THE

LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF

ROBERT BAILLIE, A.M.

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

M.DC.XXXVII.—M.DC.LXII.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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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 Commissioneres of the Church; for, by God's bleffing, the four points of Uniformitie, which wes all our Church gave us in commissioun to agent in the Assembleie at Weftminster, were alse good as obtained. The Directorie I brought down before. The modell of Government we have gotten it through the Assembleie according to our mind: it yet flicks in the hands of the Houfes. They have paft four ordinances at leaft about it, all prettie right, so farr as concerns the constitution and erection of Generall Assembleies, Provinciall Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, and the power of ordination. In the province of London and Lancafhyre the bodies are fett up. That the like diligence is not ufed long agoe in all other places, it's the fottifh negligence of the ministers and gentrie in the fhyres more than the Parliament. That the power of jurifdiction in all things we require, excepting appealls from the Generall Assembleie to the Parliament, is not put in ordinances long agoe, it's by the [cunning] of the Independents and Erafrians in the Houfe of Commons; which obstacle we trufl will now be removed by
the zeale of the city of London; so much the more, as [from] our nation are taken away, sooner and more easily than any did expect, all grounds of jealouse of our joyning with the King, the greatest prop of the Sectaries power in the Houfe. However, in the Jus Divinum of Presbytery,¹ printed by the ministerie of London, yow may see that burthen taken off our shoulders; the body of the ministerie of England, not the Assemble and Londoners only, being fully leavened with our fene in all the point of government, and become willing, and able abundantly, to manage that cause, without us, against all opposites.

The third point [of Uniformity], the Confession of Faith, I brought it with me, now in print, as it was offered to the Houfes by the Assemble, without considerable differant of any. It’s much cryed up by all, even many of our greatest opposites, as the beft Confession yet extant; it’s expected the Houfes shall pafs it, as they did the Directorie, without much debate. Howbeit the retarding partie hes put the Assemble to add Scriptures to it, which they omitted only to eschew the offence of the Houfe, whose practife hitherto hes been, to enact nothing of religion on divine right or scripturall grounds, but upon their owne authoritie alone. This innovation of our opposites may weell cost the Assemble some time, who cannot doe the moft eafe things with any expedition; but it will be for the advantage and strength of the work. The fourth part of our defyred and covenanted Uniformitie is the Catechifme. A committee hes drawne and reported the whole: the Assemble ere I came away had voted more than the halfe; a short 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 Assemble, neither know we any more work the Assemble lies in hand, but ane anfwer to the nine Queries of the House of Commons about the Jus divinum of diverse parts of the government. The Ministers of London’s late Jus Divinum of Presbytery does this abundantly; alfo a committee of the Assemble lies a full anfwer to all these Queries ready. The authors repents much of that motion: their aime wes, to have confounded and divided the Assemble by their infharing questions;

¹ "Jus Divinum Regiminiis Ecclesiasticis: 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 Assemlbie’s unanimite in them, the Independents principles
forceing them to joyne with the rest, in asverting the divine right of these
points of government whereupon the Parliament does most flicke, the
movers of these queftions wishes they had been silent. There is no more
work before the Assemlbie. The translation of the Psalms is paft long agoe
in the Assemlbie; yet it flickes in the Houses. The Commons paft their
order long agoe; but the Lords joyned not, being solicited by divers of the
Assemlbie, and of the minifters of London, who loves better the more poetical
paraphrafe of their colleague Mr. Barton. The too great accuracie of sone
in the Assemlbie, sticking too hard to the originall text, made the laft edition
more concife and obscure than the former. With this the Commiffion
of our Church wes not fo weell pleased; but we have gotten all these ob-
scurities helped; fo I think it shall pafs. Our good friend Mr. Zacharie
Boyd hes putt himſelf to a great deale of paines and charges to make a
Pfafter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundles to get it receaved
in our Churches; yet the flatteries of his unadvysed neighbours makes him
inſift in his fruitlesſe deſigne.

When I took my leave of the Assemlbie I spoke a little to them. The
Proloquitor, in the name of the Assemlbie, gave me ane honourable tefti-
monie, 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 defyred to speake: four
parts of five does not speake at all; and among these are many moft able
men, and known by their wrytes and sermons to be much abler than fundrie
of the speakers; and of these few that ufe to speake, sundry are fo tedious, and
thrifts themſelves in with fuch misregard of others, that it were better for them
to be silent. Alfo there are some eight or nyne fo able, and ready at all
times, that hardly a man can fay any thing, but what others, without his la-
bour, are sure to fay alſe weell or better. Finding, therefore, that silence was
a matter of no reproache, and of great eafe, and brought no hurt to the
work, I was content to ufe it, as Mr. Henderson 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.

5 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 descendențs, who resides abroad.
part of the last two years. My wrytes did conciliate to me credite enough, and my sense of inabilitie 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 disappoinment 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 overthow; the French Ambaftiador, 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 espoufe 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 fo fatiffactorie anwser 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 fo cordiallie embraced him, that no man, for his life, durft 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 flill inclined to a new warre: and for that end resolved to goe to Scotland. Some great men there presfled the equitie of Scotland's protecting of him on any tearmes. This untymous excels of friendship hes ruined that unhappie Prince; for the better partie, finding the conclusion of the King's coomeing to Scotland, and thereby their own present ruin, and ruin of the whole caufe, the makeing 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 propoofed to the Parliament the assifftance of the King to recover his government in England, notwithstanding of any anwser he might give to the Propositions, the better fort, before they should give anwser 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 clothed with many dangers and grievances; but to fall at that nick of time, on any conclusion, free of more dangers and grievances, seemed impossible. Notwithstanding of the great fomes of money, yet the disbanding of our armie in peace will be a great taske: to set 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 increafes 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 reft,

Your Cognigne,

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 leffe of free and indifferent actions: In this I think he fways too much to the one hand. But I fear those he refutes shall be found in asle dangerous errors. He indeed handlesthefe Questions in such a way that I doe prye 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 subtile 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 Assemblie
medle not with such subtle questions, but leave them to the schools. 
Alwayes how some men may labour to carie it I cannot say.

After this letter lay a while beside me, I adde now, bleffed be God, good
newes. David Lefley and Argyle raife 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 houfes or tents. Against the 23d
he come to Kintyre upon the enemie, fought and difsipate them, took in
all Kintyre ; hes sent a partie after Allafter, 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 Montrofe should come over to raife new
broiles amongst us, as some furnisies they intend, or if the King shou'd put
himselfe in the head of the Sectarian army, which is not yet disbanded nor
quiet, David Lefley 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
peft hes dissipate the Colledges of St. Andrews, and kills many in the north.
We had not fo stormie a May thefè many years. Let me hear of your re-
cceipt of this letter. My service to your wife. I remaine

Your Coufine,

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 peft; if it be fo, 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 wes
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 instru-
ment in our land. If yow approve the motion, yow would fee who presents,
whether the Colledge itfelfe, or the Univerfity, or the King, or Southeik, or
the Generall Assemblie. It were good ye fpoke with Mr. Robert Dowglafs
about this purpose: no others comes in my mind meet for that place ex-
cept Dr. Stewart of Leyden. Be doing good while yow have time: when yow are more states-man than before, be no les than yow wont God's-man. No man I know hes all they have so evidently from God as yow: learn Witt from your predeceflor. 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: set on foot again the commiss for the Church: division of great paroches, and setling of stipends wes a good worke, which will fall if yow mind it not in earneft. As yow love the Chancelour's credite and respect in the countrie, keep him from medling more with the Annuiteit; 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 busines of the Dutch Bible Notes stands thus. T. H. having received in May last the two hundred pounds (which indeed came very seasonable to satiffie his creditors,) being it wes the firft and all the reall encouragement he had since the work wes firft recommended unto him (in August 1644); to improve the fame to the reall prosecution and perfecting of that work, he addrest himselfe again to the friends and favourers there-of here, and by name to Mr. [Corbet ?]; who took the opportunitie soon after to make a motion in the Houfe that somthing might be done for his further encouragement and support; which it seems wes very weell 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 multiplicitie 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 myselfe inthralled in very great straites. I [loft] a world of
time, and many excellent opportunities, both here and abroad, to live com-
fortable by honest imployment, 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. Befides, I find whatever the ground
may be, our minifters seem not to care to have the work advanced, and from
the bookfellers I can promise myselfe nothing at all. Moreover, some deiring
to have only the bare Notes without the text, others the Notes and text
together, seeing they comment upon their own reading, and the fame much
differing from the English, and much quoted throughout the Notes, and
much clearing both text and notes; and I know not which fort I should most
labour to fatifie, the former being loath there should be a new English text
published:—And Mr. Blair indeed aduyfed me to publifh the Pfalmes by them-
Selves for ane effay; 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 alfo is deferred, namely, that a great
number of notes throughout the Pfalmes relate to other parts and notes,
without which the reader must needs remaine unsatified:—And the mifery is,
there is none here with whom I might confult about these matters; and these
[who,] one would think, shou'd mind and further it moft, remove it furthest
from them: that, indeed, what to doe or resolve I know not, having advent-
tured 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 endea-
vours are stil the fame, and not to give it over, if, and alfo long as I can
maintain it, without apparent hazard of my undoeing. I have enough to
shew that I meant fincerelie, and endeavoured real performance. Had I
mett more readie help the busines was been accomplished by this time;
now both it and myselfe are out behind-hand, nothing troubling me more
than that thereby so many expectations are frustraled, or at leaft so long
delayed. Alle soon as any better hopes appears I shal not faill to give
further account.
To Mr. William Spang. Edinburgh, July 13th 1647.

Dear Cousine,

I receaved yours, the 6th of July, this day, and another of yours, Aprile 9th, within these two or three weeks, together with your Honorius Reggius, for which we are all much obliedged to your great pains in. That busines which yow so earnestlie recommended to Mr. David Dickfone and me, was not feasible, had we used all possibile diligence; but the truth is, although I believe ye know my willingness to doe to my power in things that concerns yow, les than you wrote that matter did, yet it fell so out, that I could use little diligence to speake of; for your letter about that purpose came not to my hand till near three moneths after it was written; and when it came, our whole towne of Kilwinning were keeped up upon some suspition of the plague; so I could have no effectuall communication, neither by word nor wryte, with any; and therefore I came to Edinburgh. That matter was fettled on Mr. Arnott, who had divers of the chief Lords of the Session to solift for him. For the great sickness of your good honest wife I am forrie; but glad for her grace and patience.

These matters of England are so extremely desperate, that now twyse 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 rascalles, 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 armie'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 Hodierino," 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 distance forever their affections and principles stand. Allwayses if the finger of God in their spirits should so far dement them as to disagree, I would think there were yet some life in the play; for I know the body of England are overwearie long agoe of the Parliament, and ever hated the sectaries, but much more now for this their unexpected treacherie and oppression. On the other part, the King is much pitied and defyred; so 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 present posture and humour of our highly distracted people, to doe nothing; and whom shall we goe to help, when none calls but the King? Parliament and City, as their masters command, are ready to declare against us if we should offer to arme: But if the King would call, I doubt not of rifeing of the best armie ever we had, for the crushing of these serpents, enemies to God and man. David Lesley has gotten all Ilsa, and old Collkitto, without quarters: He is now over to Mull, and purposeth within a fortnight to returne, having no more to doe in these bounds. That things goe well abroad, it is comfort to us. That Leopold lays a little the French pride; that all the Dutch Princes, even Bavier, and the Ecclesiasticke Electour, have left the Emperor, I am glad; but counts it a strange prank of ingratitude in Bavier, and of unkindness in the Swedes toward the poor Palatine, at whose charge most that neutralitie, I fear, be concluded. I think your States wise 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 promises to us, that they who sow in tears shall reap in joy; that they who goe out weeping and carry precious seed, shall returne with rejoicing and bring their sheaves. It was the Generall Assembly's pleasure some four yeares agoe, to send some of us, their weak brethren and servants, to that very venerable and worthie Synod at Westminister, to sow in that famous place some of the precious seed, not of our Church, as enemies do flander, but of God, the Father of all Light and Truth. Our poor labours in that service were so blessed by the good hand of our God, that although the sowing of the seed was often accompanied with much solici-
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 fenible joy not only to ourselves, but to many thousands more on both sides the seas. The last Assembly 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 refresh all honest spirits, though otherwise exceedinglie fadded with the late unhappie and much unexpected occurrences.

Right Honourable and Reverend, yow remember, that all your ecclesiasticke defyres from your brethren of England, that all the commiissions 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 Assembly 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 defyres. As for the Government of the Church, the goodness of our God gave us to obtaine, not only these initiall Propositions, whereof at our last appearance we gave ane account to the good likeing of all then present, but also a full and perfect model 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 well near one; as yow may see, when you shall think it convenient to take that model of Discipline into consideration.

In your third defyre, the Lord made our success no lesse prosperous; a large Confession of Faith is perfyted with farre greater unanimitie than any living could have hoped for, among so many learned divines, in so distempered a place and disstacted 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 censorous eye, a good acceptance.

For your fourth and last defyre, the Catechisme, my Reverend Colleague, I know, is instructed to give satisfaction therein. I stayed till some good progress was made into it; but long three years and sundry odd moneths peregrination from my country, and absence from my particular charge,
wakened, I confess, in me, a great languor to returne; yea, all of us fell very
desireous to be at home, and joyntly did pffe the Commission of the Kirk
for a libertie. At laft, it was their favour to permitt to ourselves the permis-
tion of some 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 Confession of
Faith; also of a Pfalter, which to my knowledge had cost the Assembly some
considerable paines, and is like to be one necessarie part of the three Kingdoms
uniformitie. I brought likewise a good assurance of a perfect Catechifme to
follow with all convenient diligence. This message made me, in January laft,
to obtain from the Commission of the Kirk that welcome which is my earnest
defire may in due time be ratified and approven by this Venerable Assembly;
for after the approbation of God and testimony of conscience, their allowance
of my meane endeavours is that which I wish; not as a reward for some
labours and dangers I know I have undergone in your service, but as ane
encouragement to returne with cheerfulness to my private charge, after so
long a diversion. This is all I defyre for myselfe, which, if I may obtaine,
I shall be defyreous to be thankfull to God and your reverences.

For my Colleagues, may I make bold, with permission, to offer some few of
my thoughts. That glorious Soule of blessed memory, who now is crowned
with the reward of all his labours for God and for us, I wish his remem-
brance may be fragrant among us, so long as free and pure Assemblies re-
maine in this land, which we hope shall be to the coming of our Lord. Yow
know he spent his strength, and wore out his dayes; he breathed out his life
in the service 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 inmost fence, in duety and reason he ought to be accounted
by us, and the posteritie, the fairest ornament, after John Knox of incompar-
able memory, that ever the Church of Scotland did enjoy.

For my other Colleague, who yet remains in the place of our long toyle,
my desire is that this Reverend meeting may not forgett him, but, accord-
ing to his very great worth and deservings, may take him to their wise con-
consideration.

For my present most dear Brother, all I now intreat is, that he may find

\[8 \text{ Mr. Alexander Henderson.}\]
\[9 \text{ Mr. Samuel Rutherford.}\]
\[1 \text{ Mr. George Gillespie. His speech to the Assembly at this time, will be given in the Appendix.}\]
in this place such an open ear 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 you so clear an account of the true estate of affairs, 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 Kingdom; that the great work we do intend there is so well grounded, and so far advanced among them, that the ports of hell, and the greatest power of man, shall never be able to overturn it; yea, that the present storme, how terrible for ever, 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 wes, 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 feel 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 far 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 prophesie unto him: Were he this day of never so high a price, and great fragrancie among us, yet he shall become a cursed foule, and his memory shall stinke 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 truely 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 Father 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 leisure 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 privilege of every member of the Assembly to speak out, upon a fair occasion, that which he is persuaded to be a reasonable and useful truth: this truely was my case in that particular: If I be deceived, ignorance and charity, 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 undeniable, which Scripture, and all reason, will make good, and which, I am perswaded, no member of the Assembly 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. Cheiflie sent us word that he was 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 inclofed 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 was in: the other papers shew how soon all was overturned.

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 flayed 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 Houfe 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 purpofed to fend, but now it's fallen by: By it they are cleare enough for a full libertie of confcience, a destroying of our Covenant, a fettting up of Bifhops, of inthralling the King fo far, as in my judgement, he and they will not agree, albeit many thinks they are agreed all-ready. If this were, our cafe were very hard. Never more appearance of a great difcord, both in our Church and State fome few dayes agoe; but, bleffed be God, the appearances are now much changed. Never Asfemblie more harmonious than this yet hes been. Our declaration to England, a very good piece, is paft without a contrare voice. An act againft vagers from their own minifters, 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 paft the Committee without a contrare voice; and, I think, shall paft the Asfemblie alfo, no fels unanimously; which demonstrates the trueth of what I faid in my Asfemblie-speech, That for all the noife fome made, yet truly there wes no division as yet in our Church. Yefterday, and this night, our State, after much irreconcilable difference, as appeared, are at laft unanimousliefie agreed to fend 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 fturreing in hafe in this Kingdome.

I think our Asfemblie may fitt all the next week. Mr. James Ferguihill may thank God, and his friends here, that he wes not fent to winter in Ireland, in the Derrie. My fervice to all my friends. I am sure the prayers of pious people, for the Asfemblie, are anfuered; which fhoulde encourage them to continue to poure out their hearts unto God, in fo fad a time, for the Church and State, and men imployed therein. The Lord, we hope, will aryfe and blow away the preffent mift.

Edinburgh, August 20th. Friday at night.
Cousine,

Your sad letters of your dear Wyfe’s death, I receaved. I pray God comfort yow. Publick forrow does not permitt us to be so affected with any private grief, either of our owne or friends, as otherwise we would. London hes lyen like a mylenestone on my breaste now of a long time. The firste week we came to this town, my heart was a little relieved. I thought the Lord had answer’d 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 was most lykely, that this was the only means to gett that evill armie disbanded, the King and peace settled according to our minds; but their bent execution of this reall intention hes undone them, and all, till God provyde a reemed. We were glad when Lisle wes recalled from his Lieutenantrie of Ireland, a creature of Cromwell’s, who gott that great truft for no vertue at all but his serviceablenefs to that faction. This was the firste sensible grievance to that armie. 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 formideable. But when the third stroke came, of disbanding the most of the fectaries, 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 wifer, yet of so dull, and foure, and fearfull a temperament, that no great achievement, 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 was apparent, when at the armie’s first back-march, and
refusall to disband, they recalled their declaration against their mutinous petitions. Easily might all their designes have been crushed at that nick of tyme, with one flout look more; but it was a dementation to sitt still amazed at the taking of the King, the accusation of the eleven members, the armie's approaching to the city. Here, had the City agreed, and our friends in Parliament shewed any resolution, their opposites councell might even then have been easily overturned; for all this while, the armie was not much above ten thousand ill-armed fojors. But the irrecoverable los of all, was the ill managing of the City's brave engagement. Had they then made fast the chief of the Sectarian partie in both Houses, and stopped their flight to the armie; had Maffie and Waller, with any kind of masculous activity, made use of that new truft committed to them; Mr. Marshall, and his seventeen servants of the Synod, for all Fowke's and Gibbs's subornation, shoud never have been bold to offer that destructive petition to the Houses and Common Counsell, which, without any capitulation, put presently in the armie's power, both Parliament, City, and all England, without the leaft contradiction: ane example rarely paralleled, if not of treachery, yet at leaft of childifh improvidence and base cowardice. Since that time they have been absolute masters of all. Which way they will use this unexpected sovereaigntie, it will quickly appear. As yet they are settling themselves in their new fade. 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 Bishops and Books, in putting down our Covenant and Presbytery, in giving eafe to Malignants and Papifts; but spoils 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 somthing of the King's own mind and defyres, as yet have heard nothing from him to count of. Although he should employ their help against his oppressors, yet he being still altogether unwilling to give us any satisfaction in the matter of our Covenant, we are uncertain what course to take; only we doe refert to our Commifioners to oppofe the propofalls, and to require a safe-conduct to the Chancellour and Lanerick to come up to the King and Parliament. It cost 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 compofed of peace in any tearmes, and to have caft on others desigines of imbroiling Scotland in a new warre. But when all were weary of jangling debates, the conclusion whereto the Committee wes brought, wes fo farr to efroupe the King's quarrell in anie tearmes, that Argyle and Warrif-tone behooved to protest againft our engadgement in sucth tearmes. To avoid invidious protestations, both parties agreed to paffe ane act of not engadgement. The proceedings of some are not only double and triple, but fo manifold, that as no other, fo, in my mind, themsefes know not what they finally intend. They who made themfelves gracious and ftrong, 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 sucth tearmes as few with comfort could have undertaken. We have it from diverfe good hands at London, that some here keep correпонdence with Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, which to me is an intollerable abomination. The prefent fense 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 refolute 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 tearmes, but diverfe of the beft and wifefl are irrefolute, and waits till God give more light.

However, David Lefley, with a great deale of fidelitie, activitie, and succefle, hes quieted all our Highlands and Ifles, and brought back our lit-tle armie; which, we think, shall be quartered here and there, without difbanding, till we fee more of the Engliſh affairs. 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 fpread not. Aberdeen, Brechin, and other parts of the north, are miferable wafted. St. Andrews and Glafgow, without great mortalitie, are fo threatened, that the schooles and collidges now in all Scotland, bot Edinburgh, are fattered. By this means my ſtudies and domeſtick affaires are clean difordered, and like fo to be ſtill, if the Lord be not mercifull.
While I had written this far, by the packet this day from London I learn that the armie daily goes higher and higher, which to me is a hopefull pre-
fage of their quicker ruine. The chief six of the eleven members, were
coming to you: Stapleton, after Hollis the second gentleman for all gal-
lantrie in England, died at Calice. I think it will be hard to the Parlia-
ment 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 hefe feafted the King at Sion-houfe;
hefe 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 fatall. He is not likely to come out of London willingly; and if the
army shou'd 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 flate-
designes, I think he is not fo confonant to all his former principles and prac-
tifes as I took him.

I know you expect some account of our Assemblie. Take it, if yow
have patience to read what I have scribled in hafte, on a very ill sheet of
paper. I have no leasure to double; for our Commisioners enters every
day at feven, and we are about public bufinesfs dayly till late at night. At
our first meeting, there was clear appearance of formed parties for divi-
fion; but God has turned it fo about, that never Assemblie was more har-
monious and peaceable to the very end. The laft year, a minifter in the
Merfe, one Mr. James Simpflone, 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, fifter to Mr. James Guthrie's wife, had
keepd with Mr. James Guthrie, and others, some private meetings and exer-
cizes, which gave great offence to many. When they came before the laft
Generall Assemblie and Commiffion of the Kirk, Mr. David Calderwood and
fundrie other very honest men, oppofite to Malignants, were much grieved,
and by that grief moved to joyn with Mr. William Colville, Mr. Andrew

3 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."
Fairfoule, and such whom some took to be more favorable to Malignants than need were. Thir two joyned together, made a great partie, especiallie when our Statesmen did make use of them to bear down those who had fwayed our former Assemblyes. The contest was at the choyseing of the Moderator. The forementioned partie were earnest for Mr. William Colville. Many were for me; but I was utterly unwilling for any such unfitt charge, and resolv'd to absent myself from the first meeting, if by no other mean I could be shifted the leett. At last, with very much adoe, I got myself off, and Mr. Robert Dowglafs on the leetts; who carried it from Mr. William Colville only by four votes. God's blessing on this man's great wifdome and moderation hes carried all our affairs right to the end; but Mr. David Calderwood having mislaid his purpose, hes press'd for a new way of leetting the moderator for time to come, that puts in the hand of base men to get one whom they please, to our great danger. We spent a number of dayes on feckleffe particulars. Mr. Gillefpie came home at our first downsitting: he and I made our report to the great satiffaction of all. Yow have here what I spoke. Mr. Calderwood was very offended with what I spoke in the end; but my apologie in private satified him. He, and others of his acquaintance, came with resolution to make great dinne about privie meetings and novations, being persuad'd, and willing to persuad others, that our Church was already much pestered with schifme. My mind was cleane contrare; and now, when we have tryed all to the bottome, they are found to be much more mistaken than I; for they have obtained, with the hearty consent of these men whom they counted greatest patrons of schifme, all the acts they pleas'd against that evil, wherein the wifdome and authoritie of Mr. Blair has been exceeding serviceable. This yielding on our side, to their defyres, drew from them a quiet consent to these things we intended, from which at first they seem'd much averse. We agreed, nemine contradicente, to that declaration, which was committed to Mr. Gillefpie and me, but was drawne by him alone; also, after much debate in the Committee, to the Confession of Faith; and to the printing of the Directorie for government, for the examination of the next Generall Assembly; of the Catechife alfo, when the little that remains shall come downe; likewise for printing, to that same end, two or three

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

5 Vide supra, page 10.

6 Vide supra, page 14.
sheet of Theses against Erastianisme, committed to Mr. Gilleopie and me, but done by him at London, at Voetius's motion; which we mind, when approven here, to fend to him; who is hopefull to get the consent of your Universitie, and of the Generall Assemblie of France to them, which may serve for good purpose. We have put the new Pfalter also in a good way. In our Univerufitie correpondence, we have made more progres in good designes than I expe%cted. With much adoe, at laft, I have gotten Doctor Strang’s business to a good and a fair end, according to his mind. In all these things Mr. Blair was my great a$istant. 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 Assemblie 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 chofeing the Moderator, but, on a conceit he hes, that a minister deposed shou’d not againe be repofed almoft in no cafe, he hes fashed us exceedingly about the power of the commifion of the Kirk to deposed a minister in any cafe; yet we carried it over him. We have obtained leave to print all our English papers, Catechife, Confefion, Propofitions and Directorie for government and ordination, our debates for accommodation against tolleration, our papers to the grand Committee. The Propofitions for government, albeit past both in our Assemblie and Parliament 1643, Mr. David oppofed vehemently the printing, and his grand followers, Mr. John Smith and Mr. William Colville with him, because they held forth a feffion of a particular congrega&ion 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 commifion, with a delegate power from the Presbyterie, tollerat in our Church for a time. With great difficultie could we get get the printing of that paper past for his importunitie; bot at laft we gott all, bleffed be God.

An exprefs from London this day tells us, that the armie’s parliament presses the concurrence of our Commissioners to fend to Hampton-court the propofitions to the King. This feems to import the King’s refufall of the propofalls, and disagreeing yet with the army. And what they will doe with the King, if he refuife the propofitions alfo, we know not; only
their last remonstrance 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 permit these tyrannous hypocrites to rest, till, by their own hands, they have pulled downe their Babell. The Lord be with you. Let me hear of the receipt of this; and help us with forraigne newes more liberally.

Your Cousigne,

R. BAYLIE.

Edinburgh, September 1st 1647.

For his Noble and Good Friend Poloni Alman, at Dulopolis in Slaveland. October 13th 1647.

I hope some man, for all his transgressions against my squeamish stomack, 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, leaft they make yow swime, 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 permit yow to forgett your bargane for my Chrysoftome. I truft neither God nor man will long permitt evill men to triumpe: in this confidence I rest,

Yours, &c.

We have at this time a good and full Commission of the Church: we have been unanimous in our Remonstrance; the Committee of Estates gave us thanks (but by the wisdome of their chieff who wes galled therewith) for our vigilance and care. We hope at present to carry our poynct 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 tuo or three equall 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 perfecuted 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 latele have visithe 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 obteft yow in name of God and the poor King, and en-flaved England, and Scotland readie to be wracked, setting aside all foolish injuries yow have gotten, either from one or other, yow will stirre up your-selff 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 Moyfes hornes.

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 hatch-ed, and with too great eagernes driven on, shall this day or to-morrow be broken. Our dangers of farder confufion are great, if God be not mercifull. The perfecution at London is untollerable. I am very confident that partie, so much oppofite 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, fo soon as God frees us of the fear of the fword,
and peft, yow would doe weell to make a visite of your friends for mutuall refreshment. The Lord be with yow.

I fee the little Hebrew Bible, with points, is printed at Amsterdam in Manaffes Ben-Israel's house: it fells here very weell. By some of your acquaintance yow could perfuade him or some other to print the Targum, one book, with the points and the Latine version; alfo the Mafora, which Buckftorph's Bible hes on the margine, the fame way; and some 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 Bibliothecas; and let me hear what you 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 severalle; for who will give a thousand merks for a Bible of ten volumes. There is diverse manuscripts in England of Erpenius's Arabick Dictionary: I think Mr. Cheeflie hes one of them. If L'Emperour will not move some there to print ane Arabick little handsome dictionary, (for who will be faacht with these 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: shall we now gett no new printed books of any note, but from the Popilsh presses 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 pofefion to be fully satifified 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 present innocence and former great deferving doth in juftice call for, I fend yow now in wryte, with some

8 This letter was apparently addressed 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 some slight corrections, (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 yow told me, was the too common objection of men, otherwise not of the worst affections, either towards us or the cause.

I gave yow assurance that my Brethren of the ministrick were so far from that alleaged aversion from all Warre against the Sectaries in England in any tearms, 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 enemie, if so be they might obtaine the question of the Warre to be stated, as, yourfelfe did acknowledge, everie pious, wise, and unbyass'd 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 fstate, and most of all, what encouragement they give to the raising of a Warre; yet everie subject of a kingdom 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 cafe of conscience, that ministers, both as men and according to their calling in the Church, may well be admitted to delyver their fentence 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 ly in the way of its practice. Upon the firft 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 fenible discrepancy amongst us about them, that very unhappe and most needless 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 yow speake 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 arifen 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 manifeft destroyers of it.

This we take to be true of every part, as well 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 opposit 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 feased upon the person of the King, and carrying him about at their pleasure, have at last clapt him up a close and perpetuall prifoner, for his denyall of such bills, which gave the armie a power to be masters for ever of all the force, treaure, and lawes of the kingdome of England; neither have we any securitie but that their way is poynting to the depryving of the King's pofteritie, of their birthright, and changing the government of the State in the whole Isle.

For the fourth article, their punisning of evill instrumets, 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 but the setting of the moft 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 phryses, 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 percutce the most eminent both of the parliament, city, and phryses, for nothing else but their sincere and cordiall endeavours to adhere to, and prosecute the express 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, meslages, 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 kingdom embroyled in all the miseries of England, the religion and liberties of both kingdoms being laid up together in the same vessel; 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 hinderes us from getting presently up, hand in hand, to the way? Certainly the retardments come from ane other side of the Houfe than that which is called ours; even from them who fo willfully, and, as I am bold to terme it, imprudently, have refufed all this while to give us satisfaction in three things which we esteeme most necessarie for us to have, and easy 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 cafe, if it be not provided for, after all the blood, loslles, hazards, labours of the next 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 set up, and enabled with his former partie of malignants to act more vigorously than ever in all the three Kingdomes. The yoke of tyrannic in the state, of poperie and prelacie in the Church, is lykly 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 thefe two when granted. Firft, That the King be not entrutted with the full exercife 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 settle 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 seafed on his perfon. We are not against any honor, freedome, or fafetie 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 Majeftie’s exercife of Royaltie, who hes declared his willingnefs 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 during his whole life.

This our firft Demand is no other than that which both our Kirk and State hes oft craved before in express tearms; and, that which some men compted the great rock of this demand, we are content to remove for a demonstratione of our earnestnes to comply: we are willing to change the negative expreflions of our Kirk and State into affirmatives; we infift only upon the thing it self, a real securitie for our Covenant and Religion. This we truft will not be so much fluck at by the King himfelfe, for readilie his Majeftie is not so much here pinched with confience as some talks of: We know what laws he hes been content to passe in Scotland for the Covenant and Prefbytery, alfo what was promised to Ireland for Popery, and what in England for libertie to Seets and Errours. We are very hopefull that all we preffe for the Covenant and Prefbytery shall be obtained, if our State can be but constant to crave what all reafon urges to be granted.

Our fecond Demand is, that the Malignant partie of papifts, prelates, and others opposite to our Covenant, may not be permitted to rife 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 perswaded 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 unanimitie of Scotland, and the concurrence of the Presbyterian partie 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 arfe to pursuе 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 unchaunge.

In the matter of these two Demands, all I meet with professe a great deale of reafon; if there be any scruple in the third and laft, let us shortly consider:—Here we doe only require a securitie for keeping what shall be promised in the two former; we have been so fouly deceaved 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 securitie here we crave, is but a verie simple one as the affaires of the world now goe. What les 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 stumbleth in our third demand? Is it the matter of the oath? There shall be nothing here but what themselves doe grant, and use to professe to be reaonable. Is it the forme of the oath? What needs any scruple to swear what they professe to be just for the matter, and themselves firmly resolved to performe. If this be stond upon, will it not give us just caufe to fear that all which is now promis'd, is bot for ane allurement once to ingadge, and then
to disappoint 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, some few more were added for our securitie in our two demands, at leaft for the officers and committees, with a declaration of Parliament and Generall Assembly, injoyning so much.

I remitt it to your ingenuity if our sticking upon these so few, simple, most necessarie Demands, dererve the severitie of that cenfure, which the unadvised-neffe of some is pleased to put upon us; alfo whether it be not a great te-merity 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 extreame 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 enemie ready to receave them, and wayting on upon their firft too well known designe? If they should be repulfed at firft, would it not extremlie 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 wife and patient dealing did unite us at home, and we had some time to forme and furnishe ane armie with things necessarie, and to strengthen our correspondeinces abroad, in England, and elsewhere. The advantages of a little delay feem to preponder all we can expect by too sudden a motion; the breaking of that handful, which for the time we can fend 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 eflate. When wife men will not be pleased to goe on in a way of reason, to avoid apparent dangers, occasion is given to fear their desigines, and of driving them on for some purpoſes of their owne. Certainly the picking of quarrells with minifters, and moving of controversyes betwixt the Parliament and Commiffion of the Church, at this nick of time, to the eyes of the most beholders, proceeds either from little wisdome, or leffe sinceritie 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 increafe old divisions, and make more new
quarrells at home. Men of judgment use to be persuaded of real intentions, not by great words and deep oaths, but by conformancy of actions.

It were all the pities of the world, that, when we are so near to a full unanimity for a cheerful achieving of so brave an enterprise as is now in hand, we should by the malignant influence of any evil counsellors, most need leislie 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 fearcely dare expect. Wayes of faction, of proud and haughty disdain, mindfulness of wrongs, resolution to have all at under who stand in the way of our overruling, are unfit 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 exceedingly 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 you 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 poit, 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 Gestae Marchionis Montis Rosini, let us have it. It's a merveil 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 illustri. Jacobi Montisrosarum Marchionis, &c. praeclare 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 Glagow, I doe not know, for these six weeks I have been in Edinburgh. I thank God I have gotten the differences betwixt the Principall and Mr. David, reasonable well compos'd; 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], enjoys a happie quietnes, both ecclesiasticall and civill. I am glad there is so little dinn of Ameraut's new questions. Also we bleffe God that the Swedes yet can keep the fields in Germanie, and that cruell persecutor and oppressor 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 preserue 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 enemie, puts me in hope that the danger of them is not so great as sometimes it hæs been. The spoill of Heffien and continuance of the Palatine's miseries, afflict us. We have no more of these forraigne affaires, than what you 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, Rainfborough, and their levelling friends, our Commisioners made more serius applications, and were more acceptable than before. At the Isle of Wight, his Majestie 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 rife 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 satis-
factory 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 satissfactory, and the engagement of some to
the King upon them so great, as did much blemish their reputation with many
of their moft 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 scurvy usag by
the Parliament of England, their compassion of the King's condition, Laner-
rick'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 content to a leavie against the faction of Sectaries. To this we
were not unwilling, provyding we might be satisfied in the state of the ques-
tion, and might be assured, that the armie should be putt in fuch hands as we
might confide in. Both these were promis'd to us in private; but while we
found no performance, the busines was retarded to this day. Betwixt the
Chancellour, Duke, Argyle, Treasure, Lauderdale, Lanerick, Balmerino, War-
rifone, Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. George Gillefpie, 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 break out in a fearfull rupture both of
Church and State. Our meetings were long in private for a state of a ques-
tion; we required peremptorily to stand to our former principles and Cove-
nant; "To have religion settled first; and the King not restored till he had
given security, by his oath, to content to an 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

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our Parliament and Assembly pressed upon him at Newcastle; yet at last we were content of affirmative expressions: "Religion and the Covenant to be settled, and thereupon the King to be restored." The next difficulty in the question was about the Malignants: we were peremptory to have none of them in our army who should not take the Covenant, and to have all of them declared enemies who should serve in armies by themselves for any end contrary to our cause. Here we had great strugling: In the wryte, which we called an Agreement and Engagement, they the King's Offers, too great favour, was shewed to Malignants: we resolved to beware of them so much the more. The greatest tick of all was on the oath: we resolved to have these things put in a formal oath, to be taken solemnly by all the members of Parliament and officers of our army; they declined an oath by all means. While we are like to come to no agreement about these things, the pulpits found loud against the dangers from Malignants, but more softly against Sectaries. We prepare also a Declaration of dangers and duties, wherein we express to the full our dissatisfaction with the King's concessions in matters of religion. This gave a great offence to our Commissioners. We had put them to it to give us in wryte the report of what past between them and the King concerning religion; for his Majesty in his letter to us had said, he had offered to them what he was confident would give us satisfaction. While they are necessitate to give us in wryte these private concessions, and be content to have them, and our reasons against them, published to the world; they were not a little offended: but there was no remedy. To our fence, they had past the bounds of their duty, though both the Committee of Estates, and Parliament itself, had, in a faire general, without examination, approved all they had done. We thought it destructive to our cause and Covenant, and ourselves absolutely impeded from all motion for the King till these grounds of motion were publickly disclaimed. It increased our offence, that so many noblemen did vex us with debates and votes openlie in face of the Commission, after we had changed, in private, for the satisfaction of the Chancellour and Lauderdaill, many passages of our wryte; also that they had laboured to their power to make a partie among the ministers to oppose us, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. Andrew Fairfoule, Mr. Robert Laurie, Mr. Andrew Affleck, and diverse others; but especiallie Mr. William Colville, who had in private objected against one passage, inferring
the neceffitie upon conscience to reftore the King prefentlie to the exercife 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 dutie unto him, and never more to oppofe till we found him abufe this power; and then we might reftift, albeit no more but the abufe of this power. I did think it enough in our sub-committee to bring him to acknowledge fo fhamefull a tenet, all of us thinking he would not have the boldnefs any more in publilck to fppeak to fuch a purpofe; yet in the face of the Commiffion, in a very jeering infolent way, being a little provoked by the indifcreet challenge of Mr. Rutherfoord, he did offer to reafon for fuch a conclusion. We had not failed to have called him to ane accompt for his malapertnefs, had not the intervention of other greater affairs diverted us.

