever esteem Episcopacie or Liturgie necessary: All Scotland, the most of England, the best part of Ireland, do judge the abolition of Popery of Prelacie, of Liturgie, and joyning in a Covenant for that end, a necessary duty. Your Majestie, and all the world may see, to the very great grief of our soul, the wrath of the Lord burning like a flame, no better mean know we to quench it, then for your Majestie to be humbled under his mighty hand, to seek and relie on his favour, to be zealous for advancing his affairs, to establish the Solemn League and Covenant, to provoke him no more by holding up in his House, against the hearts of all the orthodox abroad, and of the godly at home, humane inventions borrowed from Rome, most unhappy to Britain. No mean in our judgement is comparable to this, for opening the armes and hearts of your best people to embrace your Majestie's person, to second, with their lives and estates, all your just desires, to imploy, with chearfulnesse, their whole strength to settle you upon all your thrones. The refusing thereof, we are perswaded, will be displeasing to God, will discourage and discontent extremly all your Covenanted Subjects, who otherwise are most cordially affected to your Majestie's service, may tempt you to alliances with idolaters, to a dependence upon strangers, to a course of cruell persecution against your best subjects, will be pleasant to none but to such as are your Majestie's mortall enemies, who cannot but accompt it the joyfullest news that can come to them; or to such as, whatsoever be their pretences or true intentions, yet by their counsells and actions, more then any other men living, do serve the designs and advance the work of the Sectaries at Westminster and Derby-house for ruining your Majestie and us all.

Our desire to be faithful to our Master in Heaven, and to be answerable to the trust we have from the Church that has sent us, the tendernes of our hearts towards the more and more distressed condition of your Majestie and your Kingdoms, have made us bold to lay out these our free, loving, and loyall thoughts at your Majestie's feet, expecting your Majestie will be pleased to review our former Papers, and yet grant us such a

fatiffactory return as may fend us home rejoycing, and make us be received for our glad tydings with praife to God, with bleffings upon your Majestie, and confident expectation of a speedy change in the face of affairs in all your Dominions.

May 23 } 1649.
June 2 }

CASSILLS. R. BAILLIE.
LIBBERTON. J. A. WOOD.

Hereunto we received from his Majestie this last Answer.

I AM much unfatiffed with your Papers of the first and second of this month, in answer to mine of the 29 of May, finding by them that my reall endeavour to give all just fatiffaction to my good subjects of Scotland are undervalued, and misinterpreted; and observing in them several inferences, opposing the natural sense and true intent of what I have proposed, with most intire intentions for the good of that Church and Kingdom, and unseasonably stirring uselesse questions, neither properly arising out of any thing contained in any of the former Papers, nor conducing to the common peace: But neither these nor any discouragements shall prevail with me to omit any thing that may tend to the peace and happiness of all my good subjects of Scotland, to which I shall most affectionately, to my utmost power, (upon all occasions,) apply myself, according to the duty which I owe to the Almighty God, in the exercise of my Royall power for the good of my people; in order whereunto I shall, with convenient speed, fend you by the Express mentioned in my last Paper, the more particular answer I then promised: I shall likewise more fully express myself concerning the new matter contained in these Papers, and shall particularize, what I now complain of in them. In the mean time, I expect and require from all my subjects of Scotland, such obedience as is due to me their King, by the laws of God, of Nature, and of that Kingdom.

C. R.

To this we thought fit to make no Return in writ.

We did indeed expect, by the assistance of the Prince of Orange, whose constant friendship we felt all the time of our abode there, and by the industry of some Noblemen of our Nation, to whom, for their affectionate service to us in our negotiation, we counted ourselves not a little obliged: by the Lord's blessing we say on their labours, we expected towards the time of our return a better and more satisfactory Answer; but his Majesty, as we heard, being resolved before he made any conclusion to speak with the Queen his Mother, and to fend an express hither with more of his minde; we kissed his hands, and took our leave in discomfort and grief, yet not without some hope, certainly with most earnest desires, that the promised Express may bring to us much more matter of satisfaction and joy, then for the time we have any warrant to speak of.

We have but one thing further to give an account of: The Commission did write with us to the Reverend Divines Doctor Rivet and Dr. Spanheim: Dr. Spanheim received his letter, but before he did answer, the Lord, to our grief and the very great regrate of all the Churches abroad, did end the pilgrimage of that truly eminent, and now much desiderat divine. Doctor Rivet's abode was not at the Hague as we expected, but in Breda: we thought it a pitty, in his extream old age, to put him to the pains of so long a journey as from Breda to the Hague; but we had his best affections and prayers going along with us in all our desires, as he signified to us in his private letters, and as, we suppose, he doth express in this to the Assembly, which here we present.

CASSILLS. ROBERT BAVLIE.
GEO. WYNRAME. JAMES WOOD.

Edinburgh, 10. July 1649. Ante meridiem, Sess. VI.

THE General Assembly, having taken in serious consideration the Report of the Travells and Proceedings of the Commissioners sent to his Majesty, presented by them this day, together with the Commission and Instructions which were given unto them, doe find by the Report, that they have been very diligent and faithfull in the discharge of the Trust committed to them; and therefore, do unanimously Approve of their carriage, and return them hearty thanks for their great pains and travells in that Employment.

A. KER.

LXXXIV.

LETTERS FROM GEORGE WYNRAME OF LIBBERTON,

[Orig. Wodrow MSS. Fol. Vol. xxv. Nos. 61, 62, 74.—Wynrame was admitted Advocate 20th December 1620. In public life, he first distinguished himself by undertaking to convey to London the Supplication of the General Assembly in 1638, justifying to the King their proceedings in having abolished Episcopacy; (vol. i. p. 187.) During the following years he was confidentially employed by the Covenanters in various important affairs. In February 1649, he was appointed Colonel of one of the regiments raised in the County of Edinburgh; and in March that year he was one of the Commissioners from the Estates of Scotland sent to Charles the Second at the Hague. On his return, 22d June, he was admitted a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Libberton. Wynrame again visited Holland towards the close of 1649, as the bearer of letters from the Estates to Charles, urging him to comply with their requests. In March 1650, he was a third time deputed by Parliament, in conjunction with the Earl of Cassillis and other Commissioners, to conclude the Treaty with the King at Breda. Lord Libberton was present at the battle of Dunbar

in September 1650, and was there so severely wounded, as to occasion his death within eight days after that disastrous event. (Balfour's Hist. Works, vol. iv. p. 98. Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice. p. 341.)]

No. 1.

Rotterdam, wltimo Octob. 1649.

RIGHT REVEREND,

ALTHO I had not the happines to se yow at my pairting, I know ye will neither forgett the worke nor the unworthy inſtrument that is [in] employment: and I beg it of yow. I know ye will ſie all, and theirfor I ſhall only tell yow how much the Aſſembles Declaratione ſticks with the Engadgers, that they ſay, (with all humble ſubmiſſione to the Kirk of Scotland,) they can not ſubſcryue that, wnales they will proclame themſelues perjured traitours: and wnales ſomething be done in relatione to them, it will be impoſſible to expect ane accomodatione with the King. S^r. think wpon it. I can not conceall frome yow alſo, that the Prince of Orange ſayes he is informed, in Scotland the young miniſters are putting out the old. And believe it, Mr. Will. Colwill's comming hither will doe much hurte: tho I hear, the man is very moderate, thunes the company of Engadgers, and will doe nothing to ſtrengthen their hands. He preaches heir, and if he will embrace it, can not want a call longe. I hear he ſpeaks with a great deall of ſubmiſſioun of, and prayes earneſtly for the Kirk of Scotland.

S^r. their is hopes that the King will acknoledge the Parl. and deiyre a treaty: which, if he doe, I am perſwaded it will be your care to ſtudy ſoe much moderatione as ye ar able, with ſaftey to Religioun and the Couenant: wnales his Ma. get ſatiſſactione in ſome things, they will ſuffer him to die in miſery, and we will haue no ſettled peace. The Engadgers ſay it is hard that more is craued of them then all Jas. Grahame's complices. God willing, ye ſhall hear more nixt week frome your affectionat ſeruand,

GEO. WYNNAME.

For the Right Reuerend Maſter ROBERT DOUGLAS,
Miniſter at Ed^r.

No. 2.

RIGHT REVEREND,

IF I ſould follow myne owne inclinaciones I wold trouble yow more at every ocaſione then were fitting in regard of your employment. I know ye ar not a louer of repetitions, therefore I muſt refer yow to my Lo. Chan^{rs} and Regiſter's letters. The bearer will acquaint yow with all particulars paſſages. S^r. now is the tyme to pray that the Lord wold prevent the King with his tender merceis, for indeede he is brought very low; when he hes not bread both for himſelfe and his ſeruands, and betuixt him and his

brother not ane English shilling; and worse yet, if I durst wryte it. I am confident no ingenious spirite will tak advantage of his necessiteis; but for all this, (as I haue heard yow aduise them to deal with [his] Father,) wfe him princely. France is neither able nor willing to helpe him: The Prince of Orange hes suffered not a little for his Father and himselfe, till he is forced to alienate the most considerable thing of his ancient patrimony: Scotland is neir exhausted; soe that his case is very deplorable, being in prison where he is liuing in penurie, forounded be his enemeis, not able to liue any where ells in the world, wnales he would come to Scotland, by giuing them satisfaccione to their iust demandis; yet his pernicious and deuillish Counsell will suffer him to starue before they will suffer him to take the League & Covenant. I am persuaded no ratioll man can thinke he will come y^t length at first; but if he could once be extricate frome his wicked Counsell, their might be hope. If a treaty be effectuat, much will depend wpon the persons; and I know yow, Sr, so well, as I am persuaded it will be your study to pointe at thees who will not make the buffines desperate. But I persuade myselfe it will be the wisdom and piety of the Commissione to send such as may gaine the King by the spirit of meiknes, and not such as say their is no helpe for him in God. But i fear I haue gone to farr, and that my affectione haue made me stretch myselfe beyond my lyne. I fall only intreat the continuance of your prayers and good opinione, which are highly esteimed be

Your affectionat seruand,

Campveer, 9ber, 18-8, 1649.

GEO. WYNAME.

SIR, I fall entreat that thees may remember my loue and seruice to all friendis, and to Mr. Baillie, with whome, (as I hear,) the King is very angry for some passages in his booke, especially one concerning himselfe; and if I can doe yow any seruice in the paires where I goe to, I hope ye will use freidome with me.

For the Right Reuerend Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS,
Minister at Ed^r.

No. 3.

RIGHT REVEREND,

I KNOW ye ar particularly informed of all that hes past from other hands, yet I can not lett this bearer goe without a lyne. Ye will parceave be the papers sent yow what length the King is come in his concessiones; and his Ma^{ty} hes faithfully promised to perfyte them at their sight who represent Church and State, in tyme and place convenient. All of ws ar fully persuaded of his ingenuity and suet dispoitione: he can not be persuaded to dissemble, tho no small indutrie haue bein usit to persuad him to it. And when ye consider his educatione, and what counsellors ar about him, both for his conscience and affaires, and what doctrine is taught to his face, that if he subcyrue the Covenant,

he is not only guyltie of his Father's murther, but can not eschew damnatione; especially be our countrieman Crichtoun, whome old Ruthen did chyde bitterly, faying, it was a strange thing that he could not preach and hold his tongue.

Canterstein is come from Suedland to attend this Treaty, and promifeth, in his Mafter's name, all assistance for a happy agriement; which ye will perceau more fully be the letter to the Parl^t.

S^t, I will not trouble yow with needles repetitions, but refer yow to my other letters, which I know will be communicate wnto yow. This much I dar positively affirme, that when the Lord fall bring the King to Scotland, (which he passionatly defyres,) it fall be no greiff of hearte wnto yow, that ye was infrumentall in this addresse; and I hope ye will then say that ye haue not been deceaued be

Your affectionat seruant,

Breda, Aprill $\frac{5}{2}$ $\frac{0}{0}$ 1650.

G. WYNRAME.

For the Right Reuerend Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS,
Moderator of the Commission of the
Generall Asssembly.

LXXXV.

LETTER FROM KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

[Orig—Wodr. MSS. Fol. Vol. XXV, No. 48. This letter to Mr. Robert Douglas, may be considered as containing the first overture to the Treaty of Breda. It is entirely in the King's hand, and is dated Jersey, 15-5 February 1649, (that is 1649-50). As Baillie was not personally concerned in the Negotiations with Charles the Second at Breda in March, and terminating in June 1650, no other letters of this period are here inserted. It may, however, be noticed, that Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. 2. p. 425-429, contains, (1.) The Letter from the Commissioners of the Assembly, signed by Douglas, 21st February 1650, in reply to the following letter from Charles. (2.) The Commission from the Estates of Parliament, 8th March. (3.) Letters to the King from the Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the Marquess of Argyle, 9th March, both of them exhorting him most earnestly to satisfy the desires of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland. Many Original Papers relating to the Treaty at Breda, consisting of Instructions, Letters, Demands, &c. may also be found in the Clarendon State Papers, Vol. 2. App. p. 51-65. Oxford, 1773, folio.]

MR. ROBERT DOWGLAS,

I AM confident that you truly desire to promote the agreement betweene me and my subjects of Scotland, aswell for God's glory as for the peace and happines of that Nation; and truely I am foe desirous of it, that I shall be very much oblig'd by all thofe that

shall be industriously instrumentall to it. I intreate you therefore to vse your credit amongst the Ministers, to perswade them to reasonable moderation, and to that confidence in me, and kindnes to me, as may produce the like affections in me towards them, and be the ground of a right vnderstanding betweene vs, for the lasting happines of that nation. I hope you shall neuer haue cause to repent what you shall doe herein, and I assure you it shall be effectually acknowledged by

Your affectionate friend,

Jerfey, the 15-5 of Febru. 1649.

CHARLES R.

FOR MR. ROBERT DOWGLAS, Moderator of the
Generall Assembly.

LXXXVI.

NOTICES REGARDING THE METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS RECEIVED BY THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE Metrical Version of the Psalms still in general use in Scotland was completed and received by the authority both of Church and State, in May 1650. It was the labour of many years, and from the numerous occasions on which Baillie alludes to its progress, it is evident he had taken a peculiar interest in furthering the work. It may therefore not be deemed out of place to present the reader with some further particulars respecting the origin and progress of this Version, and the more so, as our Ecclesiastical Historians afford little or no information on the subject.

1.—THE OLD VERSION. 1565.

Without entering upon any minute details respecting the older Version of the Psalms, it may briefly be noticed, that the Scotch Reformers at an early period resolved to follow the example of some of the Churches abroad, in making Congregational Psalmody a stated portion of public worship. For this purpose the metrical Version of the Psalms commenced in the reign of Edward the Sixth by Thomas Sternholde, and enlarged by the English exiles at Geneva in the following reign, was adopted. The edition printed at Geneva in 1556, along with "The Form of Prayers," &c. contained only 51 Psalms; but this number was increased in subsequent editions, that of 1561 having "Fourscore and seven Psalmes." It does not appear, however, that the entire Psalter was translated previous to the edition revised by John Hopkins, and first printed at London (according to Warton) in 1562, or more probably in 1563, under this title:

"THE WHOLE BOKE OF PSALMES, collected into English Metre, by Thomas Starnhold, J. Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Ebrue. with apt Notes to syнге

them withall. Faithfully perused and allowed according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions, &c. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, be nethe Saint Martins. Cum gratia et priuilegio Regie Maiestatis per septennium. An. 1563." 4to. The same year. (and again in 1565,) Day published the Psalms with the Music. in Parts: viz. "The whole Psalmes in fourt partes, (Tenor, Contra Tenor, Medius, and Bassus.) which may be song to al musical instruments, set forth for the encrease of vertue, and abolyshyng of other vayne and triflyng ballades." 4 vol. 4to. According to Hopkins's revised text, this version, received by publick authority, has since continued to be republished for the Church of England.

Had the original Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly been preserved, we might perhaps have obtained some more accurate information on this subject. But at whatever date this English version was adopted, we may infer, that the Assembly appointed some of their number to revise and prepare it for the press: as we find it stated, that in December 1561, "The Kirk lent Robert Lekpreuik, printer, twa hundreth pounds [Scotish money] to help to buy irons, ink, and paper, and to fee craftsmen for printing of the Psalmes:" And the Assembly, on the 26th December 1564, further ordained, "That every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, sall have one of the Psalmes Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the Order contained therein in Prayers, Marriage, and Ministration of the Sacraments." The edition that was referred to, has no separate title-page to the Psalms. but forms a portion of the volume bearing this title:—

"THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS &c. vsed in the English Church at Geneua, approued and received by the Church of Scotland, whereunto besydes that was in the former bokes [of 1561 and 1562], are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalmes of Dauid in English meter. PRINTED AT EDINBURGH BY ROBERT LEKPREVIK, M.D.LXV." small 8vo. On comparing this, or subsequent editions reprinted in this country, with those in England, there will be found considerable variations, consisting chiefly in the substitution of different versions of forty-one Psalms. in the place of those in use by the English Church.

Of the Psalms in this version common to both collections, there are, by the following authors, 1st, 40 translated by THOMAS STERNEHOLD, Groom of the Robes to King Henry the Eighth and to Edward the Sixth, and who died in 1549; 2d, 37 by JOHN HOPKINS, a Minister in Suffolk, (the 45th Psalm, in the Edinburgh editions, being erroneously marked W. K.): 3d, 10 by WILLIAM KETHE, of whom some farther notice will be given: 4th, 11 by WILLIAM WHITTYNGHAM, who became Knox's successor as Minister of the English congregation at Geneva, and was afterwards promoted to the Deanery of Durham, and died in 1570; 5th, 8 by THOMAS NORTON, an English Barrister, and best known as the joint author with Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, of the tragedy of Gordabuc; also 2 marked M. supposed to be an error for N. or Norton; and

6th, 1 by JOHN PULLEYN, an English divine, who becomes Archdeacon of Colchester, and died in 1565. These Psalms amount to 109. Of the other 41 Psalms, peculiar to the copies published in Scotland, there are 15 by Kethe, 4 (67, 71, 115, 129,) by Whittingham, and 1 (149) by Pulleyn, which appear to have been previously printed in the 1561 edition of "Fourscore and Seven Psalms"; and there were added, for the first time, 6 by Robert Pont, and 15 bearing the initials of "I. C." as the translator.

Of these Translators, the initials "I. C." are supposed to denote JOHN CRAIG, who had been a monk of the order of St. Dominic at Bologna, but having embraced the Protestant faith, he escaped from Italy, and returning to his native country, after an absence of 24 years, he became minister of Holyrood-house, and of the King's Household, and died 4th December 1600, aged 88. His Psalms are 24, 56, 75, 102, 105, 108, 110, 117, 118, 132, 136, 140, 141, 143, and 145.

WILLIAM KETHE is described, by Strype and other writers, as a native of Scotland. He was an exile during the reign of Queen Mary, and one of the translators of the Geneva Bible. He wrote some popular religious ballads, the most noted of which was "A Ballad on the Whore of Babylon, called *Tye thy mare Tom boye*." He became minister at Child-Ockford, in Dorsetshire. In the dedication of a sermon to the Earl of Warwick, in 1571, he states, that he had been with his Lordship in Newhaven [in 1563], as minister and preacher, and had also accompanied him the previous year [1570] to the North parts, as one of the preachers "of the Queen's Majestie's armie." The versions by Kethe, included in the Scottish copies, are Psalms 27, 36, 47, 54, 58, 62, 70, 85, 88, 90, 91, 94, 101, 138, and 142.

ROBERT PONT was successively Commissioner for the diocese of Moray, Provost of Trinity College, and Minister of St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh. He also filled for several years the place of a Senator of the College of Justice; but was deprived of his seat on the bench, in consequence of an act, prohibiting "all persons exercising functions of ministrie within the Kirk of God to bear or exercise any office of civil jurisdiction." His Psalms are 57, 59, 76, 80, 81, and 83. In some copies 149 is marked R. P. by mistake for I. P. or Pulleyn. In May 1601, the General Assembly appointed him "to revise the Psalms; and that his labours should be revised the next Assemblie;" but no further notice occurs of any such revisal. He died 8th May 1608, in the 81st year of his age.

A short specimen of these three chief contributors to our Old Version may be given. The verses selected will show that some use was made of it in preparing our present Version: and indeed the second copy of the 100th Psalm, in long metre, *All people that on earth do dwell*, and of the 124th Psalm, in peculiar metre, *Now Israel may say*, were retained, with only a few slight changes on account of the style. The translator of the 100th Psalm was William Kethe, and of the 124th, William Whittingham, already mentioned as Dean of Durham.

PSALME LVII. v. 1—3, and 5. By ROBERT PONT.