By this time the Parliament was fett. Never fo many noblemen prefent in any of our Parliaments; near fyftie Earls and Lords. Among whom were found but eight or nyne for our way; Argyle, Eglintone, Caffillis, Louthian, Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Rosse, Balmerino, Cowper, Burleigh, and fometimes the Chancellour and Balcarras. All the reft, with more than the halfe of the barrons, and almost the halfe of the burgesfles, efpeciallie the greater tounes, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Linlithgow, ran in a ftring after Duke Hamilton's vote. That partie, besides the advantage of the number of two at leaft to one, had lykewife the moft of the ableft fpreakers. For us none did fppeak but Argyle and Warrifton, and fometymes Caffillis and Balmerinoch; but they had the Duke, the Therauer, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Traquair, Glencarne, Cochrane, Lee, all able fpokesmen; yet the other partie had the advantage of reputation, having from the beginning been conftant in our caufe: afo all the afliftance the Church could make was for them. The firft bickering was for our Declaration: when, contrare to their minds, we had paft it, they were earneft it might not be publifhed; but we had given order, as ever had been our cuftome, to print it, even before we had communicate it to the Parliament. They had diverfe purpofes, either by perfwation or violence, to have keepit 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 haftened it out was our irritation by the Therauer's challenge of Argyle on the Monday
morning; ane 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 flanders, with that of cowardice and cullionrie. On the Fryday afternoon in Parliament, discoursing 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 kingdom had been at that meeting, but also that himselfe 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 discours, to know if he had heard the Thefaurer say, that himselfe 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 accoumt 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 Mufleburgh Links, at feven 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 himselfe to Argyle for a second, but told him he would resent 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 miffed, 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 Commiffion of the Church, to have made both before the congregation acknowledge their fault; so much the more, as Sinclare and David Lefley, Eglintone and Glencarne, some days before; and some days after, Kenmure and Cranftone, 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 refult 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, Humbie, Lee, Archibald Sidferfe, and Sir Alexander Wedderburn, with the Chancellour; for us, Mr. David Calder-
wood, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. George Gillespie, Craighall, Libbertone, 1, with the Moderator Mr. Robert Dowglafs. They produced to us a draught of a declaration, penned with a great deal of deliberation, by the counsell of many, but specially by Lanerick’s pen. They had flandered us exceedinglie, 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 advyfement, 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 Warriltone had drawne ane oath of affociation, which pleafed themselves well, but their opposites extreamly ill, and their beft friends but so and fo, when beft 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 quefion which should be satisfactorie to all; and here, to my great joy, were we on the very nick of a cordial agreeance: but behold ane most unhappie accident, which did put us to, and yet hes kept us in, a discord almost irreconcileable. There was a great defyre in the cheife that were for ane engagement, to safe 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. An inclination needed not against this enemie: the townes of England, for our paffing and safe retreat in the prosecution of the common caufe, 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, otherwife affected than we wished. So soon as it was constitute, there was ane inclination to make a clofe 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 trustieft members of Parliament did protest against that vote. The protestation was not admitted:
you have the copy here; but the protestors thereafter did keep themselves together; and albeit the least, yet they kepted the reputation of the best part of the Parliament. Privately and publickly we gave warning, that the passing of such a vote would break us irrecoverably; but we were beleued too late. My Lord Callander's partie were so furiouslie earnest to posseffie Berwick, and to begin action, that they threatened to defert Hamilton and his friends if they did delay that vote any longer: so it pasted, notwithstanding our earnest intreatings, and our friends protestations to the contrare. The issue was, we refused to conferr any more on the state of ane queation. The protestors confirmed their union. Many of the shires sent in to supplie against all engagement, unlefs the Kirk were satisfied in the state of a queation. David Lefley, and Holborne, with the rest of the officers, declared their resolution, not to move without our satisfaction. After some dayes conteft, we found a great change. The Chancellour, that had hitherto been too far for the engagers, offended with their unreasonable proceedings, came almoft 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 deifyre, to state the queation 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 clofe committee. These things, by the Thesaurer and others, were offered to us, with many faire and earnest expressions. As yet we are not satisfied by words, and some of our leaders are likely never to be satisfied, and resolves to truft to nothing which their opposits can doe or fay, so long as this Parliament, which they pronounce unfound, is in being. The danger of this rigiditie is lyke to be fatall 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 moft, yet it seems remedieless: if we be kepeed from a prefent civil warre, it's God, and not the wifdome of our moft wife and beft men, which will fave us. I am more and more in the mind, that it were for the good of the world, that Churchmen did meddle with Ecclefiaflick affaires only; that were they never fo able otherwise, they are unhappie statefmen; that as Eraflane Cæfaro-Papifme is hurtfull to the Church, fo ane Epifcopall Papa-Cæfarifme is unfortunate for the State. If no man were wiser than I am, we shou'd not make fo many scruples to fettle the throne, and pull down the fectaries. Never more high and more dan-
gerous questions in Scotts hand: what the conclusion shall be, a few days will declare.

While we are fllicking in these labyrinths, one of our number, not of the most rigid, falls on the overture to propone the Commision of the Generall Assembleie's desires altogether immediately to the Parliament, wherein, if we gott satisfaction, we were to goe on as they defyred us, to state a question. The motion was approved. His draught of eight articles, after some changes of it to the worse, was past, and presented, in name of the Commision of the Church, by Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Robert Ramlay, 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 defyres. The Commision, 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 defyres. All the fllicking was on the fifth, wherein we press'd to have the Malignants who should ryfe 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 sixth, the King's oath to content to an Act of Parliament for enjowing the Solemn League before his restitution to the exercice of the royall power. We press'd him not to take the Covenant; but whatever his conscience was, we conceaved him bound to content to the necessare lawes of the Kingdome. Thus his good-dame Queen Mary affented to the Acts of Parliament for the Reformed Religion. This also did passe for the substance; only a committee was appointed to smooth some expresssions 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 expresssion, but believed the Commision 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 truft remaines 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 satiffaction; 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 probabilitie, Callander, by his owne partie, which is great, is widhed Generall: but his inflexibilitie to serve against Montrofe, upon the fenfe 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 affured these should be the Generall Officers; but we will not be affured without fight, and our maine difficultie will be upon the committees to govern the State and Army in the intervals of the sittings of Parliament. If herein they permitt them whom we count truflie, 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 satiffaction, nothing else will satiflie: 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 affociation must be no leff sworne than our two former Covenants.

While thus far we had proceeded on Thursfday, I thought we were as good as agreed; so I resolved to go home to-morrow; for the opening of our provincial Synod lay on me as the last Moderator; also a new very dangerous infection was broken up in Glafgow, 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 was not fully closed, and I had immediate accesse and truft 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 progress; but having stayed till I declared myself abundantlie against these men, and helped to bring them low, and put them in a way either to recant or be cenfured, I came away on the Fryday morning, and to my owne house at night, with one shower from Falkirk, a wareie Monsieur. The Colledge was almost totally dissolved for fear of the plague. My little daty was extremely sicke, of a sudden, so I found great appearance of the pest in my house; yet against the morrow, the Lord, on as great a sudden, restored my child to her full health. Since, we are waiting on the Lord's pleasure, what he will doe with Glasgow, whether yet it may be spared from the plague, whereof I am not desirous; 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 unkindnefs to the Queen of Boheme and her sones is visibly retaliative in the eyes of all Europe. My beft wishes are for the restitution of King James's family: before this, I fee no appearance of any solid peace, either to Germany or Brittaine. This long letter shall be a ground of a challenge, if yow wryte so rare and so short as this while bygone. Farewell.

Glasgow, 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 yourfelfe and friends there, flur up some of your Amsterdam 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 faill to fell; and
the Paris Bible, which few doe or may buy, would furnishe 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 ane 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 holde 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, free-
dome, and safety, without so much as craveing from him any security for
Religion, though he (till declares himselfe as much for Episcopacie, and averfe
from our Covenant, as ever.

2. Because all the Malignants in England and Ireland are permitted to rife
in alfe many armies as they can, and we refuife to take them as before for
enemies, except they profefs to oppofe us or the Covenant; this quicklie
makes our former enemies our masters.

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

These and many more reaons make us, (who were most cordiall for a
Warre, againft the Sectaries of England and their adherents, for the vindica-
tion of our Covenant, for the delyverance of our oppressed brethren in
England, for the rescuing of our King from his unjust imprifonment, and
restoring of him to the exercife of his royall power, upon his performance
of thefe neceffare duties which the Parliaments of both Kingdomes did re-
quire from him; and for the preservacion 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 drawne 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 unlawful.

For Mr. M[attew] B[risbane.]

If the discord goe on, it's humanlie impossible to eschew either a grievous persecution, or a civill warre at home, and a totall neglect of the pretended welfare of the King. For a remeedy, I wis the Parliament gave a good answer to our supplications, and suspended the leavy for a fortnight, and appointed a conference betwixt a doffan of the wisest of both sides. I think we must have satisfaction in four things, in ane explanatory 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 freedome, 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 yow, nor long before. Our affaires since have had a great progress, but no inch to the better; all appearance of any possibilitie to agree, daylie does more and more
evanish. A spirit of bitterness, jealoufie, and mutuall contempt, grows on all hands, and the stronger partie is begun to perfeecute the weaker; and that evil is lyke much to increase quicklie. The course of affaires may draw both, befoide any intention, to doe the worfe of that which has been objected to either as their designe. The fectaries and malignants may shortlie divide the whole Isle, to the great danger and hurt of the King and the honest Presbyterians in both kingdomes. Our storm is yet but waxing; we can make but small judgement of its end.

When I clofed my laft to yow, as then I wrote, there was some good hope of concord, a pretty good anfwer was expected to our eight defyres; but some unhappie men made all thefe hopes to flee away. The Committee of twenty-four framed their anfwer, and gott it paft in ane Act 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 fatisfied. This much the Commiffion repreffented 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[mes] G[uthrie's,] in the abfence of Mr. George G[illepie,] 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 act of pofture for letting all the Kingdome in a defence againft invasion; but in few dayes comes out the act of leavy, which, incontinent, allarumed all. The first narrative was ill taken, a danger from the Malignants that had taken Berwick and Carlifie. 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 Carlifie was generally beleaved not to have been undertaken without some of our privities. The act 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 falle prophecy.

Here it was where our difference began first to be irreconcilable. We stood 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
chosen as my Lords Hamilton and Callander lyked. Our friends here gott very little of their will; but the cope-stone was putt upon our despaire, when we found Hamilton and Callander, how much contrare foever one to another, yet at laft, after there had been much speach and dealing of either to joyne with Argyle, and that, through whose fault I know not, had mis-caryed; at laft I say, Hamilton 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 oppofed to the employment of either; and so long as they had any hope of our complyance, both profesed a great deale of willingnes 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 engage in any termes lyking them, then peremptorilie they strooke hands, and went on without much more notice of us.

With threats and promifes they moved old Leefley to lay downe his place. For a long time we had hopes the army, which wee had keepe from dissolving, should have been firme to us; but Middleton spoileth that our hope. All the officers had joyned in a supplication to the Parliament backing the defyres of the Kirk. Had this been flood to, the deignes of others had soon been broken; but Middleton, who long had shifted subscription, at laft was willing to joyne, with ane addition of a short poftscript of the subscribers willingnes notwithstanding to obey all the Parliament's directions. This commentare did fo enervate the text, that our friends persuadde the officers to lay aside their petition, as that which was profitable for nothing, being clearlie emasculat by the poftscript. From that day we loft the Army. David Leefley, by much dealling 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 grieve for many dayes was im-paired; 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 Thesaurer with many tears, told me, how sore against their heart they went the way now they were in, calling 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 caft, every fide were ingaged to go on in their own way.

The Declaration, long and well studied, and penned moft by Lanerick, in very plausible termes, was offered to us. We appointed a committee for it. It was my advice to be short in obferving, and to pitch but on the maine exceptions. On fundry 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. Gillefsie, without much contradiction, gott in[to] his representation whatever either himselfe or W[arriſtone] or G[uthrie] had collected, which made it tediouslie long, and in fundry things needleſlie quarrelſome, and to come fo late, that the Parliament, after ten days waiting for it, at Lauerdail's cankered motion, commanded their Declaration to goe out without any more notice of what we had to lay againſt it.

At this time a messenger went to the Parliament of England with fyve demands, craveing an anſwer peremptorilie in fifteen dayes. That which they feared moft was to ingage in any treaty. This we ever prefled, but they thought it needless, since they quarrelled not with the Parliament, but with the army and their adherents, with whom they were not obliſgd to treat, and losſe the feaſon of the English motions at home. The rumour of our warre made great iturrs 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 refſoring the impeACHED Lords, the making Warwick Admirall of the Navy: the Army alfo was forced to divide; Cromwell to Wales, where yet he flicks; Fairfaxe to the north; but in his march he was recalled to ſuppreſſe the Kentifh: The moſt of the ſhores were on their feet. Had not our unhappie difcords marred our expedition; had we with a small army, with any unanimitie, but appeared on the Border in time, appearandly, without ſtrokes, we might have gotten for the King, for our friends, for ourſelves, what we pleafe[d]; but our fatall difcords were as well known at London as at Edinburgh, fo leaſure is taken by Fairfaxe to quiet Kent and Effex, 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 Commision proceed in their paper-differences. Their Declaration and our Representation are both printed. They goe on to act, we to preach, against the lawfullnes of the Engagement as it was stated. The randevouzes are appointed for the shires against the 21st of May. Many presbyteries, fynods, burghs, shires, gave in supplications the first of June, to delay the heavy till the Church gott satisfaction. Our poor towne, still singular in that un happines, is made the first example of suffering. All of us, the towne-minifters, 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 spake 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 magiftrates and toune-counfell, that same night, were summoned to answere 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 divers dayes; and becaufe they professed scruple of conscience to further the heavy, they were all deprived of their places, and a commiffion fent to the old counfell that before was removed, to elect new magiftrates; who made leffe scruple, than I wish, to fitt downe and name Colline Campbell Provost, John Anderfone, James Tran, William Neilfon, Baillies; and there, for a counfell, took the old caffheered 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 themfelves ref tored to their places by the fame men and means they were caffheered, the Parliament putting them in, and others out, only for following the advyce of their minifters and Commiffion of the Church.

But this is not all our misery. Before this change, some regiments of horfe and foot were fent to our towne, with orders to quarter on no other
but the magistrates, counsell, and faction, and their lovers. These orders were exerted with rigour: on the most religious people of our towne, hudge burdens did fall; on some ten, on some twenty, on some thirty fojours, and more, did quarter; who, beside 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 Clydefdaill, upon fear to be levied 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 fojours 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 faid to be for it, if there shold appear a lykelihood of a party. For myselue, 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 seemd 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 preently went home to Inverary, and Eglintoun declared himselfe willing to let his men be levied. However, Callander made haste to make the West secure. The Clydefdail men came, on the Saturday, to Mauchline to communicate: that night Callander lay at Paisley. On Monday he made a rendezvous 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 heriffdom 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 bofome, 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 choyfe some, Middleton appears: they expected no enemy in haste, so they were amazed at the fight. The ministers went to Middleton, and capitulated for the safety of all, except the fojours 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 Cunninghamame were content to goe, but the fojours and Clydefdaill men would needs fight. While they are more than an hour in this confused uncertainty, and sundry crying to fight, Middleton makes a few of his horse to charge; but the people presently fled. His fojours abstained from killing, only fell a taking horse, armes, and purses. A troup of the people fleeing to a bridge, and mistaking the way, were forced to stand; they turned on the fojours and fought very stoutly. Here was the most of the slaughter; near fourty here fell: some say as many of the troupers as of the people. Middleton himself was sore put to it by a smith: he got 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 Clydesdale horse were gone to Galloway, with a mind yet to fight; but I believe it not. There is indeed in our people a great animofitie put in them, both by our preaching and discours; also by the extream great oppeffion of the fojours; so that, it fears me, if Lambert be come to Carlifle 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, one 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 leavy, which the Church lies so much contradicted as unlawfull; also to declare that the execution of the acts of this Parliament, are the most necessarie and fittest means to remeef our troubles, and preserve religion: and that all who shall not subscribe this much, without delay, are juftly to be holden enemies to the common cause, religion, and coun-
trey. 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 yow, 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 yow 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 joyned 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 Assemblie is like to be a dangerous one. The Moderator's talk 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. Yow 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 worshipping 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 Guifie 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? Yow 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 yow since your journey to Dantzick? I long much to hear, defyreing earnestlie to know your safe return, and understand how affaires goe in these bounds. How things goe here since my last, I give yow 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, clothes, 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 wisdome 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 theyres joyne not with him. Cromwell, with the few he could bring from Pembroke Castle, having marched mid-way, is forced to return to Wales, where the Lord Biron did raise a party so foone as he had left it. Fairfax is yet at Colchester. It seems the Houfes, and City, and Committee of the theyres, have of purpofe withdrawne aflifance, 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 curfed army of Sectaries should evanish in fmoke, and their friends in the Houfes, City, and Countrey, be brought to their well-deferved ruine; that the King and his family should be at laft in some neeriness 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 toleration of Poperie and Episcopacie at Court, and of diverse sects elsewhere. We, who might have been the chief instruments to have stopped this evil, are for the time so far 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 evil in England, and draw it ere long on Scotland also; but the Lord can easily disappoint our fears. Our State, on pretence to attend to the Prince, whom, by my Lord Lauderdaleill, according to the agreement at the Isle of Wight, they are inviting hither, but really to keep downe insurrections of people in the West, are leaving one thousand five hundred horse more. They suspect deadly, that the diffenters in Parliament, with the help of the Church, may raise the countrey, if their army were once deeply engaged or worfted in England. Of this I know no ground; but men who are conscious of occasioning much griefe to many, falls in needlefe feare, and by the means of preventing, draws on their deservings. Our condition for the time is fadd: The pestilence in Glafgow, 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 persecution 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 minifterie diverted from prefling that humiliation and mourning, which the times call for above all things else.

But leaving the State, our Generall Assemblie fat 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 abfent. Mr. Robert Dowglafs and Mr. Robert Blair preached well at the fæt. The Assemblie sat till near eight at night choising their Moderator. Every man's addition of three to the Moderator's lift, albeit a equal and satiffactory way, yet it proves very longfome. Mr. Robert Dowglafs named for his two, Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. George Gillefpie; the Assemblie added Mr. David Dickfon, and Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. John Smith. Many named me; but I was well away. Mr. Robert Blair was doubtles the meeleft 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 met the night before the Assembly in Warristone's chamber, with Argyle, the Chancellor, and some others of our wisest friends, to consider about the choosing of the moderator, committees, and chiefest points of the Assembly. This preparation was now to our hurt necessarily omitted: Argyle and the Chancellor were both absent in their own houses, to eschew the subscription of the bond of maintenance; Warristone did not appear, 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 byzdes that the Moderator's way of enquireing at so many before every voice, was not for dispatch, his unacquaintance with the affairs of the committees before they came to the face of the Assembly, made the reports unrype and unadvised, and so oft needfull, after much debate in the Assembly, to be recommitted. The committee of prime importance was that of publick affairs. 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 commissiion, 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 Assembly 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 Assembly 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 put 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 defy us delay to approve the proceedings thereof, till they had prepared their considerations against them. The custome of the Assembly, according to prior acts, was to examine with the first the Acts of the Commission of the preceding Assembly. The exceptions the State took at their proceedings were such as made their persons uncapable to voice in the Assembly till they were cleared: now the men were a great and chief part of this Assembly; 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 set down any thing concerning it. So soon, therefore, as the report of that committee was ready, it was thought meet, without longer delay than one night or two, to receive and vote it: All without a contrary vote was approven. This angered our Statesmen, and made them fee, that all hope to make the Assembly divert from the way of the former commissiion, was desperate.

The first ten or twelve days we had but one seesion in the day, the afternoone being given to the committees to prepare work for the Assembly. 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 Commission of the Church had done against the Engagement; but I wished no further progresse; yet it was proponed, and carried, to make a new publick declaration against it; yea, to have a declaration to England for the same effect. The drawing of these was committed to a sub-committee of six, 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 Livingstone, and Mr. John Macklelland; Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Dickson, were afterward added; and I was required to be added, but peremptorily refused; for my mind was not very forward for the wrytes they were to draw.

Fryday and Saturday were spent on trying the commissions. These of the Presbyteries of Dunfe and Chirnfyde were rejected; the one had chosen Mr. Samuell Dowglas, moderator, the same day that a complaint of him had come to them from the Commission of the Church, for his never appearing there but once, and that to dissent from the Church's declaration against the Engagement. The other Presbyterie's commission was rejected, because they had putt in a ruling elder, who had entered a wrytten protestation in the Presbyterie against the causes of the late faft, relating to the Engagement. The disaffection of these two Presbyteries was much spoken of; therefore it was thought fitt to appoint a visitation, confifting of the most zealous brethren of Edinburgh, Lothian, and Merse, to cognofce and cenfure their carriage as they found cause. The lyke course 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 occasioned a visitation of them lyke-wise. Mr. Harie Guthrie, a very bold man, but in this and the late Assemblys very quiet, gave in a petition against this course; but rather than to make dinn in vaine, took it up againe. In our committee we had, these dayes, some reafonings about the commissions from Burrows: none of us was much for the thing, but all for tolerating of them, for fear of offending the Burrows at this time; only the commission of Edinburgh was thought to be wrong; but none offered themselves from that towne. The discord betwixt their Magistrates and Ministers was much more than I desired to see: their spleen against one or two of their ministers was great. The wilfullnes of some rash men to have Sir John Smith out of his place hes cost 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 choising of ministres and commissiioners they took a new way: their commissiioners for the Afsemlbie they named in their Towne-Councell; their ministres alfo, as patrons, they elected there: they were content to propone the men elected, to the Seffion of that church where they were to serve, but to no other. Much debate there was with them in a committee appointed for that end; but the result was, that the commissiioners elected in their Councell should have the consent of their great Seffion, which is their fix Seffions joined; alfo the ministres whom they name in Councell, as patrons, shall have the consent of the fix Seffions before they be presented to the Presbyterie. And in regard of their neglect to supply their vacant places, now of a long time, the Assemblie did vote fix, whom they recommended to the great Seffion to choice four of them, and to obtaine their orderly transportations from the Commiission of the Church. The men were, Mr. John Mackelland, Mr. George Hutchefone, Mr. Hugh Mackell, Mr. James Fergusfon, Mr. James Naeefmith, 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 vacant places.

One of the Assemblie's committees I have ever been against, though yet without fruit. The towne of Edinburgh is supplyed with the ablest men of the kingdom; their chiefe service should be in Assemble-time. The custome ever has been, that fo long as the Assemble fits, all these men are idle, and all their kirks must be provided by members of the Assemble. This makes many weake and ill-accommodate countrey preachers to fill these eminent roomes, at most considerable times. This made the pulpits of Edinburgh be provided for on the Sundays, and week thereafter, worse than needed.

On Monday allways we have the forenoon free, because many goes out on the Sunday to the churches about. That tyme I spent 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 profeflors of Leyden, with the consent of the synods of Holland, have agreed on a course, 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 schoolmaster 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 firft letter.

The three or four next feffions 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 feconed; lykewise they offered all security for religion they were able; and for removing the present differences, they required a conference with us. To all this they required a present answer; at leaft before we paft on the tryell, in order to approbation of the Commiffion-book, against which they profefed they had diverse new exceptions. To all these we gave answers in wryte. The proceedings of the commissiioners 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 Commiffion, and had resolved, that no security to religion was possible fo long as the Engagement did fland; only they mett once for a fashion, and gave in a paper craving scripture from us for the unlawfulnefs of the Engagement, and our meddleing 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 fitt to put them in the Declaration rather than in a feverall paper.

Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. John Smith were willing to draw the declaration, leaft it should fall in Mr. James Guthrie's briff hand. I obtefted Mr. Blair, that he would be careful of two things; one, to be full against the sectaries; another, to beware that his draught carried any thing which, directly or indirectly, might carry us to a refifiance of the State. I knew, that the molt of the leading men thought a refifance by armes to the ways in hand lawfull enough, if the difsenters 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 alfo, but with much difficulty. 1. Sundry at diverse times moved to have it determined, if it was lawfull to
pay any monethly maintaine, since avowedly it was pressued for the use of the army, which was unlawfull. I avowed the lawfullnes 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 excife, the portion of annuallrents, 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 fpoilers. At laſt we agreed to lay this queſtion afide. It was lykewife much pressued, 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 wickednes of the warre, to make a collection from the Commissiſonders of all the Prefbyteries of the chief infolencies committed by the ſojours 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 fo fervely 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 pressued that minifters ſilent, who did not preach againſt the Engagement, ſhould for this be depoſed, I wished, if men were modest, and otherwife 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 minifters 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 keeped from preaching till a Generall Asſemblie did open their mouth; and out of the minifterie, while ane other Generall Asſemblie did find them fitt for a Church; alſo, if after their depoſition they meddled with any part of the ſlipend or glebe, it ſhould be excommunication to them. It was pressued by ſome, that the not paying of the ſlipend to the next intrant, ſhould be excommunication to the patrons or tenants, 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 sundrie 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 anything, 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 adoie I gott these helped, some in the committee, and others in the face of the Assemblie.

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 Assemblie 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 Assemblie, which truely 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 Psaumes. 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 content; but that which grieved Mr. David was the matter of Church seessions, 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.
Leaf in the end of the Assembly, when many were gone, we should come to fo grave a debait, or rather, leaf at a time of our fo great strife with the State, we should fall a jarring among ourselves, it was thought best to refer the whole wryte to the next Assembly. Upon the same ground, the Theorems were also remitted. The Pfalmes were often revifed, and fent to Presbyteries: 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 Assembly; but these also, with almost all the references from the former Assemblies, were remitted to the next.

One feffion was fpent on encouraging Mr. David Calderwood to perfyte his Church story,¹ and to consider Mr. Andrew Kerr² for his good and great service 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 Assembly to be payed to them out of the Church's five hundred pounds penfion; but we cannot, for any requeft, gette one penny payed by the Thelauner, and have little hopes to gette any more in hafte. Much speech we had of a [Hi]story 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 these motions. If you would goe on with your Hiitory, I should be very glad of it.

We were falled with the opening of the mouths of depofed minifters. Poor Mr. Patrick Hamiltone, in the very nick when the Assembly was to grant all his defire, was rejected by his own unhapinesfs. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too inveotive againft the Church's proceedings.

¹ His History of the Church of Scotland: Vide vol. ii. p. 374.
² Mr. Andrew Ker, Advocate, son of John Ker, Minister of Prestonpans, was for some time Warriston's depute, and then his successor, as Clerk to the General Assembly. There was another person of the same name, also an Advocate, who was appointed one of the Commis. sioners for the Administration of Justice in Scotland, under the Protectorate of Cromwell.
³ "This modification (as it is called in the Index of the printed Acts of Assembly) to Mr. David Calderwood for his publick employments," and to "the Clerk of the Assembly for his services," 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 these sums 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, shewn favour to your old colleague Mr. James Row, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and his own cousins, did so farre marre him, upon tacit furnishes, as I suspect of small importance, that it’s lyke he shall never be permitted to preach: yet honest John Gillon got permission to preach, and for this I confess 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 sittings, for small purpose, upon transportations. These I love dayly worse and worse; the most are evidently packed business, 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 flucken to by my Lord Cailllis, who, for his respect, had made a constant slip 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 wise and modest man, his colleagues willing to disnifie him; yet the private respects of a very few, made him to be fixed to his situation, which I regretted. Mr. George Hutchefon, orderly appointed by his Presbyterie to goe to Ayr, yet he, lykeing better to goe to Bruntifland 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 peremptorlie 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 almoft arbitrary, to neglect all the rules before appointed by Generall Assemblies for transportation.

We were fashed with Patrick Lefley 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 get this matter accommodate; 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 continuallie 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 got them in, to my great contentment, for I found some too sparing 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 fashed for the Moderator's want of dispatch, and too much flicking wilfullie to his owne fenfe: Mr. Robert Blair in the most, Mr. Robert Ramfay in all, was of my mind; Mr. Robert Dowglafs milkyked 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 one Act was drawn up against it in my abfence, which I much milkyked; for it carried cenfure against the presifters of it. This directly aimed at our statefmen, the contrivers of it; but, in the face of the Assembly, I got it to be expos'd only ad futura. Some of my neighbors before the Assembly were fo farr in love with this subscription, that I was forced to wryte to them arguments against it, as you may fee 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 greeved for the state of Glasgow. The pest did increafe. My brother fon's house was infected; my brother's house inclofed many in danger: one night near a doffen dyed of the sickness. Some good, but unadvised people, were not much greeved 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 fon: no harme at all hes come to them; and the danger of the Towne, bleffed be God, is much diminished. The long great raines for many weeks did prognosticate 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, laid away. I suspeeted the Moderator drew long of purpose, waiting for a letter from the Parliament of England, which came not. We hear now the House of Commons past a declaration to us; but the Lords contented not to it. I did not love to have any correspondeance 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 Commisioner. I knew there would a heavier load be laid by us on his Majestie than was expedient to be meddled with; also that we should not exprefse such a f彭ce of his unjust sufferings as the world would expeect; and so 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 Assemblie, and some hours spent in the Moderator's publick correcting of it, yet the thing behooved to passe, and the wording of it to go to the Commision. Many good overtures against the sins of the time did lykewise passe. One of them I was feared for; it was firft, that all Ministlers convering with Malignants should be cenfur'd by Presbyteries. This would have fnared many; for the notion of the Malignants now by the Engagement, is extended to very many: I gott it some way qualified, but not so as it will be found needfull.

That which some dayes in the end of the Assemblie troubled us, was Mr. Andrew Ramfay and Mr. William Colvill's processe. Mr. Andrew had, in preaching, oft fallen out into diverse impertinencies, and contradictions to his brethren; he had been oft admonished; but the man's weaknes and age, and diverse who reforted to him, permitted him not much to amend. Not only he had spoken for the Engagement; but in prejudice of our proceedings, and Presbyteriall government itselvse. Much he denied which was proven: he untimeoufly had fallen on an unhappie question, the Magistrat's power to re-mitt blood. The generall Thefe which he professed to maintaine, "That the supremae magistrat, when the safety of the commonwealth does require, may dispence with the execution of justice against shedders of blood," many of us declined to meddle with; but the Moderator gladly would have had the Assemblie determining the negative expresfflie, which was eschewed; only the man for his doctrine and carriage was suspended to the next Assemblie. Mr. William Colvill was referred to us only for his silence about the Engagement.
The man was generallie reputed too busie to countenance and encourage our statefmen in their way, and the chiefe mover of Mr. Andrew to his courfe; however, he himselfe walked very cannily. I was indeed offended at his malapert carriage in the commision of the Church, and for it, albeit it was not libelled, I confented to his suspension; but it was against my mind that Doctor Barron should have been cenfured for mere silence, yet it was carried. One or two of your friends in our Prebyterie had been, for their silence and ambiguity about the Engagement, referred to the Assemblie, had I not diverted and gotten that evil keep off them; for had they come before us, readily they had never come off.

We appointed visitations for Univerfities and hospitalls, and put on them the sharpest men we had. Lykely Edinburgh will not submit to have either Univerfitie or hospitalls 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 Lauderdail, to my greefe, was justly omitted. I was scarce resolued to have seen him; yet my Lady Warriftone sent me to him, as trufting in his friendfhip for her husband's buffinefs. He told me, that, however, to his best knowledge, there was no designe either on his place or perfon 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 Warriftone, leaft by his unfriends he might be brought in by violence, thought meet to retire to Cantyre, where, for the present, he pafles time with Argyle. Lauderdail 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 againft the Seftarifs, 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 exercize it, to be abhorred by all in England and abroad, and intollerable to our owne State at home. I find the Thefaurer in the same mind, but both of them faft enough, for ought I can fee, to our Covenant and perfons, except to one or two whom they esteem the prime caufes of the difference. In Mr. William Colvill's cenfure, Mr. David Calderwood rashly had said, "He was the painfulleft minifter of Edinburgh:" this the Moderator exaggerat fo farr, as some did speak of his removeall for cenfure. The
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Moderator before had taken him up for his impertinencies indeed: yet too roughly, and more, as I thought, than became. After this rancounter, Mr. David went home, and came no more to the Assemblie. At this I grieved; it may doe harme.

The State, on the Fryday before we rofe, 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 sitt and answere 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 Assemblie; also their power is too much enlarged, even to proceede all who oppose their orders, as well as of the Generall Assemblie. I find diverse in the mind, that if once our army in England had gotten any sensible success, our State are resolved totally to suppress the Commission of the Church, as a judicatorie not yet establifhed 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, desireous, 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 laft, 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 you, to oblige you to wryte oftener 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 you learn weekly by your Gazetts, I pray, once in the moneth at leaft, let us have it's fumm, as you shall have occasion to fend it. So I rest,

Your Cousine, to serve you,

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.

VOL. III.
For Mr. Spang. February 7th 1649.

Cousine,

Your bygone letter, 12th, I receaved, and thanks yow for it. Yow com- 
plaine of my long silence; but gives no satiffaction for your longer. In 
my nixt I shall give yow contentment about all your inquirie: 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 laft, the Prince, King of 
Brittaine, France, and Ireland. We have sent the bearer,5 a worthy gentle- 
man, to signifie fo much to his Majeftie at the Hague: We purpose speedily 
to send a honorable Commission from all Eftates. The dangers and diffi-
culties wherewith both his Majeftie and all his Kingdomes at this time are 
involved, are exceeding great and many. The first neceflare and prime one 
(as all here, without exception, conceave) doth put his Majeftie and his people 
both in a hopefull proceeding; and his Majeftie's joyning with us in the 
Nationall Covenant, subcribed 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 
Majeftie may be moved to joyne with us in this one point, he will have all 
Scotland readie to facrifice their lives for his service:—If he refuse, or shift 
this duety, his best and moft ufefull friends, both here and elfewhere, will 
be caft 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 moft earnest and neceflare defyre; but as it is, and 
will be, one of all Scotland's strong petitions to God, to difpose his heart 
to doe his duty without delay; fo we will acknowledge ourfelves much 
oblledged to any, whom the Lord may honor, to be the happie instruments 
of his perfuasion. Many here remember, and are fenfible of your great

5 Sir Joseph Douglas, who carried a letter of the same date to the King, from the Commission 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 diffrefs. I with yow made a voyadge to Hague, and dealt with our good friends, Dr. Rivet and Dr. Spanheim, to inflinate to the King their wholefome advyces. I know Somais [Salmfius], Voffius, Apollonius, and others there, understand so much of our proceedings, that a small defyre from any interefts would move them to contribute their best helps for his Majestie's information.

I recommend it therefore moft earnestlie to yow, to beftirre yourfelfe in a private clanculary way to further this work. If yours, or any other men's labours be bleffed of God to work the prefent, you will find all here (I shall anfwer for it) readie to acknowledge, as becomes your pains, by fuch testimonies, in due time, as shall give yow fatisfacciōn. What yow doe muft be done quicklie; for every hour's delay prejudgeth (we know not how much) his Majestie and all his dominions.

Your Coıune,

Edinburgh, February 7th 1649. 

Robert Baillie.

Mr. William Spang to Mr. Robert Baillie.6

Reverend Cousin,

Since May laft, the firft letter I have feen of yours was of the 4th Decemb-er, very concise, and moft of it in complaint of my long filence; of which ye fould have had no reafon, if these to whom I entrufled my letters for yow have been honest; for I never let any occafion fip with which I have not written, and that at large. I am affrayed leaft the freedom I have ufed in them may beget truble to me, if they have fallen into any invyous hand; and yet what I writ was but a rehearfel 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 generally 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. Most of my letters to yow wer inclosed in pakkets to Mr. George Gillepie, of quhoes death, to my great grief, I have latly heard. Certain he was as able a man as our Kirk had; of a clear judgement:—that which some mislyked in him, walde eafily have been bettered by experience and years. I see he hes had a better opinion of these Sectaries than he wald have had, if he had lived till now, and had heard their vile perjured treacheries against al bands: Alace! for that reproach caft upon our religion, and the treuth of God, by thefe mens unparalelled proceedings, and for the present danger of religion in al the thrie Kingdoms; yea, and the civil liberties of al who will not rune to the fame excess of madnes with them.

Let Scotland chus what fyde they pleas, that poor land fal be the feat of war, by al appearance, this summer; for a considerable army is marching northward against yow; and Cromwel affurs his brethren in evil, of a more eafy conquest of that Kingdom than al the English Kings ever had. His ground is, as I have heard from one who is of their councel, that the bitternes betwixt thefe who wer for the laft engadgement into England, and thefe who wer against it, is so great, that ther is no means left to reconcile parties, and he is able to crufhe thefe who hes authority now in their hand, if they be alone; so that our domeflik divisions is the cheif flay of that party, and which will mak us either fal into their hands as a conquest, or hinder us from being able to doe any thing to purpose. They encurage themfelfs in thefe their hopes, by ane alledged diffent entred by som of the eminenteft of our nobility against the proclaiming of our new King, which, though it be moft fals, yet it is enough to flander thefe noblemen; and because their authority is so great in our Kingdome, to mak many fufepect al runs not fo smooth and fair as is given out by us; so much the more, since no publick Declaration is emitted by our cleargie, to vindicat themfelfs from having given a precedent quhilk thefe perjured Independents have followed.

I am sure it hes bein a matter of unconceavable grief to yow all, when ye heard of that bloody murthering the late King; and it is reafon, that following the example of the zealous preachers in London, ye teflifie your utter abhoring of it, that ther may be extant a teflimony to the world of the loyaltie of your hearts, whereby the foul mouths of Papifts and Malignants may be stopped, as Jacob did, Genesis xlix. 6; and David, 2 Samuel iii. 35, 36, 37.
All the ministers in this province doe publickly declare their abhorring of it, and many has chosen seleet 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 blifled be God, who hath put it in your hearts so to doe! this maks your names like a fragrant finel; and if ye be put to any hazard for the maintenance of that act, if ye will manadage your credit weel abroad, ye will find real friends. But firft, all wilhe 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 fees how ye can subsift; for, be aflured, the party that now is under will rake hell to vindicat themselves, and put yow to that necessitity, that ye must join 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 abolute agreement. It wer to be wilhed that men of all fydes wald now learner to deny themselves, if they wald approve their former proffissions for Religion, King, Countrey.

There is arryved at Rotterdam some Commissionneris from Scotland to the Prince, upon the 2d March, new fyle, amongst whom there is one Sir Joseph Douglas, who entreated Mr. Alexander Petrie to writ to me in all haiift, that I fould com thither, or to the Hague unto him; for what errand I know not; yet I mynd to-morrow, God willing, to goe thither, go much the more, becaus I hear my Lord Chancellor is upon his way thither in a ship, quhair, if I can ferve them for any ufe, I fal not be payling.

We have no news more than what your Englifh moderat Intelligencer printeth. Germany is in fitatu dubio, al handering for the effect of that Munfter treaty, yet not willing to quyt their pofts till they fee performance. France is in a fyre for that unhappy Mazarin: both parties ar resolut, and they have met several tymes in parties, fomtymes with los of the one, fomtymes of the uther. Spain, whatsoever he mynd, yet he is arming a grit Armado, of which we can fee little ufe, except it be for Irland. If peace be made in France, England will fee the smart of it; and when parties fal be then engaged, uthers ar lying in wait alfo.

I do fend yow, for the Colledge, al of Amiraut’s that I coulde get; his Apologie in 4to, et Specimen Animadversionum contra Spanhemium, bound, his treatife De Aboluto Reprobationis Decreto, in 4to. unbound, his uther
final treatifes bound together in 8vo.: Item, Ludovic de Dieu Animadversiones in omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti, bound in 4to.; Rivetorum Fratrum Apologia contra Calumnias Amirautij; Cocceius de Foedere et Testamento Dei; Linichotani Itinerarium Indiae Orientalis, in folio. Amstelodamenfium Historia, Pontani, both rare books, fit for Bibliotheks.

I fal be looking out for what our freind did writ of his removal. Alace! that matters fould be brought thus far; but a wyfe man feeth the evil day, and fleeth from it: When I return out of the Hague, I fal give Mr. Jamesfon ane account of it. I am glad my nephew pleafeth yow fo weel; keep him in a modeft opinion of himfelf. I fee he is hinkering after his old conceit, and fhaues more inclination to uther fudies than Divinity, by reffon of the little hopes of preferment for one who will not easily enslave his judgement to uther doxoufes. Ye know what is the beft way to put that out of his head. Grit will the account be of these who, by fuch imperious and partial courfes, goe about to fmother the graces God puts in fuch young sprouts.

I fend yow a new peece of that Ericafianiffme againft the worthy fervant of God, Jodocus Larenus, minifter of Flulhing; who hes anfuer to it under the pres, whilk ye fal have when it comes furth. Marezius at Groning hes begun his virulency againft honeit Voetius, whom he accufeth of poprie, fecinianiffme, and what not. The divel is not idle, and the Kirk is like to receive, as in former tymes, mor damadge by fuch than by publick enemies. My wyf hopes, if ye wer acquaint with her, that ye fould tak revendge upon yourfelf for having fuch 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 occafion unpaft. And I am fure ye will find my letters, if ye have not got them alreiddy, in Mr. George Gillefpie's chalmer: His feikness and death hes bein the hinderence. I wish, if ye have not got them unopened, that they had perifhed; for we live in dangerous tymes, wherein a man is made a transgrelfor a word, and whatfoever freedom I ufe with my freinds muf not be mistreprettate. Let your bedfellow, children, freinds, be faluted in my name, especially your brother-in-law, Dr. Strang. When I returne out of Holland, ye may expeft, God willing, a large letter, and that with the firft. 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 himfelf from the counfels of
thee who hes driven his Father to that misery, I forsee he and we al fal be miserable. 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.

I have no leisur to writ to any else at this tym. Commend me to my mother and my freinds.—Let my cousin have ufe of such books in your Bibliothek, as he has need of. Sic how familiar I am with yow.—I fal anfuer Mr. David Dickfon’s letter, when I gett anfuer out of Amsterdam.

(Addressed) For the Reverend and much honored Mr. Robert Baillie, Profeflor of Divinity in the Univerfity of Glafgow.

M.
With ane bundel of books, marked R. B.
By ane noble freind, who will direct them to William Cunyngham, merchant at the Cuf tome-hous in Edinburgh.

Mr. William Spang to Mr. Robert Baillie.7

Tibi jobi.
Reverend and Dear Cousin,

After the clofing of my laft letters, which goe alongs with the fame bearer, my Lord Conservatour, I receaved 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 commiffioner then aryved from Scotland, with letters to the King’s Majeftie; but about what errand he did not writ, neither could he. Though the weather was very unfeafonable and flormie, and my health not the belt, 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 enquyred for him, and asked what was the errand for which he had fent for me. He told me, that he had brought over letters from the Commiffion of the Kirk, and delivered 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 express to Rotterdam for these letters, which, when they come to my hand, I fand them a pakket from you of the 7th February, wherby ye defyre me to haften to the Hague, and deal with fuch who are lykly to have credite with the King's Majefly, for perfuading him to doe what ye require of him, viz. to joyne with Scotland in both the Covenants. The perfons whom ye defigned were either abfent out of Holland, as Dr. Rivet, Apollonius, or fuch who are not of credite with courtiers, or fuch who are knouen to make only ufe of the Court favour for their privat ends; and therfor I did bethink my felf of another mean to effectuat that end, which was by addrefling my felf to the Prince of Orange his Highnes.

For this purpofe I took pains to informe my felf, the bet I could, of the present pofture of counfels fuggested to the King's Majefly, and the reafons for them; and I fand, that all these defigned by our late Soverainge to be his Son's counfellours, while he was Prince of Walis, viz. Cottington, Andover, Culpeper, Hyde, advyfed, that he fould goe directly for Ireland; this did James Grame [Marquis of Montrofe] urge alfo in gritteft vehementy; and if that could not prevail, uthers wer of advyfe that the King was to com to Scotland armata manu, becauf no truftr could be given to fuch who were leading men in our Parlament; partly becauf they thought ther was reafon to fufpeét the fincerity and reality of fom who used fuch a fair invitation, only to get the King in their pouer, whoes advancement they never thought more to procure then they did his Father's, partly becauf they thought that though these who invite him do really intend, yet they are not able to mantein him againft the English uffurprs, if they doe not recal their late acts againft fuch who has had a hand in the engadgment, and joine al their pouers together: "But (this fay they) they will never doe, and fo they fal not be able to proteét the King; but being straitned by the English, will be content to buy their peace with quyting the King." And heir, to mak this probable, pregnant inftances are brought in of my Lord Chancelours papers againft the delyvery of the King to the Parlament, preffed by unanfuerable reafons which yet was negleectd altogether, by delyvery of the King within few moneths thereafter. The uther inftance was of the treating of our Commissioners with the late King at the Iland of Wight, and our not performing our promise accordingly. But ther was a thrid party, who, though they be not of the King's counfel, yet, out of love to him and their coun-
trey, 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 haftily, 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 presed by the Ers Launderdail, Calender, Lanrick, with such evident self denyal of ther oune interefts, as being grievously cen-
fured by this present Parliament, that had the King bein left to himself, it was thought he could not but follow their advye. This honest cariage of these thrie Noblemen I can bear witnes unto, as having heard them protest it in privat, and understanding from uthers alfo, who are our enemies, and do curse the hour that they have bein caft heir to spoyle the game they thought sure. Beleive me, I doe acknowledge the good providence of God in calling them heir at this tyme: they have done more good for the coun-
trey than if they had been fitting in Parlament.

My next was to find out wherto the Prince of Orange was inclined. For this purpos, I went to tuo of the States General, of whose intimacy with the Prince’s counsels all men did speake: I fand them not only declaring their aune judgement for the King’s going to Scotland, and embracing the Covenant; but that that alfo was the Prince’s mynd. From thence I went to sundry uthers, 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, refolute to impoy his credite for relligion, and of high account with the Prince, in whose counsels he hes chief influence; as in speaking to some of the Eftates and uthers, the Conservatour joyned himself with me, fo heir alfo, for which it will be weell done to thank him, for ye may be a confirmed he was both faithful and diligent even at that nik of tyme, when the bufilnes was in a crifs. Now having found whereto the Prince inclined, my nixt thoughts wer to understand fo 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 wherwith many told he was dayly assaulted. For this end, a contreyman of ours promifed to bring me to the Prince; but performed it not, or at least wald have me to wait fo long upon it, that I fould be made to think it fome gritt favour. For this court policy I learned, which made me refolve to goe in my old way,
and by the mediation of one of his Highnes counsellors, I was brought in to him, and had the freedom of a long hour's speech, where I found God's assistance and blessing; his assistance, in enabling me both with words and matter, for it was in Dutch; and his blissing, in making the Prince so attentive to what I said, so desirous to know the true grounds of things, so apprehensive, and so fully resolved with us for his Majesty going to Scotland upon the conditions proponed. I faf give you a short and compendious account of what pasfed then.

After I had thanked his Highnes for his favour in granting me so redy audience, and deffyr to know if I might, with his good liking, propose what I intended in Latin or English, rather than Dutch, and he deffyring me to doe it in Dutch: Then I first concluded the parricid of our late King his Father: how how it was abhorred by the Effaits of our Kingdom, how contrar to our Covenant, whose end, among uthfr things, was the faifne of the King's person; how not only the State had proclaimed his Son to be their King, but the miniftrey of the kingdom also according to their places, had done their deuyt, and had given affurance of their loyal affection to our prefent King, by their letters to him; and by their caur that he may be perfwaded in tyme to shun 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 infrumental heirin, wald gaine grither honour then by gayning of touns, &c. He anfuered, "That thar was nothing more acceptable to him, than that he was looked upon as one whoould employ himself for the advancement of religion, and that now, if ever, the Reformed Religion was in danger; that thar was no probable means to prevein the utter extirpation of it, but by efposing the young King's quarrell; and that he, for his part, could not but pitty the young King, torne as it were betuixt fuch contrary counfels; that reafons produced by all parties seemed to be fpecious, yet how fair forver men did speake, he thought it madnes for a Protestant to chuis rather to trut to a Papift, than a Protestant who mynded truely." "And if ever (fayd I) any State mynded truely, 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 cheerfulnes of all joining together, doe witnes this; and now their reddines to espoufe the King’s caufs, if he firt will espoufe God’s caufs, though they know any undertakings of that kynd to be joyned with grit dangers.” “But what (fayd he) may be exfpeed of the minifters? And heer he fpok much of the grit influence their advyfe hes in the Eftait. To this I anfwered, that whatsoever any Prince can exfpeed of good subiects, that may our King look for at the hands of the Minifters, if he impoy his powr for the honouring of C[hri]ft; and that al the powr they have in the hearts of the people will be for the King’s advantage. Heer he fpok somthing of the grit precifnes of our minifters, who could not be content with that about religion, whilk our late King had granted, and where-with the Parlament of England itselt was weel neigh fatiffied. Heer I was redy to have anfwered; but he had this, and fpoke of the conditions we require of the King, viz. his accepting and entering into the Covenants. And I, at his defyre, having explained what thefe Covenants were, and how diftinguifhed: “Then (fayed he) he will be eafely brought to subcribe the Covenant, whilk concerns Scotland alone; (he meant our Nationall Covenant;) but that uther Covenant betuixt Scotland and England, he feared fould find gritter difficulty: 1. Becaufe al the King’s counfellers, to wit, thefe foure English walde be againft it: 2. Becaufe it reuyred a delveryving up to justice thefe who are called malignants. 3. Becaufe, as by subcribing it the King walde pleafe us, fo he walde difpleafe the Papifts in Ireland, and all fornaine Popift princes, who will not be fo foolifh as to favour him whose advancement is the ruine of theire religiion in his dominions. Uther reffons (fayed he) are urged, and I fal propone them ere ye ge. So I began to anfuer; and, firft, I show that the firft Covenant of Scotland only provyds as grit securiy for religiion as the second doth, and therfor the King’s counfellers who advyfe him to subcribe the one, and not the uther, for fear of difpleafing Papifts, speaks they know not of what, for ther is not a Papift who is not more difpleased with the firft than the second.” And he asking me. Why ar the King’s counfellers fo much againft it? I anfuered, “That they durft not doe utherwayes than diffuade our yong King from the Solem League, since they had ever diffuaded his Father from it; if they walde now chaine, the yong King, and your Highnes, who is fo gritly interefed, fould have reaфон to look upon them as men whose confluence did condemn them for
the abusing the father.” Heir I took occasion to reprefent to his Highnes the grit inconvenience of the abod of fuch counfellers about the King’s perfon; that if a courfe were not taken to banifhe them from his prefence, they wald reddely prove as unhappy intruments to the Son as they have been to the Father; and that they are who advyfe the King to flight the prefentation of Scotland, and to go to Irland, chufing rather he fould not reigne then that they fould not reigne alfo with him; men, of whose religion the world, to this hour, was never fatisfied. So far as I could mark, his Highnes feemed not to be displeased with this. “As for the King’s delyvering up of all malignants to juftice, (I anfuered,) the Covenant doth not requyr that all malignants fald be punifhed, but only tryed, and left to the judgement of the Parlam.-ment.” “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 inftance, the Acts of our preffent Parliament, declaring all who had one hand for the engagement uncapable of any place of truft ther whole lyf: And yet, fayed he, “The world did read their declaration, quhilk fpak 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 fo works upon his Majeftie as that.” Heir, I profes, I was at a ftrait: for to have given him fuch a character of a Malignant as the Commissioners of the Generall Asfemblie did give fome two yeers fince, wald not have ferved the turne, the cafe being now altogether altered, in fo far, that he is to be thought more a malignant who doth approve the bloody acts of that treacherous crew, now ufurping the name of a Parliament in England, then any who did ever flight againft them; and therfor I came to the distinguifhing of malignants, fome whose aimes appeared evidently to be for their aune felfs, either that they might abyd in a capacity to tyrannize over their fellow-subjechts, or to raife their fortunes, already difperat by the publik trubles. Such malignants were juftly unpardonable, and they had none to blame for the ruine of themfelfs and their families, but their aune obfinacie. As for uthers, in whom it doth appear that privat and by-ends hes not, fet them a work, their cafe is pitied; and it hes ever bein the cuftom of the Parlaments of Scotland, to fail rather in too grit clemency then cruelty. “Weil, (fays the Prince,) if ye that are minifters will not impoy your utmoft credite for unifying of all your contrey (I mean not, fays he, of fuch who have been bloody obfatinat
enemies to yow,) ye may los both yoursell's and the cause; and I know ther is nothing that fould more confound the counsels of al your enemies than to see yow forget quarrells amongst yourselfs; for this, they always say, How can Scotland, thus divided, be able to doe any thing of moment, since the forces of the party who now rules, is but walk enough to suppreff their enemies? I therfor doe as earneftly recommend this to yow, that ye wald acquaint your minister's 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 himself very pertinently, and fel upon the project of ane act of oblivion, and told me “That the party who now rules, will not be so evil advyfed as to reject this motion, if they but wald consider how suddeny things may be changed.” I assure yow he could tell me faults committed in our present governement, whereof I was wholly ignorant; which he fayeth he learned from the King’s Engliifh counfel, when they were debatting the very laufulnes of our Scottish Parlament, whither laufully indyted, mantaining strongly that that Committee quhilk called it, had no pouer becaufe they had not subfcryved the acts of the former Parlament; “but (fayed he) I quikly crushed such a motion in the very shell.”

“But (fayes he) the King by subferyving that Covenant will difengadge al Papifts from his service, both in Irland and elfwher, and al but Prefby-terians; for it oblieges the King to root out Papiftry 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 Soverainge used; but how dommadgful his going about to pleafoure papifts was, dooful experience hes taught, for Irland specially: it hes bein that quhilk hes withdrauen the hearts of the Protestant from him, more than any thing else. And what advantadge took these Irifh papifts at the King’s weaknes? When they capitulated with him, what little performance did the King find of their big promifes, and since ever he began to meddle with them, did not his condition decay dayly? That the condition of Protestant called Prefbyterians, in Grit Britan and Irland is not fo mean, but if the King wald chearfully joine himself to them, as Caput et Vindex Faderis, ther wald be no doubt of grit and good fuccees. As for the particulers, how much they could doe, I durft not take it upon me to speake: 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 Papifts, if they wald not affift the King, they wald far les affift the traiterous 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 gret men, whom ye know to be Protestants.” And heir, I suspecting that it might his Highnes did mean Montrofe, 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 fo 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 such; for by the comportment of our Scottifh noblemen at Court now, he perceives how odious James Grame moft be at home; for they will not salute or fpeik to him; nay, not look where they think he is, and this I have observed with my auine eyes.

At laft, having anfuered al his queftions, I repeited my defire, and humbly prayed his Highnes to continew in that holy and wholffome resolution; and to improve his credite with our King, that a fatiffactory anfuer may be given with all hauft, shauing the danger of delay. “But (fays he) when will your Comissioners come to his Majeftie? I anfuered, “I thought not until the gentleman returned with ane anfuer to Scotland.” He asked me If I knew who they fould be? I anfuered, that I knew not. “Will any minifters come?” fayed he. I anfuered, “That I queftioned not but some fould come, who fould be able to fatiffy al his Highnes’s fcruples better than I poftibly could.” “I wishe (fayes he) some minifters fould come for fundry reffons.” I replied, “That they fal come the more cheerfully when they fal understand how much your Highnes doth engadge yourfelf for perfuading the King’s Majeftie to go to Scotland, with a resolution to subfcribe both the Covenants.” “Then (fayed the Prince) ye may confidently afifie them that I fal doe my utmost endeavour; and come ye to me to-morrow, and I fal tel you what ye may exfpect.”

So away went I, and to-morrow, being admitted to his prefence, he told me, “He had made it his work yesternight to perfuade the King’s Majefty; that the refolution was taken to fatiffie the defires of the Parlament of Scotland;
and that in al haift letters were to be written of, in anfuer to what the King received." And heir agaie he recommended the cair of uniting all our noblemen in one, in pafling 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, Cousine, ye have the fubflance of that difcourfe, by which ye may fie I have obtained the end of your letter, and that in a fitter way then ye pre-
scribed. I moft earnelty entreat yow, that ye would repreffent 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 prebyterial governement hatefull. My heart trembles when I think of this; for I am certainlly enfomed, by a printer, that that infamous perfon who goes under the name of Grallator,⁹ hes a big volume reddy, of the late practifes of the Scottifh Kirk in the exercife of difcipline, which ye may think are willingly furnished to him by fome banifhed Scottifmen. Secondly, That all lovers of our caus and nation do unanimously judge that ther is no probable means of our faify if we unite not and pack not up all quarrels amongst our felfs; if ther be not ane amniefia for the laft yeer's engadgement; for that fuch had reafon to challenge the Engliſh army overpouring the Parliament, for breach of Covenant; and that their feares of mischeif againft the King were not caufles, 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 justice againft these circumftantiall faylings, lead us to feek the ruine of these 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 thefè 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 opposition to the English 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 occasion fould ferve, and may ferve for the honour of our Kirk

⁹ Grallator, one who walks on stilts 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 moft come, ye will let me know fo much, that I may attend yow. Ye may be sure I fal moft willingly contribute my little myte for the advancing of this fo good a work. Oh! if the Lord wald blifs it, fo night we yet hope for light in the midst of this darkness wherewith we are threatened. Ye writ to me that Mr. James Hamiltoune hes ordour to keep correfpondence 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 ministery of my acquaintance; especially Mr. David, Mr. Robert Douglas, and our freinds in the Weft.

The 9th March 1649, 
In my Chalmer at Hague. 

W. ANDERSON.

MR. WILLIAM SPANG TO MR. ROBERT BAILLIE.

Tibi foli.
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 public: 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 utherwayes I wald be; and my doubts are meerly proponed that I, getting satisfaçion, may be able to satiffy uthers. With all whom I have conferred with about the buffines for which I went to Holland, I fand none complayning les of the rigid severity of the Kirk and Parlament’s proceeding with yow than these thrie Noblemen, whom it moft 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 grifter lenity: Neither (so far as wyfer men then I am doe fee,) fal ye ever have any sure peace without refinding this laft act, of your ranking, whom ye have pleased to call Malignants, into four classe: passion hes bein too grit in that act; for it is judged a griter sin not to profeat against that late Engadgment than to be a ordinary drunkard, since
it is declared punishable with a more severe punishment. Both freinds and enemies told me, that that favoured much of the Romiish feverity, where eating of flesh being a breach of man's law, is more heavily punished then notorious transgressions of God's; and be asured that our enemies will proclame 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 promoving of your ends. Ye are not disappointed in your hopes of noble Lauderdaile and Lanrick, and, I assure yow, of the Earl of Calender, who told me, in plaine terms, that the King may with gritter assurance confide in these who now rule with yow then in uthers: ye know whom I mean. If ye come hither, and do not bring a full rescinding of what the Parliament hes decreed against them, ye will be looked upon as moft ingrate men; and none shall be gladder of their misery than the English malignants and James Grame, because they doe and have fo oppofed their plots. Lykwife, it wald be needfull that ye remitted much of that rigour quhilk, in your Church Assemblies, ye ufe against minifters who have proven your grit freinds ever before. It will be better to let the fails fal fomquhat laigher in tyme, befors a storme compel yow; or thefe who think God fo highly glorified by caftling out their brethren, and putting fo many to beggerie, making roume through fuch depositiones to yong youths, who are oft miscaried with igno- rant zeal, may be made, through their aune experience, to feel what it is, which now, without pitty, is executed upon uthers. Generally, the grit pouer quhilk the Commission of the Kirk exerceth displeaseth all: It is but a ex- traordinary meeting, and yet fits constantly and more ordinarily than any Synod; yea and without the knowledige of provincial Synods and Presby- teries, depofes minifters, injoyns, pro authoritate, what writs they pleafe to be read, inflicts cenfures on thefe 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 fay four or fyve rule that meeting; and is not the liberty of the Kirk come to a fair market therby? We have an act that nothing fal be brought to a gritter meeting quhilk hes not firft bein treated of in a smaller; but now your compend of the Generall Assemblie, or rather deputies of it, at the firft inftance, judge of matters, which might be better handled in leffer meet- ings. For God's faik, look this courfe in tyme be flopped, else the Commission of the Kirk will swallow up all uther ecclesiastick judicatories; and fuch
ministers who reside in and about Edinburgh, fall at last ingrofs all church power in their hands. I know ther is a piece of prudence hereby used, to get the power in the hands of those who are good; but what assurance have we but they may change, or uthers, following this course, creep into their places? We meet with dayly retraits that the antient ministers are contemned, and the insolency of yong ones fostered, the very forrunner of Jerusalem's destruution. The Lord mak us wyfe in tyme.

Mr. Samuel Rutherford is called to be Professor of Divinity and the Hebrew tongue in the new University of Harderwick. I have presently received a letter from Dr. Valkenier, Professor of Divinity there, with one inclosed to Mr. Samuel; he writes to me that the States of Gelder, to whom that University doth belong, hes sent him his letters of call some moneths since, and defirs me to write also to him to hasten his coming: This is by Dr. Voetius and Steuart's fliring. Ye moft be well advysed at home what to doe, if our Kirk can want such a man, in the grit fcarfns of such. It is not his English writs that commendeth him so much, as his Latin treatise against the Jesuites and Arminians. If ye had published any thing in Latin ye wald not be suffred to stay where ye are, but then ye should have loft your place in yeerly Provincial Synods. Scottifh ministers are generally looked upon by the English to be fo rigid in discipline that there is no hope for any of our nation to have a place among them. Besides, the disention of the nations, what a fearfull judgment of God is this upon us, that what we thought sould have joyned the nations unseparably, is lyk to be the great separater of them: it fears me many of our hearts in the perfute of it have not been upright. I know not how this my freenefs may be taken by some; but it comforts me that I am allure dy know it comes from a heart addicted to the weelfair of our Kirk, no wavies discontented, that the godly party have such a fuey; only I wishe we used prudence, leift we open a door to tyrannie, whilstt we think to shut out tyrants out of the Kirk. The Diaval hes many wyles to mislead men. That monster of Papacy walked modestly at first, and it was good but imprudent men that led the way to it.

Ye will not doe well to refuis coming hither when our Commmisioners come: I wishe both wyfe and moderat godly men come with you: all the countrey's eyes will be upon yow more than upon these whom the State sends. I hear much of Mr. Robert Douglas's moderation, (Oh! we mis
now that precious fervant of Christ, Mr. Alexander Henderson): he wald be a man fitt for this purpofe: whofoever comes, fee that ye come, and byde not behind. If ye think I can be usefull for yow, let me be informed at your firft arryval to Holland. Ye will find our yong Prince of Orange, one of the hopfulleft youths that ever Europe brought forth, and willing to doe al good offices for the caufe: but more of this if God bring yow hither, and I be alive. My wyfe hopes to fee yow heir, and to clear your mynd from these doubts ye conceive that she is the caufe of my silence. Salute yours with your hopefull family, and all our freinds, both your colleagues in the Colledge and Miniftry, and our blood freinds: the Lord direct yow al by his Holy Spirit.

When ye fend Commiffioners of State, let them be fuch as fpeak good French, if not Latine. It will be no great wifdom that who are fent muft be directed or made to depend upon any but ther auine prudence. Ye will doe well to confider weel of the letter, quhilk anno 1646, the Aflembly writ to our late King; for the Independents makes it a part of the rule they walked by. And, 2dly, they fay, that in your laft Aflembly ye have declared that these words of the Covenant wher ye fpeak of defending the King's person and authority, in the defence of religion and liberties, are explyayed to be a limitation and excluding your obedience to him and defence of him, except in fuch acts: And then fays 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 laft præctifes against the resolution of a laufull Parliament, and that by fome few, from being a ground of the army as privat men doing the lyk in England.

I mervel where Sir Jofeph Douglas flayed fo long, that we doe not hear from him thefe eight dayes. The fhip of war quhilk our Con fervatour got for himfelf, he procured a letter from the Prince to caufe it flay for Sir Jofeph; and when it comes to Scotland it muft flay the Parliament or my Lord Chancellor's ordour: it is reddy, and the winds fair, but Sir Jofeph is yet at the Hague. Certanly our countrey is much oblided to our preffent Lord Con fervatour, Thomas Cunyngham. It is a pity they let him be fo great a lofer for his grit reddines to furnifhe 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 real 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 Commissioun, but upon condition that no man misconstrue my meaning. I know how reddy men will be in thir tickleform tyms to intertane jealoufies 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. Moderate counsells us'd to be of account, and festina lente was a advyse never a man repented of.

I write this third 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 so 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 promis'd to give him notice of what I fal know.

Your Cousin,

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 fad 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 grieve of that whole Church for your Majestie's most lamentable afflictions, but also their recall and great joy for your Majestie's succession to the Throne, and their confident hopes, by the bleffing of the Most High on your royall perfon and government, now at laft to come up out of that pitt of grievous confusions, calamities, fears, and dangers, wherein long they have been finking.

According therefore to this our truft, we doe declare, what in our owne breath often we have felt, and generally in the people among whom we live, have seen with our eyes, ane mournfull sorrow for that execrable and tragick parricide; which, though all men on earth shoule pass over unquestioned, yet we nothing doubt but the great Judge of the world will arife, and plead againft every one, of what condition ever, who have been either authors, or ac tors, or confenters, or approvers, of that hardly expressible crime, which stamps and stigmatifes, 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 profeffe, in name of them who have sent us hither, the great joy of all forts of men in our land for the immediate filling of the vacant Throne with your Majestie's most gracious and hopefull perfon; 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 pretent dangers and fears may flie away, and a new morning may spring up, to all your three Kingdomes, of greater peace and prosperitie, of more righteousnes and virtue, especiallie 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 Ancestor.

For the pretent, we are loath to take up more of your Majestie's precious time; only we pretent the Letter\(^1\) of our Church; and what further most loyall defyres we have in commision, we shall, God willing, be ready, in all humility, to offer fo foone 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 account of our proceedings. On Thursday, at night, March 22d, the Lord brought us all safe to Rotterdam; on the Friday 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 goodness 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 Caflillis did speake to his Majestie in name of the Parliament and Kingdome, and Mr. Robert Baillie in name of the Church. So far as we could learn, what was spoken was taken in good part by all who heard. We then delivered our letters to his Majestie. The rest of that day, and the following, was spent in visiting the Queen of Boheme, the Princess Royall, the Prince of Orange, the Princess Dowager, and the Estates Generall.

The Commissioners of Parliament found it necessary to give in, as previous to their defyres, a paper, for removing of James Grahame from Court. His Majestie’s answer, under his owne hand, was, “That he defyred and expected all our propositions together; to which he hoped to give a satisfaction answer.” With this we were not content; but pressed againe our defyre, the Commissioners of Parliament by one other paper; and we also by one, second theirs, a copie whereof we send 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 defyre; but James Grahame hath so many and so powerfull friends in the English Council, that as yet we cannot get the King to discountenance him.

On the Saturday morning we delivered to his Majestie the Nationall
Covenant, the Solemne League and Covenant, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, the Catechize, the Propositions of Government, bound together in a booke so handsome as we could gett them. We spake something on the matter, and defyred of his Majestie more frequent and private conferences; who shew his willingness, and promised to send to us to advertise of his fitteft 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 affairs.

On the Monday we purposed to have given in our defyres, 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 Councill are averfe from our defyres; 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 fo far rooted in any principles contrarie to us, but that, by God's bleffing on our friends labours, he may be gotten to doe us reafone, whatsoever our fears be for the preffent. There is a very evil generation both of English and Scots here, who vomite out all their evil humour against all our proceedings. The peace of France, and ane unhappie book, Eizav Basiniac does us much prejudice. Also the supposed death of Huntlye2 is wrested to our disadvantage. Doctor Bramble3 of Derrie hes 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, fhall indeavour, with all faithfullnes and diligence, to goe about our instructions. We had much need of your prayers. The grace of the Lord Jefus Chrift be with yow, and proteft that Church and Kingdome from all the mifchiefs that the instruments of Satan on all hands are prepareing 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 Scottes Disciplin. By R. B. G. Printed at Delf, 1649," 4to.
bring upon us; but our hope is in the name of the Lord, to whose protection we committ you, and rest,

Your Brethren and Servants in the Lord,

Cassillis. Robert Baillie.


Hague, April 3d 1649.

My First Letter to Mr. Robert Douglass. April 3d [1649.]

Reverend and Dear Brother,

By the enclosed to the Commifion of the Church, you see the state of our affairs here. I wrote to Warriestone from Rotterdam what was the posture of our affairs, 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 affairs, blest be God, are not desperate. There is no Scotfiin 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 caresles Montrofe, 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; but all of them are much averse 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 carry his Majestie to our Covenant, and the most of our defyres for Religion; but I dare not promise so much: yet the greatest flick, 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 you here. It were verily a great pitty of the King: he is one of the most gentle, innocent, well-inclined 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 you herewith a copie of what I said to him. Because it was but a transient speech, I give out no copies of it here at all; yet that we spoke so, 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 Marquefs of Brandeburg, and some others, for good purpose. I pray
God guide yow there to put no more impediments to our agreeance than are
necesfly. 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 countreymen in our own bowels. What relaxation yow may grant
with conscience, and safelie, let it be done freely and publicklie with this
express: 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].

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Though I have nothing at this time for the Commission of the Church,
yet to yow I give this account of our further proceedings. After we had
given in our chief paper, a double whereof yow 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 yow on a sure occasion: at this time it is scarce safe, for there is
ane 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, under-
standing, and judicious enough, though firme to the tenets his education
and companie hes planted in him. If God would send him among us, with-
out some of his present counsellers, I think he might make, by God's bless-
ing, as good a King as Britaine saw these hundred yeares. Finding the
great sticke to be upon the League and Covenant, his own taking it, and
asfireing to passe it for England and Ireland; of his persuation that his pai-

* 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 unsatisfactorynes 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 found 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 wise 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-chalmer-men, even they who are very great and real friends, are yet against our defyre 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. I found a way to acquaint his Mother with them, who is a wise 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-chalmer-men, even they who are very great and real friends, are yet against our defyre 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 have been vexed these eight days with constant reports here of the North’s ryfing, and David Lefley’s retirying. However it be, ye should not leave us so long without all information. No scrape hes any of us gotten, since we saw yow, from any man. In hafte, I rest,

Your Brother,  

Hague, April 17th 1649.  

R. Baylie.

By a good friend of myne, a Dutch Statefman, I gott this double of the two papers the King gave in to the States-Generall; as yet he hes gotten no answer. The particular Provinces are acquainted therewith, but hes not yet returned their mind. Surely, if his Majestie and we agree not, I see no human way either of his or our prefervation; 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 Thomson of Edinburgh were taken with his trunk by an Irish frigget. I hope yow gott my old long ones, which my nephew David Donald delivered to my Lord Lauderdaill 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 crofs-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 crofs-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 restyng, and if I shall send it in crofs-dollers to yow with the first occasion, or what other way yow will. Cassillis and Warriflone 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; but the diary I wrote in the time, I loft; so I cannot now doe it; neither were there much in it worth the remembrance. The lитеing of two for the moderation fell to Mr. Robert Douglafs, the antepenult moderator: Mr. Gillefpie, 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 earneft, 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 cuftom 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 lefs might weell have done our turne. Transportations took up much tyme, and depositions of minifters. There had been diverse commiffions, eafft, weff, south, and north, who had deposed many minifters, to the pitie and griefe of my heart; for sundry of them I thought might have been, for more advantage every way, with a rebuke, keeped in their places; but there was few durft profeffe
fo much; and I, for my ingenuous freedom, loft much of my reputation, as
one who was inclyning to malignancie.

My Speech to the King, spea
king fo sharplie of his Father’s death, and the
commendations I gave to himſelfe in the preface of my book, but especially a
paffage of a letter I wrote from Holland, wherein, to a familiar friend, I ſpeak
of the aėt of Claffes as fo fevere, that it will be needfull to diſpenſe with some
part of it for the peace of the countrey: for these things, before the Aſſemble, 
ſundry ſpoke of me all their pleafure; yet I conforted 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 un-
acquaintance with obſtive made my ſkin, at this firſt afſay, more tender than
needed; for I had fo oft in print declared my ſenſe againſt, not Scetaries alone,
but 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 obtainge the unanimous approbation and thanks of the whole
Aſſemble, now in print; yet I behooved, in ſundry voices of the Aſſemble, 
either [to] quint the libertie of my mind, or endure the whisperings of my
malignancie to continue. This laſt, though to my great grief, I behooved to
choyce. I could not vote to deſope 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 deſope no man, for the reaſons I gave in
the committee of the former Aſſemble, when that aėt did paſs to deſope for
ſilence alone, if continued in: My mind did never goe along with that aeṭ; 
though therefore I knew the whole Aſſemble almoſt was otherways minded,
and ſoreſaw the miſtake of my voyce by ſome, yet I behooved to voyce his
ſufpenſion to continue, and no farde. As for Mr. Andrew Ramſay, more was
libelled and proven againſt him, and all this yere he carried himſelf in a can-
kerd untoward way; yet I told, I could not voyce to deſope a man of such age
and parts: fo in that vote I was ſilent, to the peace of my own mind, though
ſome of my friends wrote ſharpl letters to me for it. I had alfo some conteſt
with my neighbours in Mr. William Wilkie’s proceed, whom I judged more
hotly perfued than there was caufa. But my ſharpeſt conteſt was for the
Principal, whom I found some men to perform still without any ground at all considerable: contrare to their designe, I gott him reazonably faire off. These contefts, and wrak of my friends were very bitter to my mind, and, joyning with the obloquie in the ear against me by some, did fasten my spirit sometyme, till I gott my grief and wrong vented and poured out to God; for there was no other whom I found able and willing to help me. It was a piece of confort to me, that I knew the best 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 infamous under which super-excellent Mr. Henderson lay, to my knowledge, till God and tyme blew it away. I have been ofter and forser feared for the woe of Christ to them whom all the world love and speake good of; than I was grieved for any reproachfull speeches which some were begun to mutter against me; but this now is our condition, that the cheife men both in Church, State, and Army, how innocent soever, are whisperit to favour either sectaries or malignants.