From the Edition printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, 1565.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Be mercifull to me, ô God,
be merciful to me :
For why ? my soule in all assaultes
shall euer trust in thee.
And till these wicked stormes be past,
which ryse on euerie syde :
Vnder the shaddowe of thy wings,
my hope shall always hyde.</p> | <p>3 He will sende down from heauen aboue,
to saue me, and restore
From the rebukes of wicked men,
that fayne wolde me deuoure.
God wil his mercie surely send,
and constant trueth also :
To comforte me, and to defend
against my cruel foe.</p> |
| <p>2 I will therefore call to the Lord,
who is moste high alone :
To God who will his worke in me,
bring to perfection.</p> | <p>5 Exalt thy selfe, ô God, therefore
about the heauens high :
And ouer all the earth declare
thy glorie and thy might.</p> |

PSALM XC. Ver. 1—7 and 12. By WILLIAM KETHE.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 O Lord thou hast bene our refuge,
and kept vs safe and sounde :
From age to age, as witness can
all we, which true it founde.</p> | <p>5 They are, so sone as thou dost storne,
euen lyke a slepe or shade,
Or like the grasse, which as we knowe,
betymes away doth fade.</p> |
| <p>2 Before the mountaines were fourth brought,
yer thou the earth didst frame :
Thou wast our great eternal God,
and stil shalt be the same.</p> | <p>6 With pleasant dewes, in breake of day,
it groweth vp full greene :
By night cut downe, it withreth, as
no beautie can be sene.</p> |
| <p>3 Thou dost vaine man strike downe to dust,
though he be in his floure,
Againe thou saist, Ye Adams sonnes,
returne, to shewe your power.</p> | <p>7 O Lord, how sore do we consume
in this thy wrath so hote ?
We feare thy furie be so fierce,
that death shall be our lote.</p> |
| <p>4 For what is it a thousand yeares
to count them in thy sight :
But as a day which last is past,
or as a watche by night ?</p> | <p>12 Teache vs therefore to count our dayes,
that we our heartes may bend
To learne thy wisdome and thy trueth :
for that shulde be our end.</p> |

PSALM 145, v. 1—6, 11—15, and 19—21. By L. C.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 O Lord that art my God and King,
Vndoubtedly, I wil thee praise :
I will extoll and blessings sing,
Vnto thyce holy Name alwayes.</p> | <p>4 Race shal thy workes praise vnto race :
And so declare thy power, ô Lord.</p> |
| <p>2 From day to day I wil thee blesse,
And laude thy Name worlde without end,</p> | <p>5 The glorious beautie of thy grace,
And wondrous workes, wil I record.</p> |
| <p>3 For great is God, most worthy praise,
Whose greatnes none may comprehend.</p> | <p>6 And all men shall the power (ô God,)
Of all thy feareful Actes declare :
And I to publishe all abroad,
Thy greatnes, at no tyme will spair.</p> |

- 11 The glorie of thy Kingdome, they
Do shewe, and of thy power do tell.
- 12 That so mens sonnes his might knowe may,
And Kingdome great, that doth excell.
- 13 Thy Kingdome hath no end at all :
Thy Lordship euer doth remaine.
- 14 The Lord vpholdeth all that fall,
And doth the feble folke sustaine.
- 15 The eyes of all things, Lord, attend
And on thee waite, that here do liue :
And thou in season due dost send
Sufficient foode them to relieue.
- 19 The Lord wil the desire fulfil,
Of such as do him feare and dread :
And he also their crye hear wil,
And saue them in the tyme of need.
- 20 He doth preserue them more and lesse,
That beare to him a louing heart.
But workers al of wickednes
Destroye wil be, and clean subuert.
- 21 My mouth therefore my speache shal frame
To speake the praises of the Lord ;
All fleshe to blesse his holy Name,
For euermore, eke shal accord.

Some proposals for revising this Old Version of the Psalms, and at least one attempt to supersede it, were made, at different intervals, but without success; and it continued to be reprinted in a variety of forms, usually with musical notes, until, in Scotland, it was wholly superseded in the year 1650. There are several editions of this Old Version printed at Middleburgh and Dort, from 1594 to 1610 or later; and it was used by the Scottish congregations in Holland for some years after the present Version had been received in this country.

It may be noticed, that in the edition of the Psalms, "Printed at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1595," (if not also in some previous ones,) there appeared a kind of Doxology in different measures, added as "The Conclusion, or *Gloria Patri* eftir the Psalme;" the use of which seems at a subsequent period to have been disallowed as a prelatie innovation. After the Restoration of Charles the Second, (but previous to any change in regard to the Church,) notice is taken in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, of a minister, who, preaching before Parliament on the 27th January 1661, "restored us to *Glory to the Father*, to be sung at the end of the Psalms," and this, it is said "has been a great stranger to our Kirk these many years."

11. KING JAMES'S VERSION, 1631.

KING JAMES the First, after his accession to the English Throne, endeavoured to assimilate the forms of worship in Scotland and England; and having entrusted "the most learned Divines of the Church," with revising the English translations of the Bible, which was happily completed in the year 1611, he himself undertook to perfect a new version of the Psalms in metre, for general use. "The revising of the Psalms (says Spottiswood) he made his own labour; and, at such hours as he might spare from the public cares, went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majestic's expectation." (Hist. p. 466.) In the Sermon preached on occasion of the King's Funeral, in 1625, by

Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, we are further told, his Majesty "was in hand" with this new Version of the Psalms, "which he intended to have finished, and dedicated withall to the onely saint of his devotion, the Church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland, when God called him to sing Psalmes with the Angels."

The "faithful and learned Servant" here spoken of, was the Earl of Stirling, (then Sir William Alexander of Menstrie,) a poet of great distinction in his time, who has a much better title to be considered the true author of the version, than King James under whose name it was published. The attention of his son and successor, Charles the First, having been early drawn to the perfecting of this work, as connected with his proposed changes in the Church, he seems never to have lost sight of it, so long as there was any prospect of carrying through those measures to which he was unfortunately but too much attached. The following letter respecting it was addressed by him to the Archbishop of St. Andrews:—

"Whereas it pleafed our late dear Father of famous and eternall memorie, considering how imperfect the Pfalmes in Meeter presentlie vfed ar, out of his zeal to the glorie of God, and for the good of all the Churches within his dominions, to translate them of new, Therfor, as We have gevin commandement to our trustie and weilbeloved S^r William Alexander knycht, to consider and rewev the meeter and poefie thairof, So our pleafour is, that zow and some of the most learned Divynes in that our kingdome confer them with the original text, and with the most exact translations, and thairefter certifie back zour opinions vnto vs concerning the fame, whether it be fitting that they be published and fung in Churches, instead of the old translation, or not; To the intent that we may negleċt nothing so much importing the memorie of our faid late Father; and far less if zow find that it may tend to the advancement of the glorie of God; and fo recommending the famyne to your earnest care, We bid, &c. Windfore, 25th August 1626."

This Version was at length published, bearing on the engraved title—"THE PSALMES OF KING DAVID, TRANSLATED BY KING JAMES. *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.*" Another engraved leaf has the royal arms, and the King's authority, allowing these Psalmes "to be sung in all the Churches of oure Dominions;" and this imprint is at the end of this volume,—“Oxford, Printed by William Turner, Printer to the famous Univerſity, M.DC.XXXI.” 12mo, pp. 329. A patent of exclusive privilege for the space of thirty-one years print this version, had been granted to Sir William Alexander, on the 28th December 1627, in consideration "of the great paynes already taken, and to be taken, in collating and revising the same, and in seeing the first impression thairof to be carefullie and well done." When the copies of this edition had got into circulation, some zealous Presbyterian, probably David Calderwood the Historian, drew up at considerable length, "Reasons against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalmes." This paper is inserted in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 227—256, Edinb. 1827, 4to, with some further notices respecting the ver-

sion itself. But in this place it may be sufficient to mention, that Charles the First, in December 1634, "being fully convinced of the exactnesse" of the translation, enjoined the Privy Council of Scotland "that no other Psalmes of any edition whatsoever, be either printed hereafter within that our Kingdome, or imported thither, either bound by themself or otherways, from any forrayne parts." The Version was accordingly republished in 1636, and attached to the Service Book of 1637; but on collation it proves to have been so much altered, in consequence, as it would appear, of the objections urged against its reception in 1631, that many of the Psalms may be considered as entirely re-written, although still bearing the same title: "THE PSALMES of King DAVID: Translated by King JAMES. London, printed by Thomas Harper, 1636," folio, pp. 147. It contains music notes, and is printed in long lines, in black letter, but no notice is taken of its revision, or of any assistance having been rendered by the actual translator. Two specimens from these editions may suffice to shew such variations.

PSALME I.

(Edit. Oxford, 1631, 12mo.)

The man is blest that doth not walke
where wicked Councells guide :

Nor in the way of Sinners stands,
nor Scorners sits beside.

2. But of the Lord he on the law
doth ground his whole delight ;
And on his law doth meditate
devoutly day and night.

3. Hee shall be like a planted tree,
The streames of waters neare ;
Whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit,
in season of the yeare.

4. His leafe it never wither shall
as wioters blasted prey :
And whatsoever he designs,
shall prosper every way.

5. But wicked men are nothing so,
for they as chaffe shall prone ;
Which whirling windes doe drie away,
and from the earth remoue.

6. And therefore they who wicked are,
In judgement shall not stand :
Nor shall the sinners suffred be
amongst the righteous band.

7. For well the Lord doth know what way
the righteous follow all :
But of vngodly men the way
it surely perish shall.

PSALME I.

(Edit. London, 1636, folio.)

The man is blest, who to walke io
th' ungodlies counsell hates,
and stands not in the sinners way,
nor sits in scorners seats.

2. But in the Lords most holy law,
he hath his whole delight,
and in his law doth meditate
devoutly day and night.

3. He shall be like a tree that grow'th
the streames of waters neare,
whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit
in season of the yeare :

4. His leafe shall never withered be,
as winters blasted prey,
and whatsoever thing he doth,
shall prosper every way.

5. They who are wickedly dispos'd,
no such assurance finde :
but like unto contemned chaffe,
are tossed with the winde,

6. And therefore they who wicked are,
in judgement shall not stand,
nor shall the sinners suffred be
amongst the righteous band.

7. For well the Lord doth know what way
the righteous follow all :
But of them that ungodly are,
the way still perish shall.

PSALME XXIII.

(Edit. Oxford, 1631.)

- The Lord of all my shepheard is,
I shall from want be free :
2. He makes me in greene pastures lie
and neare calme streames to be.
3. He doth restore my weary soule,
that it new strength may take :
And in the pathes of righteousness
mee leads, for his names sake.
4. Yea though I through deaths shadow walke,
yet feare I in no sort,
Thou art with me, thy rod and staffe
with comfort me support.
5. Thou for my food before me foes,
a table dost bestow :
And dost with oyle annoynt my head,
and makes my cup o're flow.
6. Thy goodnesse and thy mercy sure,
shall whilst I live blesse me :
And of the Lord I in the house
a dwellar still will be.

PSALM XXIII.

(Edit. London, 1636.)

- The Lord of all, my Shepheard is
I shall from want be free :
2. He makes me in green pastures lye,
and neare calm streames to be.
3. He doth restore my soul, and leads
the way that I should take :
Into the paths of righteousness,
even for his own names sake.
4. Though through the vale of deaths black shade
I walk, I feare no ill :
Thou art with me, thy rod and staffe
afford me comfort still.
5. Thou for my food, before my foes
a table dost bestow :
And do'st with oyle annoynt my head,
and mak'st my cup o'reflow.
6. With mercy, goodnesse, all my daies
shall surely follow me :
And in the Lord's own house, I will
a dweller ever be.

The unexpected and irresistible opposition to the Liturgy in July 1637, having extended also to the Psalms, Sir William Alexander, (who had been created Earl of Stirling,) was probably no less disappointed in realizing any pecuniary advantage from his exclusive monopoly, than his Royal Master must have been in the accomplishment of the still greater object he had in view when that privilege was granted.

III. FRANCIS ROUS'S VERSION, 1643.

In tracing the origin of our present Version of the Psalms, it may be noticed as a singular circumstance that this Country should have been indebted, in the first instance, for the translation that was adopted to a resolution of the House of Commons. It is well known that a similar design with that contemplated by Charles the First, of bringing about a Uniformity in the doctrine, discipline, and form of church-government and worship in both Kingdoms, was very nearly accomplished by the Presbyterians in England. The labours of the Westminster Assembly in England were chiefly directed to promote this object; and a New Version of the Psalms was specially recommended to their notice. Several metrical versions had been previously published in England in the view of superseding Sternholde's; and although considerable exertions were made, chiefly in the House of Lords, to adopt a translation by Mr. William Barton, the preference was awarded by the English Parliament to that by Mr. FRANCIS ROUS, one of their own members and a man of great learning and distinction. He himself

states, in the preface to his Psalms, printed in 1643, that many passages in the old version “seemed to call aloud for amendment,” of which he selected “some patterns;” but “apprehending many years past (which experience hath showed to be a true conjecture) that a forme wholly new would not please many, who are fastned to things usual and accustomed, I assaied only to change some pieces of the usual version, even such as seemed to call aloud, and, as it were, undeniably for a change. These being seen, it was desired that they should be increased; which being done, they are here subjoynd.” In Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, (edit. by Dr. Bliss, vol. iii. p. 468,) Rous’s version is supposed to have been first printed in 1641. There is no reason to believe that it appeared earlier than 1643; in a diminutive volume, neatly printed, in 24to or 48vo, with this title:—

“THE PSALMES OF DAVID in English Meeter, set forth by FRANCIS ROUS. Psal. 47, Ver. 7. ומרו משבול. April 17, 1643. It is this day ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament for printing, that this Book, entitled, *The Psalmes of David*, &c. (according to the desires of many reverend Ministers) be published for the generall use: And for the true correcting of it, be printed by these the Author shall appoint.

John White.

I do appoint *Philip Nevill* and *Peter Whaley* to print these Psalmes.

Francis Rous.

London, Printed by James Young, for Philip Nevill, at the signe of the Gun in Ivie-lane, 1643.” This volume contains in all pp. [xii.] 312, and 12 leaves not paged of “Psalmes of harder and lesse usuall Tunes corrected, and the Tunes not altered,” along with “A Table of the Psalmes.”

The translator, FRANCIS ROUS, a younger son of Sir Anthony Rous, Knight, was born at Halton in Cornwall. Some account of his life and writings will be found in Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Dr. Bliss, (vol. iii. p. 466.) He was several times returned a Member of Parliament; and was chosen one of the lay commissioners to the Assembly of Divines. On the 29th January 1643–44, it was “Ordered, That Mr. Prideaux do bring in an ordinance for the settling of Mr. Rous in the place of Provost of Eaton College, and to receive and enjoy all profits, privileges, and emoluments, thereunto belonging.” This lucrative appointment he held till his death, on the 7th January 1658.

The following are specimens of this rare edition, from a copy in the possession of Lea Wilson, Esq., Norwood-Hill, Surrey, (a gentleman who possesses an unrivalled collection of editions in English of the Holy Scriptures). The volume probably had only a very limited circulation.

PSALM I.

(By FRANCIS ROUS. London, 1643.)

The man is blessed, that to walk
in wicked waies doth feare;
And stands not in the sinners path,
nor sits in scorners chair.

2. But in the perfect Law of God
he greatly doth delight;
And on that Law doth meditate
with pleasure, day and night.

3. He shall be like a tree by streames
of waters planted neare,
Which in his season doth not faile
his pleasant fruit to beare.
Whose leaf shall never fade nor fall,
but flourish still and stand :
Even so all things shall prosper well
that this man takes in hand.
4. So shall not the ungodly men,
they shall be nothing so ;

- But as the dust, which from the earth
the wind drives to and fro.
5. Therefore shall not the wicked men
in judgement stand approv'd ;
But sinners from the just shall be
divided, and remov'd.
6. Because the way of righteous men
God doth with favour know,
Whereas the way of wicked men
ends in their overthrow.

PSALM XXIII.

- My shepheard is the living Lord,
and he that doth me feed ;
How can I then lack any thing
whereof I stand in need ?
2. In pastures green and flourishing
he makes me downe to lye :
And after drives me to the streames
which run most pleasantly.
3. And when I feele my selfe neere lost,
then home he me doth take ;
Conducting me in his right paths,
even for his owne Names sake.

4. And though I were even at death's doore,
yet would I feare none ill ;
Thy rod, thy staffe do comfort me,
and thou art with me still.
5. Thou hast my table richly stor'd
in presence of my foe ;
My head with oile thou dost anoint,
my cup doth overflow.
6. Thy grace and mercy all my daies
shall surely follow me ;
And ever in the house of God,
my dwelling place shall be.

PSALM LVII. v. 1—4.

- Be mercifull to me, O Lord,
be mercifull to me ;
Because according to thy word
my soule doth trust in thee.
2. Yea, she unto the shadow flies
of thy wings, her to cover ;
Untill these sad calamities
be wholly passed over.

3. To God most High my earnest cry
in praier sent shall be ;
Even to that God, who graciously
performeth all for me.
4. From heaven shall his power descend,
to save me from their spight
That would devoure me, God shall send
his mercy, truth, and might.

PSALM XCIII.

- The Lord doth reign, and cloth'd is he
with majesty and light ;
His works do shew him cloth'd to be,
and girt about with might.
2. For this round world by his great strength
established hath he :
Yea, he so surely hath it set
that mov'd it cannot be.

3. Of old most firmly stablish is
thy Throne of majesty ;
And thou without beginning art
from all eternitie.
4. The fouds, O Lord, have lifted up,
they lifted up their voice :
The fouds have lifted up their waves,
and made a mighty noise.

5. The Lord this noise of many fouds
 is might exceedeth farre ;
 The Highest overcomes the sea,
 when his waves mighty are.

6. Thy testimonies are most sure,
 and surely lead to blisse :
 And holiness for ever, Lord,
 in thine house comely is.

IV.—VERSIONS BY SIR W. MURE AND MR. ZACHARY BOYD.

Before proceeding to notice the revised copy of Rous's version 1646, it may be mentioned, that Baillie, although a personal friend of Rous, expresses on more than one occasion the very favourable opinion he entertained of an unpublished version by Sir William Mure of Rowallane. On the other hand, some of his countrymen were inclined to give a preference to the translation by Zachary Boyd, one of the ministers of Glasgow. A couple of specimens of each may be here given. Those by Boyd are from "THE PSALMES OF DAVID IN MEETER: By Mr. ZACHARY BOYD, Preacher of Gods Word. The third edition. Printed at Glasgow by George Anderson, Anno 1646," 12mo. Mure's are from a MS. in the possession of James Dennistoun of Dennistoun, Esq. The author appears to have prepared them for the press, (no doubt at the instigation of some of his friends, such as Baillie), under this title,—“Some Psalmes Translated and presented for a proof to publick view, wherby to discerne of the whole being conformed to this Essay: By a Weillwiller to the work of Reformatioun, who makes humble offer of his weak endeavours.” But they are not known ever to have been printed. One or two other specimens from a more perfect MS. are given in the Appendix to “The Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane. By Sir William Mure knight, of Rowallane. Written in, or prior to 1657.” Glasgow, 1825, 8vo.

PSALM I.

BY SIR WILLIAM MURE.

The man is blessed verilie,
 who walketh not astray ;
 In Counsell of ungodlie men,
 nor stands in sinners way :
 2. Nor sits in scorners seat : But settis
 on God's law his delight ;
 And stedfastlie his law doth mynd
 and muse on, day and night.
 3. Hee shall be like unto the Tree,
 sett by the river syde ;
 In seasoun due, which fruit brings fuorth,
 whose leaves ay blooming hyde,
 4. His works shall prosper all. Not so
 ungodlie men, for they

PSALM I.

BY ZACHARY BOYD.

Blest is the man that walks not in
 th' ungodlies counsel ill,
 Nor stands in ways of sinners, nor
 in scorners seats sits still.
 2. But in the law of God the Lord,
 is chiefly his delight ;
 And also he doth meditate
 in his law day aod night.
 3. He shall be like a planted tree,
 rivers of waters by ;
 That in his season bringeth fuorth
 his fruit most plenteously.
 His leaf also at any time
 not wither shall at all,
 And whatsoever thing he doth
 it prosper surely shall.

Shall be like chaffe; which stormie wynds
sweep suddenlie away.

5. In judgement therefore shall not stand,
men wicked and profane;
Nor sinners, where the righteous flock
assembled doe remaine.
6. For, who so righteous paths persue,
the Lord doth know their way;
But perrish shall the way of sin,
wherein the wicked stray.

PSALM 23.

By SIR WILLIAM MURE.

The Lord my shepheard is, of want
I never shall complaine,

2. For me to rest on, hee doth grant
greene pastures of the plaine.
3. Hee leads me smoothest brookes beside,
and doth my soul reclame;
Yea me by righteous paths doth guyd
for glorie of his name.

4. The valley dark of deaths aboade
to passe, I'le fear none ill,
For thou art with me, Lord, thy rode
and staffe me comfort still.
5. For me a table thou dost spread
in presenee of my foes;
With oyle thou dost anoint mine head,
by thee by cup o'r'flows.

6. Mercie and goodnes all my dayes
with me shall surelie stay,
Aod in thy house, to dwell alwayes
O Lord, my count I'le lay.

4. The men ungodly are not so,
but in their wicked way
Are like the chaffe, which stormy wind
doth quickly drive away.
5. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand
in judgement stedfastly,
Nor sinners in th' assembly of
all such as righteous be.

6. For the Lord knoweth well the way
ev'n of the righteous all:
But the way of ungodly men
most surely perish shall.

PSALME 23.

By MR. ZACHARY BOYD.

The Lord's my shepheard, I'le not want

2. He makes me by good will
Ly in green pastures, he me leads
beside the waters still.
3. My soul likewise he doth restore,
and me to lead doth take
Into the paths of righteouesnesse,
and that for his Names sake.
4. Yea, though through valley of deaths shade
I walk; I'le fear no ill,
For thou art with me, thy rod and
thy staffe me comfort still.
5. Thou set'st in presenee of my foes
a table me before,
Mine head with oyl thou dost anoint,
my cup it runneth o're.
6. Goodnesse and mercy all the dayes
of my life surely shall
Me follow, and in the Lord's house
for ever I will dwell.

V.—ROUS'S REVISED VERSION, 1646.

After the publication of Rous's volume in 1643, the version appears to have undergone repeated revisals; and the following notices may be compared with what Baillie has stated in his Letters, Vol. 2, at pages 120, 121, 259, 280, 286, 293, 321, 326, and 329 to 332.

In Dr. Lightfoot's Journal of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, this notice occurs on the 22d November 1643:—"The first thing done this morning was, that Sir

Benjamin Rudyard brought an order from the House of Commons, wherein they require our advice, whether Mr. Rous's Psalms may not be sung in churches; and this being debated, it was at last referred to the three Committees, to take every one fifty Psalms.

The notices in the Journals of the House of Commons are as follows:—

20th Novembris 1643.—Ordered, That the Assembly of Divines be desired to give their advice, whether it may not be useful and profitable to the Church, that the Psalms set forth by Mr. Rous, be permitted to be publicly sung, the same being read before singing, until the Books be more generally dispersed. (vol. iii. p. 315.)

December 16th 1644.—The House being informed, that divers Divines of the Assembly were at the door; they were called in; and Doctor Burgeffe presented the advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Ordinance of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning Visitation of the Sick. He further informed the House, that touching the Directory for all parts of publick Worship, in ordinary, they have brought up all the Parts to the House, save only some Propositions touching the Singing of Psalms.

(ib. vol. iii. p. 724.)

December 27th 1644.—The House being informed, that some of the Divines of the Assembly were at the door; they were called in. Dr. Burgeffe presented the remaining Parts of the Directory for Publick Worship concerning the keeping Days of Publick Fasts, of Publick Thanksgiving; and some Propositions touching the Singing of Psalms

(ib. vol. iv. p. 3.)

The Version by Rous having been carefully revised by the Author, who availed himself of the corrections and amendments recommended by various Committees, it was republished, under this title,—

“THE PSALMS OF DAVID IN ENGLISH MEETER. (Psal. 47, v. 7. וּמְרוּ מִשְׁבֹּחַ. *Sing ye praises with understanding.*) London, printed by Miles Flesher, for the Company of Stationers, 1646.” 12mo, pp. [viii.] and 255. A leaf facing the title contains the following extract, and serves to identify the work,—“Die Veneris, 4 [14th] Novemb. 1645.—It is this day ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Book of Psalms set forth by Mr. Rous, and perused by the Assembly of Divines, be forthwith printed: And that it be referred to Mr. Rous to take care for the printing thereof: and that none do presume to print it, but such as shall be authorized by him. *H. Elsinge, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.*”

In the Journals of the House of Commons, this resolution is introduced with this notice, “The House being informed, That some of the Assembly of Divines were at the door, they were called in: And Mr. Wilson acquainted the House, That, according

to a former Order of this House, they had perused the Psalms set out by Mr. Rouse; and, as they are now altered and amended, do conceive they may be useful to the Church. *Resolved,*” &c. as above. [ib. p. 342.] This is likewise noticed in one of the newspapers of the day:—“Friday, Novemb. 14, 1645.—A message from the Assembly of Divines to both Houses of Parliament, acquainting them, that according to the order of Nov. 20, 1643, they had perused the Psalmes translated into English out of the Originall, by Mr. Rouse, conceiving them fit to be publickly made use of throughout the Kingdome: That they had likewise perused the Psalmes translated by Mr. Bartue [Barton], who deserved much commendation for his great care and pains in them, but conceived the other most fit for publike use.”—(*The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, No. 126.)

Oct. 7, 1645.—Upon the humble petition of Wm. Barton, Master of Arts, read this day in the House: It is ordered, &c. That two Books of David's Psalms, composed in English metre by the Petitioner, and presented to their Lordships, are hereby referred to the Assembly of Divines, to be read over, and judged by them; and the result of their judgments thereupon returned to this House, that such farther direction may be given touching the same, as shall be meet.—(*Lords Journals*, vol. vii. p. 627.)

Nov. 14, 1645.—Message from the Assembly concerning Mr. Rouse's and Mr. Barton's Versions of the Psalms.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF LORDS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT,

The Assembly of Divines having received from this Honourable House an order, bearing date October 7 1645, to read over and judge of two Books of David's Psalms, composed in English metre, by Mr. William Barton, and thereupon to return their judgment to this Honourable House, do humbly certify, That they had long before received an order from the Honourable House of Commons, bearing date Novemb^r 20, 1643, to give their judgment touching the Psalms composed in metre by Mr. Rouse, a Member of that House; and that thereupon there was a Committee appointed by this Assembly to consider of these Psalms; and that the same Committee had with much care perused, and with great diligence concurred with the same Learned Gentleman, to amend and perfect his copy, and had fully finished that Work, before they received the said order from the Honourable House of Lords; and withall that the greatest part of this version was sent to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and there put into the hands of a Committee, and by that Committee, so far as they have examined it, very well approved; yet, in obedience to the order of this Honourable House, they appointed a Committee to consider thereof; and, upon the whole matter, do find reason to certify this Honourable House, That albeit the said Mr. Barton hath taken very good and commendable pains in his Metaphrase, yet the other version, so exactly perused and amended by the said Mr. Rouse and the Committee of the Assembly with long and

great labour, is fo closely framed according to the Original Text, as that we humbly conceive it will be useful for the edification of the Church.

CORNELIUS BURGES, *Prolocutor pro tempore.*

HENRY ROBROUGH, *Scriba.*

ADONIRAM BYFIELD, *Scriba.*

(Lords Journals, vol. vii. p. 704.)

March 26, 1646.—Upon reading the Petition of Mr. Wm. Barton, concerning his Translation of his Book of the Psalms, it is ordered to recommend the same to the Assembly of Divines, to certify to this House why these Psalms may not be sung in Churches as well as other Translations, by such as are willing to use them.

(ib. vol. viii, p. 236.)

April 15, 1646.—Ordered, That the Book of Psalms, set forth by Mr. Rous, and perused by the Assembly of Divines, be forthwith printed in sundry volumes: And that the said Psalms, and none other, shall, after the first day of January next, be sung in all Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and that it be referred to Mr. Rous, to take care for the true printing thereof.—The Lords concurrence to be desired herein.

(Commons Journals, vol. v. p. 509.)

April 16, 1646.—Mr. Knightley carried to the Lords for their concurrence, &c. The order for singing of Mr. Rous his Psalms through the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick.

(ib. vol. v. p. 511.)

April 18, 1646.—A message was brought from the House of Commons by Mr. Knightly, &c. to desire their Lordships concurrence in divers particulars, &c. An order for the using of the Book of Psalms, set forth by Mr. Rous, and appointed by the Assembly of Divines.

The order concerning the Book of Psalms translated by Mr. Rous, was read twice and committed to the consideration of these Lords following, who are to report their opinions thereof to this House. Comes Effex, Comes Sarum, L. Viscount Say and Seale, Comes Lyncolne, Comes Suffolke, Comes Midd. D^s. North, D^s. Willoughby, D^s. Bruce, D^s. Wharton, any three to meet. The answer returned was, That to the order for using the Book of Psalms translated by Mr. Rous, their Lordships will send an answer by messengers of their own.

(Lords Journals, vol. viii. p. 277.)

April 25, 1646.—A message was brought from the Assembly of Divines, by Mr. Walker, &c. as follows,—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF LORDS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

The Assembly of Divines received, April 9th, from this Honourable House, an

order bearing date March 26th 1646, to certify this Honourable House why the Translation of the Psalms made by Mr. Barton, may not be used and sung in Churches, by such as shall desire it, as well as any other Translation, do humbly return this answer; That whereas, on the 14th of November 1645, in obedience to an order of this Honourable House concerning the said Mr. Barton's Psalms, we have already commended to this Honourable House one Translation of the Psalms in Verse, made by Mr Rous, and perused and amended by the same learned Gentleman and the Committee of the Assembly, as conceiving it would be very useful for the Edification of the Church, in regard it is so exactly framed according to the Original Text; and whereas there are several other Translations of the Psalms already extant, we humbly conceive that, if liberty should be given to people to sing in Churches every one that Translation which they desire, by that means several Translations might come to be used, yea in one and the same congregation at the same time, which would be a great distraction and hinderance to edification.

CORNELIUS BURGESS, *Prolocutor pro Tempore*.

(ib. vol. viii, p. 283-4.)

(Extract from a paper presented by the Commissioners at London to the Grand Committee there, in December 1646, and laid before the Commission of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, by Mr. Robert Baillie, 21st January 1647.)

And because the singing of Psalmes in Churches is a part of the publike worship of God, We desire that the Paraphrase of the Psalms in metre, as it is now examined, corrected, and approved by the Assembly of Divines here, and by the Commissioners of the Gen. Assembly in Scotland, may be lykwise authorized and established by Ordinance of Parliament.

(Minutes of the Commission of the General Assembly, p. 150.)

(Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners at London, 2d February 1647.)

The new Psalm book, reprinted with the last amendements sent us from your Committee there, is not yet come from the presse, but it is promised to us the next week, and we shall then, God willing, send it to you.

(ib. p. 156.)

11th February 1647.

The Commission appoints a letter of encouragement to be writtin to Mr. Zechariah Boyd, for his paines in his Paraphrase of the Psalmes, shewing that they have sent them to their Commissioners at London, to be considered and made use of there by these that ar upon the same work.

(ib. p. 157.)

(Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners at London, 9th February 1647.)

The new Pfalme book cannot be ready till the next week. So commending your labours to the blessing of God, we rest,

Your affectionat Brethren to serve yow,

Worcester-Houfe, the
9th of Febr 1647.

SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.
GEO. GILLESPIE.

Direct, For the Right Reverend the Commissioners
of the Gen. Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.

(ib. p. 165.)

(Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners at London, presented to the Commission,
23d February 1647.)

WEE now fend yow the new Edition of the Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes as it was approved by the Assembly heir, and by yourselves; the Animadversions w^{ch} you sent us being taken in their proper places, as the worthy Gentleman, who hath taken most paines in the worke, assureth us. If yow be now satisfiied with it as it is, wee shall desire to know so much. One Pfalme-book in the three Kingdomes will be a considerable part of Uniformity, if it can be fullie agreed upon both there and here: And we believe it is generally acknowledged, there is a necessitie of some change, there being so many just exceptions against the old and usuall Paraphrafe. And we humblie conceive there will be as little controversy that this which we now fend yow, as it hath come through the hands of more examiners, so it will be found as neir the originall as any Paraphrafe in meeter can readily be, and much neerer then other works of that kynd, which is a good compensation to mak up the want of that Poeticall liberty and sweet pleafant running, which some desire. However, wee expect to know your pleasure in this, and in any other thing contained in our former letters, which yourselves shall judge to need an answer; and so wee rest,

Your most affectionat Brethren to serve yow,

Worcester-houfe, the 16th
of Febr. 1647.

G. WYNRAVE.
SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.
GEO. GILLESPIE.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Commissioners
of the Gen. Assembly, mett at Edr.

The Commission of Assembly thinks it verie necessar that a number of the new Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes be writtin for; and appoynts the clerk to fend them to Presbyteries; and returne to the letter from the Commissioners at London, this following answer:

REVEREND AND LOVING BRETHREN,

YOURS of the 16th of this infant moneth we have received this day, together with

the new Edition of the Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes, whereof we cannot give opinion by this occasion, especially feing fo few copies have been sent. We do acknowledge that one Pfalme-book in the three Kingdomes wer a considerable part of Uniformity ; but it can hardly be fullie agreed upon, if Presbyteries gave a previous consideration of it before the meeting of the Assembly ; which may give them great satisfaction, and facilitat the approbation of it in the Assembly. Therfor, yow will be pleased to send down a number of copies of this late Edition to our Clerk, whom we have appoynted to cause dispatch them to Presbyteries with diligence, to be considered by them ; which we think the best and surest way to obtaine a full approbation of the work heir ; wherof we make litle question if yow send a competent number of copies in tyme. . . .

We remain, Your loving Brethren,

The COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Edinb. 23d Febr'y. 1647.

Direct for their Reverend and Loving
Brethren, the Commissioners of the
Kirk of Scotland at London.

(Minutes, p. 171-4.)

Edinb. 18th Martij 1647, Post meridiem.

This day two letters from the Commissioners at London were read with the papers there inclofed. Tenor of the letters follows :—

REVEREND AND BELOVED BRETHREN,

WEE received yesterday your's of Febr 23d, and shall take care to provyde (according to your desire) as many copies as can be had of the new Paraphrafe of the Pfalms in metre. Wee have already spoken for 70 copies, which we shall, God willing, send with the first occasion. . . .

We rest, Your most loving Brethren,

G. WYNNAME.

SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

Worcester-houfe, the 2d
of Marche 1647 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Commif-
sioners of the Gen: Assembly, mett at Edr.

REVEREND AND LOVING BRETHREN,

WEE have, according to your desire, provided a number of copies of the new Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes in Metre, as it is approved by the Assembly of Divines, and since corrected in severall places according to the Animadversions which ye sent us. Wee have now fourscore copies in readines to be sent by the first ship to your Clerk, that by him

they may be directed to the severall Presbyteries . . . So beseeching the Lord to direct and bleſſe yow in all your affairs, we rest,

Your loving Brethren to ſerve yow,

G. WYNNAME.

Worceſter-houſe, the 9th
of March 1647.

SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Com^{rs} of
the Generall Affembly of the Kirk of Scot-
land, mett at Edinburgh.

(Minutes, pp. 184-185.)

Edinb. 8th Julij 1647, Ante meridiem.

Recommends to Mr. Johne Adamſone to revife Rowes Paraphraſe of the Pſalmes, and Mr. Johne Rowe's obſervationes thereupon, and to have his opinion thereof ready for the next Affembly. (ib. p. 234.)

Sefs. XXV.—Edinburgh, 28th Auguſt 1647, Ante meridiem.

ACT FOR REVISING THE PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMES BROUGHT FROM ENGLAND, WITH A RECOMMENDATION FOR TRANSLATING THE OTHER SCRIPTURALL SONGS IN MEETER.

The Generall Affembly having conſidered the report of the Committee concerning the Paraphraſe of the Pſalmes ſent from England, and finding that it is very neceſſary that the ſaid Paraphraſe be yet revifed: Therefore doth appoint Maſter John Adamſon to examine the firſt forty Pſalmes, Maſter Thomas Cranford the ſecond forty, Maſter John Row the third forty, and Maſter John Nevey the laſt thirty Pſalms of that Paraphraſe; and in their examination they ſhall not only obſerve what they think needs to be amended, but alſo to ſet downe their own eſſay for correcting thereof; and for this purpoſe recommends to them to make uſe of the travels of Rowallen, Maſter Zachary Boyd, or of any other on that ſubject; but eſpecially of our own Paraphraſe, that what they finde better in any of theſe works may be choſen, and likewise they ſhall make uſe of the animadverſions ſent from Presbyteries, who for this cauſe are hereby deſired to haſten their obſervations unto them; and they are to make report of their labours herein to the Commiſſion of the Affembly for Publike Affaires, againſt their firſt meeting in February next. And the Commiſſion, after revifing thereof, ſhall ſend the ſame to Provinciall Affemblyes to be tranſmitted to Presbyteries, that by their further conſideration, the matter may be fully prepared to the next Affembly. And becauſe ſome Pſalmes in that Paraphraſe ſent from England are compoſed in verſes which do not agree wth the common tunes, therefore it is alſo recommended that theſe Pſalmes be likewise turned in other verſes which may agree to the common tunes; that is, having

the first line of eight syllabs, and the second line of six, that so both versions being together, use may be made of either of them in congregations as shall be found convenient. And the Assembly doth further recommend that Mr. Zachary Boyd be at the paines to translate the other Scripturall Songs in meeter, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that after their examination thereof, they may send the same to Presbyteries to be there considered untill the next Generall Assembly.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

(Extract of a Letter to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.)

The other things communicated from thence unto this Church, namely, a Directory of Church Government, Catechisme, and new Paraphrase of the Psalmes in metre, are printed and published here, to be considered and examined against the next Generall Assembly, to be held in July 1648.

Subscribed in name of the Commission of the Generall
Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, by

Edinburgh, 26th November 1647.

Mr. ROBERT DOUGLASS, Moderator.

Direct, To their Reverend and welbeloved brethren,
the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, the
Ministers of London, and all other well-affected
Brethren of the Ministerie of England.

(Minutes, p. 278.)

Edinb. 14 Aprilis 1648. Ante meridiem.

The Commission appoynts the Ministers of this town, or any three of them, to be a committee to examine the corrections of the Brethren appoynted to revise Rouse Psalmes, and to conferr with those brethren therupon, and to report their opinions to this Commission. The first dyet upon Monday at 10 houres in this place.

(ib. p. 375.)

Edinb. 20 Aprilis 1648. Post meridiem.

The Commission appoynts M^r John Adamson, Doctor Colvill, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, John Neve, and Patrick Gillaspie, James Gutterie, to revise Rouse's Psalmes, and the amendements sent in from these that wer appoynted by the Assembly to revise them, and to report their opinions. Their meeting to be the morne at 7 houres in the Colledge.

(ib. p. 386.)

Edinb. 1 May 1648, Post meridiem — Sederunt.

Ministers.

Elders.

MR. RO^t. DOUGLAS, Mod^r.

MR. ZACHARIE BOYD.

LIBBERTOUN.

MR. JAMES HAMILTOUN.

MR. GEORGE LESLIE.

FINDAWRIE.

MR. EVAN CAMERON

MR. RO^t. BLAIR.

SIR JAMES STEWART.

MR. SAMUELL RUY^SFURD.

MR. JOHN BELL.

GEORGE PORTERFIELD.

MR. HEUGH MACKALL.

MR. JAMES GUTHRIE.

LAWRENCE HENDERSON.

MR. JOHN NEVE.

MR. MUNGO LAW.

JOHN SEMPLE.

The Commission appoynts Mr. Ro^t Douglafs, George Gillaspie, William Colvill, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, with Mr. John Adamfon, to revife Roufe's Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes in meeter, the Animadverfions thereupon, and to Report their opinions.

(Minutes, p. 433.)

Edinburgh, 10th Auguft 1648.—Sefs. XXXVIII.

ACT FOR EXAMINING THE PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS AND OTHER SCRIPTURALL SONGS

The Generall Affembly appoints Roufe[']s Paraphrafe of the Pfalms, with the corrections thereof, now given in by the perfons appointed by the laft Affembly for that purpofe, to be fent to Prefbyteries that they may carefully revife and examine the fame, and thereafter fend them with their corrections to the Commiffion of this Affembly to be appointed for publick affairs, who are to have a care to caufe re-examine the Animadverfions of Prefbyteries, and prepare a report to the next Generall Affembly; intimating hereby, that if Prefbyteries be negligent hereof, the next Generall Affembly is to go on and take the fame Paraphrafe to their confideration without more delay: And the Affembly recommends to Mafter John Adamfon and Mr. Thomas Craufurd to revife the labours of Mr. Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripturall Songs, and to prepare a report thereof to the said Commiffion for publick affairs, that after their examination the fame may be alfo reported to the next Generall Affembly.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

Edinburgh, 5 January 1649, Ante meridiem.

THE Commiffion of the Generall Affembly having this day received a printed copie of Rows Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes, corrected according to thefe Animadverfions given in to the late Affembly: Therefore, doth appoint a competent number of thefe corrected copies, now printed, to be fent to Prefbyteries, that according to the Act of Affembly, they may revife and examine the fame, and thereafter return the Animadverfions and corrections thereof to this Commiffion; otherwife the faid next Affembly is to goe on and take this Paraphrafe to their confideration without delay.

(Minutes, p. 115)

(Extract from a Letter directed to Prefbyteries.)

RIGHT REVEREND,

YEE fhall receive copies of the new Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes, at a merk the peece, which yow will be pleafed to perufe carefully, and that yow would amend any

fault yow finde in them, and fend in your corrections to us with diligence; for it is not enough to finde out faults except yee also fet downe your owne essay correcting the same.

Your loving Brethren,

The COMMISSIONERS of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Ed. 30th January 1649.

(Minutes, p. 147.)

Edinb. 7 Junij 1649.—The Commission appoints the Reports of the corrections of Rouse's Paraphrase of the Psalmes to be deliyvered into the Clerk, that he may lend them out to Mr. Johne Adamson, to be considered against the next Assembly.

(ib. p. 226.)

Edinburgh, 6th August 1649.—Ante meridiem. Sess. ult.

REFERENCE TO THE COMMISSION FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRES FOR RE-EXAMINING THE PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMES, AND EMITTING THE SAME FOR PUBLICKE USE.

The Generall Assembly having taken some view of the new Paraphrase of the Psalmes in Meeter, with the corrections and animadversions thereupon, sent from several persons and Presbyteries, and finding that they cannot overtake the review and examination of the whole in this Assembly; therefore, now after so much time, and so great paines about the correcting and examining thereof, from time to time, some yeares bygone, that the worke may come now to some conclusion, they do ordain the Brethren appointed for perusing the same during the meeting of this Assembly, viz. Masters James Hamiltoun, John Smith, Hew Mackail, Robert Traill, George Hutcheson, and Robert Lowrie, after the dissolving of this Assembly, to goe on in that worke carefully, and to report their travels to the Commission of the Generall Assembly for publick affaires, at their meeting at Edinburgh in November. And the said Commission, after perusal and re-examination thereof, is hereby authorized, with full power, to conclude and establish the Paraphrase, and to publish and emit the same for publick use.

A. KER.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

Edinb. 7. August. 1649.—The Commission recommends to the Brethren appointed by the Generall Assembly for correcting the Psalmes, to hasten their corrections; and so soone as they have done, that the Moderator convene the Commission, or a quorum of these that are nearest, to consider their travells, and prepare the matter against the Quarterly meeting.

(Same date.)—The Commission of Assembly considering the power they have from the late Assembly to give a competent and honest acknowledgment and reward to the young man that has been employed in wrytting of the several copies of the Paraphrase of the Psalmes, corrected from time to time, Doe therefore appoint the Brethren appointed to

revise that Paraphrafe, who can best know his paines, to consider what shall be given unto him; and to report their opinions therein to the next Quarterly meeting.

(Minutes, p. 234.)

Edinb. 20 Novemb. 1649, Post meridiem.—Sederunt.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Elders.</i>
MR. RO ^T . DOUGLAS, Mod ^r .	MR. SAM ^L . RUTHERFUIRD.
MR. GAVIN YOUNG.	MR. THOMAS LUNDIE.
MR. GEORGE HUTCHESON.	MR. JAMES HAMILTOUN.
MR. JO ^N . MONCREIFF.	MR. JAMES GUTTERIE.
MR. W ^M . OLIPHANT.	MR. HEW MACKAELL.
MR. GEORGE BENNET.	MR. GEORGE LESLIE.
MR. JOHN LIVINGSTOUN.	MR. PAT ^r . GILLASPIE.
MR. JOHN SCOTT.	MR. JOHN HAMILTOUN.
MR. JOHN DOUGLAS.	MR. EPHRAIM MELVILL.
MR. JO ^N . DALZELL.	MR. ARTHUR FORBES.
MR. DAVID LAYNG.	MR. JO ^N . NEIVE.
MR. MUNGO LAW.	MR. JAMES RO ^T SONE.
MR. W ^M . ROW.	MR. JO ^N . CURRIE.
MR. RO ^T . HOME.	MR. THOMAS DONALDSON.

This session spent only in the reading and examining the Paraphrafe of the Psalms.—
The next meeting the morne at 8 houres. (Minutes, p. 244.)

Edinb. 21 Novemb. 1649. Post meridiem.—A number of the Psalms of the new Paraphrafe this day surveyed. (ib. p. 245.)

Edinb. 22 Novemb. 1649.—A number of the Psalms this session surveyed. (ib. p. 246.)