In our Report, when I had ended what yow read in print, my colleague Mr. Wood, of his own motion, truelie gave a very ample testimonie to my Lord Lauderdaill and yow, for your service. What was spoken of yow, all did take weell; but fundry were pleased to mistake what was spoken of Lauderdaill, albeit my Lord Caffillis, in his report to the Parliament, had said as much of him; but some men fearing a designe to bring Lauderdaill in employment at this very tyme, was not pleased with any motions in that kind, otherways I had debaited in the grand committee much to have the satisfaction of the Engagers much fairer than it stands; and once I had gotten Mr. Livingstone, with the good lyking of the committee, to a draught near to Lauderdaill's mind; yet thereafter that was cancelled, and the act framed as [it] stands, to my grief. I wished earneftlie, and so did the Chancellor intreat Mr. Robert Douglass, but out of tyme, that the frameing of the declaration should have been committed to ane other hand than that it fell in; who, how able soever, yet was generallie thought to be among the most severe of the company to the King: but this could not be helped. Only many clauses we gott altered in the committee; yet, as it stands, I much fear it shall prove a division wall betwixt the King and us for ever.

We were always expecting the promised expresses 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. Rutherfoord and Mr. Wood were as peremptor to put the power and voyces of election in the body of the people, contradistinct from their eldership; but the most of us was in Mr. Gillempie's mind, in his Miscellany, that the direction was the Presbyteries, the election the Seffions, 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 aside; mine came nearer the mind of all, and almost had past; 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 Assemblie: 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 contrarie 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 Seffion 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 whisper in the ear some leading person of the parish, to gett voices to any young man, though never heard in privie exercise, that he, by defyre of the people to the Presbyterie, may be put on tryalls for such a church. This I find will be the way of our elections, which I think unordered. However, Mr. David Calderwood entered a very sharp protestatione against our act, which he required to be registrate. This is the first protestation we heard of in our time; and had it come from any other, he had not escaped cenfure.

There was a designe, at the last Aislembie, to have gotten the hands of many ministrers to a supplication for moderating, in some things, the power of the Commission of the Church; which was expounded by this Aislembie truely to have beene 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 severe act was made against the thing: yet Mr. Douglafs caried it fo, that no man at all, even the chief contrivers, did suffer any thing for it, upon what ground I could never learn to my satisfaction; whether, because to Mr. Robert Laurie, the confessed penner of the principall Supplication, impunitie was promised for his ingenuous and early confession, and he being secure, others less guiltie could not be gotten punished; or because others, foreseeing what necessity there might be for themselves to doe more than supplicate a Generall Aislembie, had no will that any supplication whatsoever, especiallie being only intended, and never offered, should be a ground of Church-cenfure. However, albeit a terrible act was made against the thing, contrarie to my mind, yet no man was to this day called to any account for it, nor, as I hear, ever shall be.

I was much afraid that the subscription requyred of the Engagers could have made many prime men in our land desperate; but I am now very glad that so many offers themselves to doe all that is requyred: as I expect there shall be very few who shall flink upon it, so I wish from my heart that Lauderdale may be moved to doe what I fand Callander and Dumfermling ready for, when I was there with yow; and what I saw in the Aislembie, Middleton very near, and others, as Galloway, Lithgow, Ogilvie, Baylie, Innes, Cochran, Kenmuir, Fleeming, &c. actuallie to offer. I doe not expect now above three or four persons in Scotland who shall make scruple of that sub-
scription, 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 Assemblie, 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 humilitie he appeared, and pass'd from his appeall, which obtained him favour not to be farther proceeded against. Mr. William Colvill took his sentence of depo
tition submissively; Mr. Andrew Ramfay professed his suffering: some would have been at the present proceeding of both, as guilty of all the blood, and all the consequents of the Engagement; but Mr. Robert Dougla's did quaff these motions, which otherwayes easily had been carried on.

It was all our minds to have had transportations better regulate than they had been; for indeed their needless frequence was intolerable, yet Mr. Robert Dougla's gott all that shifted till Edinburgh once again be provided both of ministers and professours. For their University they moved for Mr. Rutherfoord, 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 judges fo of that man, would give them Mr. James Wood, or Mr. David Dickfone; 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 defyres 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 Storie of the tymes, to propone to the Assemblie a lite of three or four; Mr. James Wood, Mr. John Living'tone, 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 Assemblie, when it came to be voyced, it ran wholly betwixt Mr. John Living'tone and me; and had not the opinion of my malignacie diverted some voyces, I had undoubtedly been oppress'd with that charge. As it was, I eschewed it bot by two three voyces; 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 Assemblie, for the full purgation of the Church, as in former years, so in this also, has appointed diverse committees; one in Angus, one in Stirling-
flyre, one in the Merfe, one in RoPs, 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 depoying of such as Prefbyteries and Synods does spare. I acknowledge the disinclination of my mind to fo frequent depoyitions of ministers, and to all courfes that furthers that, to me fo fevere ane action; but this is a great part of my malignacie.

I think at laft we shall gett a new Pfalter. I have furthered that work ever with my best wishes; but the scruple now aryfes of it in my mind, the first author of the translation, Mr. Rous, my good friend, hes comyled with the Seçtaries, and is a member of their republick: how a Pfalter of his framing, albeit with much variation, shall be receaved by our Church, I do not weell know; yet it is needfull we shoulde have one, and a better in hafte we cannot have. The Afsemblie hes referred it to the Commiffion to caufe print it after the laft revifion, and put it in practife.

These were the chiefe things of our long and tedious fuye 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 pleafe as to pafs, but was referred to the commiffion 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. Livingftone, and Mr. MacKelleljan were appointed to conferr with him on all his propositions.

All this while the Parliament did fitt, though ready to ryfe at our first down-fitting, more than at our ryfing. Their main caufe of fitting was to fee what we brought from the King. Thereafter, being to ryfe, conftant reports, week after week, of Cromwell’s purpofe, to bring down the armie on us before it went to Ireland, made them fitt ftil to fee to the defence of the countrey. To encrease the leavies, was to put the countrey to a farther burthen, while the present was fo great as could be borne, and caused dan-

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6 This version of the Psalms, by an Act of the Commission of the Assembly 23rd 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 far from any agreeance with the King; so nothing considerable was done or could be done, though the English had come on us. They had written 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 ready to treat with both the Houses of Parliament; but could not acknowledge the present authority. This drew from them a printed paper, in reasonable soft words; but clearly enough renounceing 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 time?

While there is nothing to doe in our Parliament, they make themselves business enough. Our Westland flyres had, in the rates of monthly maintenance in bygane tymes, been burthened above other flyres. Oft they had complained; but no redres; they resolved therefore, now or never, to have it helped. Cassillis, Cefinock, Sir John Cheiflie, and others, got it so contrived, that ane act passed for their ease, with the burthening of the Eastern flyres. 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 scathious 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 hundreth, whereas 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 Glafgow, St. Andrews, Irvine, and some others, a part of their proportion. This the Provost and Counsell of Edinburgh took in ane exceeding evil part, and formed much at it, yet could not remedy it. But the most bitter difference was the last day of their fit-
ing. Caillilis and others, of a long tyme, had a great defyre to have the annuall rent 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 publict 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 tyme 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 fatt still, and for no dealling of Warriftone and Mr. Robert Douglaes, would so much as delay the clofeing of the Parliament that night, for they feared, if they had delayed till the morrow, that the people shoulde have been fett on them with tumultuarie supplications; fo the Parliament clofed without the Burrowes; yea, the Committee of Estates was made of a quorum, which should subfift without them, if they should perfit to abfent themselves, as they threatened they would. Much high language pass'd on both fydes; yet some days thereafter, the Burrowes were made content to fitt in the Committee of Estates: But all these grudges sticks in the stomachs of many, waiting but ane opportunitie to disgorge them.

By William Murray's private dealing, it feemes Louthian was made willing, with Argyle's consent, to have been fent to the King, bot alone. Argyle therefore, off hand, moved in Parliament, in the absence of Warriftone, and without the privitie of the Chancellor, or any other of his friends of the Church, to have ane new Addrefs to the King, and carried it without any opposition. Bot incontinent many thoughts began to aryfe about the matter: fome began to be jealous of Argyle, that he was inclining to a new trinketting with the King by himfelfe; others, that the manner of his proceeding was to marr the matter of purpose. However, the rashnes 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 laft day, he was voyced to be Libbertoun 7; who finding the letter, drawne by Sir John Cheiflie, though much fmoother than the Church's drawn by Mr. James Wood, yet to be fo hafl, and the intructions fo fcbrous, 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 chief 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 Airds, in a very subtill false way, had put himselfe in the government of Ulter. Sir Robert Stewart and George Monroe had joyned with him, and laid siege to the Derrie. If Derrie and Dublin had been gott, there was no more adoe, but to have sent for the King, and come over with him, firft to Scotland, and then to England: This was the King's great snare all this yeare, to keep him off an agreeance with us. But behold how soon all this hope evaporished; Jones, having gotten some supply of men from England, makes an eruption on Ormond's camp so prospcrously, 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 eafie to be dealt with. Mackart, in the meantime, joyned with Sir Charles Cutts [Coote], and coming towards the Derrie, made all our besiegers gett away, because the minifters 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 minifters, which made them altogether leave the countrey, and come over to us. In the meantime, Cromwell, in the South, hes put Ormond, without stroke of sword, to his garifons, 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 easie than any of the other to be fwallowed down.

This being our case, lykly our Committee of Estates may hafte Libbertoun to the King, to see if, when the rotten reed of Ireland is broken, he will think better of our propofitions 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 refufe our conditions, the ruine of both feems to be near; and though he were joyned with us in our terms, yet he
lies delayed so long, that our difficulties and his would be insuperable but by
the hand of God. Allways, we would suffer all hardships with the greater
comfort, that he and we were conjoyined in God against the common enemie
of God, of his house, and our countrey. If we make ane new application,
who ever hinders the King to condescend to any terms we shall or can pro-
pone, 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 Lauderdail minds [to do.] What is become of Willoughby,
Maffey, Bunch? Also try to your power if there be any suspiccion of Cap-
taine Titus’s compliance, either with Sectaries or Malignants: it concerns
me to know his quickly, if yow can learn. If your intelligence to Caffillis
and our State be so 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 send them; also all Voetius and Marelius’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, Lamsbergius. 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 Salmaius’s pieces for the King. When ye write to me ye use not to look
on my letters, so yow forgett to answr sundry things I require: help this:
shoule ye not always send 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 lawfull-
ness 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 Papists
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 nurfe and fon. Read and clofe 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 well on it, I hope he may doe much good: while I know by yow
the man’s temper, I wald not know him.
SIR,

MASTER TROTTER sent 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 tried. 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 Warriftone sent 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 anfwer ye will read and close. I marvell ye are fo 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 deputes in the heart of Scotland. Who thinks not fo, or is not feared for this, I muft have leave to fufpect much either his prudencie 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, brielly discourst 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 fees 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: bot the grounds of union, as matters now stands, are to me maine dreams. My hopes are in God only; bot for any help in man, not only our King and royaltie, bot religion, libertie, and all that's dear, feem 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 affociations, and be instrumentall to bring in all their Protestant friends to our Covenant. Why doe yow send none to lye\(^1\) for yow at the Court of Sweden? Haste some away to the King, if it were bot to understand what he is doing. Yow our watchmen shouuld 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.

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\(^1\) Here to lye evidently signifies to reside.
id fibi oneris imponere voluerunt, ut opusculi mei cum translatione tum editionem, haud parva sua nullus dubito cum moleflia, procurarent. Quam vellem mihi dare tur aliquando occasio exprimendi vel tibi vel iphis partem saltem aliquam gratiarum quas in praefentia multas animo meo vobis conceptas fentio. Docebit, si voles, D. Bovius ex meis ad D. Spangium literis quis fit rerum hodie nostrarum status, et quam ingens nobis immiser videatur tempertas, qua a Malignibus quos vocamus, si pergat Rex peffimiris ipforum confiliis utramque suam prout haec tenus aurem praebere, qua a Secularis, quorum res mirabili adhuc etiam in Hibernia, non Anglia tantum, succesfui fluunt. Utraque hae factio pari in nos odio æstuat, et ab utraque extrema omnia metuimus. Unica nobis in Jehova fjes est. Ut multum egemus, ita valde desideramus transmarinorum fratrum in ferioribus Deum pro nobis precibus perseverentiam. Ab initio usque nostrorum motuum tot in nos nostramque caufam a tua pietate sinceriffima charitatis specimina compemerimus, ut fideliorum nobis in rebus quantumlibet arclis operam ab exteri orum Theologorumullo non polliceamur. Quare unice nobis in votis est ut velit Dominus ad extremam senectam te incolenum fervare, ut in domo Dei insignis illa tua lux diu fulgeat ad multos, quod facis quotidiem, illufrandos, et ad dilipandos non eos tantum errorum fumos quibus Pontificii, Arminiani et Sociniani veftras pro viribus ecclesiae offuscare conantur, fed illas etiam tenebras quibus Independentes, Anabaptiftae, Chiliaflae, Antinomiani, cetera que Sectariorum turba nostras Britanniæ coelum maximo jam nifi obfcurare moliumur. Hoc voto suppHx tuo nomine Deum veneratur

Addictissimus tibi Frater,

Robertus Baleus.

Plurimum salvere cupio doctissimum collegam tuum D. Dematium, cujus magnam erga me humanitatem licet, in acuti morbi fervore, non fas eft oblivisci me. Salvere quoque peropto heroinam illam veftram Annam Mariam, quam quod non falutaverim dum tecum essem perfpe dolui.

Glasguæ, idibus Septemb. 1649. Decembris.
Mr. Robert Blair to Mr. Robert Baillie.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

If it had been the Lord's will, I wish we had mett for many caufes. I hardly think that Dr. Strang can be in any hazard for what was before tofted and fettled by the authoritie of the Aslemblie, except there be some new matter; and if so, let him anfwer for it, and doe not ye, by intermedling in that kind, defyle your confcience and deftroy your name, which already fuffers not a little. Your folitarie vote concerning the two misleaders of that finfull Engagement, with wings flees abroad, to my no small grief: I think Lauderdaill and Middletone, and many of that rank, nothing fo culpable; and I affure yow, had I been there, I would have corziallie caften them out. They have been more instrumentall to advance that wicked work, both by their silence and speaking, 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.²

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

The letters of our friends, thir to Mr. Douglaſs and to Mr. Jamifone, also

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 w.h.o 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 Assembli, the one of ane old date, the other since the defeat at Dunbar, came but latelie to our hands. For feare of your hazard then, we thought it expedient to communicat them but to a few. At first were called together, the Lord Chancellour, the Marquiis of Argyle, the Earles of Cafilllis 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 most gracious and most feasonable letters. The anfwer to them was remitted to the nift meeting of the Commination of the Church the laft of this moneth, where we purpose to make more publick use of these, if we fhall then find [it] fhall stand with your safety. In the mean time, Mr. Jamifone [i.e. Mr. Baillie] was appoynted to give yow some short accoopt of affaires here; which be pleased to receave.

This whole eight days before the defeat at Dunbar, the Lord had foe disposed, that, to the apprehension 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 ftilly lyn under that froke, not fo much by any active prosecution of the enemie, as by the Lord’s hand now upon us, our divisions. 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 cost 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 disturbance; which we fuppofe Cromwell long before this has caufed print there. Unto it very myld anfwers were given, both by Church and State, as yow will read here in the copies subjoyned: A while, notwithstanding, they perfued in their diverfe way; the enemie fell on, and putt them to a toall routt, whereby he inlargd his quarters now where he pleasfs

in Scotland;" but these 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, most solemnly denied, both at his Trial and Execution, his having had any correspondence whatever, either "with the King, the Church, or State, or any particular person in Scotland," since the War began between the two nations. But for such alleged conspiracy to assist the Scotish 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-south Forth. However our griefe 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 mischieffe, had before foullie betrayed his truft, and since is gone unto the enemie.

These mischiefes have laid us now lower in the durt before the Lord. On Sunday nixt, the 22d of December, we have a generall humiliation, moft for contempt of the gospell, 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 poſsible speed, to make ufe of all the remainder of our forces. The Parliament the other week did call togethuer the Commiffion of the Church, to be reſolved, how farre it was lawfull to imploy, in this eafe of extreme neceſſitie, these who, for sometime, and while we had choife of men, were excluded from the service. The unanimous anſwer be them prefent yow have here subjoyned. By the bleſſing of God this may be a greater beginning of union among ourſelves, and of a more happie acting againſt the enemie, than formerlie. There is indeed fome among us againſt the impoying of these 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 greateſt, there yet appeares the leaft inſeping to comply with the enemie. And to guard the better againſt this evil, the Church, the other day, did passe the fubfequent Act, which the Parliament is about to confirme, with a fervere civill cenfure againſt all tranſgreſfors.

After our forefaid applications to God on the 22d and 26th of this inſtant, we have appointed to Crowne our King, the 1ft of January, at Scoone, the ordinarie place of our old Coronations; and thereafter, fo soon as we are able, to march, with the strength we can make, under the conduct of our King, with all our nobilitie and gentrie to Stirling; where it will be reſolved, whether to goe with the body of our army to England, leaving such a partie here as to keep and guard the pallès of Forth againſt the enemie; or, with the bodie [of our army], to attend Cromwell here, and to fend Masley to England with fome thouſands of borce and dragoons. To
the former the most part inclines; but yow, with the next, shall be acquainted with our conclusions. But, in the mean time, the necessity is apparent for the extraordinary diligence of our friends there to procure to us their possible assistance in this our foe necessary undertaking for the common safety. 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., whom we have found a faithful, wise, and diligent agent for your defires to us, and whom we hope shall be no less such for our defires to yow. We have great need of your earnest intercession with the Lord of Hofs for his powerfull concurrence with us in this our great extremity. Expecting this dutie of love from yow and our dear Brethren, I add but this one word, that the brethren there would be careful, as we have been, and purpose full to be, to lay, at this their new beginning, such foundations for their Armie and Parliament, that the leading men in both may be firm 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 blest our mutual endeavours, that our friends there may be zealous and conscientious, that what progress was made in the Assembly of Divines for the reformation of religion be not lost, but procured untill a final 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 Dickson.

I sent to my Lord Argyle and yow the two Remonstrances, in my judgment very insolent and scandalous pieces. If yow connive with them, and permit 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 ways of the Remonstrants, it will be to me a great griefe, a great disappointment: had I either been on the Commission of

* Probably Col. Bamfield, who appears from Mr. Christopher Love's Trial, to have been employed at this time in such negotiations.
the Church, or been written for by any at Stirling, or, on the Commisioners generall letter to our Presbyterie, I had been defyred by our Presbyterie to ryde, and not through Mr. Patrick’s comeing been exprefflie shifted, I would have certainly come to the Commision of the Church, and told freely my mind of these injurious invectives, invented only for division, and increas- ing of our present miferies. I hope the Lord will affift yow to help our Church, our King, and State, when, by the designes of the Devill, and, at beit, 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 dis-covered. This much to yow 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 shou’d defert the King, and verifie the too common furmifes of many, which I trust shall be found moit false, and shortly shall be refuted by his deeds, I think, and many more with me of the beit I speak with, that it would be a fearfull finne 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, exprefflie for the King’s ruyne. But if Argyle should have any hand with the Remonstrants for the fame end, his finne would be no lefs: That man my heart has loved till now; I hope he shall give me caufe to continue.*

Your Brother,

Glasgow, November 18th [1650.]

R. B.

For Mr. Robert Douglass.

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

* Baillie’s fears were unfounded, as the Marquis of Argyle was the person who crowned Charles the Second at Scone.
Commision from going the way of some peremptorie men; howsoever I have been grieved, at other times, to see yow let things goe with them which I supposed was contrare to your mind. If at this time yow suffer yourself to be drawne over or to connive at such an insolent passage, I think you will contribute to give our Kirk and State a wound which in hafte will not be gotten remedied. It is an ease to me to have signified so 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 myselfe, as God pleases, for suffering, but withall to give the world ane compt of my dissent from the Remonstrants wrytes and wayes. The Lord be with yow.

Glaufgow, November 18th [1650.]

For Scout, Mr. Buchan. [1650.]

If great words would put our State from crowning the King at this time and make them submitt to the commands of our Remonstrants, they may: If they will keep promisse to the King, and tell us our duety, with any vigorous authoritie, I doubt not of our submitting 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 inclosed 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 disolving of the meeting at Stirling, I followed to Perth, upon sundry letters from Stirling to me for that effect. Your absence was not weell taken by many; though I verily think your presence would not have had more influence on the Remonstrants than that of Mr. Douglafe, Blair, Cant, Rutherfoord, Durham, Wood, and others, who could in nothing prevaiill

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 you a simple accompt, but to yourself alone, and after to the fyre; for, as in all the meetings I was silent, and a mere spectator, except one forenoon, wherein in some things I declared my mind, so I would desire to meddle as 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 as much pressure as any to have libertie to demitt his charge, being covered with shame and discouragement for his late unhappiness, and irritate with Mr. James Guthrie's publick invectiues 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 tolerablie 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 earneftnes intreat him to keep still his charge. Against this order, my Lord Warriftone, and, as I suppose, Sir John Chefslie, did enter their diffent; 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 be 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 Weft, had procured a meeting, at Kilmarnock, of some chiefe gentlemen and ministers of the sheriffdomes of Ayr, Clydefdale, Barenfrew, and Galloway, where he persuaded them, for the present necessities, to raise a strenght of horse and dragoones, as they had designed in their Association, but farr above the proportion of any bygane 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 enemie, 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, befye volunteers. With this voluntarie offer, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, Sir George Maxwell, and Glanderftone, rode to Stirling. However many did smell, and feare the designe of a divifione, yet the offer was fo fair, and promises of prefent acting fo great, that eafily, even by the Chancellor and Mr. Robert Douglafe'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 feeing the vast expence of the enterpryfe, (for the very firft outreke would amount to five hundred thousand pounds,\(^8\) and the daily charge to four or five thousand pounds,\(^9\) upon the fhyres forefaid,) were generally averse from the motion. My Lord Caflillis kept off Carrick; Gallo- way alfo did disrelish the matter; but the committee of Clydefdale, confifting of a few mean perfones, who were totallie led by Mr. Patrick and Sir John Cheiflie, being very forward; the committee of Kyle and Cunynghame being perfuaded by Mr. John Nevay, Mr. Gabriell Maxwell, and a few more minifters, the Act of State superveening, did quafe all farder oppofition. All of us in pulpit, myself alſmuch as others, did promove the work. In a very short tyme three thoufand five hundred horfe are gotten togethers, with hopes, by volunteers, to make them above five thoufand. We were all in expectation of ready and happy acting, by inflalls on the enemies quarters, but behold how all our hopes were foone moft miserable blafhed! Colonell Strachan his fcruples were not only about David Leflie's command; for in this his friends had procured him ample enough fatisfacion, getting affurance, from the Committee of State, that David Leflie should gladly permitt the forces of the Wefl to act apart, and never trouble them with any of his orders; but Strachan's fcruples went much higher. Since the amendm ent of his once very leud life, he inclined much in opinion towards the Secretaries; and having joyned with Cromwell at Pretton againft 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 fo farre as to joyne with us in Covenant, till, by the great labours of Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, his doubts were fo farr fatisfied or fmothered, that he was brought to content the Com-

\(^8\) £41,663:13:4 Sterling. \(^9\) £1000 Scots, was equal to £33:6:8, Sterling money.
million of the Church for that, and diverse other scandals against him: yet it seems that importunitie hes made him profess larg als much complyance with us as his heart did yield to. His eminent service, first against Pluascar-die, 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 gitt him the farr beft regiment in the armie: with the Western recruit, 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 meffages of his late friends, Cromwell and thefe about him, became fo high, that though extraordinarie paines were taken upon him, yet he would receave no satisfaction, fo farr as to act any thing against the enemie, except there might be a treatie. And it did appear therein, that Cromwell was not willing to retire, upon our affureance not to moleft England on the King's quarrell, whom he professed to be fo farr fallen from all his right to England, that, for his wrongs to Scotland, he ought at leaft to be banifhed the land, or made ane perpetuall prifoner.

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 enemie was made impossible. Bot the matter stood not at this poyn. 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. Meffrs. James Guthrie and John Livingftone their whisperings a little in the eare to the contrare, were not then auditle: It was strange to me thereafter, when I heard Waristone and Mr. Guthrie speake it out, that it would take a long debate to cleare from the Covenant the lawfullnes of ane offensive warre against Cromwell and his parte; 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 diverfe more questionable than it wont to be. Whether a fear of the troubles of warre, or despaire of conquesifing the King to the publick or their owne peronall interests, or a defyre to keep the government not only in the forme but in the hands it was in, or truely judgement of mind, did draw men to thofe changes of former profef princi-
pleas, I cannot say; only a great deal of zeal was begun to be practised against all who did smell in any excess of favour towards the King. What strict acts of Kirk and State were made against malignancies? What numbers were cast out of their charges both in the church, state, and armie? What barrs were putt to their readmitting? Yow know too much pleading was for the justice of beheading the King; what ever fault was in the actors. Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Gilspie’s debates were passionate against the proclaiming of the King, till his qualification for government had first been tryed and allowed. You may remember the labour was taken to hinder the addresse to the King; and how lyke it was to have prevailed, had not the reason, authoritie, and diligence of Argyle, overfwayed it; and, for all that could be said, the voteing of Meller’s. Guthrie, Gilspie, Hutchefone, and Durham that no commissioner should be sent till a change in the King should appeare: and when it was carried to send commissioners, I will not forget the great studie of some to make their instructions so rigid, that few had any hope the King would ever aften to them; and when (above hope) the King had yielded to all the Commissioners had requyred, the industrie of these fame men to gett new instructions posted away to Holland, which, if they had come thither before the King’s imbarking, were expected by all should have ruyned the Treatie. Yet when, by the extraordinare favour of God, the King was brought in Scotland, to doe what either Kirk or State had requyred; and, upon this agreeance, the noyse of Cromwell’s march towards us was growne loud, Sir John Cheiflie, Hoptone, and Swintone, kept off, by their debates in Parliament, the raisinge of our armie so long, that we were near furprysed; and when our armie was gotten together at Leith, the fame men helped, by their continuall croffe debates, to keep all in confusion; their strange affronting of the King at Leith; the putting of him to a new declaration; and, when he flucke but at some hard expressions concerning the persons of his Father and Mother, their procuring from the Kirk and State that terrible Act of disclaiming his interest, of the 13th of August; that fame night, without the Kirk’s knowledge, printed it, and sent to Cromwell with a trumpet: All these things bred jealousies in the observers, what the intentions of some men might be; yet all was dissembled, till after the defeat at Dunbar these intentions brack out in their actions.

Soe foone as they saw it probable that they were to have a force to be
ruled by themselves alone, it became their work to have that armie so great, and the other at Stirling so small, as they were able. Then, in these meetings with Mr. Patrick Gillepsie, where Sir John Cheiflie and some three of our burgesies did meet oft and long, propositions of a strange and high nature were in hand, as Robert Lockhart, who sometymes was present, did shew to Argyle and others. The first vent of their motions was at the Provinciall [Synod] in Glasgow, where Mr. Patrick, Mr. G., Mr. Hutchefone, Ker, Strachan and others, with much night-waking; did bring forth that strange Remonftrance of the synod, where Mr. Patrick obtaining a Committee to consider the sinnes 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 doubtless had been the subject of more discourse, 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 Assembly and Parliament, and condemns both for their first treating with the King, and for the renewing of it in a second address; 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 you and Mr. Douglaßs, in face of the commissìon, at Leith, are all brought in, with large additions to any thing was then heard. I have oft regrett of late to see the Judicatories of the Church soe easily ledd to whatever some few of our buffie men designd, but never more than in the particular in hand. I am sure the most of that wryte was without the knowledge of the most, and against the fence of many, of the Brethren; yet all was voted, nemine contradicente, except honest Mr. William Russell, Mr. Robert Ramfay, and Mr. John Bell, spake 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 pressured 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 was, after much soliciting and prayer, brought to a necessitie of contradicting, and had thought on some reasons for that poynct to have been mainly proposd for my disfent; although I doubt not but my impatience 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, carryed it foe, that neither the Synod was troubled with me, nor the peace of my mind by them. I once inclyned to absent myselfe, and had indeed gone out, but behooved to return, not daring to take that course. But behold, when I was ready to goe to the Synod at that dyett when the Remonstrance came in, my Lord Caffillis sent his man to call me to speake with him at his lodging. While we are a little serous about sundry of the publick affaires, I found that more tyme had gone than either of us had obserued, and telling him that my absence from the Synod might be mistaken, I took my leave, and with all the haste I could make I gott up to the Church; where I found, at my entrie, that all the debates on that paper were closed, and after thrice reading, it was going to the vote. I adored Divine providence, who truely byfide my purpose, but much to my content, had given me a faire occaion to say nothing of a wryte, whereof I never heard lyne read. This, for the time, and since, was a satifactorie ground for my silence, to my owne mind, in that Remonstrance, which brought to the confenters, let be contryvers, but small credit; the commisision of the Church having fo farr difavowed it, as for no request they could be induced to countenance it towards the Committee of Estates; but Mr. Patrick behooved to present it himself, without the companye of any from that meeting, which would have occaioned a noyfe, had not the second Remonstrance filled the cares of the whole kingdom with a louder sound.

Mr. Robert Ramfay and others had preslid in the Synod that for re-moveing of jealoufies from many who were then speaking their doubts of some men's intentions, the officers of the Armie shouleld putt forth a declaration of their desigues. To me the motion favoured not; since the raiseing of these forces was allowed by the State, all declarations from particular officers seemed needles: yet, on the Synod's motion to Colonell Ker, a declaration by him and his fellows was promis'd, and prefently gone about by Mr. Patrick and the chieffe associates then present. But, as Mr. Patrick told us, it was laid aside by the advyce sent them by Wariltone from Stirling and Mr. James Guthrie, (betwixt whom and them the polls then and thereafter runne very thick night and day,) not so much on that ground he told us, that they thought it illegall for such private perrons to make publick manifestoes, as for that, as I fufpect, which he told us not.

About this tyme the King's head was filled by some unhappie men about
1650.

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him, especiallie Doctor Fraer and Henry [Jermyn] with many extreme fears. After the affront at Leith, they had raised suspicions in his mind, whilk, upon the defeat at Dunbar were increafed, but by the separate ryfeing in the West brought near to the head of a designe to break the treatie with him, and agree upon his expenses with Cromwell. Upon these motions the Malignants in the North stept in, and by the forenamed perpons began a correpondence for the raising of the North, under the conduct of Middle-tone, for his present service. So many Noblemen were on this unhappie enterprife: Craufurd wes given out for its head and contryar, albeit he professed to me his opposition to it: Lauderdaill knew of it; but he hes faiied fo farre to me, that I believe him, he oppofed it to his power. However, the thing was fo foolilhlie laid, and the King, by the counfells of thefe about him, wes foce various in giving order for that ryfeing, fometymes commanding and then countermanding to ryfe, that all the party wes put in a confusion; yet, by the information of thefe foresaid foole, the King being put in fear, that Lorne, going timelie to bury a fojour, wes drawing together his regiment to lay hands on him, contrare to his former resolutions, he took horfe with fome two or three, as if he had been for to goe for a haulking, but crofed Tay, and flayed 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, wes almost perfuaded by them to retorne; yet by Dudhope and Buchan he was keeped into Cloue. But when he came to that miferable accommodate houfe, and in place of the great promifed forces, he faw nothing but a small companie of Highlanders; he prefently fent for Robert Montgomerie, who wes near with his regiment, and without more aloe, did willinglie retorne, exceedinglie confounded and dejecte for that ill-advyfed start. When it was firft blazed abroad, it filled all good men with great griefe, and to my owne heart it brought one of the moft fenfiblie furrowes that in all my life I had felt. Yet his quick retorne of his owne accord, and his readiness to give all safiffaction for that failzie, and his kind receaving by the Committee of Eftates, among whom he ever fatter after his retorne, (though never before,) did turns our griefe suddenlie into joy, his abfence not lafting above two full dayes. Yet all men were not fo foone safified. Sundry of them who had been on the plott, fearing a discoverie and punishment, lappe to armes; Lewis Gordon, Ogilvie, Athole,
and others, under Middletone's command, putting out a number of faire pretexts for their ryseing. This might have destroyed all; yet, by God's mercie, all wes quicklie quyeted. David Leslie, with all his horfe, marched towards them; the King wrote earneftly to them to lay downe. The Committee of Eftates sent a faire act of indemnity, and soe without more ado they went home. Mr. James Guthrie had weell near marred this peace: he moved Middletone's summar excommunication. Mr. Robert Douglafs, and moft 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 Eftates, by ane earneft 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 keept in by advice from Stirling, as many thought, to make vantage of the new failings at Court; for thefe wes looked on with a greedy eye, and exaggerate to the height of trueuth. When, with a great deal of expenes and trouble, our forces in the West were levied, and present action against Cromwell promised and expected, the very first march is to Dumfreifs, the fardeft place they were able to choife from the enemies quarters. The pretence was, to attend the motion of the enemie 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 countrey, and the spoyling of a number of noblemen and gentlemen of their fadle-horfes, and lying still at Dumfreifs, while Cromwell took up Glafgow; this made it visible they had something other in hand than to mind the enemie. By their earnest mislives they had brought Warisfone from Stirling to Dumfreifs. There, after some debate, the draught of the Remonftrance is brought to some perfection, you see. It seems one maine end of both Remonftrances wes to satiffie 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 con-demning the Treatie as finfull, and notwithstanding of it, to fulpend the King's government till he should give satiffactory evidence of his reall change, whereof they were to be judges, who were never like to be satiffied,
although they were not like to be troubled with the judging of these signes; for the King, who had started away upon the fulfilling of these things, upon the fight of them in ane Army-Remonstrance, wes not like to stay; soe on this escape the government of the Kingdome, and the distribution of the Royall rent in new pensions, all the former being void, fell in our own hand; and if the King should have ventured to stay, then ane effectuall course wes moved to be taken with him to keep him from joyning with Malignants, which could not be but by a strong guard or imprisonement; albeit this was needless, if the course against Malignants had been taken to putt them out of all capacitie to hurt the people and cause of God; for this could not be but by executing, forfaulting, and imprisoning of the chiefes of them, as we thought fitt.

As for our present state, so many and groffe faults wes 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; soe that no active nobleman shoulde 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 wes found, but also a cleare call from England shoulde 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 soe much to the better, yet it wes injustice for us to medle with a Kingdome not subordiante to us. Thus farr the Remonstrance went on, and closed with a solemn ingadgement on all their hearts, (if God blesse their armes,) to see all these things performed. I have oft marvelled that Strachan remained dissatished for all this; for I verily think, whatever he or Cromwell could have defyred in Scotland, would easly have followed upon the former premises.

While these things are a-doeing at Dumfreis, Cromwell, with the whole body of his army and canon, comes peaceably by the way of Kilsyth to Glasgow. The ministers and magistrates flee all away. I got to the Isle of Comray, with my Lady Montgomerie, bot left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesie, which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his sojourn that they did leffe 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 plea Se Strachan, with whom he was then keeping correpondence, and by whom he had great hopes to draw over the Western army, at leaft to a cession with him; as indeed he brought them by his means to be altogether useles; though on a report of their marching towards Edinburgh, he left the weft in a great fuddentie and demi-diforder.

So foone as the Remonftrance was perfected, and all present at Dumfreifs profefled their affent 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 Wariftone in their companie. The Commiffion of the Kirk refuifes to medle with it; only Mr. Robert Douglas writes to the Prefbyteries to fend to the next meeting at Stirling, with their commiffioners of the Church, fome more of their number, of greatest experience and wifdome, to advyfe in matters of great importance. The Committee of Eftates, by Wariftone's means, at their firft prefenting, put no affront on it; but what wes a vere dangerous errour, gave too good words to the carriers; and, to allure them to action againft the enemie, increafes their forces, by joyning with them the dragoons of Niddefdale and the Lennox; and overfeeing alfo the feathers which they had drawne out of the Stirling's wing, the putting them in hope to gett the Stirling's neft, which made them march quicklie weft to Partick, in order to Stirling, thinking that Lesflie and Middletone fhould have been in others flesh in the north. But to their open diſcontent, the northern forme being composd, and David Lesflie returned to Stirling, they turned their head ane other way.

When, after my return to Glasgow, I did fee their Remonftrance, and Cromwell's letter thereupon, on the occation of Strachan's Queries, requyring a treatiee, which at that fame time he fent his prisoners Mr. Iaffray and Mr. Carftairs to agent, I wes fore grieving, but knew not how to help it; only I fent the copies of all, with exprefle bearers to Argyle and yow at Innerary, and to the Chancellour at Perth, and Mr. James Fergufone at Kilwinning, with my beft advyce to yow all, and resolved myfelfe to keep the next meeting of the Commiffion, on the call of their letter, to declare my diffent, if I could doe no more. But behold, the next Prefbyterie day, when I am abfent, Mr. Patrick [Gillefpie] caufes read again the Commiffion's letter, and had led it foe, that by the elders votes, [the] men of greateft
experience and wisdome of our Presbyterie were the two youngest we had, Mr. Hew Binning and Mr. Andrew Morton. Then when it was presfled that I might be but added to them, it wes, by a vote, refuued upon supposition it wes needlefs, being clear I would doubtlefs goe howsoever. These defpytefull votes wonted fo for on my mind when I heard of them, that I refoved not to goe, for all that could be faid to me by many of the brethren; yet the clerk of the Commiffion, at the Moderator's direction, writting to me from Stirling a prefling letter, I went along to Perth; where, by God's good providence, I have flayed fince for many good purpofes.