Eodem die, post meridiem.—A number of the Psalms this day surveyed and examined. (ib. p. 247.)

Edinb. 23 Novemb. 1649.—The rest of this session spent in reading of the Psalms. (ib. p. 248.)

Eodem die, post meridiem.—Sederunt.

<i>Ministers.</i>	<i>Elders.</i>
MR. RO ^T . DOUGLAS, Mod ^r .	MR. JOHN LIVINGSTON.
MR. GEORGE HUTCHESONE.	MR. JAMES HAMILTON.
MR. JAMES GUTTERIE.	MR. GEORGE LESLIE.
MR. RO ^T . ROW.	MR. JO ^N . NEAVE.
MR. PAT ^r . GILLASPIE.	MR. W ^M . ROW.
MR. JOHN MURRAY.	MR. GEORGE BENNET.
	LORD REGISTER.
	L. CRAIGHALL.
	L. BRODIE.
	L. THIER-DEPUTE.
	QUHYTBANK.
	S ^R . JOHN CHEISLIE.

MR. HEW MACKAELL.
MR. DAVID LAYNG.
MR. MUNGO LAW.

MR. JOS. DOUGLAS.
MR. THOMAS LUNDIE.

ACT FOR ESTABLISHING AND AUTHORIZING THE NEW PSALMES.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly having with great diligence considered the Paraphrase of the Psalmes in Meter, sent from the Assembly of Divines in England by our Commissioners, whilst they were there, as it is corrected by former General Assemblies, Committees from them, and now at last by the Brethren deputed by the late Assembly for that purpose: And having exactly examined the same, doe approve the said Paraphrase, as it is now compiled: And therefore, according to the power given them by the said Assembly, doe appoint it to be printed and published for publik use: Hereby authorizing the same to be the only Paraphrase, of the Psalmes of David to be sung in the Kirk of Scotland; and discharging the old Paraphrase and any other than this new Paraphrase, to be made use of in any congregation or family after the first day of Majj in the year 1650; And for Vniformity in this parte of the Worthip of God, doe seriously recommend to Presbyteries to cause make publick intimation of this Act, and take speciall care that the same be tymeously put to execution, and duely observed.

COMMISSION TO THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH FOR ORDERING THE PRINTING THE NEW PSALMES, AND FOR SATISFIEING THE TRANSCRIBERS.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly, for the better ordering of the printing of the new Paraphrase of the Psalmes, that they may be correctly printed, and that the people be not extortedion by Printers or Stationers in the prices, doe hereby give power to the Moderator and Ministers of Edinburgh, or any three of them, with the Clerk, to order the printing of the said new Paraphrase, and to sett doune pryces thereof, and to take such course with Printers and Stationers as they may neither wrong the people, nor any of them another. Recommending especially to them to have a care that copies be correctly transcribed for the presse, and that the printed copies be well corrected. Giving them also power to determine and modifie what they think reasonable to give to the transcriber of the copies for all his paines he hes or shall be at.

(Minutes, pp. 248 and 253.)

Edinburgh, 8th January 1650.

The Committee of Estates having considered the English Paraphrase of the Psalms of David in Meeter, presented this day unto them by the Commis. of the General Assembly, together with their Act and the Act of the late Assembly, approving the said

Paraphrase, and appointing the same to be sung through this Kirk. Therefore, the Committee doth also approve the said Paraphrase, and interpose their authority for the publishing and practising thereof; hereby ordaining the same, and no other to be made use of throughout this Kingdom, according to the tenour of the said Acts of the General Assembly and their Commissioners.

T. HENDERSON.

VI.—THE PRESENT VERSION, 1650.

The preceding notices, chiefly extracted from the Journals of the Lords and Commons, and from the Original Minutes of the Commission of the General Assembly, will shew the very great care bestowed in revising Rous's translation of the Psalms. Along with these extracts, the reader might compare the additional passages contained in Baillie's correspondence respecting this Version. (Vol. II. pages 379 and 401, and Vol. III. pages 3, 12, 21, 60, and 97.) It would seem from some of these notices that one or more intermediate editions between 1646 and 1650, must have been printed, for the use of Committees in revising the text, but no such copies are known to be preserved. At length, after all hope of its being adopted in England as part of the proposed Uniformity had been frustrated, the new Version, being duly sanctioned for use in this country, was published under this title;—

“THE PSALMS OF DAVID in Meeter: Newly translated, and diligently compared with the Original Text and former Translations: More plain, smooth, and agreeable to the Text than any heretofore. Allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in Congregations and Families. Edinburgh: Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1650.” Small 8vo, pp. 15 and 308. Prefixed are the Acts of the General Assembly, 6th August, of the Assembly's Commission 23d November 1649, and of the Committee of Estates, 8th January 1650, (as already quoted,) authorizing this Version to be used from and after the 1st May 1650.

This was the first authorized edition of our present Version: and other editions by Tyler were printed in the same year. Since then it has continued to be republished in countless numbers; and having now remained unaltered for the space of nearly two centuries, (unless some slight variations in orthography,) it would be unnecessary to insert any specimens of it, except for the convenience of comparison with the text of 1646. That this Version of the Psalms should have remained so long in use must be mainly attributed to the great care that was bestowed by many learned divines to render it at once a simple and faithful paraphrase of the original text. To a modern critic it will no doubt appear destitute of poetical sentiment or felicity of expression. Fidelity, however, was the great object aimed at, and mere elegance was sacrificed to a close adherence to the original. In accomplishing this object frequent use was made of former

translations, by substituting verses or lines, instead of such as had appeared in Rous's version. And while every thing like superfluous ornament and redundancy of language was very scrupulously avoided, in order to render it the more acceptable to persons of all ranks, the common measure was adopted throughout. The changes that have taken place in accent and pronunciation, makes it frequently liable to the charge of want of common prosody: Still with all its poverty of style, and manifest imperfections, it must be admitted, that long familiar use has given it a firm hold on the affections of the people of Scotland; and much as it might be improved if carefully revised (for the sake of metre) by some skilful and judicious hand, and enlarged by adding particular Psalms, in different measures, to lessen its present monotonous character, the Version itself to all appearance will not speedily be superseded. Such in effect was the opinion of Dr. Beattie, who was not likely to entertain any strong partiality in its favour. His words, as contained in his letter to Dr. Blair "On the Improvement of the Psalmody in Scotland," in 1778, may be quoted: After referring to Sternhold's and King James's versions, he says, "The next English version of the Psalms in metre, is that which is now used by all the Presbyterian congregations in Scotland. And this, notwithstanding its many imperfections, I cannot help thinking the best. The numbers, it is true, are often harsh and incorrect; there are frequent obscurities and some ambiguities in the style; the Scotch idiom occurs in several places; and the old Scotch pronunciation is sometimes necessary to make out the rhyme. Yet in this Version there is a manly, though severe, simplicity, without any affected refinement; and there are many passages so beautiful as to stand in need of no emendation."

PSALM I.

(By F. ROUS, from the Edition 1646.)

The man is blest that in th' advice
of those that wicked are
Walks not, nor stands in sinners path,
nor sits in scorners chaire.

2. But in God's law delights, on's law
both day and night doth think;

3. He shall he like unto a tree,
set by the river's brink,

Whose fruit's in season, leaf fades not,
all that he doth shall thrive:

4. Not so the wicked; but like chaffe
which winde away doth drive.

PSALM I.

(From EVAN TYLER'S Edition 1650.)

That man hath perfect blessednesse,
who walketh not astray,

In counsell of ungodly men,
nor stands in sinners way,

Nor sitteth in the scorners chaire;

2. But placeth his delight
Upon God's law, and meditates
on his law, day and night.

3. He shall be like a tree that growes
near planted by a river,

Which in his season yeilds his fruit;
and his leaf fadeth never;

And all he doth shall prosper well.

4. The wicked are not so;

But like they are unto the chaff
which wind drives to and fro.

5. In judgement therefore wicked men
shall not stand justify'd ;
Nor in th' assembly of the just,
the sinners shall abide.
6. Because the way of righteous men
the Lord with favour knows ;
Whereas the way of wicked men
unto destruction goes.

PSALM XXIII.

(From the Edition, 1646.)

- The Lord my shepherd is, I shall
not want ; he makes me ly
2. In pastures green, he leads by streams
that do run quietly.
3. My soul he doth restore again,
and me to walk doth make
On in the paths of righteousness,
ev'n for his own name's sake.
4. Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
I'll fear no evil thing ;
Thou art with me, thy rod, thy staffe,
to me do comfort bring.
5. Before me thou a table fit'st
in presence of my foes :
My head thou dost with oile anoint,
My eup it overflows.
6. Goodnesse and mercy all my life
shall surely follow me ;
And in God's house for evermore
my dwelling place shall be.

PSALM LVII. v. 1—3.

(From the Edition, 1646.)

- Be mercifull to me, O God,
thy mercy unto me
Do thou extend, because my soul
doth put her trust in thee :
Yea in the shadow of thy wings
my refuge I will place ;
Untill that these calamities
do wholly overpasse.
2. My cry I will cause to ascend
unto the Lord most by ;

5. In judgement therefore shall not stand
such as ungodly are,
Nor in th' Assembly of the just
shall wicked men appear.
6. For why ? the way of godly men
unto the Lord is known :
Whereas the way of wicked men
shall quite be overthrown.

PSALM XXIII

(From the Edition, 1650.)

- The Lord's my shepherd, I'll not want .
2. He makes me down to ly
In pastures green ; He leadeth me
the quiet waters by.
3. My soul he doth restore again ;
and me to walk doth make,
In to the paths of righteousness,
ev'n for his own Names sake.
4. Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
yet will I fear none ill ;
For thou art with me, and thy rod
and staff me comfort still.
5. My table thou hast furnished
in presence of my foes ;
My head thou dost with oyl anoint,
and my eup overflows.
6. Goodnesse and mercy all my life,
shall surely follow me ;
And in God's house for evermore
my dwelling place shall be.

PSALM LVII. v. 1—3.

(From the Edition, 1650.)

- Be mercifull to me, O God,
thy mercy unto me
Do thou extend, because my soul
doth put her trust in thee.
Yea, in the shadow of thy wings
my refuge I will place,
Untill these sad calamities
do wholly overpasse.
2. My cry I will cause to ascend
Unto the Lord most bie,

Even unto God who all things doth
for me work perfectly.
3. He shall from heaven send, and me
from his reproach defend
That would devour me; God his truth
and mercy forth shall send.

PSALM XCIII.

(From the Edition, 1646.)

1. God reigns; God's cloth'd with majesty;
God is with strength array'd;
He girds himself therewith; the world
moves not, it is so stay'd.
2. Thy throne is fixt of old, and thou
art from eternity.
3. The floods, Lord, raise, floods raise their
voice;
floods raise their waves on hy.
4. But yet the Lord that is on high
is more of might by farre,
Than noise of many waters is,
or great sea-billows are.
5. Thy testimonies every one,
in faithfulness excell;
And holinesse for ever, Lord,
thine house becommeth well.

To God, who doth all things for me
perform most perfectly.
3. From heav'n he shall send down, and me
from his reproach defend
That would devour me: God his truth
and mercy forth shall send.

PSALM XCIII.

(From the Edition, 1650.)

The Lord doth reign, and cloth'd is He
with majesty most bright.
His works do shew him clothed to be
and gird about with might.
The world is also stablished,
that it cannot depart.
2. Thy throne is fixt of old, and thou
from everlasting art.
3. The floods, O Lord, have lifted up,
they lifted up their voice,
The floods have lifted up their waves,
and made a mighty noise.
4. But yet the Lord, that is on high,
is more of might by far,
Than noise of many waters is,
or great sea billows are.
5. Thy testimonies, every one,
in faithfulness excell:
And holinesse, for ever, Lord,
thine house becommeth well.

In England, some attempts still continued to be made in favour of Barton's Version, (first printed in 1644,) as appears from the following entry in the Journals of the House of Commons:—

Sept. 27, 1650.—The humble Petition of Wm. Barton, Preacher of God's Word, was this day read; Ordered, That it be referred to Mr. Carill, Mr. Nye, Mr. Bond, Mr. Stronge, Mr. Sedgewick, and Mr. Byfield, or any three of them, to peruse and consider of the Translation of the Psalms set out by Mr. Rous, and since reviewed by the said Wm. Barton; and, if they shall approve of the same, then to license the printing thereof.—(Vol. vi. p. 474.)

“The Book of Psalms in Metre: close and proper to the Hebrew: smooth and pleasant for the Metre. To be sung in usuall and known Tunes. By WILLIAM BARTON, M^r of Arts,” appeared at London, printed by Roger Daniel, 1654, 12mo. Prefixed is this

authority for printing it. "Wednesday January 11th 1653[-4.] At the Council at White-hall. Ordered by his Highnes the Lord Protector, and the Council, That Mr. William Barton have the sole printing of his translation of the Psalms," &c. This edition differs materially both from the first publication of Barton's Psalms (licensed by the Committee of the House of Commons concerning Printing, April 2nd 1644.) "London, printed by Matthew Simmons for the Companie of Stationers, 1644," 18mo, and from another edition, "London, printed by G. M. 1645," 12mo, with "the approbation of more than forty eminent Divines." The later editions contain "Amendments, and addition of many fresh Metres." In the copies subsequent to 1654, the Author (who takes credit to himself for having, "compiled the whole Book, as near as may be, in the same order of words with the original, *and for the most part in as perfect Prose as Verse,*") has introduced this sentence into the middle of his preface to the Reader: "The Scots of late (he says) have put forth a Psalm-Book, most-what composed out of mine and Mr. Rouse his, but it did not give full satisfaction, for somebody hath been at charge to put forth a new edition of mine, and printed some thousands of mine in Holland, as it is reported; But whether they were printed there or no, I am in doubt; for I am sure that 1500 of my Books were heretofore printed by stealth in England, and carried over to Ireland."

Several eminent Non-conformist Divines in London and the neighbourhood having adopted our present metrical version of the Psalms, in the editions printed at London, 1673, 1683, &c. they prefixed an address "to the Reader," which concludes thus:—"The Translation which is now put into thy hands, cometh nearest to the Original of any that we have seen, and runneth with such a fluent sweetness, that we thought fit to recommend it to thy Christian acceptance; Some of us having used it already, with great comfort and satisfaction." Signed:—

THO. MANTON, D. D.
 HENR. LANGLEY, D. D.
 JOHN OWEN, D. D.
 WILLIAM JENKYN.
 JA. INNES.
 THO. WATSON.
 THO. LYE.
 MAT. POOLE.
 JO. MILWARD.
 JOHN CHESTER.
 GEO. COCKAYN.
 MATTHEW MEADE.
 ROBERT FRANKLIN.

THO. DOOELITTLE.
 THOMAS VINCENT.
 NATHANAEL VINCENT.
 JOHN RYTHOR.
 WILL. TOMSON.
 NICO. BLAKIE.
 CHARLES MORTON.
 EDM. CALAMY.
 WILL. CARSLAKE.
 JAMES JANEWAY.
 JOHN HICKES.
 JOHN BAKER.
 RI. MAYO.

WILLIAM BARTON took his degree as B. A. at Oxford, 23d October 1633. In 1656 he was appointed Minister of St. Martin's, Leiceſter; and had the rectory of Cadeby given him by Cromwell; but he was ejected in 1662. He died ſometime between 1672, when he publiſhed "Two Centuries of ſelect Hymns and Spiritual Songs," and 1682, when an edition was printed of his "Book of Pſalms," bearing on the title to be "as he left it finiſhed in his lifetime." In this amended ſtate his verſion continued to be reprinted till 1705.

VII.—SCRIPTURAL SONGS AND PARAPHRASES.

As a ſuitable ſequel to theſe notices, the following extracts reſpecting certain propoſed additions to the Pſalmody may be given:—

Edinb. 25 Februarij 1648.—The Commiſſion defires Mr. Johne Adamſon to revife Mr. David Leitch's papers of Poecie, and give his opinion to the Commiſſion thereof.

(Minutes of the Commiſſion, p. 306.)

Edinb. 5 April. 1648.—Concerning Mr. David Leitch, The Commiſſion appoynts the letter following to be written to the Preſbytery of Allau, [in the margin, Ellon].—

RIGHT REVEREND AND WELBELOVED BRETHERN,

THESE are to ſhow yow, that our brother Mr. David Leich, being employed in Paraphraſing the Songs of the Old and New Teſtament, heſ been in this town ſome tyme, and for als much as he yet is appointed to continue in that employment, our earneſt deſyre is, that yow endeavour your ſelves joyntly, for his further encouragment in that work, provyding that it be no hinderance to him in his preſent charge. So recommending yow and your labours to the bliſſing of God, Wee reſt,

Your louing Brethren, etc.

Edinb. 5 Apryll 1648.

Direc̄t to their Reverend Brethren of the Preſbytery of Ellon.

(ib. p. 362.)

Edinb. 1^o Januarij 1650, Ante meridiem.

The Commiſſion of the Aſſembly underſtanding the paines of Mr. Jo. Adamſon, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, and Mr. Ro^t Lowrie have been at in the tranſlation of the Pſalmes and other Scripturall Songs in Meeter, and how uſefull their travells have been in the correcting of the Old Paraphraſe of the Pſalmes, and in compileing the New, Doe therefore returne them heartie thanks for theſe their labours, and that the Moderator ſhew this to Mr. Jo. Adamſone, Mr. Robert Lowrie, and wrytte to Mr. Zacharie Boyd to this purpoſe.

(Minutes, p. 260.)

Edinb. 22d Feb^{ry} 1650.

The Commiſſion underſtanding that Mr. Ro^t. Lowrie has taken ſome paines in put-

ting the Scripturall Songs in Meter, They therefore desire him to present his labours therein to the Commission at their next meeting. (ib. p. 286.)

It may be added, that in the Minutes of the Commission, no further notice is taken either of these Scriptural Songs by Leitch, or Lowrie; which do not appear ever to have been printed. Of the persons commended for "their travells and pains," in this pious work, a few particulars may be mentioned: 1. MR. JOHN ADAMSON held the office of Principal of the University of Edinburgh from 1623, till his death in November 1653, and was the author of various works. 2. MR. ZACHARY BOYD, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, has obtained a much greater degree of notoriety. To a work (in verse) called "The Garden of Zion," printed at Glasgow 1644, he annexed, and afterwards republished, with his Psalms, in a revised form, "The Songs of the Old and New Testament." He died at Glasgow in the beginning of 1654 but his fond expectations, if not positive injunctions, for having his works published after his death were wholly disregarded. 3. MR. DAVID LEITCH, (in Latin Leochæus,) was minister of Ellon in Aberdeenshire. He was previously a Professor in King's College, Aberdeen, and pronounced, 9th April 1635, a Latin funeral oration on the death of Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen, which is included, along with a Latin poem by him, in the volume of the Bishop's Funerals, printed that year in Aberdeen; and in 1637, he also published an academical oration, "Philosophia Illachrymans," &c. In an account of the "Learned men and writers of Aberdeen," it is said, Leitch "wrote several learned poems, and was one of the chaplains to King Charles II. and also of the army that went into England." A volume of Latin poetry by him was printed at London 1657, 12mo. 4. MR. ROBERT LOWRIE was one of the Ministers of Edinburgh. Having conformed at the Restoration, he was appointed Dean of Edinburgh; and in 1671 he was advanced to be Bishop of Brechin. He died in 1677.

The proposal of enlarging the Psalmody by joining Paraphrases of other passages of Scripture, was afterwards brought under the deliberation of the Assembly, at various intervals. See the printed Acts of Assembly, 1706, act 4: Ass. 1707, act 16: and Ass. 1708, act 15. In 1745 a collection of such Paraphrases was published, and being remitted by the Assembly to the several Presbyteries, it came to be used in churches in public worship. The Assembly in 1775 appointed a Committee to revise that collection; and it was again published, with considerable alterations and additions, and retransmitted for the consideration of Presbyteries, 1st June 1781; and meanwhile it was allowed "to be used in public worship, in congregations where the Minister finds it for edification." This collection of Translations and Paraphrases in verse, although only partially adopted at the time, is now in general use throughout the country; and it has been contemplated to have the collection further enlarged.

Before dismissing the subject of the Psalmody of our Church, it is worthy of notice, that the editions of the Old Version, previous to 1650, are almost all accompanied with the tunes set to music. This would imply a much more general knowledge of sacred music than now prevails; but instructions in singing then formed an ordinary part of education; and music-schools were supported, at least, in the chief borough towns. A striking incident is recorded in relation to one of these tunes. In 1582, John Durie, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, after a temporary suspension and banishment, (in consequence of having incurred the displeasure of some of King James's favourites,) on his return was met at the Netherbow Port, or one of the gates of the City, "by the hail Toun;" and the whole assembled multitude marching up the High Street, with their heads uncovered, and with loud voices joined in singing the old version of the 124th Psalm,—

Now Israel may say, and that truly,
If that the Lord had not our cause maintained, &c.

In the edition of the Psalms, printed at Edinburgh, by the heirs of Andrew Hart, 1635, 8vo, the Editor, (only known by his initials, "E. M." but who appears to have been a devoted enthusiast,) has given the tunes in four Parts, from a careful examination of the best copies: while he acknowledges "the whole composition of the Parts to belong to the primest Musicians that ever this Kingdom had, as Dean John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Peebles, Sharp, Black, Buchan, and others, famous for their skill in this kind." (See Introduction to Johnson's Scots Musical Museum, edit. 1839. vol. i. pp. xxvi—xxxiv.) Some of these airs are foreign, either German or French, others are English, while several of them, such as 'Dundee,' 'New London,' 'Martyrs,' and 'St. David's,' are still to be heard in our Churches, and these fine old simple airs will always be admired for their "grave sweet melody."

LXXXVII.

LETTERS OF MR. ROBERT BLAIR, MINISTER OF ST. ANDREWS.

[The first four Letters, addressed to Douglas, are printed from the Originals, in Wodr. MSS. Fol. Vol. xxv. Nos. 99, 100, 112, 113; and that to Dickson, from Baillie's MS. The last is that of which Baillie makes special mention, *supra*, p. 376.]

No. 1.

REVEREND & BELOVED BROTHER,

I HAVE conferred with some of our Brethren from the West, of whom ye did wryt to me, and albeit they be very unsatisfied with publick proceedings, yet I fand them more defyrrous of conjunction then I expected. I wifs the rather a dyet be appointed for the

delayed conference, and the mean tyme tendernes to be used toward them & other dissenting brethren. As for the Act of Classes, ye know my mind, that though I was not satisfi'd with fundrie things in it, yet I think it very unexpedient it be cancelled in anie pairt at this tyme. Ye know well how all the answers given to ther Quaries have been abus'd, to the farder renting both of Kirk & Estate, wherof they would be grave-lie remembred and admonish'd at this tyme. Yea, farder, I have often heard, and from a good hand this daye, that they whom the Act most concernis, ar most silent about it, and they that defyres it least, & yet will yeald to it for the frentening of ther faction, mak most din about it, and yet will be readie to scoff at a yealding answr, and traduce you therefter. As also, it is better to keep this Act over the heads of them that now are admitted to imployment, to mak them bettir bairnes when favours ar granted to them by degries. Consider also how, in yealding, we pafs from our late answer to the first Quærie, wherin we defyred that power shold not be put in ther hand: to recall that so quicklie, I think it both sin and shame, till they deserve it bettir. And yet farder, wer not this the waye to unite us with our Brethren the lesf hopeful and farder out of sight, when needleslie we goe farder from them. And albeit, evin this consideration is not to be slighted, as I know yow will not, yet that which we ought mainlie to look to is the Lord's interest; the Act being made to keap judicatories and places of trust clear, (the rigour, ye know, and selfynes vented therein, I never lyked;) it would be well advyfed what to putt in the roome therof. They that have been ill affected doe too much lift up ther crest every wher, which we have need to look to in tyme, if it be not alreadie almost out of tyme. My opinion and earnest requeaft is, that this matter be left intear to the Gen[eral] As[sembly] for so ye and others that lye under the burdein of busines will be best exoner'd. Grace be with you.

Your loving Brother,

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

For his Reverend and beloved Brother, Mr. Robert Douglas,
Minister of the Gospell.

No. 2.

St^h A^s. [St. Andrews,] 16th March 1651.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I STILL continow crassie [infirm], and am not like to recover health or strength. I like not the present repealing of the Act of Classes; it was ill made, and now it were as ill rescinded, for thereby would be strengthened mightily the opposition that is made to Publick Resolutions. We have rather need to see how to curb the too great inclination there-away. I hear, that if Mr. James Guthrie and his colleague be fairly defyred by the Commission, and a place assign'd to him for the interim, that he may be induc'd to hearken to that defyre. I earnestlie wish that course be followed, because so first the

expected advantage of our wicked invaders therein will be disappointed, as also the expectation of wicked men among ourselves will be frustrated, as also the jealousy of some more forward than wife will be abated, and the moderate sort of honest professors will be most satisfied. But I have no will Mr. William Livingstoun's business be slighted; I complained to the King when he was here, and wished him to show his dislike of all such flattery. I desire ye would think of a publick humiliation, and private in families, contriving the Causes so as may be least offensive to any, and yet comprehensive enough. The Lord himself steer the helm in this tempest, and direct you by his Spirit in all things, which shall be the prayer of

Your loving Brother,

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

For his Reverend and Beloved Brother Mr. ROBERT DOWGLAS,
Minister of the Gospell of Christ, These.

No. 3.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

IN this troublesome tyme ye are putt to great travell, and hath but small encouragements, when all things are so far out of frame. The setting of discipline in the airmie is a thing very necessarie, and Oh that the Lord may be pleased to bless his owne ordinance. Our unsatisfied Brethren, I fear, will still be unsatisfied for anie thing can be done that waye, but I hope the Lord will be pleased, in Christ, with endeavours of that kind. The first daye I came out to the Presbiterie, which was Wednesday last, I was surprysed with the reading of ane Exhortation and Warning, indirectlie applying the characters of Malignants to dissenters, and requyring Presbiteries to censure them. I had heard such a thing muttered, but did not beleive it, albeit letters from Glasgow complained of it. In my judgement it is unseasonable and not healing, nor fitt to be made use of. It is lyke to make the rent wyder, and doe no good, but to crye Bellum. The Spirit of counsell and courage rest upon you.

Your loving Brother,

27th Apr. 1651.

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

For his Reverend and Beloved Brother, Mr. ROBERT DOWGLAS,
Minister of the Gospell of Christ.

No. 4.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

THOUGH the enimie be within few myles, yet my infirmitie puts me from thoughts

of going anie wher. We ar under a terrible storme of Divein displeasure. The folie of the Protefters, I think it very prefumptuous; yet I think it not wifdome to goe to the height of deferved cenfures, confidering the extremitie of the tyme, and former deferving of the perfones. Forget not Mr. Ja. Durrham: it was againft my opinion he was loufed from his charge. Mr. Baylie told me they had a mynd to call him to it again. Though they fould be flack in it, hald hand to it I pray yow, it will help fomething to mitigat the alienated myndes of good people. Mr. Ja. Fergufon is a wyfs and grave man: I wifs he wer joyned in attendance upon the King. This fame fcribbling ftreffes my bodie. Counfell from heavin thyne in upon your heart.

Your loving Brother,

[Between the 20th and 31ft July 1651.]

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

For his Reverend and beloved Brother, Mr. ROBERT DOWGLAS,
Moderator of the G. Affemblic at Dundie.

No. 5.

REVEREND & DEAR BROTHER,

WE fcaircelie gott a word one of another, when we were beaten afunder. I ever feared, our Brethren would ufurpe, and would rather put others to fuffering than to fuffer themfelves. They invited me to come to their meeting at Edinburgh, by ane letter dated from Glasgou; but befide the inabilityie of my bodie, I had fundrie reafons why I went not to them. I wrot to fome of their number, that they fould content themfelves with conference, and not ufurpe power to which they had no calling from God or man. Notwithftanding they have begune their ufurping wayes, and fitts, as haveing Commiffion from the Affembly 1650, whilk is expyred. And though they fitt peaceablie, they [there] are parties fent out to apprehend minifters in this fhire, fo that our fynodical meeting was hindered. The prefbyteries here are mending the matter, as they beft may; and this day our Prefbyterie hes emitted the inclofed A^ct, and tranfmitted it to their neighbours, haveing alfo appointed ane Faft, the Lord's day come eight dayes, for the finnes and fufferings of the land. God help us, we are compaffed with innumerable evils. Lord help our captive Brethren, whofe burthen is made heavier then [throw ?] the proceedings of our ufurping Brethren. Grace be with you and your toffed familie.

Your, &c.

20th October 1651.

M. R. BLAIR.

For Mr. DAVID DICKSON.

LXXXVIII.

MR. JAMES DURHAME, [TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS.]

[Orig.—Wodr. MS. Fol. Vol. XXV, No. 121.—The address of the letter is not preserved, but it was evidently written to Douglas.]

RIGHT REVEREND,

I WAS once in doubt whither to have staid till the Assembly or not; but being recovered in my health, and not knowing quho may be with the King, I have resolv'd, upon Mr. Blair's advice, to goe immediatly to that charge, untill the Assembly dispose of me and it, as shall be thought best. I doubt not quhen men are to be named, but yee will be carfull to see them such as that taske requirs, which I ingenouly confesse does not only requir mor zeall faithfullnes and abilities then I have, but mor then I could have thought of before experience of the snares and discouragements which accompanie it. I can say litle of the publike, being allmoſt affraid of everie event I can think of; yet, if God wold bleſſe som overturs I heard from Mr. Blaire, of waveing all bypait debates at this tyme, by entreing on a new ground, I thinke it the only way of healing; quheras, if things shall conclud by hotenes, after debat, it doth not cure y^e evill, but will readily bring on acts and censurs on men, quibich will be of greater scandall to the Church, in my judgment, then the thing debated, and may probably draw more favourers, out of desire to suffer, with som, and by others, quhairby manie will be deim'd to act by ane other principle in that then the present contraverſie. I was greiv'd to heir of som offence given at Stirling within these few days about preaching, quherin, though I did never wreat to Mr. James Guthrie, and thinks he might have done otherwise, yet I see not hou he can justly be charged in that, having undertaken no promise, and stay'd so longe a tyme, mor than I thinke wold have beine desired, if a tyme had beine set. Besid, the longeſt that was expected was only till the armie were up, or wer removed from thence. The days being few till the Assembly, it had beine lesse offence to have forborne. But I know yee see in these things further then I: and how farr men may outrune resolutions, for persueing ther own principles and ends, hes beine observed by yow long befor this. Though I grant ther be sundrie things in some men, quherin yee may be offended, yet I doe expect yee wil rather privatly cheke them for it, then anie way publikly to seem alienated in your affection from them, quherof I my self have no feare. The Lord direct yow in this strait tyme, quhen the eys of all are on yow, som with feare, and others with expectatione, quho, I hope, shall be prevented or disapointed, which is and shall be the prayer of your loving Brother.

July 14. 1651.

M. J. DURHAME.

LXXXIX.

PROTESTATION AGAINST THE PROVINCIAL SYNOD AT
GLASGOW, 8TH OCTOBER 1651.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters, &c. Vol. III. fol. 112, where the date 1652 is given, but this is unquestionably an error.]

WHEREAS the paper called "Testimony," etc., voiced in the Provincial Synod of Glasgow October 8th, doth very injuriously reflect upon the late General Assembly, and was carryed on mainly by men censured by that Assembly, and others preingadged in a Protestation against it censurable by the Acts of our Kirk: For these and other Reasons to be given in, in time and place convenient, We under subscribers, in our own names and in the name of soe many as shall adheare, doe Dissent and Protest against that paper, and all other proceedings of that Synod contrarie to the late General Assembly, appealing therefra to the next lawfull General Assembly; and desireing this our Protestation and appeale to be insert in the Synod books.

J. BONAR.	MR. R. BAILLIE.	MR. R. WATSONE elder.
M. H. BLAIR.	MR. ZACH. BOYD.	MR. JO. STERLING.
MR. JOHNE BURNE.	MR. R. INGLIS.	MR. J. ADAMSONE.
M. R. WALLACE.	MR. JO. BELL.	MR. RO. WATSONE younger.
M. ALLAN FERGUSONE.	MR. JO. VETCHE.	JA. BUCHANANE.
M. J. STEWART.	MR. WM. RUSSELL.	MR. MATH. RAMSAY.
WILLIAM BLAIR.	MR. WM. CROOKES.	MR. JA. FERGUSONE.
[A blank in the MS.]	MR. WM. CASTELLAW.	M. JO. COCHRANE.
MR. ROBERT AIRD.	MR. JA. TAILLOUR.	MR. PAT. COLVILL.
D. M'ALPINE.	MR. JO. HUME.	
M. R. SPRUILE.	MR. THO. KIRKALDIE.	
MR. HUGH ECCLES.	MR. WM. MORTONE.	
MR. JA. INGLIS.	MR. GEO. YOUNG.	
WM. RODGER.	MR. GAB. CUNYNGHAME.	
M. R. MAXWELL.	MR. ARD. DENNESTONE.	

REASONS OF DISSENT.

1. *First.* That we were content to goe alongst with them, for Union's sake, in all things demanded, so that ane publict vote of the Synod should not pass difallowing the Publict Resolutions; but this was refused, as appears be their Instructions.

2. They divided the Overture, and to make the first part more taking, they changed the word in the Overture 'Dissatisfied,' into 'Not being cleare to read presentlie.'

3. The Synod having voted only 'That they were not clear to read presentlie,' they voiced the whole Overture in a second vote; they kept the word 'Disfatisfied,' which, for obtaining voice in the other, they had taken away.

4. They not only voted Disfatisfaction with Publick papers, but did imply, that while [untill] they were satisfied, they would no wayes joyne for opposing the enemy; as appears by comparing the first and third Instruction.

5. They did admitt Ruling Elders to voice, who had no commission to instruct their power to the session, and had no seat in the Presbyterie since the last Synod; as the Presbyterie books did declare.

6. That while in their Instructions they did challenge the Commission in many things of neglect of duty, and it being offered by the Brethren to shew, that the Commission had not been deficient in these things, by their supplication presented to the Parliament, yet it was refused to suffer these papers to be read, which could have cleared the Commission.

7. That while the Countrey was in great danger of the Sectarians, as was shown by diverse Brethren of the Synod, that some did keep meetings with them, and some gone in to them of their number, yet all, for the Testimonie against the Sectarians, was delayed for fyve or six weeks after the Synod; albeit it was proponed in the Synod and Committee by them, yet nothing was done against them in the Committee, and nothing spoken against them till the Synod was to ryse, and nothing at all was reported against the Sectarians by the Committee.

8. And while diverse Instructions were given, wherein every member of the Synod could not say he had a scruple, yet they would have the scruples sent as from the whole Synod, although there was not one member of the Synod would owne them all; but when it was required that the Causes of the Fast should be read, the most of them being agreed upon by them all, yet the like was refused, though the present condition of the Kingdome did necessarily require the same.

9. Though the present condition of the Kingdome did necessarily require the Warnings to be read, and the Causes of the Fast, as said is, yet they did delay all till probably their reading will be useles.

XC.

ADVICES AND ANSWERS FROM DOUGLAS AND OTHERS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON, TO BAILLIE'S QUESTIONS, 29TH JUNE 1652.

[From the same, fol. 116.—See *supra* pages 188 and 189 respecting this paper. The following extract from the Presbyterie Records of St. Andrews, furnishes the names of the Ministers who were surpris'd at Alyth, and carried prisoners to London.

Sept. 1, 1651.—“ The Presbyterie mett occasionallie for advyfeing q^t is incumbent to be done by y^m in relation to certaine Brethren, latelie taken prifoners at Elio^s, as Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. Mungo Law, Mr. Johne Smith, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. George Pattullo, Mr. Johne Ratray, Minifters, and Mr. Andro Ker, Clerk to the Generall Affembly; did appoint a letter to be written to Lieutenant-Generall Moncke for y^r reliefe, and a letter to the Brethren for comforting and enconraging y^m under y^r fuffering; and Mr. Alex^r. Wedderburne appointed to goe with both.”]

It is hoped that care has been taken for the elections in Presbyteries of qualified and well-affected perfones. The next labour is for the constitution of the ensuing Assembly. To which effect it will be necessary that some few meet together on the Monday or Tuesday before the meeting of the Assembly, to prepare, order, and consult on all things necessary, and to informe themselves of the results of the meetings of the Declining pairtie, and to arme themselves accordingly.

If the Commission of Assembly have not already taken course for preaching and opening the Assembly, the time being so short, it will be necessary that the present Moderator of the Commission speak to Mr. Robert Blair, and faulzieing him, to write to Mr. David Dickfone to shew them it's a duetie lying upon one of them as last Moderator to open the Assembly; and that both of them prepare to preach, the one before, the other after noone, according to the custome, in respect of the absence of the Moderator of the late Assembly 1651, and the incapacitie of the Moderator 1650 to moderate in this now ensuing Assembly by his Declining [the Assembly of] 1651, and consequently this which is conveyed by the authority of that: In case of Mr. Blair's infirmite or absence, one of the ministers of the towne where the Assembly meets, may be written unto to preach with Mr. David Dickfone.

If Mr. Andrew Cant, Moderator of the Assembly 1650 be there, and take the chaire, offering to open the Assembly as last Moderator; or if it be moved, that he may doe it, (both which may be done upon designe), it is not our opinion that he can be admitted as a member, much lesse to moderate untill he have passed from and renunced under his hand-writing the Declinator, which neither he can give, nor the Assembly receive, before they be constitute; and so ane other must moderate and open the Assembly: much less is it questioned that he should be debarred, if he acknowledge this Assembly under any Protestation or declaration, That the acknowledging of this is not to be understood as any acknowledgement of the preceeding Assembly, or such like.

That the Assembly may be constitute be vertew of the Indiction of the preceeding, Let the Act of Indiction be first read before receaveing in of any Commissions; and thereafter, the Act for the order of calling the roll; and speciall care would be had that no way be given to any Overture, (if such shall be proponded upon the specious pre-

tence of peace and union,) for asserting the authority of this Assembly, either directly or indirectly disowning the preceding.

FOR THE REASONS FOLLOWING:—

1. ANY Declaration bearing that the acknowledgement of this Assembly is not to import any acknowledgement of the former, is so clear, that it needs not to be spoken to. But smooth Overtures passing over the question, or not taking notice for the time of the Act of Indiction; or, That the Assembly is to be held legal or lawfull without relation to the Indiction, or any such, are all upon the matter really passing from the Assembly and burying of it for ever: For what Assembly could owne it, when this indicted by it doeth not owne it, especially seeing tyme may and would certainly, in that case, make the difference wyder and the Declyners partie stronger. What Synod, or Presbyteries, or Minister, would or could owne that Assembly or their Acts, if the authoritie of it were so slighted by this Generall Assembly, no obedience to their Acts could be urged, nor disobedience censured.

2. It were at the least to keep the authoritie of the preceding Assembly under question, and so the Declyners shall have just reason to think that yet *sub judice lis est*; which were a weakening of the authoritie of the Assembly, and a strengthening of their usurpatione.

3. If this Assembly either put or leave the authoritie of that under question, the Declyners should have just reason to disacknowledge their censures, and notwithstanding thereof, to exerce their ministrie untill it be taken from them by an unquestioned authoritie: And this were in the Assembly a fearfull prostituteing of the Ordinance of the Ministrie and Church censures to contempt, and to leave the precious Ordinances of Christ to be esteemed valide or invalide, lawfull or unlawfull, according to the pleasure and humor of men, and their vertue and value to be changeable with times and persons.

4. It's a salvo to all such as doe, or can be moved to disclaime the late Assembly, that a strong partie of such may be admitted, under pretence of peace and union, but indeed to trouble the publick peace and order of the Kirk; who, being admitted, will plead (and possiblie can with some appearance of reason, from the same argument of peace and union,) that other Acts, aswell as the Act of Indiction, these especially of censures may for a time not be owned; and so as they have a salvo to disowne the authoritie, the Declyners shall obtaine a libertie to exerce ministeriall duties with a *non obstante* of the Acts of that Assembly.

5. As such a Declaration will work in favour of the decliners of, so in prejudice of the adhearers unto the authoritie of that Assembly, as putting or leaving the authoritie of it in question; yea it seems to be a plaine admitting of a declaration or protestation against it. To doe a deed commanded under protestation or declaration, that it is not by vertue of, or in obedience to the command, is to protest or declare against the commander and

his authoritie; and the thing commanded being performed, it can import nothing else: and if the authoritie commanding accepts of performances with such declarations and protestations, he accepts and admitts of protestations and declarations against himselfe and his owne authoritie: Soe, if the Assembly either themselves declare, or admitt others to declare, That they doe not hold their meeting to be in relation or by warrand of the preceeding Assembly, they thereby signifie no lesse than a denyall or difowning of the authoritie of that Assembly.

6. If the authoritie of the late Assembly be not acknowledged, the authoritie of this must be questioned, the meeting of this haveing no other warrand but from that, and soe it must be a meeting without warrand, and illegall; and such a meeting cannot give authoritie to it selfe.

7. No Commissioners can affirme or declare that their meeting is not in relation to the Indiction of the former Assembly, without manifest and unfaithfull contradicting of their Commissions, which doe expresse relate to that Indiction, and bears that as the narrative and cause. And soe such declarations being of necessitie to be registred, and the Commissions also to be kept *in retentis*, their unfaithfullness shall inevitably be kept in record to all posteritie.

If any Commissions from Presbyteries bear such Declarations and Protestations (which is to be carefully observed,) or any Commissioners make such verbally, in our opinion the Commissions may be rejected as limited, and the Commissioners removed, as limiting themselves; at the least they ought to be laid aside untill the remanent Commissions be given in, and the Assembly be constitute of uncontroverted members.

None depofed or suspended can in any tearmes be admitted to this Assembly, nor can these who subscribed the Declinator given in at St. Andrewes, except they passe from and renunce the Declinator by a declaration under their hands: as for the adherers unto it since the Assembly 1651, this Assembly cannot take notice of them untill their adhering to it be judicially delated and made good: and if it be informed and instructed, they are then to be removed alfewell as declyners.

After the Commissions are given in, the nixt is to choise the Moderator; for ordering whereof, the Act made thereanent is to be read. And we pray the Lord to direct the Assembly upon one of abilities for the employment, unquestionable integritie for the cause of God, and of knowledge and soundness in the present debates and differences.

For want of the Registers, the Assembly must be content at this time with the printed Acts, and extracts of such Acts, as usually are called for. And the Clerk, in respect of his restraint, will appoint one to attend the Assembly with such necessarie papers as he can at present think of. But it will be necessarie, after the constitution, that the Assembly formallie warrand any they please to supply the Clerk's place in this Assembly, and subscribe the Acts of it in his absence.

In our humble opinion it will be fitting, That the Assembly use all possible haste to a

conclusion, ingadgeing themselves in alse little buſinesse either of publick or private concernment as can be. But these seem necessàrie :—

1. That a full and plaine Declaration be emitted against all and every encroachment upon the liberties, priviledges, and authoritie of the Kirk, the Judicatories, Ministrie, and other ordinances of Christ, and against Separation; with a recommendation to Presbyteries and Synods to take effectuell courſe for oppoſeing these evils, especially where any Separatists already appear.

2. The Commission for publick affaires would be renewed; 1. Of a recommendation, for further censure of any deposed or suspended ministers by the late Assembly at Dundee, or by any others whatsoever judicatorie of this Kirk, or commissions issueing from them that have exereed any part of the ministeriall function since the sentences given against them. 2. Of a particular power to consider the severall conditions of all censured ministers, according to their abilities for the ministrie, repentance for their offences, and good behaviour since their censures, to put them in a capacite of readmission to the ministrie, if the Lord shall offer them a call.

3. There would be a generall renovation and continuation of all the references and commissions appointed by the preceeding Assembly.

4. It seemes necessàrie also that there be a recommendation to Presbyteries and Synods to take notice of ministers that have imployed any deposed or suspended to preach, or exerce any part of the ministeriall calling.

We conceive, in our humble opinion, it better that the Assembly indict the next to some day in the next year, than that this be continued and prorogated.