At the meeting of Sterling, there was a conference appointed of the chief members of the Committee of Eftate and Commiffion of the Church, on the Remonftrance; wherein there were many high words about it betwixt Wariftone and Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Ramsay and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, Mr. James Wood and Mr. James Guthrie, and others: no appearance there was of any iffue. The time of Parliament at Perth drawing near, the King, by his letter, invited the meeting of Church and State to Perth. The defyre of many wes but to have fome agreeance before; if no other way were poiffible, as none appeared, that the Remonftrance might be laid aside, and much of the matter of it be presfled in ane orderly way by the Commiffion of the Kirk, and the forces of the Weft be joyned with thefe at Stirling; fince for fo long a fime, they had acted nothing apart, and never like to act nothing for any purpofe alone. The Remonftrants were averse from thefe motions; fo all wes laid aside till they came to Perth; at which time a new conference wes appointed, and four whole dayes keept in Argyle's chamber. I then, and thereafter, wes witnefs to all, and little more than a witnefs; for not being a commiffioner, I thought meet to be silent. For the one fide, Mr. Patrick and Wariftone fpoke moft; for the other, Argyle, the Chancellour, the Advocate, and Mr. Robert Douglafts; but Mr. Wood fpake moft, and to beft purpofe. Mr. Rutherfoord and Mr. Durham fpaid fome little for fundrie points of the Remonftrance. Mr. James Guthrie moft ingenuouslie and freely, did vent his mind, for the principal point, (as he avowed he had oft before maintained,) "That the clofe of our treatie wes a finne, 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 wes finfull till that change did appear." Though it wes visible, that every day the kingdome lan-
guish'd, under these debates, which impeded that action, there was no re-
mead: by no persuasion the Remonstrance could be taken up; yea, the gen-
tlemen 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 passe: yea, 
when they were most earnestly dealt with to conjoin 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 join on two 
conditions: The first was, an express laying aside of the King's quarrell in 
the state of the question; the other, to keep none in the army 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 again, for all the issue 
of blood, and starving, that was every day over the Kingdom.

Before the meeting at Stirling, the Remonstrants had a solemn meeting 
at Glasgow, by Mr. Patrick [Gillespie's] call, where, the subscription of the 
Remonstrance was much prefixed on the great committee of gentlemen and 
oficers, by the ministers, who did fit apart in the Tolbuith, and called them-
Selves the Presbyterie of the Western Armie. That subscription was gene-
really declined, and by no persuasion any more could be obtained nor a 
warrant, subscribed by Crossbie the president of the committee, to some few 
commissioners, to present the Remonstrance to the State. Mr. Robert Ramfay, 
fore against my mind, did offer, in his owne and my name, once and again, 
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 got was, that no man was excluded to come and propose what they 
pleased. Upon such entertainment we let them alone. Here it was where 
Strachan, before having laid down his charge, was commanded to go no 
more to the regiment; but he told them expresslie, he could not obey. 
Some would have been at laying him fast, for feare of his going to the 
enemie; but lest that Ker and many more should thereby have been pro-
voked, they let him alone. Govane, for his known correspondence with 
the enemie, was castrated, and their scout-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 divulging the King of his authoritie; the breaking of the Treatie closed and approved by Kirk and State; the scolding highly of the Judicators; and ingadging of private men to change the government: the deepnefs of these crymes did trouble the judges; the respect the most of them had to the persons guilty, moveing 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 cenfure than you have in the sentence; from which yet near fifteen diffented for one or other word, though all professed their difallowance of the wryte. This diffent was in the King’s presence. If he had been absent, as some would have persuaded him, the diffent might have been greater; for Wariftone was very long and passionate in his exhortation to wave it simply, which had been very unhandfome, since the parties peremptorlie refused to take it up. At the sentence, the gentlemen did florne, but the minifters much more. It came next to the Commiffion of the Church; the States had given in their fenfe to them, and requir’d the Kirk’s judgement. Here came the vehement opposition: The Remonftrants petitioned to have the present consideration thereof laid aside, lefs the parties should be discouraged to act against the enemie: Mr. Rutherfoord preft this with much more passion than reason, and Mr. James Guthrie alfo. Here it was where I spoke but fo much as declared my fenfe againft the thing. Much dealing was still to take it up: Meflrs. Cant, Blair, Rutherfoord, Durham, were sent to perfwade them; but Mr. Patrick was peremptor to fhew their willingnefs to quit their life rather than their testimonie. So when there was no remee'd, at laft, by Mr. Robert Dougla’s and Mr. James Wood’s induftrie most, it came to that mild sentence which you fee here subfcryvit. 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 averfe from the Remonftrance; which in a scolding way was cryed out by Mr. John Nevay in Mr. Blair’s face: to which he replied nothing. Mr. David Bennet and Mr. Hugh Peebles exprefst themselves bitterlie, and were anfuered accordingly by others. Our Provost, George [Porterfield,] spoke in his protestation of
something like sealing the Remonstrance with his blood. All of them went out of town highlie miscontent; though as little occasion was given them as possiblie could be, either by Church, or State, or any perfone. I thought the separation exceeding unhappie, both to our Weft countrey and to the whole Kingdome, but remeedilie, God giving over the chiefe misleaders, who had opprest, to my griefe, many others, to follow their owne fenfe in that which the rest of us thought a high and dangerous finne. Mr. Patrick [Gillefpie] and Mr. James Guthrie, where ever they came, uttered their passion. I heard one who had married Mr. Patrick’s fifter’s daughter, report to Mr. Robert Douglas’s, that Mr. Hew Binny [Binning], with Mr. Patrick, in Kirkaldie, had fpoken like a diftraed man, faying to Mr. Robert Douglas’s owne wife, and the young man himfelfe, and his mother-in-law, Mr. Patrick’s fifter, “ That the Commiffion 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 fecuritie not to trouble England with a King; and who marred this treatie, the blood of the flaine in this quarrell shou’d be on their head!” Strange words, if true. Allwayes behold the fearfull confequence of that pride of ftomacke.

The State fent Colonell Robert Montgomerie weft, to joyn the beft part of the horfe they had with the Western forces, or any part of them that would joyn with him. For this end, he fpoke with the commiffioners of the Weft, at Stirling, who had been at Perth; but they fhou’d great averfions from any fuch junction. He wrote alfo to Ker for this effect, and marched towards Glafsow. On the Sunday at night he came to Campfie; but on the Saturday, Ker, with all his forces, lying at Curmnuck, 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 Hamltone were but twelve hundred; though Lambert lay there with above three thousand of their beft 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 troups away. Some fpeak of treacherie; for Gove, for all his caheiring, 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 1ft, our men came to fett on, the enemie wes ready to receave them, having founded to horfe halfe ane hour before, as it were for a march to
Glasgow. All speak of a great rafhnefs, as in ane anger, or what elfe, to caft away these forces. Lieutenant-Colonell Ralstone, with a small partie of a hundred horfe, entered Hamiltone, and moft gallantlie carried all before him, killed fundrie; fome fpoke of hundreds, others are within fcores; however, he cleared the towne of the enemie. Colonell Ker, with fewer than two hundred, fecended him weell; but at the end of the towne, where the body of the Englifh drew up againe in the field at the back of a ditch, when Ker faw it not eafy to paffe, he reteared a little, which they behind took for a flight, and all turned their backs; yea, the whole reft fled apart; not one would stay. The Englifh perfued als farr as Paisley and Kilmarnock that day; yet very few were killed, fome fay, fcarce twenty; not above eighty prisoners, whereof Colonell Ker made one; as fome fay, deadly, as others, flightly wounded: Argyle faid to me, he heard he might have fpaped if he would. The next day, two or three hundred, who did rally in Kyle, by Strachan’s perfuafion difbanded; and himfelfe, as fearing to be taken by us, went in to Cromwell, with Swintone, whose firft work wes, to agent the randering of the Caftle of Edinburgh, with their dear comerd young Dundafs, who moft baely, and, as yet it is taken, treacheroufly gave over that moft confiderable strength of our kingdome. But of this more certainlie afterwards.

The miscarriage of affaires in the Weft by a few unhappie men, put us all under the foot of the enemie. They prefently ran over all the countrey, without any ftop, deftroying cattell and cornes, putting Glasgow and all others under grievous contributions. This makes me yet to fticke at Perth, not daring to goe where the enemie is mafter, as now he is of all Scotland beyond Forth, not fo much by his owne vertue as our vices. The lots of the Weft, the magazine of our beff forces, put the State prefently to new thoughts. We had long much debates about impoying malignants in our armies: fome were of opinion that the Acts of Church and State wes unjuft, and for particular ends, from the beginning. All agreed, that common fojours, after fatiffaction 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 leaft not without ane eminent degree of evident repentance. The moft thought they might be impoyed as fojours, on their admittance by the Church to the Sacrament and Covenant. As for places of counfell and truft, that
this was to be left to the State’s discretion. However, when the case was clearlie altered, and now there was no choice of men, the Parliament wrote to Mr. Robert Douglas to call the Commission extraordinarie: A quorum was gott, most of these of Fyfe. The question was proposed, of the lawfullness of employing such who before were excluded. The question was alledged to be altered from that which Mr. Gillespie wrytes of, and that whereto Mr. Guthrie had solemnlie ingadged, a defence of our life and countrey, in extreame neceffitie, against sectarians and strangers, who had twyce been victors. My heart was in great perplexitie for this question. I was much in prayer to God, and in some action with men, for a concord in it. The Parliament were neceffitate to employ more than before, or give over their defence. Mr. Samuel Rutherford and Mr. James Guthrie wrote peremptor letters to the old way, on all hazards. Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. David Dick had of a long time been in my fene, that in the warre against invading strangers, our former stricknes had been unadvyfed and unjuft. Mr. Blair and Mr. Durham were a little ambiguous, which I much feared should have devided the Commisson; and likelie had done soe, if with the losse of the Weft, the absence of all the brethren of the Weft had not concurred. However, we carried unanimouslie at laft the anfwer heirwith sent to you. My joy for this was soon tempered when I faw the conquence, the uging of sundrie good people to fee numbers of grievous bloodshedders ready to come in, and so many malignant noblemen as were not lyke to lay downe armes till they were put into some places of truft, and restored to their vote in Parliament: Against this, neceffitie for our very being, and hope that the guides of our State would, by their wisdome and vertue, and adherence of the Church and good men, get keepit what they had of authoritie; the Chancellour oft remembering us, that in this there was ane fearfull alteration of the cafe, that the King being now in Covenant, the moft, whose malignancie ftood in following the King against the Covenant, were no more to be counted Malignants, the fountaine of that evill being stopped in them, there was just ground why that blot and name of distinction in that refpect should be now abolifhed. An other inconvenient was like to trouble us, a feed of Hyper-Brownifme, which had been secreitly fown in the minds of sundry of the sojours, that it was unlawfull to joyne in armes with fuch and fuch men, and soe that they were neceffitate to make
a civill separation from fuch, for fear of finne and curfeing of their inter-
prizes. The maine fomenters of these doubts feemed not at all to be led by
concience, but by interef; for the officers of our standing armie, since the
defeat at Dunbar, being fent to recruite the regiments to the northern fyres,
did little increafe that number, but taking large money for men, and yet
exacted quarters for men which were not; this vexed the countrey, and dif-
appointed the service. The officers, by the new leavies, thought it easy to
be recruited at their pleafure; but ane Act paffing, that the new leavies
should not recruit the old regiments, they formed, and gladly would have
blasted the new way for their owne ends. Under these evils we wretfe as
yet, but hopes for a good end of these divifions alfo; in the meane tyme
Cromwell is daylie expected to march towards Stirling to marre the Coro-
tation, which, fore againft my heart, was delayed to the firft of January, on
pretence of keeping a faft for the finnes of the King’s family on Thursday
next. We mourned on Sunday laft for the contempt of the Gofpell, according
to Mr. Dickfon’s motion, branched out by Mr. Wood. Also yow fee
in the printed papers, upon other particulars the Commiffion at Stirling,
which appointed these fafte, could not agree. The Remonftrants prefled to
have sundry finnes acknowledged which others denied, and would not now
permitt them to fett down as they would what caufes of faft they liked.
Surely we had never more caufe of mourning, be the caufes, what God
knowes, visible or invisible, confessed or denied, unseen or feen, by all but the
moft guiltie. It cannot be denied but our miferies and dangers of ruine are
greater nor for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy master of
our feas, and for some good time of the beft part of our land; our standing
forces againft this his imminent invasion, few, weak, inconsiderable; our
Kirk, State, Armie, full of divifions and jealousies; the body of our people
be-fouth Forth fpoyled, and near starving; they be-north Forth extreamlie ill
ufed by a handful of our owne; many inclining to treat and agree with
Cromwell, without care either of King or Covenant; none of our neigh-
bours 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 dif-
couragement and defpaire; yet divers are waiting on the Lord, expecting he
will help us in our great extreamitie againft our moft unjust oppreffors.
I hope you received my laft inclofed in Callander’s packett. Yow 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]: haffe and want of good instruments for the tyme, makes the write, I fear, illegible; but guess 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 diverfe other wrytes, which I think you may defyre to fee.

This day we have done that what I earnestly defyred, and long expected, Crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scoone, fo peaceable and magnificintlie as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God: for it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought easly 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 oppofed it; others prolonged it fo long as they were able: allways, bleffed be God! it is this day celebrate with great joy and contentment to all honest-hearted men here. Mr. Douglafs, from 2 Kings xi., Joash's coronation, had a very pertinent, wife, and good fermon. The King fware 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 exhortcd weell; when all were ended, he, with great earneftnefs, prefled sinceritie and constancie in the Covenant on the King, delecting at length King James's breach of the Covenant, perfewed yet against the family, from Nehemiah v. 13. God's calling 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 clofed all with a prayer, and the 20th Pfalm.

Dundas and Major Abernethie hee most basely deliyered the Caftle to Cromwell. All the minifters faw the treacherie, and protestcd against it. Wariftone, Sir John Cheiffie, and the Provost of Edinburgh, who put them in that trust, contrare to the minds of others, have little creditt by it.

Now the Parliament having, by the needlefs length of fome, fitten fo long, and ended their feffion on Monondy 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 persuation nor force, hinder them to trade whereever they find gain. Is not this a strange flaverie, [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 cafe 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 necessitare conclusion, some turbulent men are like to be factious; but to-morrow a Warning is to be putt out for their reclaiming if possible. By God's bleffing, 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 needless quarrelling. However, the Lord's will be done, who has begunne to comfort us, with the smallesst 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.
Dearly Beloved in the Lord,

As the said sufferings of the rest of the land doe much afflict us, so your more eminent afflictions, by the continuall oppreffions of the incumbent enemie, doe more deeplie pierce our hearts. Our prayers to God in your behalf are for the abundance of his most tender conftolations, 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 caufe 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 truft the Lord, who yet has made you to land, shall confirm you and make you persevere to the end, keeping your garments clean and your confciences 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 converfing with these seducers; but above all, that you beware to joyne with them in publick worhip, or in any private exercife of religion: Who ventures to touch pitch will be defyled before they be aware; who will take fire in their bofome cannot but be scorched therewith; who will not abftaine from the harlot’s house shall not be innocent: beware of the wyles and subtile 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 conceave none to be more fitted of the Devill, and given over of God to work mischiefe 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 exercifes to keep in and encreafe the fpunk of grace and zeal before attained; labouring with all care to obtaine from the Lord that softnefs and melting of heart, that earnestnefs and pouring out of a praying spirit, that firme adherance

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 address 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 darkness 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 animadverfions on them. He has (which yow defyre) going ather a long paper of seven or nyne sheets, and a compend of it of three or four sheets, also one 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 Thefes of the Errors of the Time; on Thursday and Fryday I dyte long leffons in Chro-nologie; on Thursday I have a long Hebrew leffon; 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 testimonials of late papers (which Mr. James Guthrie and two or three with him put on the Church) which touch not the present cafe; 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 truth, and what convincing signs of repentance. It seems to me their way is directlie
for destroying both our Church and Kingdom, 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 doing. 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 soijours, after Dunbar, to bring them to nothing, and to make the Western armie the only armie of the Kingdom, to be disposed on abso-
utelie at their owne pleasure. They gave, in my hearing, at St. Johnstone, a kind of unwilling promife of endeavour to joyne the West forces with the North, but with two express conditions, which they knew would never be granted: The one, of purging the North forces according to the Act of State, which was to lay David Leslie aside, and who else, officers and soijours, they liked, that Strachan, and who they liked, might rule the new-modelled armie als absolutelie as Cromwell did the English. 2dly, That the King’s interest might formallie and positivelie be laid aside out of our quarrell with Cromwell; and that not only his English interest, which yet they fitand to, but also his Scottifh 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 extreme danger, our brethren, by daylie publick preaching, and prayer, and writes, openlie doe hinder all they can to rye, and perduades all they are able to sitt still, till the King, Kingdom, and Church be devoured by Cromwell. The sinne, shame, and hurt of this their clear and avowde deed, is nothing helped by their excuses and intentions; albeit, if they will speake 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 againdt them they cannot joyne with; and they will give no securitie. I suppone that they will, with force of armes, with the bloodshed of all who sitt in their way, when they fee it time, suppress the present Armie, Parliament, and Commiflion of Church, and frame both Church and Kingdom 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 going clearly enough to rent it. The most eminent persons and highest judicatures thereof, that are against them only in this State and Militarie question, they totally misunderstand, as the language of these papers bears. They defend a libertie for a part of the congregation to separeate 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 judicatures 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 one other question, they will find it out of question that Church fellowship is traiter and more tender than any State societie, and moft 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 get it denied. The assumption of the necessitie of a Militarie separation, the natural and judicial stiffness of some men, I fear, will not suffer them to quote, 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 goodness to this land has engaged you, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Douglast, and my Lord Argyle in this quarrell. It's no time now to dallie, where is the boldness 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 enfrained, and will care 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 loss of many precious soules: Ane unexpected most dangerous stratagem of Satan against poor Scotland, yea Britaine, as any yet we have seene on a very simple and caufeless 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 receaved 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; alfo three or four sheets, called Mr. Patrick Gillespie's, againft 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; alfo 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 fent to Mr. David; a copie whereof ye have alfo here. God hes ofte made your wifdome and stoutnefs happie for our poor Church; never more need of it than now. If ye think it expedient to let fo many fcurvie lybells, be openly fent abroad against the King, Kirk, State, and moft eminent of the brethren, I submitt to your wifdome, which I have found allwayes greater than my owne; only I afure yow the boldnefs of some men in daily preaching, writing, and I fear too pragmatick consultations, is hardly tolerable. Yow fee in Mr. David's letter to me his mind that the Commiffion fhould yet once againe warne and declare. I wiff 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 courfe to flop contradictions. Our Synods now are coming on; I wiff the Commiffion might take courfe they be not corrupted shoul writers, preachers, and bold debaters against the Commiffion, have votes in Synods and Presbyteries, especiallie in election of commiffioners to a Generall Assemblie: It wont not to be fo. Yow will not forget a Faft for the Armie. Your Warning is not yet come to our Presbyterie: that is a monftrous neglect. If Duncan Munne had keepe his gift of printing, we had gotten a preffe long ere now; it's a very great pitie that a preffe in any terms should be wanting. I have fent yow herewith a paper, called Mr. James Ferguson's, which hes done good here. In Mr. Alexander Nifbett's laft 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, but 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, going among our people. I think they force the Commision to doe what sundry 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 Isss or Ands. If the State be right, yow are obliedged in conscience to aflift them, and goe before them in judging men of your coat, who, with fo high a hand, every way oppofes them under pretext of ecclefaiftick 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 Niifbett writes to me; I understand it not, but feares there is forne practice with England to hinder all rifeing for us and the King, as being all malignants together. James Grahame, the other night, fatt up all night with fome taylors for a new fute, and the morning after, well armed and horsed, rode eaft, I fufpect to England, whether his mafter 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 rife againft Cromwell, how much more will they and muft 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 Kingdom to appoint Visitors for them, it is the Supplicant's humble defyre, that his Majestie and prezent Parliament would be pleased to name fuch as they fhall think fitting to fitt at Glafgow, or any where they fhall think it expedient, for the vifitation of the Univerfitie of Glafgow, with fuch power as his Majestie and former Parliaments have ordinarlie granted to Visitors in fuch cafes.

And your Majestie's and Honours Answer, humbly I expeét,

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 sitt- ing of Parliament, you will gett the enclofed defyre past, if it can be without prezenting of my bill, or my name heard. When I was laft with yow, the Reector and Dean of Facultie subferyved a defyre unto me for this end; by the advyce of the ref of the Moderators, I sent lately that letter to you, which possibblie with others is miscarried. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, without the knowledge, and contrare to the mind of all our Moderators except one, by whispering Wariftone in the eare, paft our laft Vifitation in the laft Parlia- ment 1649, without all dinne or obervation, 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 discharged, as I think: the quorum, as I think, was seven, or at moft nine: That yet ftands above our head; they may meet any morning when Mr. Patrick pleaes, and doe with us all what they like bef. The handfomeft way to be quite of them is to appoint a new one: I wish the quorum be fyve or seven 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 pref the Kirk by all means to take Mr. James Guthrie off your hand: if they doe it not, they putt yow on a needles rocke. I feare, but cannot make it out, that befyde other refults of many meetings here, one be to deall with the Prefbyterians in England, not to joyne more with the King and this Armie than they did before with the Engagers. The mischiefe of this malice cannot

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4 My Lord Chancellour, my Lord Argyle, my Lord Eglintoun, my Lord Angus, my Lord Balcarras, the Laird of Houstone, the Laird of Bishoptoune, the Laird of Lusse, the Laird of Blair, my Lord Broomhall, Mr. David Buchanan: The Laird of Cunynghame, Mr. James Robertstone of Bedlaw, Adam Blair of Bogytoune, Mr. Robert Barclay, Hew Kennedic, 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 confess, if you could get your army any way maintained without dissolution, I incline to a waiting on without any needless haste. Time may do us good. Yours,

S. JAMISONE.

The King's goodness will daily gain our hearts, and Cromwell's army, I hope, will fail more and more. I have written my mind freely and fully to Mr. Robert Dowglafs.

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

I have written sundry long scrolles to Mr. Robert Dowglafs since I saw you, but he has never been pleased to let me know whether he has 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 you, if ye have any time, call for a sight of my letters, and for him write me some lines of ane answer. We know not what you are doing. Our neighbours has dayly large informations, I suspect to your prejudice, and of the publick, which we are not instructed to refute. I have sent this expresse to you, to learn how all goes, so far as may be communicat. By the inclosed you may see part of our condition. Ayr is prettie right, not seven ministers of the twenty-six wrong; Galloway also is almost wholly right; soe Dumbarton; Hamilton is waltering. If you take not some course, our striving is in vain, and what by our labour we have gained, your negligence will lose it to us. By Mr. David Dick's letter, I see he is busie on a reply to Mr. Gilleespie and Mr. Guthrie: he would be encouraged. We are extremlie evill served with correspondence from you there. If we heard more, we might be more usefull. My service to Mr. Andrew [Ker]: he has no time nor leisure for the likes of me. I need seek no more extracts from him, since he has sent all our Registers back againe to Leith.

Your Brother,

Gla sgow, March 20th 1651.

ROB. BAYLIE.
Our Synod is comeing 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 get their partie to keep, and the negligence of the other to gather their friends no les. Did not the Commission fie that no man ac-
cellorie to the divisive supplication should fit in ane Assemblie till cleard? If some such course be not taken with adherers to the Remonstrance, protest-
ers, preachers, writers against King, Kirk, and Commission, not only sundry Synods, but our Generall Assemblie, is like in evident hazard to be over-
throwne. I pray fee we get intelligence what ye are doing. I advyse to fend a letter to our Prefbyteries, with the former Warning: fend but one copie in write to our Prefbyterie. I shal be answerable for copies to all the Prefbyteries in the west, or what other papers yow will be pleased to fend: I shal be at the charge and paynes of spreading them for one moneth at leaft. If Mr. Andrew [Ker] have the Minutes of the laft Assemblie beside him, I pray yow take out what concerns our Cruced, and putt in any hand to write, that Mr. Andrew may subscryve it only, and yow fend it to me with this boy, who shal wait on yow for it so long as yow think fit. It concerns us much to have these extractts, if possible to be had. I have written to Bal-
carras for ane extract of our Visitad, paft the other day in the Parliament: I pray so quietly and quickly let that extract be gotten, and fend with this boy als soon as may be.

To [the Earl of] Lauderdaull. March 11th 1651.

Loving Friend,

I have now oft fend to sundry of yow there, and sometimes exprefs 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 refolved to try your diferetions, and fend that exprefs to your selfe and your couzigne William to crave two or three lynes under one of your hands, had yow never so much adoe, or else to give up gosloprie. Answver so much of my laft as yow think fitt, in fuch termes as yow care not who may fee it. We are altogether ignorant here what yow are doing, and are abusd by a number, I am fure, of falfe reports. Resolves the Commission
to misken Mr. James Guthrie, and let the Parliament take ministers to talk, that the King, in his first entry, shall have that load on his shoulders? Will the Act of claffes 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 has through our Visitatin: I wish he had rather written it to myselfe, for the quieter that matter be it’s the better. I shall write thanks to my Lord for his care; but I know your couzigne William Reid is the man. The chief errand of the bearer is to get a formal extract of that Visitatin; therefore, William must perfect what he has begun, 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 Glafgow and Hamilton to fit to perfect our decreits of the Universitie of Glafgow, for our teynds and stipends the last year, that was 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 soe, our bill was read and remitted to the Committee of Bills; there, for want of agenting, it was slighted and refusid on two false narratives: One, that the people we had to doe with, lay under the feet of the enimie, and could not appear in Glafgow: This is false, for all we have to doe with, are in four paroches, Kilbride, Govane, Glafgow, and Renfrew, who comes also 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 paymement. The other information was, that a partie of the English was to lye at Glafgow: This is one, I hope, of the many false proffers of the time. I have knowne when yow have had skil to help a friend in need, and in his just caufe: Try yet if William and my Lord Eglintoune can make a dispensation to us, according to our last week’s bill, pafs after our Visitatin. 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 yow are a good fellow, worthy to be advanced one claſſe were it per faltum; 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 loffe the Kirk, if yow resolve not to loffe yourſelfe: be content to take what they will give, if yow be not mad.

For Mr. James Blair. March 11th 1651.

James,

Your kind letter to me was very welcome, and allwayes what comes from yow shall be welcome to me; read and clofe the incloſed. Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie are goeing on with their work to destroy our State and rent our Kirk, but we hope it ſhall not lye in their power. Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Dick, ſtand very right and zealous againſt their evill way. The moſt of the brethren of the Weſt are fallen off them, and more daily will, for their pryde and fchifme will appear daily more and more intollerable: their only confidence is in Cromwell's victorie, 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 readie to ſuffer the moſt which tyrants malice can impoſe:—these things to yourſelfe. Use all diligence by yourſelfe, or any of the gentrie and miniſtrie yow know faithfull and active, to hold your countrey right, and above all, to get the miniſtrie of Ireland well informed. Try if James Wallace, younger Achans, be to Ireland; he hes left the King, I fear, for no good offices, he is poynſoned. For our new fchifme, 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 Fergufone's; have yow the care to gett them copied and fent to Ireland. Be not slack as yow 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 fome, and maliciousneſſe of others. Send me ane accompt both of your diligence in Galloway and Ireland, and the condition of both countrėys. Your knowledge of the truth hereof may doe good.
For Mr. Robert Dowglass.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I hope you have received the packet I sent you with James Campbell. On Saturday at even last, there came a post to Glasgow from Mr. James Guthrie to Mr. Patrick, shewing, that he was to appear before the King and State on Monday last, the 10th of this instant, and for that end defyred the prayers of the people of God here. Upon this alarum, Mr. Patrick and Mr. John Carstairs on the Sunday, cast their doctrine on the suffering of faithful ministers, and the great defection of Church and State. On the Monday, Mr. John Carstairs choosed expressly the 4th of the Colossians, the Apostle in bonds his defyre 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 was spent in fasting and prayer by sundry of our best people, in Mr. Patrick's house and other places. On Tuesday, much consultation was in Mr. Patrick's house how to get our Presbytery ingaged 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 incroached 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 sparing soever, were one imputation on the King and State of a high crime, 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 Presbytery had given them no satisfaction yet for our last open disobedience to their injunction, which many of us judged very just and necessary; that our writing was 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, but on a just occasion were resolved to witnesse against. Debates to this purpose could not obtain a delay to the next meeting, but it behooved
to goe to a preffent 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 diffent, which I did in my owne and for eight more, Masters Ramfay, 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 Commination will not in time look to fome men's ways and refleffnes, the fchifme will get fuch strength that the end may be doolefull. All this to yourfelfe, and to fuch few friends yow pleafe. The Lord help and direct yow.

I defyre not to put yow to any writing but one two lynes, if yow receaved this and my two former packetts. What strange work we had for the intimation of Strachan's excommunication, I fpeak not till ane other oc-fation. Your Warning will never, it feems, come to us, and when it comes, it will be refuifed, except by diffenters.

For Mr. Robert Dowglass. April 4th 1651.

Sir,

I was refreshed with your kind and large letter, and made the beft ufe I could of the many feafonable inftructions therein. However, we expected not a Synod in tymes and places fo full of danger; yet I fand our brethren here had made it foe to have a Synod kept, and by many letters and great induftrie had conveened from all the Presbyteries the brethren of their mind with multitudes of yeomen elders. At the very firft blenk it was apparent there wes some designe in hand. Fearing it before, I had written it before to fome in all the Presbyteries, to caufe brethren of their mind keep fo weell as might be; but partlie the strome of the weather, and partlie the moving of the enemie, made few from Aire and Dumbartane, whence I expected moft help, to come in. We purpofed to make Mr. James Fergufone, Mo-deator; but they carried Mr. Matthew Mowat; and by this I perceived clearlie they had gotten fo many fillie yeomen prefently chofen for the pur-pofe, that they could carie in the Synod whatever they pleafed. They moved a committee for publijt affaires; fearing the end of it, I oppofed it as need-les; but it was voted, and a dozen of their ftrongeft men put on it. I only
could get three of my mind on it; Mafters Robert Ramfay, James Fergusone, Patrick Colville. The firft thing there Mr. Patrick Gillefpiie prefied, wes the danger from junction with the Malignants, and our deutf about it. Three or four votes paft direcftie, running towards a new Remonftrance. This long I keep up the Commiffion's letters, flaying till I fand their defigne, and then feeing it clearlie, I delyvered the letters whereby I put them off their purpofe for one night. Mr. James Guthrie fes 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 Caftairs. The Synod was 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 unreaftionable time was convoeneed. At our next meeting in the Committee, they pretending a rage at the Commiffion's letters, Mr. Patrick, as a moderating man, proponed from his cabbin-counfelf to fend commiffioners from the assemblie, onlie with fome few instruftions, to crave fatisfacion from the Commiffion in the doubts of the brethren who were difafified. Fearing the defigne after all the nifh days tough debates, we defyred to fee the letter and instruftions put in forme, that we might judge on them. At laft they were brought forth: We fand them very high and injurious to the Commiffion and State; yet for peace caufe, and preventing of a rupture, we were content to adjourne the Synod, to permit the brethren yet difafified, to fend whom they pleafed to the Commiffion for conference on their doubts; in the meantime to delay the faft, and reading of the papers, only we required that the Synod fhou'd not be ingadged in the difafification of the brethren. Thus farre we came with fome reluctancie of our owne mind, and thereby gained almoft the Committee to our defyre; but Mr. Patrick, knowing his advantage, wes peremptor to have the Synod involved in the difafification, and us in the diffent; we, after much toyle, gave over. In the Synod we had long fruitefs debates on the overture of laying aside the reading of the Warnings, and delaying the Faft, adjoining the Synod till the commiffioners returne from the Commiffion. On the letter, and strange instruftions, our reafons were long and tough enough, but calme and without irritation on either hand. At laft I gave in this diffent, to which diverfe in every Prefbyterie did adhere. Eight commiffioners, the rigideft oppofers of the union of the forces, were voted to goe to yow, viz.: Mafters Patrick Gillefpiie, 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 Commissiion; 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 faill in this, at the nixt feccion of the adjourned [Synod], expect strange work from them: yow had great need to deal prudently in this busines. I find very many of the ministers of the Synod, who joyned not in our difsent, to be in their heart for joyning with the armie, notwithstanding of all their diſtatisfaction otherways. I find the body of our people in all our fhyres to be heartily for the fame conclusion. But Mr. Patrick and two or three other by their cunning and extreame diligence, are like to involve the body of the ministers, and, by a little time, of the people, into a remedileſs diſtatisfaction.

Having mett after the Synod with some of the wiseſt of our mind in all our Prefbyteries, I was defyred to have your opinion in fundrie things. 1. If yow have no power to discharge this noveltie amongst us, ane adjourned Synod, or yow think it not expedient to ufe your power to discharge it, as being keept of a clear defigne to croffe the publick judicatories, whether in that case yow think it expedient that we, the diſsenters, ſhall all be abſent, or ſhall endeavouer 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 difſent stronger. 2fy, If this Synod ſhall medle to cenſure Prefbyteries for their obedience to the Generall Aſsemblie, or Commiſſion of the Church, if it ſhall not be declyned as ane uncompetent judge? 3fy, If it ſhall not be expedient, till that conference end, or till we receave directions from yow, to let alone reading of your papers, and keeping of the Faſt? We think if yow write severallie to Prefbyteries to crave an anſwer from them of the willingness of every minister to further the leavies and conjunction of them with the preſent army, without any more, would draw a good anſwer from the moſt to this maine and principall queſtion, wherein whoever were not truelie ingadged, and openlie, would ſhortlie come to all elſe required, and preſentlie would fall off the opposite party. We think a privat kind of letter from your felfe to Maſters Thomas Kirkaldie, William Cockburne, and to Francis Aird, for the ingadging of theſe three (who, as we are informed, and I am fure of Mr. Francis, are in their mind for
joyning in the levies,) would much help to gett their three Presbyteryes with us, Lanerk, Ayr, and Hamilton. These parts of your papers and letters which threatened cenfure to our brethren were taken by them in high disdaine; and by diverse others wondered at, that yow would recommend to Presbyteryes and Synods to cenfure any whom the Commision was farr from beginning a procefs with, the prime delinquents in this kind. We are all farr from defyreing the least trouble to any; but we think if the Commision on this occasion declare not their approbation of our diffent, and whatever satiffaftion they may give to our Synod’s commissiouns, (which from our hearts we defyre may be fo great as to gaine them all,) yet if by them the Commision be drawne from any of their just resoluciones, that we who have been following their directions fo 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 one other way. We fear our brethren have als high thoughts to gett the Kirk and State brought about to the modell of their Remonftrance 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 skil to discerne, take heed what yow grant in changing of the place of the Commision; and in your meeting of the commissiouns from the West, there is hopes of turning the Commision on your owne head. The taking of Eglintone confirmes 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 allways called, and sometimes he fatt, he wes not against us; but if he had been pleased to have fyded any wayes with us who were for the Publick 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] anfwre 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 anfwere to Ayr is excellent. Mr. David Dick his vindication is very good. Mr. Robert Ramfay hes put out a long, and as I conceive, a strong paper. But I hear our brethren pusses at all, and minds to write no more, thinking their partie fast enough; but resolves to act, and let us be talking.
I have sent this bearer expresslie 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 Commision's supplication to the Parliament, defying to read it; and assuring it would take off much of the burthen that is causeleslie laid on the Commision; but this was refuised. Remember, if the brethren in the Weft, (for all their appeals from the Commision, and crying of the Synod against it, and disobedience to it,) shall yet be permitted to fitt and vote in these things they have preached against, their multitude will put yow hard to it. The Lord, who oft hes given yow wil dome 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 sent 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 shew yow. I have oft defyred, and now againe hes sent this expresslie, 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 subferyveit extract of what paffed concerning our Colledge and its Vifitation in the laft Asfemblie, efpecially the Vifitors act about our flipends and filling our vacant places; also 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, direcdlie and at once, I fear many shall preffe it for him in a boifterous way, to be admitted to actuale service 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 increase our divisions, 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 Assemble 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 design'd, but never entered, wes truely vaikeing, to which we did elect Mr. Robert Ramfay; and in many sharp debates with the Magistrates and Mr. Patrick Gillepsie, have hitherto stood to this election. But now, when Mr. James himselfe is come to plead, that he was not fully transported, but by a posterior act of the Assemble, wes to have his place reconnosced in the next Assemble; and in the meane time defyres us to admitt him according to his election, we know not what to doe. To wrong Mr. Ramfay, ourselves, and the King, and the public, and, as we conceive and fear, the peace of these parts, we are loath to refist Mr. James Durhame's own defyres and his powerfull sollicitors: we will find it hard enough. But if they would have patience till the Assemble, or be content to be directed by the Commission, all might be satisfyed; but we fear the precipitancie of some will not let us rest foe 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 deyre to yow and your coufíne William, to hear and assist him againe in his honest affaires. Yow shal have eight commissioners from our Synod, the strongest Remonfrants we have, to give the Commisson ane assault more, if it be possibe, to winne it from the Malignant partie that now does possefs it. I have written my mind fully about it to Mr. Robert Dowglas. 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 Dowglas be flighted. My Lord Eglintone's lamentable surprife 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-
sorth 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 hes been neglected;
for he is here this fortnight, requiring to be admitted to service in the
Colledge, wherein he never entered, and, however, wes transported from
Glasgow to the King’s familie. His coming hither at this time, by his
flighting there, I think, will prejudge both the King, us, and himselfe, as
long agoe I wrote fully to your Cousigne. It had been good to have made
no noyse at all for any caufe now, till God had given us a day of Crom-
well. Without this all present toyle is vaine; with this no present rest or
silence prejudges any man’s affaires, except impatient, rash-headie foolse,
or false traitors.