If the Assembly shall meet with any Declinator, they know what they ought to doe; yea, if they meet with greater opposition, we confidently hope that conscience of deutie, and former presidents, will animate them to shew faithfullness, courage, and resolution against it; and shall constantly pray for the fulfilling of that promise, Isaiah 4, " That the Lord may create upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion and her assemblies a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of flaming fire by night, and upon all the glory a defence," etc.

These are our thoughts, as we can conceive, of your buſinesse, from sense of duty, without the least presumption of prescribing or limiteing any man's better judgment.

XCI.

JOHNSTONE OF WARRISTON TO MR. JAMES GUTHRIE,

29TH MARCH 1654.

[From the Original in the Editor's possession. The initials 'M. S. R.' 'M. R. D.', 'L. B.', 'S. J. Ch.', 'M. J. G.', 'M. P. G.' stand respectively for Mr. Samuel

Rutherford, Mr. Robert Douglas, Lord Broghill, Sir John Cheesley, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. Patrick Gillespie.]

LOVING BROTHER,

BLISSED be the Lord that preservd you in your homgoing. I shal foone goe thro the booke, and presse diligence on vthers who ar too sloue. For neues, Lieut. Gen. Monk, wee heare, is nou, or wil be this week, on his journey to command in Scotland, and withal is reported to haive fayd, that he could live with any but the Remonstrators and Protesters in Scotland; and that he hes commissiõ to burne and destroye wherfoever the Highlanders are refetted. Ther is som report as if the M[arques] of Newcastle, Inchquin & Langdayle, wer com to the North. Their is a declaration of the Causes of a Faft in England, in which their are som good, som doubtful, and som bad things. M. S. R. hes seen the ordnance to the thirty ministers and elders about planting Kirks, and fayes, it is lyk the old High Commissiõ. I haive not yet seen it, but on[e] of the diurnals fayes, the Councel of State is about the settling a gover^r of the Church as before of the Staite. M. R. D. preached last Saboth bitterly against vs as maiking humiliations and communions in the countrey only for a nayme to ourselves, and that people might idolize vs, &c. And then in privat he spake to my L. B. against the King and nobles and our native reulers as worfe than the Inglish, and that he durit not in secret praye for their restitution. Middleton, I heare, hes an absolut commissiõ, not only in military and civil affaires, but also in ecclesiastical, with expresse power to depose and putt out ministers. I think it an observable circumstance of tyme by Providence tryfting the 20th of Merch to be the day of the Inglishes apoynting their Faft, and of our begining our notes of our Testimoyne, and the 24th of Merch to be the daye of their Faft, and of our finishing our Testimoyne letter, and meeting; which I wish they would taik for an good aunfwear of their Faft. I heare their ordinance about trying of ministers exprefly declares their tryal and approbation to be no sacred or soleme setting a man apart to the ministerye, but the ground and warrant of the magistrats giving to such the stipend, and so to shuffle and shutt out ordination, &c. It pleased the Lord to affist M. S. R. on Sunday al day to lecture on the 50th Ifay, and preach on the 4, 5, 6, v. Their was such a throng in the Grayfreers in the foreanoon, and in the Tron Kirk in the afternoon, and such a thinnes in the rest of the kirks as we haive not readily seen the lyke since the 1638. He preached part of our Testimoyne. M. R. D. fayd wee had sent vp three of our number, and som of vs maid som opposition to it only because wee was not called vp ourselves. Yee would not forget to send in the papers to S. J. Ch. and also y^r draught of the Testimoyne to the fynods. We haive sent an expresse to Mr. Jh. Leviston with the letter and tuo subcervyd Testimoynes. I heard that Col. Lilburne fayd to on[e], that he was the occasion of sending for thes three ministers, by a letter of his to the General, as a waye to satisfie the godly in Scotland; and

if he had knouen befor what he hard nou, he should haive defyred lettres to haive been written alfo to M. S. R. and M. J. G. Som hes maid a report goe throu the countrey as if wee had quyetly agreed with the Inglifhes, and that wee wer rayfing a Whigimyre road vnder Argyle; who, in the meantyme, I heare, hes written baifely flattering and ingaging lettres to the Protector. Alexr. Jaffray is lying feake, and fo is Mr. Jhon Meinzeis bedfast and not aible to goe vp. I haive written you al the neués I know. I fend to you heirwith a cople of the first paper which was written, to mark the cheifest passages of scripture, to be the matter of meditation and an advifandum befor any incorporation or ingagement, that you may fend it to Mr. Jam. Simpfon to perve; at the least the laft pairt of it from the middle of the 8th fheet to the end, which is anent arguments from the Covenants and Ingagements, wherwith he may compare the neu gouver^t in its four articles, and fett down shortly the direct antitheses between the tuo. Lykas I fend you the first six Aunfuers that war written in 1652 to the objection about Daniel ch. vii., about our former principles, that you may fend it to him, becaus the vther paper which he hes relates theirto; and defyre him to fend me back both thes papers, and the former that he got with him, and his fhort draught and his long draught both of his reasons againt talking places. I cannot aunfuer that any of thir cople ar right; for I haive borrowed them from Mr. R. Trayle, and hes promised to re-delyver them. Anent vther things I wil faye no mor at this occasion, but that I haive found the Lord's temple-tryftes and confefcions as sensible since our parting as ever of befor; blifed, blifed be his nayme. A fpeaking Chryft will proove a working reigning Chryft in the fight of his freinds and foes. The grace of the Lord be with you, and with your wyfe and children.

Your loving Brother,

M. P. G. is not yet come heir.
29th Merch 1654.

A. JHONSTON.

To my loving Brother Mr. JAMES GUTHRIE, Minister
of God's Word at Stirling.

XCII.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. JAMES SHARP, FOR LONDON, 23^D AUGUST 1656.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters, &c., Vol. III. fol. 236: See pages 324 and 330 of this volume, where notice is taken of Sharp having been sent to London, to Cromwell, on the part of the Public Resolutioners.]

1. Yow would labour to give a right impressiō of the disposition of the Ministers in this nation who stand for the Publict judicatories of the Kirk, to live peaceably and in-

offensively under the present government, by shewing what testimony they have given heirof: 1. By their quiet behaviour hithertill since they were brought under it; 2. By what was declared by some of them, understanding well the mind of the rest, to my Lord Præfident in February last; and 3. By what many others of them, from the severall Presbyteries, as at this present tyme voluntarlie declaring in petitions to the Council of Scotland.

2. To clear and make manifest the groundless arrogancy of our Brethren, in assuming to themselves the name of the Godly Partie of the ministrie; together with the injustice and falshood of their aspersing of the generalitie of the rest of the ministrie as insufficient, or scandalous, or both. And for this purpose to shew:—1. That the greatest part of the ministers who before our late differences were justly esteemed and looked upon as the most eminent, honest, and godly ministers in this Kirk, and were most instrumentall in the work of God, doe adhere unto the Publick Judicatures unto this day. 2. That (which is undenyable and notour,) a great part, if not the farr greatest part, of our Dissenting Brethren, have been admitted to the ministrie within these very few years, most part of these also being bot very young men; and very few of all of them that were ministers when the late work of Reformation did begin. 3. That although our Brethren did blaze abroad in publick, and suggest to these in power such aspersions against the generalitie of the ministrie; yet, when in their respective Presbyteries, at the visitation of Kirks, and in their respective Synods, at the tryall of the severall Presbyteries, they are required, upon their consciences, to declare their knowledge and judgement concerning the life and abilities of every one of their Brethren, little or nothing hath been represented by them of any challenge concerning the conversation or qualification of any particular minister in their judicatures; yea, although upon occasion of such generall aspersions spread and published by them, they have often been in judicatures and publick meetings earnestly atteited to condescend upon particular persons and challenges, and solemne promises have been made to them that judicatures should forthwith goe faithfullie and impartiallie about the tryell and censure thereof, yet never would they be induced to doe this. 4. That within these three years, as many scandalous, unable, and unprofitable men, in all the corners of the land, have been removed from the ministrie; so, through the Lord's goodness, many able and gracious young men have been, in our bounds, placed into their roomes, and we can warrantably affirm it, that within these last three or four yeares, there have been more able and pious men admitted to the ministrie in the severall parts of the land, than was at any tyme in so short a space, or much more, since our late Reformation. 5. We can also warrantably affirm, that as never more frequent nor more accurat visitations of particular Kirks, for inspection and tryall of the conversation, doctrine, diligence, and faithfulness of ministers in their charges, have been than of late within these three or four yeares last bypast; so that we have thereby found not only good evidence of the godly conversation, and of the sound and edifying doctrine of ministers generallie; but

also more painfulness in their labours, and more success thereupon, throw the Lord's blessing, than hath been before. 6. Although we will not deny, but it is very probable that in sundrie parts there may be found some men in the ministrie unfitable in conversation to their holy calling and insufficient, (and we wish from our hearts that our Brethren who asperse us, had not these late years admitted so many insufficient men, as is notour they have done,) yet we may truelie say it, that our Brethren's wayes and actings this tyme bypast, by which they have taught men to vilifie the authoritie of Judicatures, and to contemne the exercise of Discipline, hath been a great obstruction and hinderance to tryall, finding out, and censuring of such. And we give assurance that the Judicatures of the Kirk, they not being hindered to go about the work, nor being exposed to have their authoritie in the exercise of ecclesiastick Discipline contemned, shall use all diligence, faithfulness, and impartiality to try and censure such where they can be found within their respective bounds; as some Synods of late, alsoone as they had libertie to conveene, have given proofe of their fidelitie and zeale in this work, by removinge from the ministrie some who were of their own judgement as to the matters of Publict differences. 7. In a word, we can say in truth, the Lord bearing us witness, that this aspersion of insufficiencie, scandalousness, and corruption cast by our Brethren upon the generalitie of the ministrie of our judgement throughout the land, is most uncharitable, unjust, and false.

In relation to the preservation of true Religion and Government of the Church established among us, it is to be desired:—

1. That effectually course be taken for the suppressing of Poperie, so much increased and abounding of late in this land, which, if it be not tymoullie obviat, cannot but prove most dangerous to Religion, and to the peace and safetie of the State.

2. That the ecclesiastick government be permitted and allowed to runn in its right channell, and to goe on in its exercise, as it is established in this nation, according to the word of God, by Acts of Generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament.

3. Yet if on suggestion from this, or from themselves above, any motion be made towards the calling of a Generall Assemblie, yow would most serioullie represent the inexpediencie thereof for the time, and indisposedeness of this Kirk for it in regard of the present differences and distempers; which would readily be increased and heightened to the great prejudice of religion if there were a meeting in a Generall Assemblie, before there be time to compose and settle matters and men's spirits in inferior judicatories.

4. That there be no intrusion allowed of persons into the ministrie in congregations, without the lawfull and orderlie consent and election of the congregations, or without orderlie tryall and ordination by presbyteries; but that the whole calling of persons to the office of the ministrie be permitted and allowed to be acted and carried on according to the established order of this Church, and particularly that Act of the Generall Assemblie 1649, intituled the Direction for Election of Ministers.

5. That the Ordinance concerning the settling of maintenance upon ministers in Scotland, emitted in the year 1654, be made void and taken away, in regard it doth overturne the established order and government of this Kirk, especiallie as to the plantation and calling of ministers; as hath been evidenced in the considerations upon the said Ordinance which were given by us to the Lord Generall.

6. That persons producing certificats from their respective Presbyteries, bearing testimonie of their calling and admission unto the ministrie, in congregations within the respective bounds of the presbyteries certifying conforme to the order abovementioned, and of their blameles and godly conversation, and of their abilitie and fitness to preach the gospell, have, by the Civill power, allowed to them the stipend and whole benefits belonging to the respective charges whereunto they are called and admitted. And that the stipend of no congregation be settled upon any person intruded upon a people to be their minister, contrare to the aforesaid lawfull and established order of calling and admitting ministers.

7. That the Ecclesiastick discipline be permitted to be exercised by the Judicatures of the Kirk according to the order therein established; and the Ecclesiastick censures that shall be enacted and pronounced against any members of this kirk, ministers, or others, for scandales and offences, be not impeded nor stoped, nor any persons so censured disobeying, contemning, or opposing the discipline of this Kirk, be countenanced or incouraged in their disobedience, contempt, or opposition.

And whereas some may be buslie to suggest, and upon such suggestion it may haplie be objected that the Judicatures of the Kirk being such for the most part as stand for the authoritie and constitution of the two late Generall Assemblies, doe exercise oppression over these that dissent from them; and that were they permitted to exercise their full power and authoritie, they would crush the other part, by casting out many godly ministers, holding out manie godly expectants, and censuring all others dissenting from them. This may be made evidently appear to be nothing else but a forged, unjust, slander, by the Act of the Generall Assembly at Edinburgh, 1652, intituled, "an Act and Overture for peace and union of the Kirk," and by the Overtures made by us to our dissenting Brethren in November last; especiallie as they are expressed in our Representation given to them November [24th], and our carriage in our Judicatures all along the tyme of our differences, wherein we have borne with much and constant patience many sad, bitter, and unjust aspersions cast upon us by them, in preaching, write, and print; yet never to this day censured or challenged any of their judgement upon the account of our differences, or for any of their injurious aspersions cast upon us, nor ever opposed we the entrie of any of their judgement into the ministrie; but was ever willing to admitt him upon an orderlie call, if they would only have declared their resolutions to live peaceably with us, and to abstaine from holding up debates and contentions about the matters of our Publict differences, (which thing we were allwayes reallie willing to declare and performe for our part,) leaving to them the full freedome of their judgement in these matters.

8. That no companie of Ministers or others be esteemed or acknowledged to be a presbytrie or other kirk judicature, who have not been owned as such a Judicature; and that if any few ministers, or others who are not authorised in manner aforesaid, take upon them the authoritie and jurisdiction of a kirk judicature, and doe exercise any acts of government, in calling or deposing of ministers, or inflicting any other censures, that they be not countenanced, nor any of their actings owned as deeds of a lawfull Judicature.

9. Because our adversaries may be buſie to misrepresent us as having been averſe from Union, the matter of the Overtures of Union which we condescended unto, would be made known to those in power, and to the godly Presbyteriall Ministers there. As also the points on which they stuck and refused to unite with us, which were these two: 1. That we granted not unto them Committees of equal numbers of both judgments for purging. 2. That we required subordination and subjection of inferiour judicatures to their respective superior judicatures, according to the nature and order of Presbyteriall Government in this Kirk, and the constant uncontroverted practice thereof before the time of our unhappie differences. The unreasonableness and inconsistency with Presbyteriall Government, and the established order in this Church, of requiring the former and refusing the latter. is fully and clearly evidenced in our last two papers relating to the Conference.

10. If it shall happen that any new motion be made for union with our dissenting Brethren, it would be shoven, that we cannot possibly condescend any further then we have done already for obtaining Union with them in our above-mentioned Overtures in November last, as they are expressed in our Representation in the said moneth of November, unless we would condemne ourselves, and renunce our judgment in the matters of difference betwixt them and us, which we could not doe without wronging our own consciences, quitting truth, provoking God, and rendering our Church and Religion hateful to all Civill powers, nations, and Churches about us. And if it be moved that an Union be made between them and some of us whom they are pleased to favour with the estimation of honestie and godlines, laying by others, it would be declared that we are most willing that all such persons in the ministrie as can be challenged for scandale or insufficiencie be impartiallie tryed and censured in an orderly way by the Judicatures of the Kirk, or committees of unquestionable judicious and godly men, to be nominated by the said respective Judicatures; but that we neither can in conscience, nor will ever hearken to such a motion as that whereby a great part of the ministers of this Kirk, (whereof many are pious and able men, whatever our Brethren think of them.) shall be condemned as insufficient, scandalous, and corrupt, without hearing, without any tryell or proceſſe, and not only a more woefull rent made in this Church, but also the very constitution and frame of this Nationall Church overturned and rased, and all cast doune into a confusion.

Mr. DAVID DICKSON.

Mr. ROBERT DOWGLASS.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.

XCIII.

PROPOSALS OF THE PROTESTERS TO THE LORD PROTECTOR.

[From the same, fol. 238.—At page 353, Baillie refers to these Proposals of the Protesters which they sought to obtain from Cromwell, by sending some of their number to London; but in this they were defeated by Sharp, who had been sent thither as agent for the other party in the Church.]

1. THAT your Highness will please to give warrant for a Commission to be issued to such persons of ability and soundness who understand the affairs of the Kirk, as your Highness shall think fitt, who may have and exercise the power which was heretofore in the Commission of the plantation of kirks in that Nation; and that the said Commissioners may be authorized and required to dispose of the publick maintenance, according to the rules and acts of uncontroverted Assemblies of the Church, and lawes of that land before the year 1651.

2. That a particular Visitation may be, consisting of an equal number of both judgments, of approved godliness and zeale for the work of reformation; whereof the one half to be agreed upon by these who are for the Publick Resolutions, and the other half by the Remonstrators, for planting and purgeing of ministers and elders, and for composing of present and future divisions in Presbyteries and Congregations within the bounds of every Synod; having power and authority for that effect from the respective Synods themselves.

3. That there be also a general Committee of delegates from the severall Synods, of an equal number of both judgements, to be choisen and agreed as aforesaid, authorized by the Synods, without whose previous advyce and consent the respective Synods may not ranverfe any thing done by the foresaid Visitations; and such Visitations and Committees to continue untill the present differences be healed, or the Lord shall in providence minister some better way for the settling of peace amongst them.

XCIV.

LETTER, LORD BROGHILL TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS.

[From the Orig. Wod. MSS. Fol. Vol. XXVI. No. 8.]

WORTHY SR.

I SEND this on purpose to desyre you to favor me with your, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Sharpe's company, somewhat early to-morrow morninge, because I heare of som friends

will be with me all the afternoone, wherby otherwife I may be deprived of that time I intend to spend amongft yow. Pray favor me with fending to Sterlin for Mr. Symphon, to be with me at Edinbrough, on Tuifday morninge, without fayle, before the Councill does fit, for fom reafons fhallbe communicated to you when you com out.

Sir,

Your very af^t frend,

Pinky, Lord's day in the evening,
10 of Aug^t [16]56.

and humble fervant,

BROGHILL.

For my worthy frend Mr. Rob^t Douglas, Minifter of the Gofpell at Edinbrough: In his abfence, for Mr. James Wood, or Mr. James Sharpe, Minifters of the Gofpell, or either of them, at Edinbrough.

XCV.

ARTICLES EXHIBITED AGAINST MR. PATRICK GILLESPIE.

[From Baillie's MS. Letters, &c. Vol. iii. fol. 243. This appears to be the libel mentioned by Baillie, at page 372 of this volume, and which he says was imputed to him, but he denies his having seen it till produced by Gillespie at a meeting of the Faculty.]

ARTICLES WHEREFORE MR. PATRICK GILLESPIE OUGHT NOT TO BE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEDGE OF GLASGOW, BOTH FOR INSUFFICIENCIE, NEGLECT OF DUETIE, AND MALADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES OF THE SAID COLLEDGE:—AND FIRST OF HIS INSUFFICIENCIE AND NEGLECT OF DUTIE.

1. *First*, THE Princippall of the Colledge of Glafgow, according to its foundation, and the ordinarie pra^ctife ufed in that Houfe, is obliedged to be chief Profeffor of Theologie therein, to have each week publick leffons of Theologie and Philofophie, as thefe who formerly were Princippalls did carefully act the fame to the great advantage of the Students of Theology and Philofophie, and credit of the Univerfitie, and that notwithstanding that the burden of the managing of the public affaires thereof, and the ordering of what related to the building of the edifice lay upon them as now it doth upon Mr. Patrick Gillespie; but fo it is, that the faid Mr. Patrick, under pretext all this time of going about the Colledge affairs and buildings, hath neglected that part of his charge, and hath taught as good as none, for his whole dictates of Theology Leffons, for the fpace of five yeares, will be comprehended in two fheet of paper: And therefore he is not fufficient for that charge.

2. *Secondly*, The Principal of the said Colledge, according to its foundation and ordinary custome of the Houfe, ought to prefeed to all publick actes and disputes: To wit, when the Theologues give out Thefes before they be licentiat to preach, or those who by publick programmes were invited to dispute for a Regent's place, when any vaiked, the Principall alwayes was Preses in these disputes: But so it is, that to this day Mr. Patrick hath not at all prefeeded in any of these disputes, but left them still to be gone about by ane other. And for the private disputes of the Theologues amongst themselves, which used to be weekly, he hath very seldome been present at these; but ordinarily leaves these to be ordained by the other Professors, notwithstanding that by agreement betwixt him and them, he be obliged to wait upon them course about: And therefore he is no wayes sufficient for the said charge.

3. *Thirdly*, The Principal, by his place, is an ordinary examiner of the Students of Philofophy, both at those times when they are to be promoted and called in yearly, and likewise at the solemne examinations that they undergoe when they passe Masters of Arts; which duetie, as a chief part of their charge, all the Principals in the Colledge went about very carefully, and made searh how the Students were taught by their Masters, and did profite: But so it is, that Mr. Patrick, since his taking upon him the office of Principall in the said Colledge, to this day hath not examined, at these solemne times, the Students of Philofophy, neither hath at any other tyme tryed how they are taught by their masters, and how they profite in their studies: And therefore, it being palpably knowne that he is unfit for going about any of these dueties to any purpose, he is altogether insufficient for the said charge.

4. *Fourthly*, Albeit the teaching of the Oriental tongues, by the Visitation of the Colledge, was put upon another Professor, and the Principall was eased of that burthen, yet it is most necessarie that he who is Principall, and so by his place the Prime Professor of Theologie, should have skill in these languages, and should clear and expound to Students the hard places of Scripture: But so it is, that Mr. Patrick is so farr from that, that it is known how little insight he hath in the Latine; and this he evidenced at his first speech in Latine, that he had at a public meeting of the Colledge, at the Laureation of a Classe of Philofophy, when he began his prayer as an imprecation, using these words.—“*Auspiciis nostris Domine Deus adesse dedigneris;*” that is,—“Deinzie not Lord to be present at this our meeting;” And when in the close of that action he was desired, by one of that meeting, to pray and send away the newlie Lawreat schollers with a blessing, after a little pause, when it was expected that he would pray, he rose up, and without prayer dismissed them, saying “*Ite,*”—“Goe away;” Yea, it is his ordinarie custome, (which used not to be done by any Principall before,) to pray in English when he meets with the Theologues at their private disputes, or with the Students of Philofophy in the Common-hall: And therefore, his deficiency and weaknes being known, he is altogether insufficient for the forsaide charge.