Aprile 4th 1651. R. B.

To the Rector [of the University of Glasgow,] G. Lockart.

Honoured Sir,

Seeing Providence hes so dispos’d, that according to the meaning of the
Generall Asemblie, 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 Asemblie determine in the ultimate judgement of that they re-
ferred to themselves; and not having had opportunitie of addresling myselfe
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 exonored,
either by undertaking somthing, or abstaining, as shall be best for the good
of the Colledge. My purpose in this is only to tellisfe 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 writeing 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 desyre of,

Your loving friend to serve yow,

March laft 1651. Mr. Ja. Durhame.
Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I have thought meet to give you an account of what lately has past amongst us, being willing to lie under the hazard of your sharpest censure, upon my experience of your equity and wisdom, rather than of the more rash judgment of some in whom I have not found any such virtue. Some days after my coming home, the great necessity of planting our vacant places in the College being represented to me, by divers who understand our affairs best, a Rector's meeting was called, and there I spake, that the fault of not filling our places had not been in us hitherto; for, by the last General Assembly, we were referred, as St. Andrewes and Aberdeen, to the Commissioners of the Church, whom I knew and had seen in the case of Aberdeen, peremptorily not to meddle at all in such matters, for want of the papers which bare the reference, lying for the time in the besieged Castle of Edinburgh; but now the Commissioners 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 uncertain of more free and full meetings; the motion of the enemy, with his head-quarter toward us, being, upon too great probability, daily expected, which was like to scatter us asunder we knew not how long. Hereupon we agreed on the expediency to fill presentlie our places, if possible. Our next debate was upon the places to be filled: One moved that the Professor's place seemed not to be vacating, yow being like to returne to it in a short time. The Commissioners of the University to the last Assembly 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. Hucheson, 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 Professor's place, to which you had never entered. Also that your tye

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 ministrerie 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 yow to returne to Glafgow, I did believe yow were very desirous to be freed of that grievous burthen of the King's ministrerie, and that your inclination was, I conceived, more towards Glafgow, where God had evidently blessed your labours, than towards any place else. Yet that yow had any inclination to a profession in the College, I knew not at all; and though both yow and we were never so willing to any such thing, yet I had no hopes that the Generall Assemblie would ever consent to transport yow back again to Glafgow without his Majestie's consent, whose minister now yow are; and that ever he would consent to any such thing, I did not think. Upon discourses of this kind we concluded the true vacantie of the Professior's place. Of the vacantie 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 Principall's place; yet the man whom the most of us inclyned to name for Principall not being possible in our apprehension to be gotten before the Generall Assemblie; and he whom the most of us inclyned 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; so much the more, that if we purfued for two at once, we were almost sure to lose the one. In our nomination, upon the supposition that your place was truely 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 Gilleipie; 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 leaue in three or four hours calme debate, without the least heat or noife, or any offer of a difsent 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 tenderneſes of our priviledges, which I knew fome, on their great miftakes of our acts of courteſie fometimes before, were inclining to encroach upon. But before I could come home, I fand our brother Mr. Patrick, who (yow know) refuifes to countenance our Univerſitie meetings, who had given to the Rector and fent to the Dean of Facultie a proteftation againſt all we had done, telling withall that the Generall Affemblie had not made your place vacant, and that this was your owne mind, and that ye were resolved fhortlie to come and take up your place in the Colledge. For the proteftation, I fand nothing in it conferable; however, we fhall anſwer it as we may, in time and place convenient; for his alleadage of the act or mind of the Generall Affemblie, if there be any truth in it, we are all miftaken; but the act will fpeak its owne mind. The only thing that fticks with me is, what I heare alleadged of your owne mind. I heard, indeed, that these two moneths bygone, fome in a way fo clancularie, that no syllable of it was ever communicate to any member of the Colledge, was earneſtie dealing to draw yow from the King back to Glafgow. This dealing, I confeffe, I understood not, nor yet doeth; for however, in my heart’s finceritie, I think I am behind few in the Kingdome in my high estimation of the grace and gifts of God beftowed on yow, and of the fweet fruits are likelie to be reaped of your miniftrie, wherefoever God fhall caft it, and of the eminent bleſſing I would expeft to Glafgow, (which I love above all places,) and to my owne familie, and my owne foule, if God were pleased to fix your miniftrie among us; yet I do really judge that your leaving of your prefent charge were a more eminent hurt to the Churches in all the three Kingdomes, by the clear and certain hurt and grieſe it would bring to the King and Court; also the great difreputation and fore refleſſion would by it fall on the King in this time when he has no fuch need, and great ftrengthening of their injurious miftakes, who long have been holding out the hypocrifie and middlem䟬ours 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 encreafe our now quyet and dung-out diuisions. If notwithstanding, in your owne wifdome, yow think fitt to come here, there is a faire doore opened for your miniftrie in Mr. Robert Ramfay his place; wherein yow will have thefe hearty embracements of us all, even of thofe who are oblided now to ftand to the late election of Mr. Robert Ramfay, wherein they will be exceiding loath and forrowfull to have the leift juftling with yow, whom they doe profef le highlie to efteeem and love, and are not to profef le any thing but what truelie they find in their mind. Thefe are the moft secret and true thoughts I have for the time of this whole buiftiefs. I befeech yow, after prayer to God and mature confideration, to fend me your thoughts lykeways with this bearer, whom I have fent expreflie to attend your leature. I hope God may help yow to fall upon expedience which fhall extricate us from these troubles.

Postscript.

After all this is written a common feffion was deyred by the Provoft, wherein he was hot enough; as in the Toune Counfellt before, great difatiffaction was uttered againft 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 craveing of a conference with the Colledge, where betwixt him and us was changed much too high and free language; espe-ciallie I confefs myſelfe, being tempted by the needleſſe expreffions of fome. The refult of all wes, we promifed, upon their defire, to furceafe a profe-cution 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 poyns controverted, and we might gett ane extract of the acts of the late Aſſemblie which concerned us. I did oft protest that thefe might not be counted to efteeem and love yow or the Toune 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 fide as the Aſſemblie had appointed, than thefe who pleaded loudeſſt for your returne to Glaſgow. However, I was thought by fome to fpeak ftrange language, yet I fpoke not fo much as I have written to yourſelfe, which I believe and know does weell ftand with eftimation and affection enough towards your perfone.
For Mr. Andrew Ker.

Right Worshipfull,

What your man promised me, at St. Johnstone, I wrote for since to your selfe, but yet have gotten no answr; so I have now sent expresslie to yow this bearer to wait upon yow ever till he get 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 befeech yow send me subscribed these papers following: the reference of our vacant places to the Commiffion of the Church; the act of Mr. James Durhame's transportation to the King's familie; the act of Visititation of the Colledge of Glafgow; that part of the report of the Visitors whilk concerns our stipends. Vaill not to send these with the bearer, whom I have directed to wait on yow als long as yow will. There is great diligence used to caufe every one of our Prefbyteries in the West send in their diffents to the Commiffion after the example of Stirling. However, the bodie of our people and gentrie, and I hope ministerie also, be for the State and Church's way. The confultation of the chiefe Remonftrants here are frequent and long: I doubt there is somewhat among them which time will bring out; their bitterness against the publick way is great: the sermons and prayers of some are strange. Communicat the inclofed to Mr. Robert Dowglaß. I pray yow let me have both your opinions and advyces if we will not be able to Carrie our point at the Commiffion of the Church: I pray yow tell us if ye think our cafe cleare: I pray yow send me with the bearer summonds for Mr. Robert Ramfay and his parochiners, and all others who have interest to appear at the next dyett of the Commiffion, or blank dayes thereafter. If God give us Mr. Ramfay, 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 fow what feed 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 juft 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 yow think fitt, to communicat this whole
matters to my Lord Balcarras, with Mr. Robert Dougla's opinion upon it; for I verily think, as I have written to Mr. James Durhame himself, if Mr. Patrick prevalie 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 propose to him. Read his letter, close it and send it away, with this bearer, to my Lord wherefover he be. I have directed the boy when he has gotten Mr. James Durhame's answer to come back by you and Mr. Robert Dowglafs, 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 Launderaill, 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 Gillefpie in publick did avow ye would not send 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 duety and justice.

**To [My Lord] B alcarras.**

My Lord,

I have thought fit to acquaint yow with a new fatherie Mr. Patrick Gillefpie is putting us to in our election of a successor to Mr. James Durhame. You will consider the whole matter\(^5\) in the copie of my letter to Mr. James Durhame and Mr. Andrew Ker, which I hope is communicate to

\(^5\) 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 prevail with Mr. James, I fear it shall be very prejudicial to the King's reputation, and public affairs. I suspect, indeed, one of the grounds on which Mr. James hes reason of malcontentment, is the neglect of his maintenance. I think he hes his owne burthens on his lands, bydyde that the quarterings this yeare, and some yeares bygone, hath made his rent finall in itself, neare to nothing; he hes a numerous familie, he hes no stipend from Glasgow: I see not how he must not be straitned. Therefore, in the midst 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 furnish 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 unadvised and unreasonable, and yow will repent that neglect. If yow have leasure, write to me how all goes, for I have sent this expres 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 contrarie. Mind Maffie 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 flurrying 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 humbly intreat yow, either by your owne letter, or by Mr. Andrew Ker, to give us your particular advyse and opinion. In our judgment our cause is clear; if yow think it will not passe the Commissiion, as I marvell if it should not, on your advyse we shall defilt. 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 Ramfay; soe we entreat yow to doe, that accordinglie yow may frame your advice to us. If my heart deceave me not, as many men are deceaved by their owne heart, my intentions
in all this businesse are to prevent hurt to the public, to the King, to our Colledge, to Mr. James Durhame, and to Mr. Robert Ramfay his perfone, which I conceive Mr. Gillefpie's practices, whatever be his intentions, will draw one quickly by this his polypragmofme. The Lord keep you at thir times to be constant and couragious at thir times for God, and for the diitrefled lands.

Unto the Right Worshipfull George Lockart, Comissary of Glas- gow, 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 Univerfitie this afternoone, wherein I understand the only or chiefe purpose to be handled is a defyre of the Town's common fession, of our concurrence in a letter of invitation to Mr. James Durhame to returne to his charge here for the time of his permiflion to vaille from his Majeftie'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 perfone, to his grace and eminent gifts, I hope himfelf doubts not, for he has these very amplie under my hand latelie. My earnest defyre 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 meaneft perfone of the burgh, I doe profeffe it to all the world, and I know my heart and intentions ufe not to contrare my profeffions. I thought we had been agreed, on your Lordship's overture, of letting our late election lye over intire for the Generall Assemblie, without touching it, to make it better or worfe, directly or indirectly, which yow conceaved was all the Town had craved, and would give them in all reafon, full fatisfa- tion. But since now your Lordship is presfled by them to call a meeting for our concurrence in ane invitation to Mr. James unto his charge here, I am forced earneftlie to supplicat the declyning of any fuch meeting, for these reafons following:—1. Any meeting for this end is like to produce fuch debates among us, as in our laft meeting for that fame purpofe were vifible. I
pass needles and very untuneous heats occasioned through our information, of exceeding injurious and opprobrious language in the common feccion, against the members of our meeting, for doing that which we conceave duty, without any cenfure, 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 materiall and fundamental privileges of passing eleotions to our valuing professions, by ourfelves, without the concurrence of the Towne of Glasgow. 2ly, Any concurrence of ours in the invitation defired, everts our former maturelie deliberat conclusion of the true vacancie and neceffitie 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 conceave at this time would be a hurt, and a cause of true grief to his Majeftie, and a ground to frustrate the desire and conclusion of the Generall Assemblie; in which evills I wish none of us should have any hand. 4ly, This meeting, I conceave, will make new and farder divifions, both betwixt the Colledge and Towne, and in the Colledge among ourfelves, which most gladly I defyre 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; whereas your ouverture makes a fair way for a present invitation of him to the towne miniftrie; and after the Assemblie, 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 fo farr as lyes in them. 6ly, This meeting seems to be contrare to the declared mind of your chiefe affeftors, without whose content yow are obliedged, in your Rektor’s oath, not to proceed in any matter of consequence, as the present is one of the highest.

For these and other reafons we have oft spoken off, I earnestly suppacat your Lordship would be pleased to forbear all meeting on this purpose; and if, notwithstanding of all my earnest and humble defyres, your Lordship shall think meent 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 Supplicacion 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, but 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 purpofe; for when we mett laft, it was debated, and, as I remember, acknowledged, without the contradiction of any, that the Rector in his inauguration oath stands obliged to call no meeting for any matter of weight, without the consent of his allies; and all your Lordship's allies, as I suppose, dissenting from the calling of this meeting, according to their agreement in our last federunt, after too much debate, in an 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 think could not fail to satisfy our Reverend Brother, if not diverted be other counfell nor his owne, must yet be thought upon, which here I repeat, that it may be knowne how far it is true my mind to oppose any right, yea, any desire of my much beloved and highly reverenced Brother.

I am firmly enough persuaded of the Generall Assemble'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 Assemble was 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 was chosen, now about a year since, but never admitted, as all amongst us ever are before they can claim to any right, or any benefit 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 contrarie to order.
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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 supercede all proceeding upon our act till it might be recognised by those our superiors whom it concerned; but also we did assure we were most willing, if by them we should be found to have mistaken, pretend 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 persuadled to remaine with his Majelie, which we think the greater and more generall good, neither to flay in the ministrrie of the burgh, but should be determined to accept a school-charge, fo soon as we could be gotten cleared by any judicatorie of our right and power, we promised to give him a fair call, fo 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, bot from any day he thought fitt, were it from his first nomination to any charge here. This loving and respectfull offer we all conceav-ed would have satified our Brother fullie. Bot 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 cafes we are referred, but only be your Lordship, who is a sworne patrone 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 nearliest interest[ed] in a busines of this nature, doth abstend themselves, and diuers it, and what may follow on it, as contrare to their former acts, and the resolutions of the Colledge in divers 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 appeall, 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 cafe. I therefore doe deprecate such a proceeding; and if no intreaties can be heard, I protest against it, upon the alleadged reasons, and what farder 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.
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 answere with this bearer, or when it's ready, by Mr. Robert Young. Yow gott us a Visitation of our Colledge, as I defiryed; but one clause 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 Commission of visitation of the Colledge of Glasgowl, 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 wisdome is it in yow to put the Church to a prefent declaration of their mind in the Act of Classes? Are our friends fo foolifly impatient as not to wait fome little time? Why ref 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 rashnefs they have made fuch a committee for the armie, which they muft either correft, to the small reputation of their wisdome, or loffe the Church. Are they fo wise also as to force the Church, either to eftablifh the Act of Classes by a favourable declaration for it, or by a diffavourable declaration on it, fuch as I think it weell deserves, to hazard a new strengthening of the Remonfrants, by adding to them the late dif- fenters in Parliament, and a good part of the armie, and to raife fuch new confusions as, at this nick of time, may deftroy all our affaires. When wife men act fuch things as evidentely are productive of fuch effects, let them be content to be efteeemed, 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. Immediately after the defeate at Hamiltone, the Garifon there sent to the Magistrates of Glasgou to pay a Ceffe, under the paine of prefent plundering and facking.
2. The Magistrates 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 conceaved wiseft and free of all blemifeh for Malignancie; for of them all, they were only two that ever had been question-ed for that fault, both whereof had given all satisfaction, and the one at the tyme of the Tumult wes out of the towne.
4. That Committee, by the means of the ordinarie Excye and a small contribution, by the knowledge and tollerance both of Kirk and State, did weeklie pay the Ceffe, with the good likeing of all the Towne, and allowance of the Magistrates themfelves, 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 allwayses to be made, without one penny taken by any of them for their paines in collecting or diftributing or attending that service, that the bodie of the people were exceedingly satiffied with their labours.
6. But these 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 Magistrates to put the managing of the Excife in the former hands, who had never made fo cleare ane accompt of their distributions as the Commonalitie did with.
7. The Committee, finding themselves in posleffion, not only by the earnest defyre of the people, and avowed allowance of the Magistrates, but by the approbation, as they conceaved, 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 last on Tuesday morning laft, Aprile 29, before fermon, the Provost
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 medling 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 divers reasons, it went to hot words; and when the Provost publicly at the crofs, under Cromwell’s guard in the Tolbooth, was pleased to call the President of the Committee a knave and villain, and command him to ward, and laid himself hands on him to take him to ward without all order or proces 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 Minifters 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 was, that it was best, while the enemie was 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 Gillepsie did say, this was according to his former discoure very publick, wherein he had said. By these incentives, and other consultations that day keeped betwixt the Provost, Mr. Patrick and the Clerk, John Wyllie and John Wodrow were summoned to appear before the Towne-Councell 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 laft they send in word by officers, once and againe, that they were present ready to answer. In the meanie while the Provost comes out, and walking a while beside them, goes in againe.

11. The Councell, fo foone as they sat downe, finding the parties summoned not to appear; without any delay, or calling of them when they were advertised of their presence, inflicts on them the moft rigid sentence they were able, decernes their freedome and burgearship to be cried downe, as of men unworthy to live in the towne, having affronted the Magistrates contrarie to their oath; also decernes them to be commanded to ward.

3 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, but 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] designde 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 peaceably 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 softlie towards the Tolbooth. When they were come there the Provost and Clerk commanded the officers to carie them to prifone, they alleadged the Provost had no power to put any burges in prifone, who wes willing to anfwer 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 noife begins.

14. The officers not dareing to obey the magistrates, Matthew Wilfon laid hands on William Wodrow. Upon this, his brother Adam Wilfon, towks him, calling him a foole, and bidding him desift; 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 pistolis, and scatters them all.

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

16. All the premifes are offered to be verified by sufficient witneses.

Information to Mr. Geo[rge] Young. [May] 1651.

That this unhappie rupture grow no worse, my opinion is, youe caufe 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 peremptorilie to be at them
on the sight 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 spokesmen 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 witneses 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 alledgeances. In your supplication to the Ministers speake 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 griefe; That the clerk and others were the occasioners, beginners, and authors of it; That they are not for contemning of magistrates, either their perfones or places, but when violence is offered to their perfones publictly, contrare to the lawes and customes of the burgh, if the perfones of magistrates in the others just defence suffer any affront, it's no more than themselves proffes to be just in the highest magistrates, the King and Parliament themselves; That they are far from desiring the magistrates to lay down their place: this is ane unjust slander; they defyre no more, but as they are most willing and ready, in a clear accompt, to shew not only to them who have interest to crave ane accompt, but to all the world, that all the moneys they have receaved are truely deburfed for the relief of the Burgh, and no sexpence 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 foumes of moneys which have been this while bygane taken up, are truely deburfed 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 neceffitie, for the faving of the Burgh's destruction, on the Magistrates deserting of their charge without any neceffitie; That in their proceedings they were weell allowed, first by the Magistrates themselves; then, as they conceive, by the King and Par-
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liament; also by the body of all the people, whom they served with great toyle to themselfes, and no gaine at all. Why, while Cromwell is in towne, a quarrell should be pickit, and fo eagerlie preftit, they marvell, since they were allwayes willing that any who had interef, especiallie the King and State, which then was very near, shoulde, by the leift signification of their pleafure, have them moft readie to give over their bypass very troublfome employment; albeit they were not willing to be commanded and threatened by them, whom they conceived to be direct parties in this caufe, and that for something else than what looked towards the publict good, either of the Kingdome or of the Town of Glafgow, at this time groaning under the feet of a publict enemy, when they conceived it very unfeafonable to trouble the Town with needlefs quarrells.

While they are gathering, be yow and fome one or two thinking of fome fuch paper. As yow would not wrong me, let no flefh fee this paper, or know of my name. Have one ready in the afternoone to carry all paffes this day to Robert Marfchell. Bring or fend this to me foe soon as yow can. Yow had need be wise and diligent. Let their Commissioners, if they can be readie, goe to Mr. Robert Ramfay 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 miftakes, we have thought meet to advertife you, that Cromwell, haveing come to Hamiltone on Fryday late, and to Glafgow on Saturday, with a body of his armie, sooner than with safety we could weell have retired ourfelves; on Sunday before noone, he came unexpeotedlie to the High Inner Church, where quietlie he heard Mr. Robert Ramfay preach a very good honest fermon, pertinent for his cafe. In the afternoon, he come als unexpeotedlie to the High Outer Kirk, where he heard Mr. John Carftairs lecture, and Mr. James Durhame preach, graciouslie and weell to the times as could have been defyred. Generallie all who preached that day in the Towne gave a fair enough testimonie againft the Sectaries. That night, fome of the armie wes trying if the minifters would be pleafed, of their own ac-
cord, to conferr with their Generall. When none had shewed any willingness, on Monday, a gentleman from Cromwell come to the moft of the Brethren, severally defying, yea, requrying them, and the rest of the ministers in towne, to come and speake 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 himselffe and others had taken at the doctrine they had heard preached; especiallie that they were condemned, 1ft, As unjust invaders: 2. As contemners and trampers under foot of the ordinances: 3. As per- secutors of the ministers of Ireland: That as they were unwilling to offend us by a public contradicting of us in the Church, fo they expected we would be willing to give them a reason when they craved it in private. We shew our willingness 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 lodgeing. 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 yow.

Your Brethren, the Ministers on the place.

Glasgow,] April 22d 1651.

For John or William Reid. May 3d, Saturday, 1651.

Sir,

The enemie’s motion from us was on no want; for, contrarie to all ex-pectation, they fand provisions herewith 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 [shoulde] be drawing the

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, drawn 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-Counfell and Committee of Commonalitie, there fell out a very foule toyllie [tuilyie]: you had need to take heed to it. By him I recommend it to you before, or some other, you will get full information of it. See that they get no wrong by the too great diligence and misinformation of some who most cordiallie mind the King and weell of the publict. I hope Argyle, and the Chancellor, and some others, are so wise and just as not to be over-swayed with any man's report, till all be tried to the botome. I am not so feared for Mr. Patrick Gilleespie's diligence as Mr. James Durhame's recommendation. If you look not carefullie to this buslinefs also, you defert 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 serious with Mr. Robert Dowglas 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 sure for King and country: 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 delayvered yesterday afternoone, in Stirling, to one of our common carriers. Immediatelie I sent up to Mr. Patrick Gilleespie your ansuer to the Moderator of our Synod, and your's to Lanark I shall send with the first occasion. For
all the letters and expresse messengers I have oft sent to yow for the extracts, yow send me nothing but false promises; therefore, once againe, I carneflie entreat yow will be at the paines to send me these extracts subscryved: both I myselfe, and our Colledge, and some more of our dear friends, have very much need of them. At least, let me have the extracts of what concerns the provision of our vacant places, our stipends in the report of the two Visitations, and the Affemblie's acts concerning Mr. James Durhame. If at last yow will not beflow 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 defyres: the place and persons of a committee as they would have withed. I with a good agreeeance; but I hope the Commiffion 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 Ramfay's large treatife: of the receipt of it, our brethren's like or dislike, yow write nothing. How our conference with Cromwell was contryved, or for what ends, I may weell gues 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 Gillefpie, the maine speakers: We had no disadvaantage in the thing. The tumult of Glaflgow, procurd by the rash and headie counfell of some, might have drawne to great ill, had not the English been very feasonable redders. Matters will not rest here if the insolencie of some be not compeced: 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 Commiffion did at Falkland: let me hear from yow. Your prefs is exceeding flow: I think, before this, the Commiffion's answer to Stirling and Ayre, Mr. David Dick's, Mr. Robert Ramfay's, and Mr. James Fergufone'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, but that the courteous of your letter to Mr. Patrick Gillespie has made him speak since to his friends with great cheerfulness and confidence, and this day and yesterday to preach as largelie and boldlie against the Publick Resolutions as ever. Whereupon I conclude, that his and the rest of their resolutions who are coming along with him, is to be firme to their principles, and that their endeavours will be to gains the conference to them, either all or some. I hear they have adjourned againe our Synod, of purpose that themselfes, 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 against them, yet they may make so loud and considerable a partie as may give life to their deignes, 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; but we know your wisdome, and therefore most securelie we acquiese 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; but we fear if they gett yow to St. Andrewes, they will gain on diverse men more than shall be convenient. If yow keep still at Stirling, our Synod may be keeped; 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 obblinacie will make none of yow unconftant; and if all your courteous will draw none of them to their duetie, that yow will not faill from your quarterlie meeting to write to our Synod or severall Presbyteries to doe our dueties, in keeping at leaft the Faft, 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 against, and doe nothing at all but bid Presbyteries censure thefe 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 wisdome.

Your Brother,

Tuesday, May 6th 1651.

R. B.

This bearer will wait on till yow cause some about yow wryte someting 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] Lauderdale.

My Lord,

I hope yow read what twyce or thrice 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 advertife yow this once more, as yow mind the King, or the Armie, or the Kirk, look to this conference; it's a matter piece of your business, as I conceave. 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 guarde 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. Success is from God, wise going-about a business 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 witnefs of this fault in yow; which some will swear can be no les than deep treacherie and high treafon, which if yow and your Cousigne, my friend, will wittinglie be guilty of, pardon me no more to truft men on earth. I advyse yow to see it gone reallie about, that your sojours 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 desigines with all care, but wrong and hurt no flesh without clear cause.

Your Friend,

May 6th 1651.

R. B.
[Postscript.]

Our Provost's letter to the King, which we doubt not was penned in Mr. Patrick's house, I wish yow sent a copie of it. See if a committee of two or three might be sent here to try that whole busines ; but see well to their choice. Let them have power to take ane accordant not only of the excise, but all taxation and publick moneys for two or three years, to try the receipts and disbursments, also compliance with the enemie. Let Mr. John Smith, and ane other minister, come along to try Mr. Patrick's part; there will be many witneses in that busines that cannot come along; or if this way shall not be found fitt, but yow think fitt the principal parties be summoned before yourself, give power to the ministers here to examine witneses. If yow 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 fo many ministers out of charge? I like weel your delay of fighting, if yow could keep up your armie, but beware it melt not, and the countrey faint not under its oppression. Why train yow not your foyours, and daylie exercixe them? Upon the hudge large quarters of the enemie will yow make no infall? I think Mr. James Durhame will come along to the conference, contrare to my advyfe, and without, (as he fayes to me) any invitation from any there: I feare his accommodations more than all the eight commissioners violence. I doubt not bot Robert Marschell has informed yow of Lambert's secret letters to some here, and of our fears for Dumbartane. If yow be not asurred of the honefte and watchfullness of the men (for courage they need none,) who are intrusted with that place, some of yow are unworthie the trust the King and State have given yow. My laft word to yow is, lofe not the King nor Argyle in any termes.

1 John Graham, Provost of Glasgow.
My Lord,

The honest man John Reid’s canker at me, and his cousignes William also, I take in good part; for my jealouffe of them, and theirs of me, coming all out of mutuall love to a third, whom all three minds truely to serve; and James- fon, 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 yow both. However, I befeek yow 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 yow 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 Glafgow businesse, I thank yow heartily for the favor thefe I recommended to yow has gotten; I must still in-treat yow to favour them fo farr as yow find equitie on their fide. If my mind had been followed, yow at fuch a time should not have been troubled with that buffinefs; and fo soon as reafon can be gotten, if my opinion be followed, yow shall be no more fathed with us. Fear from some of yow, and coun-fell from some of us, hes made our Magistrates inclineable to give to your supplicants much of their defyres, and all I fuppect they fhall obtenine from yow, after much toyle both to yow and themselves: If they truely can gett this, I think, after their agents hes fpoken with yow, and approven to yow their proceedings, they are unwife to refufe 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 accompl, either for publick moneys, or complaynce with the enemy, or whatsoever fault eile can be made good againft them.

While I had written this farr I find that fome encouragement, as it feemes, from your act, hes made our Magistrates fo high that accommodation here is impossible, but when they come among yow I hope it fhall be more feasible. If I come to fee yow I hope to be welcome, were it to fpue all my gall in your bolome, for [comfits] yow will have none; however, wherever I be, I pray yow, firft and laft, mind the Church conference and Commiffion.

Your’s, S. J.
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 effectuall, we thought fitt to invite our differing 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 was refus'd, we had little hope to joyne in haste in any thing else. We fand the chiefe of them in toune, at a ferious meeting among themselves, Masters John Livingstone, Patrick Gillefpie, James Guthrie, Wariftone, Sir John Cheiflie, Brodie, etc.: they had made animadversions on the English papers, which were communicat to Finnik [Col. Fenwick]; but we could not fee them. They profeffed all to be al's much againft the English as we could be, yet they were not pleas'd one of them to open their mouth to any of us; but 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 Hutchefone, to defyre them to propone our motion to Waßiftone, or to whom else he or they pleas'd: they undertook this very cheerfully, and defyre'd me to speake to Brodie, whom they had oft found on the same thing. I did fo, and he promis'd to joyne in dealing effectuallie for it. The issue wes, Wariftone, Mr. Gillefpie, and Mr. Guthrie, mett with them, and after a long debate, gave them a shifting anwer; that their meeting wes dissolvd, 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 prefent. This dealing did grieve us all, and made us fee more of the progres and incurableness of the schisme. For all this we would not give over; we agreed to the materialls of a Warning which we fent to Mr. Blair, to be put in forme, and to go alongs the Presbytries so soon as may be. I drew them so that no word of them should be offensive; so our brethren and we dired Mr. Blair to be carefull that in his draught there should be no word to irritate, hopeing, when it comes to the brethren in Presbytries, they will be loath to differing and oppofe 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 Presbytories 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 fhyres 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 zealoulie against the way of the English: this they are very angry at, and threatens to remeед it. They impute much of this to Warifton, 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 Merfe, Stobs for Tiviotdale, Dundas for West Louthian, William Thomson and Fairbairne, I think, have done the like for Edinburgh, and it's like almoft all burghs and fhyres will, under their hand, renounce their Covenant: Glasgow and the West purposes to refufe, 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 satiffaction to your defyre from Edinburgh. It were good ye were at a poyn't what ye will doe for us. The Lord direct yow. My service to Margaret.

Your Brother,
R. Baillie.

Mr. Robert Dowglas and all our brethren are in health and courage. God is with them. They affure 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 neceffitie to unite in the Lord. Ye see what a wicked complyance is made with our oppreffours, and how our Solemn League and Covenant is grossly violated by this subscription. In the defection of so many, the standing out of your Commissioners wes singular. Ours began well; a great part of the inhabitants
had subscribed a letter to their Commissioner, forbidding him to subscribe that tender as they call it; but danger being represented, they fainted. We hear that with you 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 nakedness of our land is fearfully discovered: we are generallie a very rotten and hollow-hearted people. Upon this, and many other considerations, the servants of our Lord Christ ought to halten their union; without this extremities will be followed, some in slackness, others in rigorous strictness of discipline, whereby matters will be put close out of frame.

I know needles it is to exhort you, to incline to and follow after peace and union: ye would rather expect of me overtures. I have been defyrous, for some space, that not only debates about former resolutions, but determinations, acts, censures, all be quite laid aside; all authoritative acting either by Commission 1650 or 1651 laid aside; correspondence entertained by all Synodals in the kingdom, that by consent we may fall upon a publick way againe; in the mean time, about planting of kirks, neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction to be taken notice of: If uniting on such terms may be had, they are accursd that would hinder the same, by seeking satisfaction for what is paffed: for my owne part, I think I see evidentlie enough some things amiss ultrinque; but I would preferr one act of oblivion herein, leaft new debating exulcerate our fores. I remember my love to Mr. James Ferguson, 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 receaved 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 Scottishe Republic, this to me is a high-enough crime. Our commonalitie was 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 cenfured shall not make so much as the least acknowledgemnt for all their erroneous and very evill Remonstrances, Protestations, and other miscarriages, whereby they have directly ruined the Commission and the Generall Assembly, and hes 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, and many more gracious servants of Christ, are against such termes of peace, albeit it be said to us; in the face of Presbytries, that we, or who ever are not for such a union, are unworthy either to fit in Presbytries 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 imbraced 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 deferve the estimation of accursed man by any, bot leaft of all from yow, whom hitherto I have profeffed a Father in Christ.

Your Son in Christ,

R. B.

For Mr. James Wood. April 1st 1652.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Read the inclofed, yow and Mr. Andrew Honyman, close and caufe 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 quyettie in the nycht, upon Thursday the 28th of August, came upone the Committee quyettie in the morning, tulk thame prisoneris, 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. (l'ide 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 mischeives: I see the Synod of Glasgow and Fyfe are prefently to be assaulted in their new way for Union, to burie the Asemble-bleindeed, 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 commission? I see our prisoners at London's letters, which I saw, have not been fo groundles 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 consenter thereto; though over againe, bot for one fober word to this purpose, I should be openly avowed unworthy 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 fober dutie in the fear of God. The Lord be merciful. If yow please, yow will write with the first occasion.

Your Brother,

R. Baylie.

For Mr. Wood. April 1st 1652.

Our Usurping Brethren, (as Mr. Blair wont to terme them,) so far as I see or can learn, minds no Union with us but 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 Simprone of Airth, defyreing a conference for union betwixt ours and some of their divines. This paper wes sent from Aberdeen to the Commisioners at Dalkeith, by Lockier,\(^5\) who did difrelish the motion and

\(^5\) Nicholas Lockyer, an English Independent minister, who was in Scotland at this time with the English forces. \textit{Vide infra}, p. 213.
difcharged it. There is strong hopes that Cromwell, on fundry obligations, will fend with Sir Henrie Vane back to our brethren, either a Scottifh Republiet or fuch conditions as will fatiffie them: Will yow not have patience to look on a little? before the time of the Generall Asfembly, we will fee much more: Why fhou'd our precipitation contribute to further evill defignes of dangerous men? Also that Mr. Lockier was sent for byfone of the Scots to overfie the erecting of new congregations in the North: what is doing there, and what fpeed Gairdner, in his rebaptizings, hes come, yow will know better than I. We expect fhortlie Lockier and Oxenbridge here. All that fears me not, fo much as the counfells and actings of mild and moderate brethren: Marshall alone, in some of our judgments, destroyed more the Kirk, Kingdom, and Covenant, in England, than all the seven diffenting brethren. Had the half of fome men's zeale and authorifie been fpent againft the shamefull preffumption of a few turbulent men, which hes been to fiew faults utringly, and to put the whole Affembly juft in their condition, it had been better this day than it is with our Church. Nothing hes more encouraged, and does daylie more, thefe men in their hardnefs, than their declining. Mr. Dickfon and Mr. Dowglas are farr from fuch thoughts; they will be, when they hear them, ane addition to their griefe, and the fruit, I fear, the lengthening of their imprizonments. This work I fear make but a third faction, whose violence may prove alfe great as any of the two former in the end; when, at the very beginning of their overture, they are fo modest as to pronounce all who will not follow their propofition to be unworthy to fitt in a Prefbyterie, yea, in terms, to be accufed. I fear when yow and I both, and all who will follow Mr. Blair's advyce, hes done our bef, very many brethren and their flocks will beg the English protection, that in no terms they may ever come under fome men's government, either ecclefiasticall or civill; though no man hes been, and no man, I fear, fhall be readier than my foolifh felfe; yet I thank God, Mr. Blair, and his great counfellor Mr. Durhame, hes 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 milken to Mr. Blair, and all others, except thefe who are intime friends to the Affembly and Comffion, all this my freedome, which for the time great both grief and feare hes expreffed. Faill not to communicate this to Mr. Andrew Honyman and Mr. David Forreft, that I
may have yow three witnesse of my heart's temper, which I submitt humbly to your censur.

The act about expectants came first from your Presbytrie and Synod; how just foever and expedient it be, yet I never practis'd it, and affire yow it was never practis'd to this day in the West. No example can be given bot of one in Dumbartane; and I find that is false. Bot I am sure our brethren are carefull, one way or another, to plant all vacant kirks I know only with men of their owne stamp, and to marre all others; neither hope I they will change this dealing. The fardest, I think, yow can goe, is to appoint some two or three of your Synod to joyn with some of other Synods, men all clearly for the Assembly, without If's or And's, to conferr first with themselves and then with opposite brethren; that betwixt these some 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 themselves. I wish our prisoners minds at London were founder: I would be loath to compone without them. A short paper from yow will be gotten easily conveyed to them, and safe enough, weekly by Mr. Robert Lowrie.

For Robert Dowglass, and John Smith. 6 April 8th 1652.