ARTICLES OF MALADMINISTRATION OF THE RENTS AND REVENUES OF THE
FORSARD COLLEGE.

1. *First*, Howbeit the said Mr. Patrick Gillespie hath a fair and large fallary each year of the first and readiest of the rents of the said College, yet he not being satisfi'd therewith, hath taken of the revenues of that House to his owne use the summes following, at least he hath obtained right thereunto by the Moderators of that House: As first, when he was called up by his Highness the Lord Protector, some three yeares agoe, he obtained of his Highness a gift to that Colledge of the Superiorities of the Bishoprick of Galloway, together with two hundredth merks sterling money for maintenance of some Burfars of Theology; and notwithstanding, his Highness did allow him sufficient maintenance for his journey, and that according to his own account, given up by himself of his disbursements, in obtaining of the forsaide gifts to the said Colledge, there was payed to him by the Colledge one hundredth pund sterling or thereby; yet the said Mr. Patrick took of the Colledge rent, at his return, three thousand merks Scots money as a reward for his pains.

2. *Secondly*, At the last time when Mr. Patrick went to London he was commissionat by the Remonstrating partie, with others, to negotiat these things which by them were committed to him, and those who were joynd to him in that commission, and by that partie large summes were collected and given to him and others joynd with him, for defraying their expenses in that journey; and further his Highness the Lord Protector did liberallie allow to the said Mr. Patrick a larger soume of money, nor might have been sufficient for his maintenance during that space. The said Mr. Patrick having a particular Commission from the Colledge, (which he took from them after he was engaged to the Remonstrating partie to goe up for them,) to do what he could for obtaining some new gift from his Highness to them, as if his journey had been only undertaken for the Colledge, and that it was incumbent to them to bear all his charges dureing his long abode at London, (beside all that he gott liberallie from his Highness, and lykeways from the Remonstrating partie, who were those that sent him up in that journey,) he hath taken of the Colledge 20 sh. sterling money for ilk day, from his going from Scotland to his returne back againe, which being the space of eleven moneths, will extend to three hundred pound sterling, and above.

3. *Thirdlie*, As if the famen had not been enough, he hath obtained a warrand (some eight or ten dayes after he had gotten warrand for the precedent soume) under the hands of the Masters of the Colledge, for 300 pound sterling further; which bears that the said 300 pounds shall be payed out of the first and readiest that the Colledge shall obtaine by the late gift of the tithes of these benefices, chaplanries, and others, within the Bishoprick of Glasgow, which his Highness has past in favours of and for the behoof of the said Colledge: And besides both these sounes, which extend to 600 pound sterling, the Colledge, upon his account, given up to them of debursements and expenses he was at

procuring and passing of that late gift, have allowed the said Mr. Patrick 120 pound sterling or thereby.

4. *Fourthlie*, Howbeit it be incumbent to Mr. Patrick, in regard of his place and trust, by all lawfull meanes to better the yearly revenues of that Colledge whereof he is Principall, yet he hath taken a gift, and hath a right passed to him by the Moderators thereof that what he can finde out for augmenting the old rentall of the Colledge, speciallie in the Bishoprick of Galloway, the equall half thereof shall be appropriat to himself yearly, during all the dayes of his lifetime, and that by and attour his large salary which yearly is provided and payed to him.

5. *Fifthlie*, All this is the more to be taken notice of; *First*, Because it is well known that other gracious, learned, and most able men, who have been Principals in that Colledge these many yeares bygane, and faithfullie went about the discharge of their duetie therein, diverse of them did obtain, by their diligence and care, from the late King, his Father, and others who were Governours in this nation, a great deal more nor yet has been in that kinde by Mr. Patrick; as Mr. Patrick Sharp obtained the Personage of Govane, Principall Boyd the Personages of Renfrew and Kilbryde, and Dr. Strang the Bishoprick of Galloway, and other casualities; yet none of them either did require, or took any thing of the said Colledge, or of the benefices that were brought in to it by their paines, by way of gratuity or otherways. *Secondlie*, Because it was well known that unless the Principall of the Colledge be willing, and consent, no right can be granted of anie part of the rents of that Houfe to any person; which makes it clear that what is granted to Mr. Patrick of this kinde, hath made its rise from himself, or if it was first moved by others, that he hath readilie accepted what was offered. *Thirdlie*, Because it is certaine that the whole rents of the Colledge is to be employed in pious and publick uses, for the behoof and maintenance of poor Students, of the Fabrick, and Bibliothek, and that the Principall and Masters are only administrators of the rents of the Houfe, who can not be answerable to God nor man, if they shall appropriat any part thereof to themselves, except what is allowed to them for their salary; and this they must make appear in their yearly accounts, which are to be made yearly, whereof the Provest and Baillies of Glasgou are appointed to be Auditors.

No. XCVI.

LETTER, MR. PATRICK GILLESPIE, TO MR. DAVID DICKSON.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XXVI, No. 22.]

RIGHT REVEREND,

London, July 2d 1657.

I AM heartily forrie that our breach should beare such characters of judgement, as ar mor then legible in the mitgiving of all endeavours which have been applied for healing,

and doe put a discouragement vpon all men who wishe our Vnion henceforth to endeavour it. I need not represent to yow things which haue been experimented by us on all hands, how much the work of the Gospell, and the ordinances of Christ, suffer through our diuisions; but I desire to put yow in mind how much wee ar at a losse, by our differences, vpon this account, that the ministers of Scotland being so much on in judgement, and agreed in so many things as that they ar mor on[e] then any such number of ministers in any of the Reformed churches, yet cannot walk together becaus of difference about these things, which gaue the rise to our breache. This bespeaks us in the judgement of sober men, to be of very vnsober spirits, and of extremie rigid principles toward all others who differ from us in the least things. I am therfor humbly bold with yow, (to whom I acknowledge I owe verie much, and for whom I haue an esteeme becoming my obligations), to beseech yow yet to take into your serious consideration these things which were required by yow from us at the last Conference for Vnion, and were not agreed unto vpon on[e] part; and to see what abatement may be of your demands, and what farther condescension for peace sake, as I am also willing in like maner to think of these things demanded on on[e] part, and so farr as I can, with a good conscience, to stretch myself, and to beseech others, to all possible and lawfull condescension. And however I have been represented to yow, in my vndertaking this journey, or management of my trust heer, (as I haue mor then probable ground to think I haue been misrepresented), yet I am confident to make it appear that an honest peace hath been designed in the first place by me and these who sent me hither, and that *inculpata tutela* hath but a second consideration with us. If yow judge any thing heer worthie your thoughts, (wherin I professe I haue no designe beside the preferuation of our Church Government by our own concord, for which I could be exiled if that could procure it), vpon your intertainment of the motion, in any probable way of agreement for careing on the work of Reformation, yow shall command my cordial service, and poor endeavours for that end.

Your louing Brother to serue yow,

P. GILLESPIE.

For the Reverend Mr. David Dickson, Professor of Theologie in the Colledge of Ed^r., and Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister at Ed^r.

XCVII.

MR. JAMES SHARP TO BAILLIE, AND BAILLIE'S REPLY.

[Orig. Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XXVI, Nos. 86 and 75.—These letters are not contained in Baillie's own collection. They should have been included in the body of the work, at page 382 of the present volume; but they were overlooked at the time, from the circumstance of the first letter having no address, and the second, being simply indorsed

“Double of a letter sent to Mr. J. Sharp,” and having neither the writer’s name, address, or date. An examination of the letters, leaves no doubt as to the writers or persons who were addressed. A few corrections, and the words near the beginning of the last letter, printed within brackets, are in the hand-writing, apparently, of John Bell, who may have been the bearer of the letter itself.]

No. 1.

REVEREND S^r

Crail, August 2, 7 a'clock in the morning, 1658.

THE boxe yow sent, with all the papers yow mention, came to my hand yesternight, the 1 of this currant. I am so overcharged with buines at present, beeng to preach tomorrow, and on Weddensday the exercise befor the Presbytrie lyeth upon me, that it will not be possible for me to goe about the dispatches to London, in reference to your Town’s buines. Since the petition from the burghs, and that also from your Town, are not sent to London, I know no surer way to gett them presented to his Highnes then by our friend there, else Mr. Lockart, or the Prowoft of Edinburgh might have offered them, if they had been in time sent to them. I am hopefull that our freind will be returned to London befor that our letters can come thither, and I think I may perfwade him to use meanes that these petitions shall be delivered to the Protector, that if he find not the opportunity to present them by himself, the Secretary, or one of our freinds of the Councill at Whythall, may doe it; and, for this end, I purpose to wreat to the Secretary and one of the Councill. Some three dayes agoe I received the resolution of the Printer above, anent the readie deliverie of the books to the Stationar, and that yow may know what it is, I have sent it heirin inclofit for your perufall, that when yow have seen it, and considered of it, yow may send it to Edinburgh to my Brother. I know the subfryver of the letter, Alex^r Blair, to be diligent and punctually faythfull in what I or my Brother will put upon him, and a fitt person to manage such a buines; but I think his allowance he craves for change and exchange exorbitant, and if the way he mentions in his letter, which I do not know, or any other yow could fall upon, could make it more easie, I wishe it were speedily done: and therfor I have sent away the bearer to yow, that yow may have time to send your resolution therant to Edinburgh again Fridayes night the 6 instant, again which time I shall have my letters ready to our friends above, and shall send them by an exprefs to Edinburgh, that by the Saturdayes poast they may be transmited to London. Since yow judge it fitt that books be delivered to the Stationer, I think it will be conducing to the more effectual managing of your Town’s buines, that an essay be made upon him by the Printer at the time of the delivery of my paquet to him. I could wish that the charge of these books might be awaydit; but I am still of opinion it is the most promising way yow can fall upon for the effectual prosecuting of your buines. I shall wreat to our freind, upon supposition that the Printer is in readines to deliver these books, and shall send the petitions with

your other papers to him. I shall wreat also to Col. Witham to further the buſines by his letters. I know not if M. Patrick hath got the report to be ſent up; but I hope your papers will come in time. I have not the time now fully to peruſe them, but I ſhall, upon my ſending of them to Edinburgh, give yow an account of what ſhall be done with them. The account of the port charge will be given to yow by my Brother alſo. I would not keep the bearer for loſing of time to yow. I need not mind yow of the neceſſity of keeping the matter of the books and the Stationar with all cloſenes, and that your reſolution therein be ſpeedily ſent to Edinburgh. I have not as yet ſeen M. John Carſtares. I am ſo ſtraitned that I can adde no more; but commending yow, with the Lord's work in your hand, to mercy and grace, that I am,

Your ury loving Brother,

JA: SHARP.

Preſent my reſpects to M. Baily, as alſo to Mr. Bell, and excuſe I have not ſent a particular returne to his. My Wife hath yow kindly remembered.

No. 2.

REVEREND AND DEIR BROTHER,

Vpon the recait of yours. and the ſicht of the incloſed that was direct to your Brother, by Alex^r. Blair, John Bell was ſent from this to Edinburgh, wha, (as ye deſyred in yours,) delyvered Alex^r. Blair's to your Brother. As for the books mentioned thairin, your Brother thoct ſitt that David Thomſoun ſhould have them, and [Mr. Scharp being aff town, at his returne, Mr. Bell ſpak to him again, and appointed to meit with him the morrow afore I went of the Toune; bot that morning he went to ſie my L^d Swintoun, ſo I miſſed him becaus I behooved that day to wait upon Deſborou, and I left the monie w^t W^m. Mitchell, merchant to be delyvered to him quho hath ſent me the letter:] and ſince a letter beiring ſo much is cum to this place, directed to John Bell; wha, befoir he cam bak fra Edinburgh, your Brother ſhew me the box with the letters quhilk cam from yow to go to London, and geav affurance for the port, &c. quhatſomever it ſhould be. How ſuin theſe letters, with the books, quhilk by the Printer wer to be put in the Stationer's hand, wer ſent away, wee heir have not hard, bot wald be glaid to ken quhat zee have hard thairanent, for it was not thoct ſitt that anie of our wyfe ſecret freinds heir ſhould mak inquire for theſe things, leaſt uthirs thairupon might have drawne inferences. The Lord Keiper and Swintoun have bein heir this ouk. The Lord Keiper was at the Newmils, drinking of the waters thair for his helth; and duiring his abod at Newmils, was waited vpon by ſum ſent fra this, quha caried with them ſik things as wer ſitt for the Lord Keiper, quhilk reddilie that place quhairin he was could not afford him. He cam to this toun vpon the Wedneſday quhair nathing was left undon that could evidenc thair reſpects to his Lordſhip; Swintoun

also was saluted, and courtesie interlined. The Lord Keiper at his going fra this spak the Proveft, with Baillie Walkinshaw, and sum few vthers anent that debait quhilk had long bein betuixt them and Mr. Gillespie, and told, that Mr. Gillespie was willing to submitt all to him; quhairvnto they replyed, that if the particular quhairin the difference hes bein, wer a mater of thair fortoun, or sik as wer in thair power, they wald willinglie lay it down at his feit, to be difpofed vpon at his Lordship's pleafour. Bot in regard that it was the liberties of thair Burgh, quhilk to thair pouer they wer oblidged by oath to mentein, and that the whol Royall Burghs had looked vpon that buffines as a mater concerning them all, and vpon that confideration had petitioned his Highnes, the Lord Protectour for the burgh of Glasgou; vpon thir and uther weightie reafons they wer forced to beg his Lordship's favour, and intreat that he wald not tak it ill that in that they could not agre to anie submiffion. And with all they shew his Lordship that if he or the Councell of Stait in all the nerrow and acurat fearch that had bein taken, fand anie perfoun of thes quha wer in office, or on the Toun-Councell, that deserved to be removed fra trust, or for a tym to be laid afyd, they professed that most willinglie they should geiv obedience thairvnto. Quhen the Lord Keiper fand them thus resolved, without anie fignification ather of diffatiffaction or of fatiffaction with thair anfuer, his Lordship pressed them no farther, onlie it was thoct that he shew Mr. Gillespie that the interposition quhilk he offered to mak wald not prove effectuell for what Mr. Gillespie defyred. Quhat course heirafter will be followed by Mr. Gillespie in profecution of that report, (whilk zit is not sent vp to Lundoun) wee can not tell, or how the Lord Desburrow will carie in the buffines, wee heir ken not; onlie, it is apprehendit that one of thrie may now be effayed, ather to get the report with all speid sent up and baked with Swintoun's moyen, that vpon its being presented to the Protectour, ordour may be givin to remove the present Magiftrats, and put in P. G. his pairtie; or it may be that the tym of the election being neir at hand, vpon the first Twyfsday of October, they will deall for a new letter fra the Protectour to stope a new election, as they did the last zeir: or that the whol mater be sent back to the Councell of Scotland that they may determine in that buffines heir, and till that be don, a letter be procured shortlie fra the Councell of Stait in Scotland, direct to the present Magiftrats to stay anie new election till his Highnes, vpon the report sent up to him, declair his pleafour quhat he will have don in that mater for the clofing of it. As oft befoir, the Toun, in thair fraits, fo now also they have sent this exprese, and by my letter to zow, acquaints zow with thair buffines how it stands, intreating that ze wald be pleased to writ anew to zour freind above; and try at the Prenter's quhat is becum of the books that wer to be put in the Stationer's hand, and how he was satiffied with them; as also quhidder zour freind the Stationer hes gottin the box above sent vp, and quhat is don with the petitions and uthir papers that went up in it. As also, they wald be glaid that, if zee think fitt, zour freind be informed of quhat now I have acquainted you with, and hee intreated to gaird above, in fo far as

may be, against anie course that can be taken vnderhand or vtherways by P. G. and his freinds thair to the Toun's prejudice, and becaus C[ol.] Watham will best found Desborough's mynd anent his satisfaccion or dissatisfaccion with the Toun's ansuer geivin to his Lordship heir, they intreat that zee wald writ to him thairanent, in so wyfe and cannie a way as zee think will be most convenient, and with all deal with the Colonell, that if anie motion be mad[e] be Swintoun, or anie vther to the Councell of Stait heir, that he wald sie to it, and hinder it so far as may be, at least till the Toun be called to plead for themself. Your secreit freinds heir have sum thoughts of sending up a verie active and honest young man to wait for sum tyme on thair affairs thair. They will direct him to Mr. John Lockhart, quha is now at Court, (if at all he be sent,) bot thair purpose is that he may, by letters weiklie, let them ken if anie thing be in agitation relating to them, and that he may understand thes mainlie by the Stationer; no that ather the Toun, or he that shall be sent thair, may ken quha zour freind is that acts for them abov, at zour intreatie; bot the information may be conveyed to him be the mediation of the Printer or sum vther handsum way yee will preseryve. Bot in this they intend to follow zour advyfe, in sending one vpe or not to wait thair as agent for them, to remember thair freinds of their bussines, as said is. The Toun has hithertills holden aff anie nomination of a persoun for filling Mr. Durham's place, and by fair general dealing with our commoun session hes keiped them fra thair parentour way. Bot in end, quhen maters cums to a parentour, they then intend to follow the advyfe they have gottin fra thair freinds thair East; and withall they have thoughts of indeavouring, (if they send vp anie persoun to attend thair affairs,) to obtain a letter fra the Protectour to the Councill of Stait in Scotland, for ordaning that the Toun of Glasgou may be warranted to mak choife of a minifter for thair vacant place, and that none, against the consent of the Magistrates and Councell and the bodie of the Toun, be thrust vpon them. If ze think this feafable, zee will geiv zour best advyfe how it shall be obtained, and quhat course shall be followed for that effect. And lykways they conceav it may be essayed to obtain fra the Protectour a favorable letter for the Toun of Glasgou direct to the Councell of Stait heir, vpon the Burrows thair petition presented to his Highnes for the toun of Glasgou. Your singular respects to the publick interest and to the good of this place, imboldens me to be thus trublesum, as to intreat for zour patienc in reading, and wisdom and wonted reddines to do, in the above-mentioned particulars, so far as zee conceav may be for thair good, and with all by zour letter with this heir, to let me ken quhat zee think fittest to be don in thair sending of one vp, and in that whilk relaits to a Minifter, and to the Burrows thair petition: For the testifeing of the Toun's respects of thankfulness, to zour self for all the expensse and pains zee have bein put to in thair affairs, I shall for the tym say nothing. Bot if they can be vsfull to the publick interest, or any thing can be don[e] by them to testifie thair respects thairto, let me know, and I dar say in thair nam they will not be inlaiking.

XCVIII.

BAILLIE'S COMMENDATORY LETTER PREFIXED TO DURHAM'S COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF THE REVELATION, 1658.

[Baillie incidently mentions (vol. iii. p. 312) his being a hearer of Durham's Lectures; and referring to his last illness (ib. p. 368), he says, "the perfecting of his work on the Revelation for the presse was very heavie." It was published at London three or four months after his death:—"A Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation, &c. Delivered in several Lectures, by that learned, laborious, and faithfull servant of Jesus Christ, MR. JAMES DURHAM, late Minister of the Gospel in Glasgow.—London, printed for the Company of Stationers, Anno Dom. 1658," folio.

The particulars of Durham's life—by birth a private gentleman,—his serving in the army,—his call and devotedness in the work of the ministry—his death in July 1658 at the early age of 36—are well known, or may be found in numerous biographies; and his various writings, always highly esteemed, are still deservedly popular in this country.]

READER,—Being desired to speak my knowledge of this subseqent Work, I acknowledge that I was one who frequently encouraged the Author to let it go abroad. For, however he had no time to polish it, and what is here almost all was taken from his mouth by the pen of an ordinary hearer: Yet I am assured, the matter of it, as I heard it weekly delivered, is so precious as cannot but be very welcom and acceptable to the world of believers. I am confident, that the gracious design which some worthy Brethren amongst us have in hand, and have now far advanced to the good satisfaction of all who have tasted of the first fruits of their labours, of making the body of Holy Scriptures plaine and usefull to vulgar capacities, is not a little furthered by this piece: For, albeit with greater length (as the nature of the Book of necessity did require) than these Brethren's design of shortnesse doth admitt; yet it maketh very plain and usefull that without all question hardest of all Scriptures. This I can say, that diverse of the most obscure texts of that holy Book, which I understood little at the beginning of his Lecture, before he closed his Exercise, were made to me so clear, that I judged his Exposition might well be acquiesced into without much more debate.

That wit were more than ordinary weak, which durst promise from the pen of any man a clear and certain Exposition of all the Revelation before day of performance of these very deep and mysterious Prophecies. It was not for nought, that most judicious Calvin and acute Beze, with many other profound Divines, would never be moved to attempt any explication of that Book: Yet I hope I may make bold to affirm, without hazard of any heavie censure, that there is here laid such a bridge over that very deep river, that whoever goeth over it, shall have cause to blesse God for the Author's labour.

The Epistle ſpeaketh to the man : I ſhall adde but this one word, That from the day I was employed by the Presbyterie to preach and pray and to impoſe, with others, hands upon him for the Miniſtery at Glaſgow, I did live to the very laſt with him in great and uninterrupted love, and in an high eſtimation of his egregious induements, which made him to me precious among the moſt excellent Divines I have been acquainted with in the whole Iſle. O if it were the good pleaſure of the Maſter of the Vineyard to plant many ſuch noble vines in this land ! I hope many more of his labours ſhall follow this firſt, and that the more quickly, as this doth receive the due and expected acceptance. Theſe in the Lord.

ROBERT BAYLIE.