Brethren,

The compassion of our heart, and our prayers to God for yow, and thanks for his presence with yow in all your sad sufferings, have been continuall. Though fear of miscarriagges and mistakes have hindered our writing to yow, our earnest defyre and very great need of your counsell hes made us venture at this time. Our usurping brethren, through their unnaturall divisions have added much to our calamities: the lamentable evills of that breach increafe dayly. To expect union on the smallest submission of these men, it is in vain, though the little remainder of our Church and State shou'd perishe before their eyes. The crying necessitie of some healing of that breach makes the moft of these who have been, and are opposite to them, defyreous to have it in any tollerable termes, and for that end hes had many thoughts and sundry meetings, but as yet all in vaine. At last Mr. Blair and Mr. Durhame, men of

6 They were at this time prisoners at London; and this letter, as appears from the MS. was addressed to them under the assumed names of—Black and Robert Petre.
the greatest authority 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 terms of agreement you may read in the enclosed. 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 ingaging in the matter, till we had leasure to advertize and take counsell with all our friends, we pleased, far and near. We had a very fore labour to get it to this. What is done in the Synod of Fyfe, where the like assault, I suppose, has been made, I do not know; but am sure I sent to some of them tymeous warning of all this designe. We purpose to seek the Lord, and advyse among ourselves what is to be done; but it is my very earnest desire to have your mind of the whole matter so particular, and so soon as is possible, you being those whose mind in these things I desire most to follow. Upon the one hand I see, for all the safeguards expressed, the acts and proceedings of the Assembly are also good as buried; the authority of all posterior Assemblies is fearfully shaken, and put in hazard to be trod underfoot, by the error and willfulness of any the like partie; these brethren who has been, in our judgement, the greatest troubleurs of our Church and State, are put againe in a present capacitie to goe on, by their purgeing, to create great molestation to many. But, on the other hand, the miserable daylie fruits of our division are hardly tolerable; they who now press the Union are like to carry to it many of our chieft and best men, so that the refuurers 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 you 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 ecclesiastical, 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, belydes 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 prentently from
the declyners of the Aflèmblie. When, with enough adoe, I had gotten
these quieted, others of our brethren, as James Fergufon and Patrick
Colvin, etc., were clear for agreement to this paper, which Mr. James Dur-
ham, 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 gott
all held off, and the Synod not at all ingaged so much as in hearing one
lyne of the paper till we had tyme sufficient to advye 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 Aflèmblie will joyne in it, and the re-
fulifiers will bear great odium to protest against it. It is exceeding necesse
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 fend 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 dispached correspondents to Galloway, Argyle, and
Drumfreifs, to endeavour the synodick paffing of this agreement there pre-
fentlie, but I shall doe my best 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, severallie with the brethren of our mind in Perth, Angus, and Aberdeen shires, on the paper which yow would send them there, they may be readier to give their opinion when yow call them to meet. Though some of our friends, as Mr. James Ferguison, etc., be almost for all the paper, yet the most of our brethren, as Mr. David Elphingstone, Mr. John Bell, Mr. George Young, are passionatlie against it.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. APRIL 8TH 1652.

REVEREND BROTHER,

I thought before this to have had your mind in these things I sent to Mr. James Wood; I marvell it came not, being so earnestly pressed. Mr. Robert Lowrie will send yow a double of what I wrote to Mr. Robert Dougglas and Mr. James Wood. I wish yow meet with some about yourselfe, and call Mr. William Jamefone and Mr. Knox to yow, to see what yow dislike in this paper, and to set downe positively yow will agree; else they will, ere we be aware, have the most of all our considerable brethren ingaged in these terme. Ufe all possible means to have your mind at me if yow can before a fourtnight. I wish also yow write to your brethren and others at London, and to others, with all speed.

Your Brother,

Glaugow, April 8th 1652.

R. B.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. APRIL 25TH 1652.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,

I was very glad of your last letter, for by it I was confirmed in that which ever had been my sense of this last motion for Union; only yow mistake that yow apprehend I was ever for these 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 laft meeting at Edinburgh, and my sharpe craveing of it from Mr. Wood, in that letter yow saw, at laft I got a long letter from Mr. Robert Blair, the purpose whereof was these Overtures in effect, which displeases yow, and with that certification, "That he accounteth them accursed who would hinder such an Union." Being fore greeved 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 conceaved, Mr. Durhame the author of those terms 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 Prefbyterie, distinétlie by Mr. Durhame, "That who would be against such an Union were not worthie to fitt either in Prefbyterie or Synods." I gott only this for declining, and that modeftlie, to be on a committee of our Prefbyterie to draw such Overtures to be a reference from us to our approaching Synod. To this terrible reflection, I said no more but simpifie, "Brother, this requires no an answer." Conjecturing by all this the designe with all earnestnes, to engadge 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 dispatchted prefently ane other letter to Mr. Wood, to be communicat to Mr. Andrew Honyman and Mr. David Forrest, obteffing them to guard againft this affault, and to do their utmost to fave their Synod from meddling with the matter of thefe 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, prefented to the committee, which we carried, much contrare to their mind, that they should not be so much as prefented to the Synod; and to keep the Synod from ingadginge, we were peremptor, and carried it, that they should not be so much as read or fpoken of, under whatfoever notion, in the Synod; only we confented to the adjournment of the Synod to June 2d; against which time, in the Committee, we promifed 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 moft

8 These Overtures, by Durhame, 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 aversenes from the matter of them, and moft for the forme, that any Synod should take upon them to meddle with what concerned the Generall Assemblie. My great fear was, farther drawing off us, by this motion, some of our chief friends; yet God guided it so that it was prevented. Mr. James Fergusfan, and Mr. Patrick Colvin, were at first inclinable to much of the matter in the Overtures; yet, ere we parted, I fand both faft enough to oppose them as they stood, and in the way they were defyred, whereof I was glad. What since I wrote about this matter to London, and Fife, and elsewhere, I defyred Mr. Robert Lowrie to shew yow. This is the whole matter, whereby I hope yow fee my forwardnes for these Overtures wes not fo great as yow suppose. Write once more to our brethren at London, that, if poftible, I much defyre we may have their mind at our meeting in Edinburgh. Mr. Dickfon, in both his sermons here, and oft in his private discourse, declares himfelfe clear for the Assemblie in omnibus, without If's and And's, and contrare to these Overtures, and all these 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 afaults from Warrifone, Mr. Hew M'Kell, Mr. Blair and others.

I purpose to enquire for yow, as I wrote laft, at Mr. Robert Lowrie's house, on Monday at night May 10th, or Tuesday at noon the 11th, God willing, except yow have taken courfe with thefe of St. Andrewes to shift the meeting, whereof I could be glad. Yow will be doubtles, as I have been, much refrefted with Mr. Dickfon's zeal and wifdome in this buffines, whereof I wish our brethren at London and elsewhere were advertised. Caufe fend to Glasgow, to Mr. George Young's house, fo foone as yow can, twenty or thirty of Trochrig's books 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 diverse hands, better and worfe, now dayly fetts for our feet.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, April 25th 1652.

R. Baylie.

9 The posthumous work of Robert Boyd of Trochrigg, In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios Praelectiones, 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 evills that accompanie these differences, [the Synod] doe therefore think it expedient, to endeavour some way of healing, at leaft of preventing the growing, of the fame. 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 forefaid, they doe voluntarlie confede and 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 practising, executing or pressinge of all acts concluded in the laft Assembly at St. Andrewes and Dundee, and also the pressinge or spreading appeals, declinators or protestations against the same; and that both these forfaids, together with any sentence intended or followed thereupon, shall be for the time, (as to practife and our use-making of them in any thing) as though they had not been; this being allways fo understood as inferring no actuall condemning of either of them, as is said.

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

4. That fome 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 fend fome 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 Assembly, to indeavour for a full and judicall settleing and oblivion of the forefaid 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 controvertie, the matter being, for the particulars, removed but by the Assemblie itselfe and submision of men censured; else no Assemblie firme hereafter: And with cautions against feared domination, and a due proceeding of novelties tending to separate congregations, Why should not ane oblivion of Malignants, the King and they having satisfied, be granted also? Why not deposed ministers and elders, for no other scandall, on submision, made capable? What Union else firme?

For Mr. James Wood. June 4th 1652.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

What you 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 conveened; the other very frequently. We thought we had nothing at all to doe; but they fand us unexpected work. The Presbyterie of Dumbartane had found the tryall of Mr. Robert Law, for one of their kirks, unsatisfactorie; the people appealled to the Synod; after much loud and clamorous debate, Sir John Cheiflie and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie gott a committee, allmost 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 Presbyterie; also another Committee to try and cenfure sundrie members of that Presbyterie, being joined with some of the Presbyterie itself. Viis et modis they have drawne some of the Presbyterie to their side, whereby that Presbyterie, 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 Presbyterie protested, that no declyner of the Generall Assemblie should be a judge to them; to which they of our mind adhered; for which Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and Sir John Cheiflie did preffe vehementlie that all of us shoule be removed for cenfure. 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 refused. The next caufe 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 approven him in his tryalls as ane expectant, and the most ministers were fullie satified with all his tryalls; yet on a parties dissatissfaction, for no considerable reason, they could not be brought to determine any admisision, fo the people appealed from their clearlie partiall judgement. The letters of the Commission they will not have read without a protestation, and no election will they permit where they are able. It is in vain to dream of peace with these men! they mind nought bot to set 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 faft 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 process either before Synod or Presbyterie; all their fire for cenfuring their other brether, yet (as they mutter for fear to provoke the English) is turned to cold water, and a great deal of tenderneſs, when they have adoe with Sectaries. We befeek yow ingadge us no more in enfaring conferences. Goe on in the high clear pathway of our Generall Assemblies without all prelimitations: Lead us no more into temptation. Alfo our brethren in Glafgow, Lanerk, Dumbartan, Irvine, and Ayr inclines stronglie to elecť by themselves; when others (though the major part by one or two led declineing elders) refuse at all to elecť, I hope yow will not be against it, that in this act we make ufe of our right. I defyre your judgement of this quicklie, after yow have communicate with Mr. David Forrest and Mr. Andrew Honyman. I have moved 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 diffenteres so strongly as they: A great deal better for the truth that they did declare themselffes opposite wholly. Send your returne to Laurence fo soon as yow can.

Your loving 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 Assembly; against which we protested. This is a clear evidence of their purpose towards the Assembly following.

For Mr. Robert Ker. June 4th 1652.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

By the inclosed ye fee the condition of our affaires. I pray yow fend me your own sense of my question about elections. Sundrie of us purposes to be in Edinburgh a little before the Assembly, whether commissioners or no, to guard the best we can against previous undermyning. I hear Mr Blair has joyned in the dissent from the act of the Synod approving the constitution of the Assembly. I hope this must be a mistake, he having so oft spoken for the constitution of the Assembly. So great and causeless a change cannot, I am sure, befal him. However, I would think it expedient, if it seem good to you, to write to the Towre, that our confessors there would be pleased to write serioulie to Mr. Dickson, Mr. Wood, and above all to Mr. Blair, to doe their duetie in the Assembly; and to oppose as it becomes them, not only manifest opposition to the Assembly, but that which is more dangerous, all tampering by ensinaring and betraying conferences; and to turn the edge of their zeal, and pen, not to flatter and strengthen, but to rebuke and gainfay them who truely deserve it. As their letters broke our last snare, so I think a wise and plain admonition at this time, would doe much good. I wish you write for it, but withall give them a caveat to provide, that farre lefs noife be made of letters either to them or from them than lately hes been; for I am much afrayed that some malicious men, finding their crooked deaignes crushed as 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 Assembly.

Your Brother,

R. B.

¹ Robert Ker, to whom this and many other letters are addressed, was Minister of Had- dington, and brother of Andrew Ker, Clerk of the General Assembly.
1652. LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON. JUNE 4TH 1652.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I have defyre 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, epecially 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 bekeek them to speke plainly their mind, and not to halt betwixt two, but at laft to fide. 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 extreameft opposition. The Lord help yow to doe what yow may for God and his caufe in this fo pitifull a time.

Your Brother,

R. B.

FOR MR. ROBERT KER. JUNE 7TH 1652.

I expect with the firt your anfwer to my laft; 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 Assembly; both in generall, concerning all comes in their owne thought for our direction; also, in all comes in your mind to propone to them; epecially what we fhall doe with the men cenfured, when they add their proteftation againft the nift Assembly to their former contempt. 2. What fhall we doe for a Testimony againft the English, if we may fpare it; and if not, how farr fhall we goe in declaring againft their tyrannie, and their adherents, e特殊lie the Commissioners for Union? The giving of it is apparentlie our ruine and of our Generall Assembly, and the great defire of brethren who are waiting for this occasion to gett us removed, and the Kirk put in' their hands: The fparring of it for any danger, will, I fear, be scandalous. I earnestlie defyre
your and their mind concerning this our greatest point. 3. Alfo, what advyce they will give us anent our other brethren. If we receive them, we will ftumble the other; If we keep them ftill out, who, for little faults, were depofed, or are willing to doe all for satiffa6tion we ought to require, we are injurious, and puts them to desperat courfes. Beware of prelimiting conferences: beside your giving a just exception againſt the Affemblie, they are exceeding dangerous, and only to enſnare us: content not to countenance them.

The Affemblie may not be fo short as only to adjourn with doing nothing at all: this will not be yielded to by many who finds the opposite brethren fo active and successful in evill, that, if a stoppe be not putt to their rusheing into all vacant places wiuer modeft men only of their cavell, they will not find the Church out of danger, before ane other Affemblie, to be overwhelmented by them. The counfell of neuters must not be regarded; it is they, above all, who increase that partie, and weakens us moſt 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 Caufes of the Faft communicat to us, we have thought meet to acquaint yow with these our thoughts thereof, in private, to receave your brotherlie advyce and direktion thereupon, as God shall put it in your mind.

We have been earnest of a long time to have had publict and solemnne Faftings, for many moſt important Caufes, both to the land and this place; but have alwayses been peremptorly refuifed all concurrence therein, unleſs we would make our duties fins, and other men’s fins our duties. When the Lord’s strange judgements on us hath put us now once againe to Faft together, upon Caufes uncontroverted, we are very willing and defyreous to continue this gracious and very neceffare exercife upon any Caufes we know, or which, beſyde our present knowledge, we shall be inſtructed in, by yow or any.

As for the paper presented to us; in the Firſt Caufe, we desire to be inform-
ed what be the reproaches in this place against the ordinances. 2. We de
fyre the unfrequenting 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 fechme,
that the ordinances out of the mouths of these of us who have been for the
public, have been alfe good as deferted, and that without any refentment
or reall endeavours 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 defyre to be informed what constant
tract of opposition to Christ hes been in this place, more than in others; and
that the principles of enmity 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 misted to obstruct the thrivings of the gospell; and
what ventings of hatred at the power of godlinefs; what bitternefs and mock-
ings of pietie is understood: these most heavy crymes would not be charged
without clear and convincing evidences. We think the madnefs of a few
rascall perfones is not here pointed at, neither the speeches against the true
mifbehaviour of pious people can be taken for any wronging of pietie; and
what there hes been more here, we defyrned 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 feffion be here under-
fstood, it would first be shewed to be guiltie of such a high challenge.

And why here is the unparallelled affronting of the Generall Assemblie
and the Commiffion 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 downe in particular. We fear
that to our brethren's knowledge and small refentment, some of our perfones
and miniftrie be in too great contempt with their chiefe familiars; and
though many be discontent with the perfonall misbehaviors of some of us
against the supreme authoritie of Church and State, what concerns that the
message of the gospell?
That the late conjunction of these now in place, shoulde be alse farr aggravate as possible, we heartilie consent; and have many witneses of our diligence herein at diverse occasions. But we think it a sinfull partiality to be silent, and whollie 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 unhappe Remonstrance contrived? Who avowes every line of it to this day? Who were the authors and perfevering fomenteres of these fatall divi-

sions that visiblie hes ruinated 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 aggravate as one of the most visiblie finnes of the place; which, if the root of it were truely searched, we take it for a sinfull fomenting of this grievous ill to make the fountaine of it emitie at the power of godlines, 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 heartilie to goe along in chargeing 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 visiblie lyes on them, in our judgement, it is but to perpetuate divisions among this people, to the reall hurt of pietye, 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 hes been alse great cheerfullness in this people to contribute for the distrested, as ordinarlie 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 tolerable 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 but some parts of a few. Before that this matter be precipitat, either in a committee or seccion, we with 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 Hamiltone: 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 inclofed Proteftation. The churches of Leinzic, Cathcart, and Kilbride, they will plant only with the most violent young men of their owne fide, and are sure, by one mean or other, to marre all others to the utmost of their power; they mind nought but to compafs their designe, and for that end to tread downe all in their way. Some in Finnick have declared for separation, against whom M. W. preaches with tears, bot in vaine. I find they will have one more onfett on yow and the minifters of Edinburgh, this next week, to tempt yow to paffe from the last Assemblie, and their cenfures, as if they had never been, and all the rest of the acts, controverted. God, we doubt not, will affift 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 diffrefs, I truft there flall be witnefles for her without all fuch, be they who they will. The fruite of this labour will be but a new fchifme to ftrengthen the former, a renting of the next Assemblie, als dangerously, as wes the laft; and whoever will be a leader to this work they will fucceed to Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie. 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 evill designe. Look well to some of Fife, and to Mr. George Hutchesone and Mr. Hew [Mackaill.] Beware of my Lord Wariftone's importunitie. The Lord help yow. Mr. John Livingstone is very busifie.

Your Brother,

Glaifgow, 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 Commissiion of the late Generall Assemblie; and the pluralitie of the Prefbyterie having voted, that, contrarie to the desire of that Letter, no Commissioners should be choisen to the Assemblie to be holden in Edinburgh the third Wednesday of July; We under-subscrivers did differ from that vote, and entered our protestation against it; protesting lykewise, that it should be free for us, for the preserving of the libertie of the Prefbyterie and doing of our dutie, to choife Commissioners as we shall find convenient for the next ensuing Generall Assemblie, which is to fitt doun the 21ft 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 reallie nullifie not only the acts, but the verie constitution and authoritie of the last Assemblie and Commissiion thereof.

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

3. Because not only the chiefe leader in that vote was Mr. Patrick Gilleprie, who, according to our former protestation, oft renewed, ought not to have had voice at all, nor to have fitten in the Prefbyterie, being depofed from his miniftrie by that late Generall Assemblie; bot also more nor a triple number of minifters 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-
neetone; whiles Mr. John Caritaires voiced non liquet, and Mr. James Durhame did refuse to declare his mind pro or contra; Mr. Andrew Morton and Mr. Thomas Melvill being absent, and Mr. Hew Binning not present at the voyceing. The ruling elders also who caried the vote should not have voiced in that particulare; because they all stood in actual opposition to the last Generall Assemble, being either actuall protesters against it, or being sent by these who were such.

FOR MR. JAMES DURHAME. JULY 11TH 1652.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

That any thing which came from me should have grieved yow, especiallie in such a degree, I am forrie; for wittingly I would not grieve yow, from whose word my heart hes been so 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 spleenes than are the best of yours. But we desire to fear God, and to love and honour you, doe and say what yow please.

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 strange anfwer to our humble and modest letter, as truely we intended it, that we purpose not to fasche yow with more of that kind. We fhow yow what we miffliked in your paper; that without all dinne and debate it might have been helped by yow in pri-vate. We went alongft with you in all the Caufes of the Faft: the most of them absolutely. The exceptions we took at some parts of a few, concerned one excess, and ane other defect, as we conceaved. The great divisions of this place are knowne. About the authors and fomenters of them, we said, we say nothing; only we wished 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 ane application of this distinction injurious, and many ways very hurtful. What fins were in this place in James Grahaie’s dayes, and in the time of the Engadgement, 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 enmity 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 defyr’d to be clear ere we had joynd 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 these 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 enmity 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 cenfures 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 well at the second sight as at the first. We trul ye would change thefe your thoughts of us, when yow fee 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 marrs of the progres of pietie we know here: continue in it so long as any think fitt.

What yow speake of reproaches of Mr. Dickson’s ministrick, that they should be putt in the Caufes of a Fast, we doubt it shal not be the feffion’s mind. The late moft shamefull reproaches of his preaching and perfon, too well knowne, were never so much as cognosced 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 ftoakes, and more, in the face of feffion, 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 outmost, and cenured with all possible rigour. Yow may remember when exceeding grofs calumnies, against some of us, judiciallie convicted of fallhood were notwithstanding totallie slighted. The defect we complained of wes the conniveing at the many most scandalous finnes of the other side, as if no such thing ever had been. This still yow seem altogether to misregard. We are not willing to apply to this your neglect, the terrible cenfures 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 senfe, 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 remeade in his owne time, since to us the help of man is vaine. The effect of all our desires, first and laft, is. That without noise, these parts of your paper we touched, may be put in such expressions as shall avoide that evil we spoke of; and that ye would cause add these other open scandalls, a pairt whereof we have named, leaving many more which easilie may be remembered; for, in our judgement, in a day of solenne acknowledgement of the finnes of this place, such things cannot be omitted, without a great deal of undutifullnes both to God and man. The Lord direct yow what to doe in this grave businefs, 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 loveing Brethren,

R. B[ailie].
G. Y[ounge].
H. B[laire].

For Mr. Rous. August 20th 1652.

Right Worshipfull,

Being intreated by the bearer Mistref Lamy, upon the remembrance of old friendship, I make bold to recommend her to your favour. I have been oft a solicitor 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 faithful service to these who now are removed. I am hopeful, by your assistance, she shall obtain 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 solicitous 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 pour 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 iniquity of time, makes me cut 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 languifhe in prifone, 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 blefs 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 reft,

Your affectionate 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 going the next week, as we hear, to visit our Universities. If they be instructed to minister the Tender to us, they must purge out of St. Andrewes Mr. Blair, Mr. Rutherfoord, and Mr. Wood; out of Edinburgh Mr. Dickson; and me out of Glasgow; and thereafter multitudes of our most precious ministers. Whatever differences be among us, yet all of us of any good esteem, are resolved, by God's grace, to suffer what shall be imposed, rather than to quate any article of that Covenant, which, at the solicitation of the Parliament of England, we were brought into. For the tyme we are all very quiet and peaceable; but if, for conscience sake, we shall be wracked, by thefe of whom we have deserved the best things, our silent mourning will cry aloud in the ears of the Lord, to the small advantage of them who trouble us without all cause. If yow be able to prevent this mischief, it will be a good service, not only to God, and many of us his children, but also to thefe who, by troubling us, may procure to themselves, 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 use and wont, joyne with yow in such imployments. 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 promised, a calling of our Commission. I was hoping also for ane account of their conference at St. Andrewes, to have helped us in our conference here; but hearing nothing from yow of either purpoze, I have sent this exprefie to give yow ane account of our proceedings yesterday, the 9th of this instant, as we were desired. There mett in Mr. John Carstairs's chamber, of our mind, Mafters James Ferguflon,

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 Gillespie, John Carstairs, Alexander Dunlop, and Hugh Binning. We flieh 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 fand it thereafter, to have drawne out some difference among ourselves about this proposition, as it's faid it did among yow. The points they required our fenze of wbs: The treatie with the King, the Commifion's anfwer to the Querie, and their anfwer about the Act of Claffies, the conftitution of the Generall Aſsemblie, and the controverted acts thereof. We were willing to declare our mind in all things; bot defyrred alfo to know their fenze of the separation from the forces at Stirling, of the Western remonftrane, of their oppofeing ever fince the publict resolutions of Kirk and State, of their proteftation againft the Generall Aſsemblie, of their erecting of a Commifion, of their giving out Caufes of publict facts, wherein they determine all our controversies, and layes the main caufes of the wrath of God on their opposites proceedings. We did declare our mind unanimouſlie enough in all the first. They did declare their mind als unanimouſlie in the rigour of all the other; fo 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 profeffions to be very defirous 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, fo soon as might be, to fee, 1st, How farr they might be content, without all reſlection on the Generall Aſsemblie, and former Commifion, or any of their Acts, for peace caufe, to lay aside these debates which did cause this present rupture; 2d, To agree what Testimonie to give, fo far as concerned the minifters of Chrift, 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 Prefbyterie, 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
pleafed to help them to come toward fome reall agreeance, may return with diligence to thefe who fent them, and report what they had found either in the two named particulars, or in what elfe yow pleafce to add. I have fent this exprfrefs bearer to yow, to know how ye like of this motion; for howfоver all of us inclined towards it, yet we resolve to follow it no further, if ye be not alike well pleafed with it. If, after consideration, yow think good it be followed, yow then will call to fpake with yow, at St. Andrewes, fuch of the brethren of Fyfe, Perth, and Angus, as yow find expedient; and, on your advertifement, we fhall write to thefe we find moft fitt of Aire and Galloway to meet at Munyboill, of Clydefdale and Dumbarton to meet at Glafgow, of Louthian and the South to meet at Edinburgh. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie will have fome of the other mind ready to wait upon thefe who fhall come from these meetings at what time and place we fhall appoint. If ye find not this courfe good or tymeous, advertifme me with the boy, and there fhall be no more of it. I will write to none to keep this appointment, till I hear from yow, and yow have named both the time and the place, and the matter of the conference, both among ourfelves and our differing brethren. If yow name a time, let it be fuch wherein there may be fpaces to advertife the forenamed parties, first to meet among themselves, and then to fend their commifioners to the common meeting at the place yow fhall name. If yow think fitt, yow may defire the brethren of the North of our mind to meet for the fame purpofe among themselves at Aberdeen. Thefe things would be done with all diligence. Expecting your anfwer, Iremaine,

Your loveing Brother,

Glafgow, Wednefday, 10th December 1652. R. Baylie.

I receaved your letter, and followed all your advyce. Communicate this to Mr. Andrew Honyman, whose letter alfo I receaved, and thanks him for it. There is very great noife here of Mr. Blair's letter to Mr. James Duhrhame, and of his fpheces in your late conference, to the very great disad-vantage of the late Generall Afiemblie and Commiffion, contrare to his own former profeffions. If this could be gotten amended by yow there, we would be very glad of it, both for the publack caufe and for that reverend brother his owne reputation.
For the Correspondents with the Presbyterie of Glasgow in the
Planting of Leinzie.  

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

The Commission of the Kirk, according to the act of the Generall Assembly, 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 themselfe griev'd by the Presbyterie's delaying any longer to plant that kirk according to the acts of the late Generall Assembly; We, undersubfcrivers, having with much patience waited on and us'd all means in our power to move the Presbyterie at laft to plant that exceeding long desolate congregation, are now reallie griev'd to fee 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 laft, according to our express commissiion, 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 necessarie 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 defyre, albeit for the time absent from toune, Masters Robert Young, Gabriell Cunynghame, and Mr. Archibald Deneestone.

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 disjoind 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.
Right Reverend,

Yow had no cause to wonder for that which wes expresslie told yow, and necelkarlie did follow from the principles we walked upon. These Brethren who arose and left us were, yow know, not acknowledged by us as the Presbyterie after our laft protestation, but these who fatt still with the Commissioners, to performe the duetie recommended to them by a speciall act of the Generall Assemblie and Commission of the Church, were taken by us for the only allowable Presbyterie of Glasgou. Their delegation of ministers to preach in Leinzie to us was a lawfull and expedient presbyteriall act: That I was one of thefe who were sent, was burthenfome to me and truelie against my heart; but being unanimouslie defired and voted to goe there the nixt Sunday, I thought it my duetie to obey. My purpose is to give no offence to any, but sincerelie to preach the word of God, as the Lord gives me grace, for the best advantage of the kingdome of Christ in the hearts of my hearers, as I shall be enabled. If in this purpose any unadvyfed people shall doe violence either to me or others, it shall be my endeavoure not to deserve any such affront; but if yow know tumults to be designed, I shall pray God to pardone the actors and fomentors thereof, and remaine,

Your Brother,

R. B.

For Mr. James Durhame.

As I thank yow heartilie for your kinde and brotherlie warning, so shall I intreat yow for that Christian duetie to imploie your power with these rafhe people that they finne not against God, nor hurt the Lord's servants who never wronged them, and are only going about that which they conceave a part of their calling, and the Lord's service for the good of people's soules. Herein if yow be deficient, yow cannot bot be grieved for it hereafter when yow see ill done, which possiblie if yow had pleafed yow might
have prevented. However, I am in conscience obliged to goe about that which I conceive my duety, let the Lord permitt what obstruction 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 small partie, in regard of the whole, who in reafon ought not to prejudice the right of the farre moft part, I should 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, faifthfull Minifters of Jesus Christ, within the City of London. January 21st 1653.

Reverend and Dear Brethren,

Yow have been pleased to accept fo kindly of my former letter, as the bearer, Mr. Wilkie, made me to understand, that I am emboldened to importune yow with this second. My long experience of your respects to me, and more of your pious and compafsionate dispoſition to all our fuffering Brethren, made me expext no les than what Mr. Wilkie wrote of your kind acceptance of my recommendation, and your readinefs to endeavour by your best advye and afliftance, the relief of our numerous fupplicants, in their very sad condition reprefented to yow by that gentleman our agent there. We were once in good hopes, to the comfort of many here, of fome considerable support from your Parliament. But the unexpected increase of their weighty affaires which hes interveened, hes much blafted all our former expectation. The long and chargeable attendance of our agent, without appearance of any fruit, makes us inclyne to recall him. The diapointment of our fair hopes will add to the affliction of our wracked people, but 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 successe in his negotiation, worthie of his charge and paines. In the meantime our prayers to God shall be for yow and the rest of our Brethren there, that in this day of darknes the light which the Lord hes 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 yow for every service his Majestie calleth for at your hands, fo prayes

Your very loveing 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 content, 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 Congregationall 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, Dumbartan, Paisley, Lithgow, Biggart, or any where else in Scotland, we have not heard that your Honours hes quarrelled that right. The planting of some Kirks among us at this tyme lyes heavalie upon us, not only as upon the Presbyterie of the bounds, but by a speciall appointment of the Generall Assembly, and a renewed ordinance from the Commiffion of the Church. A very numerous, and now almost three years defolate congregation, hes long been most earnestlie 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 wes 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 dutie 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 sure in France the Prince, though Popifh, 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 Assemblie and Commission of the Church, subscriyved at our direction by our Moderator,

Mr. Hew Blair.

Glasgow, February 8th 1653.

For our Worthis 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. Gillepsie's being Principal of your Colledge; and hearing yow are not at all unanimous in your defyres of the fame; bot that some doe either directly and expresslie or obliquely and secretly oppose it, which may adminifter some ground of discouragement to him to accept thereof; We doe therefore desire to hear from yow, and clearlie to receave it, under your owne hands, who are willing and approve of the fame, and who, and how many doe oppose it, and their reasons for the fame. This we defyre may be speedily returned unto us under your owne hands, that so this neceffary work may not be retarded and obstrucled; but that we may have occasion to expresse ourselfles, as we defyre, to be your loveing Friends,

Geo. Smyth.
Edw. Moysley.
Rob. Saltonstall.

Edinburgh, February 1ft 1653.
My Letter to the Judges Anent the Grounds of my Protestation against Mr. Patrick Gillespie's Entrée in the Place of Principall. (6)

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 was presented unto us, I profeft 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 shoulde 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 by fyde 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 sundrie 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 privileges of our Univerfitie, whereunto I am tyed by oath, to make choice by a free election, as of all the rest of the Masters, so of our Principall. And when we have made choice to try his qualifications so far as we finde it expedient; but where neither a voice in election nor any place to try is left to us, though I will not oppose, yet I cannot defy nor invite any man to accept such a kind of call as infringes our privileges.

(6) 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 Gillefpie stands a deposed minister by a Generall Assemblie, which to me was a very lawfull one, and which in my judgement, I am obliedged to obey. Wherefore till he have satisfied the Generall Assemblie 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 Gillefpie is not furnished with that measure of learning which the place of our Principal does neceffarily require. These things, at your Honours commands, I doe subferyve.

Glasgow, 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 inclosed anfuer, which now we send unto yow with ane express of our owne, humbly intreating that, in your accustomed justice and equitie in the like cases, notwithstanding of any misinformation from these who differ from us, yow would be pleased to believe, that in this whole matter we have indéavourred to doe no more than what in conscience we did esteem ourselves obliedged to doe, and without all purpose to doe the leaft offence to any of your Honours. For what ever may be the difference of our judgments from yow in some things, yet it hes been, is, and shall be our resolution, so farr as the Lord will give us wifdome, to walk so humbly and circumfpectly therein, as to be loath to give any just ground of exception against us. Beseeching that we may finde this benigne and charitable interpretation with your Honours, we rest,

Your Honours, in all Christian dutie,

R. Baylie.

Geo. Young.

Glasgow, Thursday, February 10th 1653.
For our Honoured Friends Mr. Robert Baylie and Mr. George Young, at Glasgow.

Gentlemen,

Whereas power and authority is given to us, the Commissioners for Visiting the Universities, Colleges, and Schools of learning in Scotland, by the Parliament of England, to see all vacant Churches in this land supplied with godly and able ministers, according to our former declaration, we conceive it fitt, at this time also, by letter to give you notice thereof, that so ye may forbear to attempt to settle any minister in any church within your Presbytery, without our approbation, lest ye contract a further trouble upon yourselves, and the people whom ye thinke to pleazure therein. This is the desire of Geo. Smyth.

Edinburgh, February 10th 1653.

We defyre this may be communicat to the rest of the Ministrie that are with yow.

For his Reverend and Well-Beloved Brother, Mr. David Dickson, at Edinburgh.

Reverend Brother,

You will perceave by the inclosed what stormes Mr. Patrick Gillepsie has been brewing against us from the English; and indeed, if God prevent it not, he is like to make them fall upon me the first, of all the ministers of Scotland, but not the last, that so he may have, without any more impediment, the full rule of our Colledge and Presbytery, which long he has been seeking, and is now on point of receaving 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 necessitie was laid upon us, not to be hindered in doing the duties of our calling upon ane human unlawfull command, yow 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 Colvile, though, in some circumstances, they did modeftlie differ that day from the rest. We conceived ourfelves necessitate to goe on, without delay, to the ordination, not only because we fand no jufit nor legall cause of any delay, which all acknowledged; but alfo, on the delay of never fo few dayes, we faw a great many more difficulties coming upon us than we durft 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 yow may doe your beft endeavour to hold off us now, and yourelseyf next, this storme. The Judges hes their meeting on Monday upon these matters. I wish that yow, with Mr. H. M’Kell, and Mr. G. Hutchefone, did fpeake with the Judge Smyth together, at leaft that yourfelly did fpeake with him to take our letter in good part; yow muft doe it some time on Sunday, or not at all. I have fent yow two doubles of all, the one, when yow there have considered them, to be fent to Mr. James Wood, with my letter to him, and the other to Mr. Robert Ker, with the first fure hand Mr. Alexander can find. Yow had need to take course for a very frequent Commission at your next quarterly meeting. It lyes on yow to give fair warning, and tymeous advertisement, that the spoiling of the liberties of the Kirk of the highest confequence, and the corrupting of our Universities, may not be done before our eyes, and we be altogether silent; fuch pulillanimitie and unfaithfullnefs will provoke the Lord, grieve and ftumble many, incourage our adverfaries, and nothing prevent our persecution. The Lord help and direct yow in this busines. Let me hear from yow with this my exprefs. The testimoniall yow desired, when I considered it with your fonne, I thought not meet to crave it, for the reasons which will fatiffie yow at meeting. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother,

Glafgow, February 10th 1653.

R. B.
Mr. Patrick Gillepie, after advysement 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 Professior, Mr. John Young, to be a member of his separate Presbyterie, though neither minifter nor ruleing elder, which is likely the other will accept of. He is likely to summon us before the Civile Judge for the delyverance 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 advysement, we have thought fit 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 Gillepie 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 go abroad, it will irritate them almost as much as any thing else: we are on a ticklish busines; 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, you will consider 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 you think fitt. You 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 you will not condemn us of rashness, who would not be stopped by the English letter to doe our dutie, and execute the commission laid on us by the Assembly, 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 floppe. The Lord his will be done. I hope to see you at the Commision; I wish it may be frequent. The Lord be with you.

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 receaved this day. You complain 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 summoned us to a meeting, to hear what Mr. Patrick Gillespie would say to the Facultie. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, was sicke; the Dean of Facultie, Mr. George Young, was absent, on what occasion I yet know not; the affeffors were not desired by the beddell to meet; the four
Regents and I keept with the Rector. Mr. Patrick Gillespie told us, that
though as yet he could not fullie nor finallie accept the Principall's charge he
was invited to, yet he would offer us this ouverture, That till the Generall
Assemblie, 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 towne, to oversee the discipline of the house, and to
doe what else he was able in that charge. When he was removed, I defyrred
them to advyfe till to-morrow before we concluded anything in a matter of
that consequence. Two of the principall members were absent; none of
the affeflers were summoned. The matter was totallie new; a Principall in
part, not fullie for a time, not finallie, bot till a Generall Assemblie 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
judiciallie refuifed all invitatton. Such things were great novelties, de-
serveing one night's advyfement; notwithstanding the Rector put it to a
vote, and caried to accept Mr. Patrick's offer, to admit him prefentlie Princi-
pall, and take his oath of doeing his duetie in that charge. Against this I
did protest, as a violation of the rights of the Church of Scotland, and
privilede of our Univerfitie, and for diverse other caufes, 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 reafones, calmly,
without heat, yet fadly; but when I had fayd all, without any scruple he
accept[ed the] charge, and gave his oath of faithfull administration; and
prefently moved, that our factor, a near allye of mine, might be removed, and
Mr. John Spreule choifen 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 Wariflone's. I thought it needfull

7 "The Nullity of the pretended Assembly at Saint Andrewes and D̄ndee: Wherein are
contained. The Representation for Adjournment; The Protestation and Reasons thereof; to-
gether 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 presentlie with five or fix sheets, or at most within ten, of Animadversions, setting down the points whereto their controversy is now drawne, especiallie the heads of the Western Remonstrance, which there, and the grosleft of their tenets, are all clearlie 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 utterlie abhorred the labour, and cast by the book, sending my advyce to Mr. Ker that yow should not meddle with it, whose way is infinite, but send some few short notes, if yow 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, succincft, handfome, modeft taking answer, I conceive would doe it better than any other, and these still are my thoughts of that matter. Will yow let Lockier triumph whole yeares? O lazinefs, lazinefs! To the answer of my Lord Warriftone, I would prefix the Western Remonstrance, and Mr. Blair’s censure on it. Muircraft’s letter to Lancashire was Mr. Rutherford’s, as himself fayes. See the Commiffion may be frequent. The Lord help us, our ftorm is but growing.