[“ The Epistle ” to which Bailie refers in this laſt paragraph, is an addreſs “ To the judicious and Chriſtian Reader,” by Mr. John Carſtares, one of the Miniſters of Glaſgow, from which the following is an extract :—]

THE Reverend (now triumphing and glorified) Author was ſo famous and deſervedly in high eſteem in our Church, both becauſe of the ſingular and extraordinary way of God’s calling him forth to the Miniſtery of the Goſpel, having left the Univerſity wherein I was at the ſame time a ſtudent) before he had finiſhed his courſe of Philoſophie, and without any purpoſe to follow his book, at leaſt in order to ſuch an end ; and having lived ſeverall years a private gentleman, with his wife and children, enjoying a good eſtate in the countrie, from which he did, no doubt, to the great diſſatiffaction of many of his natural friends, and with not a little prejudice to his outward condition, retire, and (being called thereto) humbly offer himſelf to trials, far from his own home, in order to his being licentiated to preach the Goſpel ; in the Miniſtery whereof he was immediately thereafter ſettled here at Glaſgow, where it hath not wanted a ſeal in the conſciences and hearts of his hearers. And alſo becauſe of his eminent piety, ſtedfaſtneſſe, gravity, prudence, moderation, and other great abilities, whereof the venerable General Aſſembly of this Church had ſuch perſwaſion that they did, in the year 1650, after mature deliberation, very unanimouſly pitch upon him, though then but about eight and twenty years of age, as amongſt the ableſt, ſickeſt, and moſt accompliſhed miniſters therein, to attend the King’s family, in which ſtation, though the times were moſt difficult, as abounding with tentations and ſnares, with jealousies, heart-burnings, emulations, and animofities ; and flowing with high tides of many various and not a few contrary humours, he did ſo wiſely and faithfully behave and acquit himſelf, that there was a conviction thereof, left upon the conſciences of all who obſerved him, and ſo as he had peace through Jeſus Chriſt as to that miniſtration.

In the whole ſeries [of theſe Lectures]—thou will diſcover—great light in the Scriptures, and very deep reach in the profoundeſt and moſt intricate things in Theologie, to a publick

profession whereof, in this University of Glasgow, he was sometime (to wit, a little before his being appointed to attend the King's family) by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, authorized for visiting the said University, most unanimously and solemnly designed and called, to the great satisfaction and refreshment of many; and more particularly, and especially of famous and worthy Mr. Dickson, to whom the precious Author was chosen to succeed in that profession (he being called to a profession of the same nature in the University of Edinburgh), as one of the ablest and best furnished men, (all things being considered) in our Church, that were not already engaged in such employments and most likely to fill Mr. Dickson's room.

JOHN CARSTAIRS.

Glasgow, 23d September 1658.

XCIX.

GENERAL MONCK TO MR. ROBERT DOUGLAS. MARCH 1660.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Folio XXVI. No. 50. The words printed in Italics are deleted in the MS.]

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter of the first of March which was very welcome to mee, and must acknowledge myself much bound to you and the rest of your Brethren for your prayers and councell, and I hope through grace I shall not be found wanting to God and my country in the pursuance of those ends for which I vnderooke this quarrell. I have bin very much satisfi'd with severall discourses that I had with yow, nott long before my leaving Scotland, wherein yow have expressed your care of the Church of God, *and your indifferance as to Civil Government.* And truly, Sir, I hope that all wise and good Christians will not thinke itt their interest to runne into blood for any single or particular Civill forme of Government whatsoever. As for Prefbytery, what I declare to the world, which was both my conscience and reason, so I assure yow I adjudge itt the best expedient to heal the bleeding divisions of these poore Nations, soe itt be moderate and tender, otherwise itt will but inrage our disease and increase our wound: And I blesse the Lord that I have received your concurrence in this particular. As Scotland hath bin alwayes deare to mee, soe much more am I now ingaged for those large expressions of their love and affection to mee, which I have soe lately experienced. And I doe assure yow, Sir, that there is nothing wherein I can serve them with security to the Common Wealth, but they shall command mee. The great allurements that drew me from that desired privacy were none others but to endeavour a fettlement wherin wee might have protection from Tyranny and Anarchy, and the Churches of Jesus Christ their just liberty; soe that I hope, while wee are going forward to these good ends, good men will nott quarrell with vs if wee doe nott proceed in every particular according to their judgements, but

will acquiesce in the Providence of God, and in the Resolutions of those in authority. I know you have bin a great instrument of good in that Church, and therefore doe desire you to vse your interest for the preservation of the peace, and the quieting mens spirits, which is indeed both the duty and the glory of a Christian, and the especial worke of the Ministrie of the Gospell. I hope you will nott misinterpret these expressions as if I had the least jealousye of my deare freinds in Scotland, but judge they proceed from my tendernes and care, for the prevention of future troubles and divisions. I have noe further but to begge the continuance of your prayers. I am,

Your very loving freind and servant,

S. James's 14th Mar. 1659 [1660.]

GEORGE MONCK.

Mr. Robert Douglas.

For the Reverend Mr. ROBERT DOUGLAS at Edinburgh. These.

C.

THE EARL OF MIDDLETON TO THE LORD CLERK-REGISTER.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. 8vo. XI. No. 7.—The Act to which this letter refers was unquestionably one “of the greatest consequence imaginable,” being the Act Rescissory, passed on the following day, the 28th of March, by which all Parliamentary proceedings subsequent to the year 1639, were at once annulled.]

Edinburgh, March 27, 1661.

MY LORD,

THE ACT that is now before you is of the greatest consequence imaginable, and is like to meet with many difficulties if not speedily gone about. Petitions are preparing, and if the thing were done, it would dash all these bustling oppositions. My Lord, your eminent services done to his Majesty in this Parliament cannot but be remembered to your honour and advantage. I am so much concerned because of the great help and assistance I have had from you, that I cannot, without injustice and ingratitude, be wanting in a just resentment. Now I am more concerned in this than I was ever in a particular. The speedy doing is the thing I propose as the great advantage, if it be possible to prepare it, to be presented to-morrow by ten o'clock in the forenoon to the Articles, that it may be brought into the Parliament to-morrow in the afternoon. The reason of this haste shall be made known to you at meeting by,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate Servant,

MIDDLETON.

For [Archibald Primrose] my Lord Register.

GLOSSARY OF OBSOLETE WORDS.

A

Accesso—increase, accession.
Adoe—exertion.
Adoes—concerns.
Affraye—to terrify.
Aflought, inflocht—flattered, in a flurry.
Agreance, greance—agreement.
Airth—direction.
Allanerlie, allenarly—only.
Allutterly—altogether.
Alssone—as soon.
Always—however, nevertheless.
Amirs—embers.
Ancessouris—ancestors.
And—if.
Anent—concerning.
Assession—the act of assessors.
Athort,—abroad, far and wide.
Athort—athwart, through, across.
At once—by and by.
Attoned—at one, brought to concord.
Aught—ought.
Aughtand—owing.
A cocke—call away, prevent.
Ayre (i. 133)—first whisper.

B

Babies—infants.
Back, backs—a body of followers or supporters.
Backing—supporters, followers, partizans.
Bains—baths.
Baird—beard.
Bairns—children.
Band—oath, written obligation.
Bardish—impertinent.
Baseness—humble terms.
Bacard (ii. 75)—bankrupt.
Barters—bakers.
Boddall—sexton.
Been—be-en—being.

Bensail—bent-sail, bias, propensity.
Beseek—beseech.
Bicker, bickering—contention, strife.
Bicocks—a term of reproach.
Blaw—to flatter, to coax.
Blenk, blink—to look with a favourable eye.
Blenk, blink—slight perusal, a glance.
Blephum—mere pretence.
Blew bore—fair appearance, an opening in the clouds.
Block—to plan, to devise.
Blocking—framing, rough hewing.
Blastered—blotted, disfigured in writing.
Blythe—glad.
Boast, boasted—threats, to threaten.
Bocardo—spectre, bugbear.
Bonny—elegant, fine, beautiful.
Boord-head—head of the table.
Boording—boarding.
Brae—declivity.
Braid and wide (i. 16)—far and near.
Braugled—to confound, to throw into disorder.
Breast a brae—to climb, to surmount a difficulty.
Brether—brethren, brothers.
Broaching—hatching, opening up.
Bruckle—brittle.
Bud, buds—a bribe, bribes.
Buits—matches for firelocks.
Burn-ill—suffered severely.
By—besides.
Bygone—in time past.
Bygones—denoting what is past.

C

Caged—imprisoned.
Call, ca'—to drive.
Canny, cannie—sly, prudent, cautious.
Cannyness—prudence, caution, skill.
Carder—player at cards.
Cass—to annul.

Catches—ketches, ships
Cauldrifeness—coolness, want of ardour.
Caulms, chalms—moulds.
Causey—street.
Cavell—lot, to cast cavels.
Ceeding—ceding, yielding.
Cessing—taxing, assessing.
Chainized—chained.
Chock, choack—critical moment, or state.
Clag—clog.
Clauculary—secret.
Clap—instantaneously, in a moment.
Chatters—idle reports.
Coff—bought, purchased.
Coinzie-house—mint-house.
Coldrifi—lukewarm.
Compear—appear.
Compearance—presenting one's self.
Compesc—to restrain.
Compescod—defeated, restrained.
Conditions—stipulates.
Concease—to combine.
Cotters—cottagers.
Conte—cap, night-cap.
Coopers—horse-jockies, horse-dealers.
Crae—crow.
Cracking—credit decreasing.
Craig—throat.
Craecishes—crayfish.
Crise—crisis.
Crooke—iron chain by which the vessel is suspended above the fire.
Crauner—colonel, commander of troops raised in one county.

Crub—curb.
Cuffes—blows.
Cummer—gossip.
Cunninglie—skillfully.
Cusing—cousin.
Currents, currents—diurnals, journals.
Curious—anxious, fond.
Cuttedly—hastily, sharply.

D

Dainties—a rare thing.
Dear, deir—to hurt, injure, grieve.
Deaved—deafened.
Deboische (ii. 341)—to corrupt, debauch.
Debosching (ii. 72)—corrupting.
Deboirded (i. 143)—*deboirdeit* (ii. 384)—swerved, gone beyond bounds.

Decairt (i. 303)—discard.
Decerned—adjudged, gave judgment.
Decreet—sentence.
Dement—to deprive of reason.
Demented—distracted, unsettled in mind.
Decoire—devour, swallow.
Dilled down—died away.
Dilliqat (i. 307)—accurate, refined.
Dimitt—to resign.
Dimitted—gave in his resignation.
Ding—beat, drive.
Dinn, dinne—noise.
Disjun—breakfast, to swallow up at once.
Dittay—indictment, accusation.
Dicott—turf.
Doctor—teacher.
Doen—doing.
Dool—grief, mourning.
Doolfull—doleful.
Dorlach (i. 212)—dagger, or short sword.
Double—a duplicate.
Double—to transcribe, to take a duplicate of.
Down-sitting—session of a court.
Dow—to be capable of.
Driffling, drisling—small rain.
Drunly—muddy, troubled, applied to the state of public matters.
Dwaunging—oppressing, twisting one about.
Dyte—to dictate to an amanuensis.
Dyted, dicted—dictated, indyted.
Dyvoor—bankrupt.
Dyvoorrie—state of bankruptcy.

E

Efferat—to make wild, to madden.
Eik, eiks—an addition, additions, to add.
Eishu (i. 250)—csehw.
Eldership—kirk-session, or vestry of a particular congregation.
Else—already, even now.
Emme (i. 241)—aim.
Enaynes (i. 97)—abilities.
Entresse, enteres—interest.
Erch, to (ii. 76)—to seare, to shrink from.
Evited—shunned.
Ereemed—exempted.
Expone—to explain, expound.
Eyed, not yet much, (i. 113)—not yet much examined or looked at.
Eylist—eye-list, a flaw, an eye-sore.

F

- Fail*—failure.
Fairly (ii. 161)—gently, in a civil manner.
Falset—falsehood.
Fanged—laid hold of.
Farder—farther.
Fasch, fashed—to trouble, troubled.
Fascherie—trouble of mind as well as body.
Faschious—troublesome.
Faught—fight, battle.
Feck—number, quantity, effect.
Fockless—helpless, useless.
Feed—feud.
Fell—considerable.
Ferd—force, fervour.
Feus—quit-rents.
Field-coming—coming abroad.
Flim-flams—trifles, whims.
Flitt—remove.
Flocht, flouct, flouht—flame, combustion.
Flyting—scolding.
Foot (i. 191)—system of executive.
Foragaint—opposite to.
Foranent, foranew—in front of.
Forbears—predecessors, ancestors.
Frae—since.
Franche—frank, forward.
Fray, frayes—terror, alarms.
Fray—to be afraid.
Frequent numbers—great concourse.
Frequently—numerously.
Fussies (i. 197)—fosses.
Fyle—to stain, to defile, to bring in a verdict of guilty.

G

- Galliard, galliard*—brisk, lively.
Gatt—got.
Gloom, glouming—frown, gloming.
Glowring—staring.
Good-brother—brother-in-law.
Good-dame—grandmother.
Good-son—son-in-law.
Gourd—cross-grained, twisted.
Greance—agreement, accord.
Gripp—hold.
Grit—great.
Gutt—gout.
Guyzes—fashions, ceremonies.
Gyed not—turned not to one side, *ajee*.
Gyred—jeered.

H

- Hable*—able.
Haill—whole.
Hair, against the—against the grain.
Half quick—half-alive.
Halse—throat.
Hask (ii. 63)—coarse, or ungracious?
Haunched, haunshed—eagerly caught, snatched at as a dog.
Headiness—rashness.
Heard—to be heard, scolding or wrangling.
Henly—familiar, homely.
Henwile—a lure, stratagem.
Here yesterday—day before yesterday.
Hiest—highest.
Hinck—reserve.
Hinderend—latter end.
Hinging—hanging, in suspense.
Hings—hangs.
Hipped—passed over, omitted.
Hoast, host—a cough, a hem, hesitation.
Horn, put to the—outlawed, denounced a rebel.
Horning—denouncing one a rebel.
Hose-nett—a snare.
Howbeit—although.
Howes—difficulties, the background.
Hunder—a hundred.

I

- Imaries*—ill-informed persons.
Ilk—each.
Ilighen—enlighten.
Impeachit—accused.
Impesched—prevented, impeded.
Ingeminat—to repeat, reiterate.
Inking—distant hint.
Inlaik—deficiency, to run short.
Interesse—interest.
Interloquitor—(a law-term.) decision, intermediate decree.
Inthorned—entangled, surrounded.
Into—often used for *in*.

J

- Jutors, jutes*—tipplers.

K

- Kist*—chest.
Kyth, kythead—appear, shew, shewn.

L

- Ladderit*—sealed with ladders.
Lough—low.
Lambes, Lamness—the term of Lammas.
Lashies—laxness.
Latters—hinderers.
Lave—hill.
Lay to—charge one with.
Leaquer—encampment.
Leak—leaky.
Leat, leit—list.
Lait, upon the, leitid—in nomination to be elected to an office.
Lepers—resident commissioners.
Lent-fire—slow fire.
Let be—much less.
Libel—indictment.
Lofi—gallery.
Lope (i. 6)—passed to their friends.
Loppen (ii. 217)—past time of leap.
Loured—to stoop for concealment, to steal a march.
Lourden, lurdane—a lazy, worthless fellow.
Lunts (ii. 422)—matchés.

M

- Maisser, messer*—macer.
Make (to)—to muster, to assemble.
Malison—evil wish, curse.
Mc.—Master of Arts.
Mastress—Mrs., wife.
Meins, make meins—use means.
Mell, mellit—to meddle, meddled.
Mends—reparation.
Mids, midses—means.
Mindid—resolved.
Mint—to attempt, to aim at.
Mischant—mischievous.
Mishappens—misfortunes, unfortunates.
Miskin—to misknow, overlook.
Miskent—to seem to be ignorant of.
Mister—want, need.
Mo—more (in number).
More matters—greater matters.
Morroo—the next day, the day after.
Moyen—influence.

- Muntoure*—piece of mechanism, a watch.
Mynde, myndit—to mine, undermined.

N

- Nearcs*—fists.
Nogie-naogies—trifles.
Will he, will he—whether he will or not.
Nipshot—drawback? or to give the slip?
Nocht—nought, not.
Nomothetick—legislation.
Non-fiance—want of confidence.
Nor—than.
Notars—notaries, attorneys.
Notour—publicly known.
Novations—innovations.
Nuiks—corners.

O

- Oblish*—oblige.
Opposits—opponents.
Outermost—utmost.

P

- Poiked, pyked*—drubbed.
Palme—the hand, or index of a watch.
Pansed—pense, thought.
Partu—opponent.
Pasche—Easter.
Patrocinié—patronage.
Prats—turt.
Peck of troubles—many, a deal of troubles.
Pendich—appendage, a pendant.
Perquire—by heart, distinctly.
Phras—pretence.
Pickeand—piquant.
Picks—pikes.
Pley—plea, quarrell.
Pock—bag.
Port—carriage.
Posed (i. 72)—questioned.
Posed (i. 169)—imposed.
Pouch—pocket.
Predominating—predominating.
Precaud—to neglect.
Preceen—to anticipate, prevent.
Profession—professorship.
Propone—to propound.
Prospect—a perspective glass.
Pudder, pudder—powder.
Pullit—besmeared.
Pure—poor.

Pyked—drubbed, thrashed.
Pyking—picking.

Q

Quatt—quitted.

R

Racked—raked.
Raid—rode.
Ramage—wild, reckless.
Ramadge hawk—a wild untamed hawk.
Ratt—a file of soldiers.
Readily—possibly, probably.
Recrue—recruit.
Reek, reik—smoke.
Refers, referres—matters referred.
Rejuggs—compunction, self-reproaches?
Rejected—remitted back.
Remed—remedy.
Ropes (ii. 369)—presses?
Reponed—replaced.
Restrined—restrained, limited.
Retreat—retract.
Ridd-hand—taken in the act.
Rounes—vacant places.
Ruene, round (*in the care*)—to whisper.
Ruue, roove, ruif—to clinch, settled beyond
 the chance of alteration.
Ryees—teareth.

S

Salebrosities—rugged or ticklish grounds.
Sark—shirt.
Savin—sown.
Scabrous—rugged, troublesome.
Scailled—to dismiss, to break up.
Scairced, (iii. 417)—scarcity, scanty.
Scant—scarce, scanty.
Schoot—shout.
Scirp—to carp.
Seonces—fortifications.
Scrubie—scurvy.
Scunner at—to loath.
Scutching—drubbing.
Sea-bank—sea-coast.
Secourse—support, succour, help.
Seller—cellar.
Send—sent.
Sess, sessing—cess, assessing.
Setter of tacks—letter of leases.
Shards—sherd.

Show—the past time of show.
Shoare—to threaten.
Shored, shorit—threatened.
Shreue (*shrewd*)—wicked, unhappy.
Shryeing—confession.
Sib—nearly related.
Sickerlic—surely, smartly.
Sicklike—such-like, in the same manner.
Sinle—seldom, few.
Skaith—damage, hurt, harm.
Skugg—shelter.
Slippen—slipped.
Smallie learned—an indifferent scholar,
 with a small share of learning.
Smoord—smothered.
Sned—to lop, to prune.
Snell—smart.
Snifties (iii. 412.)—insignificant persons.
Sojors, sojourns—soldiers.
Solist, solisted—to solicit, solicited.
Soone or syne—sooner or later.
Sopit—to lull asleep.
Sopour—slumber.
Souple—supple, active.
Soupe—sweep.
Soupit—swepted.
Spaite, speat—inundation.
Speared, speired—asked, inquired.
Spied—observed.
Spleen—heat, irritation, umbrage.
Spunk—spark.
Staffane, staffrige—obdurate, unyielding.
Stail—numerous.
Stail-post—main-post, in the army.
Stark—strong.
Stearing—stirring.
Stick—stob, stab.
Stick—interfering obstacle.
Stoops—supporters, pillars.
Strang—strange, strong, bitter.
Stray, straes—straw, straws.
Sturr—stir.
Sua—so.
Subdolous—cunning, subtle.
Sunry—sundry.
Sute—request, supplication.
Sutit—solicited.
Syneretisme—promiscuous union.

T

Tacks—leases.

Taill—tale.
Takin—taking, being taken.
Tapouns (i. 293)—long fibres at the roots.
Targe—shield.
Tasses—drinking cups.
Toddered (i. 355)—tethered, stranded.
Touder—sickly.
Touhest—toughest.
The morn—to-morrow.
Thereuent—concerning it.
There-east—in the east, eastward.
There-forth, there-out—opposed to therein.
Thir—these.
Thought—though.
Thraue—to twist, to wrest.
Thrauard—backward, reluctant, cross.
Through—to carry through, to perfect.
Throught—throughed, carried through.
Thrumbling (i. 123)—pressing into.
Thus and sua—so and so.
Tig, tag (ii. 113)—to trifle with, or tease one another.
Tinkled upon—to ring chimes about.
Tint—lost.
Tirties—trellis or lattice.
To—till.
Tocher—dowry.
Tod's birds—fox's brood, evil brood.
Tolbooth, tolbutth—prison, jail.
To-morrow—the day after, the next day.
Toome—empty.
Toone—tone.
Tope (ii. 83)—to check, to resist, to defeat.
Traiked—weakened by fatigue.
Trash—refuse, lumber.
Travell—labour, pains.
Treves-men—Highlanders, men wearing trews, or long pantaloons.
Trinketting—clandestine correspondence with an opposite party.
Tryst—appointment, to meet with.
Tuilzie, tuylie—contention, affray.
Twitch, twitch—touch.
Twa part—two-thirds.
Tyne, tine—to lose.

U

Uncanny—mischievous, dangerous.
Undermyddit—undermined.
Unfriends—enemies.
Unkent—unknown.
Unlaws—escheat.
Unpaunded—unpledged.

V

Vaesce (ii. 420)—to evade.
Vaike—to be vacant.
Vaiking—becoming (or already) vacant.
Voice, voyce—to vote.
Volee—volley.

W

Wailed—selected.
Wair—blame.
Wanrest—one who causes inquietude.
War, warr—worse.
Warred, waured—out-stripped.
Water-brae—river-bank.
Weir—wear.
While—till.
Whiles, whyles—sometimes, at times.
Whilk—which.
Whinger—hanger.
Win—to get in, to reach.
Wrack—wreck.
Writt, wryte—writing.
Wyte—blame.

Y

Yocking—engaging.
Yocked—begun, engaged.
Yondmost—uttermost.
Yowling—howling.

Z

Zuill—Christmas.

Twenty-shilling or one pound Scottish money is 20 pence Sterling.
 One merk is 13½d. Sterling.
 To reduce Scottish money to pounds Sterling, divide the pounds by 12, the merks by 18.

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