Your Brother,

Glasgow, Mononday, February 14th 1653.

Your Brother,

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. GEORGE YOUNG, FOR EDINBURGH.
APRIL 8TH 1653.

Our Difflenting Brethren being extraordinarie diligent to fill all vacant places with no other but opposers of the laft Generall Assemblie, 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 designes, are now almoft fainting, and if not assisted at this time by our brethren, are almoft inclining to fit 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 difsent alone and fruitlefs proteftations.

1. What extraordinary toyle we had in the planting of the two last vacant places of Cathcart and Leinzie, the countrey knowes. The Baronie of Glafgow is now on the flage; the Seffion and people are fullic in our mind, except a very few. Our difsenting brethren are labouring by these few to have a minifter oppofite to the Generall Asfemblie; if they obtain this, our caufe will hereby receive a wound almoft incurable. To prevent this, the only remedie we can thinke on for the time, is to gett to that people fome eminent man, without all exception. Doubtles Mr. James Hamiltone is one fuch. We have fpoken of him, and all that people, as we think, without exception of one man, would embrace him moft gladlie: we know the Towne of Edinburgh is not able to pay all the minifters, and gladlie would be content to have fewer. We think Mr. James Hamiltone, (however als-weell beloved as any there,) yet if he could be difmiffed to this easy and weell-provided charge, would have als fair ane occasion to ferve his matter, and provyde for his family, as ever he had or can readilie have; his being here would ftrengthen and encourage us exceedinglie. If Mr. Robert Dowglafs, and Mr. David Dickfon, and fome few more, would befriend us, we think the Prefbyterie of Edinburgh and Town-Counfell would pity us and him, and grant that paroche and our Prefbyteric's earnest fupplication for his tranfportation. To try if this favour may be obtained, we have fent Mr. George Young to the parties chiefly interefted. If this cannot be obtained, we truelie know not what to doe, but to give our oppofers that moft confulderable Church, and with it all other that fhall vaike among us hereafter. We will fitt downe and mourne, but we can ftryve no longer, if our brethren affift us not in this particular.

2. Farder, in our Synod the next week we will prefs, That men defepated and fuppended by the Generall Asfemblie, and elders avowing their proteftation againft the Generall Asfemblie, may not have voice among us: when they, contrare to expreffe Acfts of Asfembles, will fitt and voice, and by their voice carry the Synod to all they will, fhall not we, (when the more part,) when fuch voters are numbered, goe and keep the Synod by ourfelves? or fhall we goe and leave them? or fhall we fitt ftil with a proteftation, and let them goe on to appoint purging committees? We think it beft 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 Assembly, have gone to try and admit Mr. James Ramsay to the Leinzie, according to the order of our Kirk, our different brethren procured an 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 imprisonment? or shall he forbear?

4. When the English has put in a depofed minister to be Principall of our Colledge, for the poisoning of the seminaries, is there no remeif after our Protestation? shall we fit till in silence?

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

1. Though by our threats of ane Anti-Synod, we obtained the dissolution of our Synod before consultation, yet our dissenters, by the cannie conveyance of some, obtained a consultative committee for our differences; which we could not well get put off, though we saw it would prove at length very factious to us. Yow will read the tenor of it. The first work, and gene-

rallie intended, is to visithe the Presbyterie of Glasgowe. What shall we doe herein? We, with much ado, have gotten our answer delayed for twenty dayes, till, in a secret way, we might have your adwyce. We purpose to offer Union in the termes the Generall Assembly 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
certainly it will, we must delay our joining with them who, without cause,
separate from us, till the Generall Assemblie or Commission of the Kirk
shall otherwise appoint. Our joining 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 diversely.

2. We find more of their crueltie against Mr. James Ramfay, to pro-
nounce some kind of new sentence against him, notwithstanding of his declining
of them as no judicatorie: yea, they purpose to plant his church with
some other, over the head of all heritors, seccion, 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 perstones,
the chief of these whom our brethren stirred up to oppose Mr. James Ramfay.

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

4. Yestreday there was delivered to us a letter, subservyved by Mr. Andrew
Cant, directed to Mr. Robert Baylie and Mr. James Ferguson, to be com-
municat 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 enemie to con-
tinue the yoke of strangers for ever on their native countrie, and to lay a
neceffitie on the confciences of people, to exclude, without all cause, the
King, the Nobilitie, and all who will not be profelytes to them, from possiffling
their civile rights. It seems to us exceeding neceffarie to caufe reviffe all the
wrytes of these schismatique 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 reasons against their principall tenets, and answers to the chiefe objections: We think Masters John Smith, Robert Hamilton, and Robert Ker, would be put to this tale.

For Mr. Robert Dowglass. April 8th 1653.

Sir,

As our prayers to God were for your gracious upholding, dureing the time of your imprisonement, fo have we heartilie blessed God for your happy delyverance and safe return to your station, 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 sent one of our number, Mr. George Young, to salute you and your fellow prifoners, and rejoyce with you in our name for all the kindnefs the Lord hath shown to you and to us; yea, the whole land, in your perfones, dureing the time of your suffering for the publick, and for us in your common caufe. The God of Heaven be blessed who hath mercifullie preferred you all, and returned you free to us of all, and adorned with much praise to the grace of God, who, all the tyme of your tryell has enabled you to walk examplarly in faithfullnefs, courage, humilitie, patience, and wifdome, for the great comfort of many of both nations, though to the confusion and griefe of some. We truft the fame grace of God shall enable you to the end to goe through what remains of farder tryell, and make others in these miserable times to undergoe, by your example, with the greater cheerfullnefs and confidence, what piece of affliction the Lord shall think fitt to meaure out unto them. It is no small joy and strength to us all, that we have gotten you againe, to be advysed and directed by you, as we wont to be in all our perplexed caufes. For the time, there be sundry things we have directed the bearer to intreat your counfell and assistance. If you think it fitt, at the firft houre of your leasure, we wish you called to your chamber, Masters David Dickfon, John Smith, James Hamilton, Mungo Law, or any you think fitt to hear our brother, in what we have inucted him to propone unto you, that, after consultation, you may fend us your advyce what to doe, for at this time we have great need. The Lord's belt blessings be upon you, and preserve you long with us in these very miserable and dangerous times. So
prays 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 defyre with Mr. George Young, Mr. James Fergusfon, and Mr. Patrick Colville, are come in. Mr. James hes ane 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 goe to the preffe, for good advantage to the truth, till our other wyrites 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 doe nothing in the public; for the time. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie 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 meantime, 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 unreafonable men, to further their error and destructive desigines. Mr. James Fergusfon will informe yow 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 public. Mr. Robert Dowglafs muft help us, or we muft faint, and give all over. So soon as my familie will permitt me, I purpose to come in and see yow. After yow have spoken together, faill not to wryte your advyce to me, befydes what yow think fitt to fpeak by tongue, with Mr. James [Fergusfon]: his pen, yow fee, is exceeding good: I wish yow had from him some observations on the Nullity. The Lord help yow.

Your Brother, 

R. B.
For Mr. Mungo Law.

Mungo,

I have defyred Mr. David Dickfon to shew yow and Mr. John Smith my letter to him, which I pray yow call for, and consider. Mr. James Fergusfon will informe yow farther. Let me know, with Mr. James, what hopes and encouragements we may have from yow, whether compassion, wisdome, and zeale, will cause yow to let Mr. James Hamilton come to us, and confirme him against these unreasonable creatures plotts; but above all, to tell us, if, by God's bleffing, yow can foe reprefent truth to Mr. Moysley, as he, on the exceeding falte informations of our opposites, will not goe on to make havock of our churches with foe tyrannous and high oppreffion, that I persuade myfelfe 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 laft letter to my Lord Wigton, he hath discharged him to preach in the neighbour churches, which is to make his cafe worse than it wes; and yet yesterday, at our meeting, when we put Mr. Patrick Gillespie to it, to read all these terrible fcandalls, for which he wont to fay, we would depofe his Father, there wes nothing but the two particulars ye heard, which not one of our meeting, bot one wise man, did think deferved any farther than a Prefbyteriall rebuke: I hear since that two other als wes [for] some farther. Let me know if yet yow can gett Judge Moysley off him, and off my good neighbour, who will never ceafe to fyre all with new motions, week after week, according to his refleffnefs. 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 advyfed to take places from the English, must be excluded; the Sessions protesting againft the General Assembly we will hardly admit; they will exclude fuch multitudes for one caufe or for ane other, that the end will be the setting up of a new refyned 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 als.
For Mr. Rodgers's Mother-in-Law, at Newcastle.

Mistres,

Yours of the 11th of March I receaved: but before this I could not give you a particular account of your desires; the liberal 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 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 general. I doe compassionate the afflicted condition, both of your body, mind, and estate, whereof you write to me; but 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, obliidges you to have hope and confidence of ane happie 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 registreate in the Lord's book, and your tears put up in his bottle, to comedowne in a showre of healing grace; you know not when, only be waiting and hopeing, were it in death, above hope, and all you can see, that your Covenant promisses are keep 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 injoy 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 forfake that which our conscience sayes to us is truely 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
must bear till the Lord returne, and cause his owne face shyne clearer among us. The Lord’s best blessings be with your spirit and familie. I rest,

Your Brother and Servant in Christ,

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 see Mr. Dowglafs 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 absend from her, and yet I have bot small hopes of her life. Upon your last letter with Mr. James Ferguson, I have done my beft 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 ftrain that might bring me to cumber. I think Mr. James Ferguson’s letter may well goe abroad. Cause Mr. Dowglafs joyne with yow to sett on Mr. James Durhame effectuallie: he will be with yow the next week; he hes declared himselff 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 befoe his purpose: the man is of exceeding great weight deservedly. I have defired him to write Case-Divinitie,1 wherein he is excellent, and daylie growes. If yow further not Mr. James Hamilton’s dimifion to us, yow lose our Presbyterie, and inbeares to the publict 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 cafe; if it be neglected, yow will have many more fuch shortlie; and, however, even his cafe 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 foone 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 send for them, for I have no other legible copy.

[To Mr. Richard Robertson. July 26th 1653.]

Mr. Richard,

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

These passages I have shortly pointed at, wishing you not only to scrape them out for our satisfaction, as very scandalous errors, which I see you are now willing enough to doe; but really to mind their sin before God, and to mourn for your unhappiness, that in these miserable times have been the first who have labored to corrupt our Universitie, with diverse pernicious and soul 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, you 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 Blasphemies, in denying the Unitie of God, or the unsuceesive 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 necessarly 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 you make me worse than Vorstius, truely Sir, in the section after that de Subjijlentia, I expreslie oppose and refute Vorstius, who questions God's simplicitie, and I anfwer his arguments as I can. If I be not deceived, when Vorstius calls Eternitie suceseive, he makes it some inward accident in God, (which is blaspemie I think,) but I mean no such thing, but only that *hodie et cras* coexift not; and, therefore, when God coexists to this day, he doth not *simul* coexift 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 unadvyfed 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 heaviest accusations you lay on me.


For his Reverend and Dear Brother Mr. Calamy, Minister at London.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

This, my third to you, is only to give thanks for your kind acceptance, and answerung in deed, of my two former. Mr. Wilkie, our commissioner, hes reported so much of your care to us, to promove to the uttermost of your power the charitable supply of our distressed people, that all of us are much obliedged to blefs God in your behalfe, who hes made yow instrumentall to
procure a liberall 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
go on for the perfyteing of what is so weell begun, even to give your beft
advyce and affiltance to this fame gentleman, whom we have fent againe, with
fome others, to receive, in the city and countrey, what fhall be freely offered
by the pious benevolence of thefe whose hearts God fhall ftirr up, by yow and
your brethren, to contribute to that work of compaffion and charitie.

At this time I have no more to adde, but this one word, to let yow know,
That on the 20th of July laft, when our Generall Aslemblie was fett in the
ordinarie tyme and place, Lieutenant-Colonell Cotterall befett the Church with
fome rattes of mufqueteirs and a troup of horfe: himfelf, (after our faft, where-
in Mr. Dickfon and Mr. Dowglafs had two gracious fermons,) entered the Af-
semblie-houfe, and, immediately after Mr. Dickfon the Moderator his prayer,
required audience; wherein he inquired, If we did fitt there by the authority
of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England? or of the Commanders-
in-Chiefe of the Englifh forces? or of the Englifh Judges in Scotland? The
Moderator replyed, That we were ane Ecclefiafticall synod, ane Spirituall
court of Jefus Chrift, which medled not with any thing Civile; that our
authoritie wes from God, and establi{hed by the Lawes of the land yet fta-
ning unrepealed; that, by the Solemn League and Covenant, the moft of the
Englifh army flood obliedged to defend our Generall Aslemblie. When fome
fpeeches of this kind had paffed, the Lieutenant-Colonell told us, his order
wes to diffolve us; whereupon he commanded all of us to follow him, elfe
he would drag us out of the rowme. When we had entered a Protestation
of this unheard-of and unexampled violence, we did ryfe and follow him;
he ledd us all through the whole ftreets a myle out of the towne, encompaf-
ing us with foot-companies of mufqueteirs, and horfemen without; all the
people gazing and mourning as at the faddeft {pectacle they had ever feen.
When he had ledd us a myle without the towne, he then declared what
further he had in commiffion, That we fhould not dare to meet any more
above three in number; and that againft eight o’clock to-morrow, we fhould
depart the towne, under paine of being guiltie of breaking the publith peace:
And the day following, by found of trumpet, we were commanded off towne
under the paine of prefent imprifonment. Thus our Generall Aslemblie, the
glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is, by your soule diarie, 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 runne downe with water, we fight to God against whom we have sinned, and wait for the help of his hand; but from those who opprest us we deferved no evill. We hear a noise of harder 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 sore persecution which, God willing, we purpose to endure all patience and faith, giving just offence to none.

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

Your Brother to serve you,

Glafigow, 27th July 1653.

R. Baylie.

For his Reverend and Dear Brother, Mr. Clerk, Minister at London.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Your kind and respectfull letter I received from Mr. Wilkie, our townes commisioner. Your assistance to him, in furthering the charitie of your neighbours to our distressed people, I assure [you], was a very good and pious work. I must intreat you 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 well, and thinks you 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, as will be ground enough for a compleat narrative


4 Vide supra, p. 184. Clarke in one of his works inserts an account of Boyd of Trochrig.
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 alfo to fend to yow, I mean your sometime good friend Mr. Henderfone, a truely heroick divine, for piety, learning, wil dome, eloquence, humilitie, single 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 refl.

Your Brother to serve yow,

Glaflgow, 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 frefh, and oft sweet to my mind, in these moft lamentable tymes. It is one of the grounds of my hope, that the Lord will not be pleased to permitt these confusions, and these oppressions, 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 preferve men of eminent parts and grace, bot to be not only present witnesles of truth and right, bot, in the Lord's approaching season, powerfull iftruments to profligate, by their light, the present errors and confusions. I did write to some of my dear brethren there, to affift the bearer heirof in that lamentable buflinesfs he wes sent to agent. I wrote not to yow, thinking yow had lived at Cambridge, and not at London; but seeing it is otherwife, I intreat yow alfo to consider the gentleman's informations, and further him in his work. I affure yow his papers and reports are true: I shall need to fay no more to yow of this matter.

I have long continued in Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes debt: I purpofoed never to have payed these creditors, for these good reafons 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. I purpose with the next to send my papers to Mr. Calamy. If you be in town, and have a little leisure, I wish you may revise them, and let them go, or suppress them, as you and your orthodox brethren shall think fit. The Lord be merciful to the distressed nations, and furnish you, 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 you there to the Lord’s grace.

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

Glasgow, October 8th 1653.

R. Baylie.

**From Mr. John Vauch,** in the Castle of Edinburgh.

Reverend Brother,

I have many times been mindfull of you since I came to this place, and was resolved now and then to have written to you oftner than once, were it not that two things hindered me; the one was, my fear lest ye might come to danger by my corresponding with you at this time; the other was, my very earnest desire to lurk, even in this place, not thinking myself worthie (the Lord knowes) to be taken notice of by any, but rather to have my habitation amongst the owls of the desart, because of my very great usefulness and fruitlesness amongst the sons of men. And though this my desire of lurking (truly not for any fear of danger in doing of my dutie, but upon the fore-mentioned account) has been much in my heart and amongst my wishes. I have been so far from attaining it, that though the malice and envy of my evill neighbours, and other unnaturall countreymen, (the Lord in his wonderfull providence so disposing it,) I am brought to the top of this rock, where (I cannot but acknowledge it to his praise) I find my God graciously present with me, furnishing me with courage, joy, peace, and content-

5 In his answer entitled “The Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, Vindicated from the exceptions of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tombes,” which was printed at London, 1655, 4to.

7 Vauch 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 he has been in the mind, either of these who are in power and put me here, or of these, who being their favourites, he set 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 myselfe, yet I believe that not only the truly gracious, honest, and loyall, in the land, shall get good thereof hereafter; but even these also, who in their hatred he had a hand in my affliction, imprisonment, and persecution. And amongst other mercies, I cannot but 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 he 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 defyre, that privatelie and prudentially, 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, but rather to be resolute and bold in the Lord, in doing of their duetie, and particularlie in adhering to that point in hand, which by men is inhibited, omitted, and controverted; for certainlie, as the Lord shall get glory, and truth ane 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 was made to tremble at the first alarum, and the matter lookt somewhat terrible while it was afar off, yet since I was helped of the Lord to buckle with it, and by submisison to his will, to lay it fully over upon himself, 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 flapend, 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 so whatever he sends I shall make it welcome: Lo! here am I, let his Majesty do with me what seems good in his eyes.

I say no more, but referring you to the inclosed paper, I earnestly beg the help of your prayers, and remains,

Your loving Brother,

November 11th 1653. J. Jamisone.

The Earl of Lauderdaleill to Mr. Robert Baillie.

Reverend and Worthie Freind,

These sufferings which it hath pleased God to call me to this long time past, having disabled me from doing any service to my freinds, I have forborne to give them the unneceffarie trouble of letters; yet seeing I am informed you do often remember me, I could not but returne you my acknowledgments for the continuation of your kindenes, and to intreat the help of your prayers, that the Lord wold sanctifie more and more this condition unto me, and afford me more and more testimonies how good it is for me that I have been afflicted. All I shall tell you is, that I have a greater measure of health then I could have expected in this cours, so different from the life I formerly led. Althoug in that I finde great prejudice by my long restraint; yet it pleases God to give me some measure of patience and of contentednes under the rod; more then you wold have looked for, who know my former temper.

I will not say any thing of publick concern which I doe not at all medle with. All I shall desire of you is, that you wold remember me to all those you know to be my freinds, and to my sometimes fellow prisoners of your owne coate, when you see any of them. Be pleased to continue your kindenes to, and your prayers for,

Your most affectionat freind,

Tower, the 17th of December 1653. Lauderdaleill.

For my reverend and worthie freind, Mr. Robert Bailly,

Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. 8

8 The original letter thus addressed, is preserved in Wodrow MSS. Folio Vol. XLIX, No. 27.
For Mr. William Taylor, Moderator of the Provinciall 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, but among your neighbours, I give yow very heartie thanks in name of my brethren, and many honest people here, assureing 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 aduyce 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. 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 incourage him to that good work: I had spoked some of your stationers for that end. When I come to Scotland, 1647, I moved the Generall Assembly, with the assistance of Mr. Blair and Mr. Gilleespie, to appoint him, out of their not very great plenty, two hundred pounds sterling, for the perfecting of this work. This foume we caused faithfully to deliever him there, the Assembly, on our report, nothing doubting of the gentleman’s German, and candid honestlie to performe his undertaking. When some tyme had gone over, and the book did not appear, I wrote once and againe of his promife, and my undertaking for him: at laft he returned me somewhat a bitter answer, refuseing to goe on in that work, unless your Parliament or Stationers would give him further consideration. For this I and my brethren were both greeved and ashamed. I think, for a leffe foume, 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 has 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 possibly 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 consider of this motion for the publick good. The translation of the whole Dutch Bible I think needfuls, but 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 safely 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, but the totall everfion 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 trac't 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-fworne, and covenanted duties to God, Church, King, and Kingdome.

3. To waken, by pithie exhortations, unto a great mourning, privatelic and
publiclie, together and apart, to crying and wrestling with the Lord for mercy, grace, and deliverance, from our great finnes and fore judgements.

4. To exhort unto the conscientious keeping of all the articles of our Covenant, in this hour of darkness, wherein allurements, terours, and evil 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 profile, after the studie of Scripture, the serius reading of our precious Confession, Catechisme, and Directorie, for the establishing of our heart against the hereties of the Anabaptists, Antinomians, Antitrinitarians, Familists, Seekers, and Atheists; also the diligent perfall of the Propositions for government against the schismatick errors of the Independents, Brownists, Erastians, 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 speak, in the bowells of tender compassion, and yet in the just and necessary zeal 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 wisdom and fear of God, to speak a word, tentilie and cautiously, 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 evil, and to endeavour to keep all possible charitie in their owne hearts towards them who differ; and to watch carefullie, lest 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 misled.

8. To endeavour the composing of the hearts of people to live quietlie and peaceablelie 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 perfone, for their necessary abstinence from all they know to be finne against God.

9. Lastlie, 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 Hutchesone and Mr. Hugh M’Kell to the Remonstrators, particularlie to my Lord Warriestone, my Lord Brodie, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie; who refused to accept of them.

For My Lord Lauderdale. 9  Glasgow, February 10th 1654.

Sir,

That your late short one, and your long one a year agoe, was not answered, and that yow had no frequent aneugh letters from my evill hand, came not from want of good-will; for except one whom I knew you would be content, [there is] none of my afflicted countreymen, whom I use to remember more either to God or man than yourfelf: my desire to be silent and keep no correspondence in this evill time, was the only caufe of it. Bot understanding your miscontent with it, I thought fitt to tell yow that I was much refrehed to fee under your hand the submission of your spirit to the incumbent calamitie. It was often my fear it should have broken yow both in body and mind long before this; bot since God has spared your life, which to my apprehension was in great hazard, more ways than one or two, and has given yow to put your mouth in the duft, and take your very heavie chastifements out of the Lord’s hands humblie and lovinglie, I am very hopefull your issue shall be good. Continue your studies to better your knowledge, whereof I have heard much by your late companions; bot above all, your religious exercises of mortification of all known vanities. As it is often my prayer to God, fo for all is come and gone, it’s my prettie confident hope, that these many and great endeuments which God has given to yow, and yow by his great mercie, I hear, have improven, shall yet be imploied for the good and comfort of many.

1 This letter seems from Baillie’s MS. to have been addressed “To John Langtoung,” 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 cousin Mrs. Kennedy, that did much refresh me. Such sweet submission and eminent grace cannot but be looked on by God and blest. I must break of. I am just what I want to be to all men and to you.

Your's,

R. B.

For Jeremie Whittaker, Minister at London.  

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 with all your kind remembrance of me, I could not but give you hearty thanks for both. I am glad to know you are yet to the fore. I believe it goes the better with many for your intercessions to your Master, which, with delight, I remember went to be very gracious and singularly melting. We here are groaning to God under many heavy pressours. The beauty, strength, and order of our ecclesiastick meetings are well near gone, I grant much by our own 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 Commission, and giving a liberty to any who will to profess many grievous errors, when we did expect, in performance of a very solemnly 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; but the conscience of our just deservings, not at all from men, but the Lord, makes us put our mouth in the duff, and acknowledge it for great mercy that we are not yet consumed, but have yet any kind of subsistence. I shall at this tyme say no more to you, but earnestly defyre you would continue your prayers to the Lord Jesus for the defolate Church of Scotland, that the Lord would restore us, as we were that day when love and compassion drew us in a Covenant with you. The Lord be with you,

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 thick cloud which now overshaddows us all dispelled.

February 10th 1654.
Your Brother in the Lord to bleffe God and pray for yow.

For Mr. James Fergusson.\(^3\)

James,

It's lyke yow and I shall wear out of acquaintance. If your leasure served, I wish yow took a start for a night that we might have one hour's clatter. If this cannot conveniently be, as yow left last with me, anent the Synod this is my purpose: howsoever funder of our Brether, and thefe 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 earneft endeavour to keep together upon our ordinary protestation, if so our Brether be content on the nameing 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 neceffitie on us to fitt by ourfelves. However, all thinks it neceffary that we be fo frequent, ministers and elders, as we can. Yow will not faill to be in tymeously on the Monday, for it must be yow and Mr. Durhame who muft deall betwixt us to keep us together, and bear witnes on whose fault the breach comes. It were a pitie if your mind shoule content to defert 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 leaft dinn, yow may have in whom yow can againft that time, and to advyfe what elfe is needfull. Shall others for evill be fo active, and keep fo frequent meetings farr and near, and we still fit looking one upon another while all be loft. The Lord be with yow.

Your Brother.

Wednesday, 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.
Cousigne,

I think yow marvell not at my long and unusuall silence: Warre being flameing betwixt the lands of our abode, though neither yow nor I have any interest therein, yet the paffage 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 subfcryved and ready to be proclaimed, I refume my old way of letting yow know the true condition both of myfelf, and of our Colledge, Church, and Countrey; expecting the like from yow of your affaires there, and of the world abroad, at your firft opportunitie.

I have had many a weary heart these tymes bygone, for many a croffe accident both private and public. But still the goodnefs of God upheld me, and to this day hes protected and affisted me in every thing, and given to me a comfortable fubfiffence, rather more as leffe than any of my neighbours, blessed be his holy name. After a long decaying and fickness my moft gracious and vertuous companion wes removed June 7th 1653. In the midst of a great and just grieфе I had this mixture of comfort, that, to the full satisfaction of all, in her whole life, fickness and death, the grace and widome 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 fix children weell as I could have expected or wished. Befyde my ordinarie labours, I have gotten my Hebrew Praxis, with much fascherie, at laſt, from the preſſe; also, I expected to have had my Catechifė, and Anſwer to Cotton and Tombes, printed before this: If in fuch miserable tymes I can get out these testimonials of my faithfultness 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 abfurfd, we gave a call to Mr.
Blair, not much contrare to his owne mind, as I thought; but when that
did not suceed, we gott Mr. Robert Ramfay settled 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 thefe whom it concerned, to accept that
place; but I ever peremptorilie refuifed: I knew it belonged to Dr. Strang,
and in the manifold depofitions, and dimifions of places, we have had these
years bygone, in Church, State, and Schooles, I had seen few thryve, but
exceeding many who succeeding to fall in great hurts, if not shame and
death: I loved no changes, efpecially 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 Universi-
ties with their owne. Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and our Regent Mr. John
Young, fell to be great among themfelves and with the English: both of them
aimed at the place; at laft they agreed, fo that Mr. Patrick should be Princi-
pall, and Mr. John Divinitie Profeflor. Our Rector, Commiflar Lockhart,
having joyned affectionately with the English, concurred in the designe. I
wes much grieved with it, for I faw, befyde many other incongruities, it put
our Colledge presently in the hands of the Remonstrators, and Such as joyned
heartily enough with the English. Mr. Zacharie Boyd, Vice-Chancellor, wes
foolifhly peremptor to eftablifh Mr. John Young Profeflor: the English were
ready to have done it; but at Mr. John’s defyre, permitted the Colledge to
do it themselves: his father, Mr. George, our Dean, dealt long effectuallie
with his fonne, 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 abfent, with a declaration of my diffent and resolution, which yet I have
keeped, in not countenancing him in the exercife of that charge; for to me
it seemed hard, that a young man, a Regent in Philofophie, how able foever,
should immediately turne Divinitie Profeflor without any call from the Church,
especially being profesedly oppofite to our Church and Generall Asfemblie.
At the election, the Rector moderating had no voice, but when the voters
were equallie divided; his father and brother could have no voice, neither
in reafon nor ordinarie practife; the other two Regents were againft the thing
at that tyme, intending Mr. James Durhame, who indeed had been our
lawfullie elected Profeflor, whose entrie, for good reafons, we had stopped;
but thereafter I moft gladly would have had him in, when, by Mr. John
1654.

LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

Young, for his owne designe, I was disfabled 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 griefe, hes ever gone on the wrong way, with all his strengthe.

After much whispering with the English, at laft ane order and command was prefented 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 desyre; but the moft 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 inegualitie, professed he had no voice, and acknowledged that the Facultie had refused to choice Mr. Patrick; yet, as a private man, he would goe with the three disfenters, and encourage Mr. Patrick to obey the English order: thereafter, the English sent us a command to write our reafons why we refused. This, the Dean of Facultie, Vice-Chancellor, and I, did severallie under our hands. Notwithstanding, Mr. Patrick accepted the charge, and since hes professed it; albeit, in this the second year, he hes been pleased to make not so much as one leffion. I doe not abstain from the moft of Colledge meetings, with my protestations, oft at the beginning repeated, of my not acknowledging by my prefence either of the two for Principall or Professor; and when we subferyve common writes, I usally adde to my name P. S. S. Proteffationibus Salvis. In other things, we keep prettie faire; but I fear we cannot long agree. At Mr. Patrick’s firft entrie, the eldeft Regent, Mr. Richard Robertson, (whom violently they had thurst in over all our priviledges, by a committee of their Visitation,) had putt in his Dictats exceeding many open errors, heresies, and blafphemies. I miltent the matter long, only I defferyed Mr. Patrick, who had become fo intimate with him, as after that scandale to boord him at his owne table, and Mr. John Young who alfo boorded there, to see to it. After the scandale grew very flagrant, and no course at all wes like to be taken with it, at laft, I called for the Notes, and drew out that paper I heirwith send to yow, and communicate it to the Facultie, in the young man’s owne presence. They appointed him with his owne hand to delete out of his Dictates, sundrie of the wicked errors. They all professed they mislyked the tenets alsmuch as I, yet they conceaved the young man to be holy, and would not disgrace
him with any farther censure. I defyred Mr. Patrick to advyfe this matter with his friends, and told him plainly, if he keepe'd in the Colledge one who had taught so blafphemous heresies, and who yet was not fenfible, for any purpole, of his finne, I would let the world know it for my owne exoneration, and would charge this connivance on him, and the whole fide on which he wes. Finding me that clear, I think Warriestone and Mr. James Guthrie advyfed him not to be heard with me in this; fo, 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 dimiffion wes accepted; yea, a penfion of twelve fcore merks during his life wes appointed to him. It grieved me to fee no zeale at all against the moft grievous errors in the moft of my neighbours; yea, though I communicate that paper to Mr. James Durhame, 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 midit of a terme, with profefion not to be willing for any requeeft 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 comppear. Two of our own, Mr. Hew Smith and Mr. John Glen, did appear, very good youths and schollars both: while we are going to preferyve them their tryell, ane order from the English is delveryed to us, by our Rector, difcharging 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 befide that I conceavved the young man unfitt, by our old priviledges, lately injoined very ftrictlie by our Visitors, we were obliedged to a competition, for which we had then affixt a program. Mr. John, finding me refolute, without dinne, at no man's defyre, continued in his Regent's place to the end of that year, though he had entered in the Divinitie profefion; which he let lye for the exercife of it, but not for its flipend. However, when the vacant places of Mr. John Young and Mr. Richard Robertson came to be supplied the nixt year, Mr. Patrick Gillefsie defires to call to the firfl Mr. R. Mquard [M·Ward], without any competition: for this we have a new conteft. I told him of our lawes renewed in our last Vifitation, wherein his owne hand wes chieff; alfo that
two of our owne, invited by our Programme, wes waiting for their tryvell; that the young man he named I knew to be nothing fitter than any of the two; and that the old Collodge of St. Andrewes, wherein he was 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 tryvell. Our Facultie was now fully conforme; the Vice-Chancellor was dead; Mr. George Young wes changed, and his fonne, the Profefior, wes made Dean of Facultie in his father’s place, contrare, as I conceived, to his promife not to accept of that place; the Rector, in all they defyred, wes ever for them, for their common masters fake 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; Offices were declared, by their laft Visitatation, 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 filent if Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Samuel Rutherfoord, 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 shoud be broken, Mr. Patrick Gillepsie did publiclly boaft that he would take a courfe with me. With indignation I bade him doe his worft quicklie. The first night he come among us, he carried the change of our factor, Mr. John Herbertfone, to Mr. John Spreule, his confident on the English interef; so he gripped our purfe, that no man should gett any flipend bot as he thought expedient; and this ever since I have found. With all thefe injuries, I fatt fihl expecting wors. At the Regent’s entrie, I abfented myfelf; the young man incontinent fell fick, as before he had been ficklie: he is like not long to live; so, to all our fenfe, 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 seditious 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 avowedlie gone over to Independencie and Separation; from them he fetcht a young man, Mr. Andrew Burnet. In all the tryalls, to the sense of almost all, Mr. John Glen clearly 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 carry the place; of this mote such a mountain was made, that Mr. Patrick began a procefs against him, to declare him uncapable to compeete. With dificultie he was admitted to a hearing. In the time of our judging, I fand many fenfible 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 subfcryve 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 possesion, and gave them to whom he liked better. Dr. Strang had bestowed six hundred merks on the building, for which the Facultie most unanimously had assigned him a chamber for his use during his lifetime, in ane act subfcryved 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 ado, 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 subfcryved by all the auditors of the compts for more than twenty years, without question. Alfo, 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 remeide; and to law I told him, I will not goe, though I should lofe the soume. 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 leffons of the Principall and Professors, under the paine of a mulct. This by many of the chief schollars was never subferyved, and never presfled 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 fonne, being in confidence bound up, deelyned modeftlie that subscription, thinking in their minds (as many more did) that Mr. Patrick was not lawfull Principall, nor Mr. John Young lawfull Profesflor; but withall gave him no offence: for this no subferyveing he put them publichtlie 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 leffons. This infolence grieved me, yet I negleected it; only told him at meeting that I could concurre in no such violence. While we are vexed daylie with new unexpected motions, there is affixed diverfe 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 verfs, abufeing 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 publichtlie 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 Englishe troup, 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 perfeccion, 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
deigne 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 was not 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 accounts, I could not subservy without my prejudice; and the Colledge giving sundrie instructions to be agented by Mr. Patrick at London, with the Protector, I would subservy 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 Principals. All our Colleges are quickly like to be undone. Our Churches are in great confusion: no intrant gets any stipend till he have petitioned and subservyed 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 Presbytery, and well near the whole congregation, calls and admits, 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 gysfe will grow ryfe to the wrack of many a soule. We thought at the Generall Assembly to have gotten some course for this; but Colonell Lilburne, the commander-in-chief, gave order to sojors to break our Assembly before it was constituted, to the exceeding great grief of all, except the Remonstrators, who insulted upon it; the English violence having trespassed 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 set up a Commission and Assembly 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 Assemblies: they are also bent as ever to purge the Church: to punish men truely deserving censure, we are also willing as they; but
their purgeing is for common a very injurious oppresssion. Sundry of them falls openly to the English errors, both of Church and State, and many more are near to that evil; yet my Lord Warristone, Mr. James Guthrie, and others, still profes their great aversion to the English way: however, their great averfation of the King, and of the late Assemblies, and their zeal to make up the Kirk and armie, and places of truft, only of the godly partie, (that is their own confidents,) make them dear and precious men to the English, doe or say what they will, and their opposites bot raskallie Malignants. 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 fad; their wracking of the congregation of Leinzie, and dividing of the Prefbyterie of Glafgow; their doeing the like in the congregation and Prefbyterie of Lithgow, yow heard long agoe; also what they have done in Bathgate, and sundry parts of the south. I will only give some accompt of their laft dealings.

From their meeting in Edinburgh, they were intructed to have monethly fafts and communions as they could have them: at their communions they excluded more than the halfe of thoes who were ordinarlie admitted: sex or seven ministers, leaveing their own congregations defolate, were about the action; numbers of strangers flocked to these meetings; at their fafts, four or five ministers of their best preachers in the bounds, exercifed from morning to even. The great deigne of all this wers evidently but to increase their partie; whereof yet in most places they misfled. Always the word went, that they purpofed to put up committees for purgeing 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 confusion and danger; yet I fand myfelf disappointed; for at our fynod, the Moderator's fermon ran on the neciffitie of taking up the too-long neglected work of purgeing. The man's vehemencie in this, and in his prayer, a ftrange kind of fighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonifing out of the bellie of a second perfon, made me amazed. To prevent this foolish and cruell enterprize, we preffed, in the entrie of the Synod, that in these tymes of confusion 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 ouf of the miniftrie all
whom we conceaved either unfitt for weaknes, or scandalous; but a Synod so divided in judgement as we were, we conceaved very unfitt for any such work. When we found our defyre flatly refufed, and perceaved a clear designe to fett up presently their tyrannous committees, we, as we had re- folved before hand, and were advyfed by the miniftrie of Edinburgh, and others of our mind, required them, that our Synod might be rightly confi- tute, That minifters cenfured by the Generall Asfemblie, and elders notori- ously opposite to the laft three Generall Asfemblies, might have no voyce. When this wes flatly refufed, we shew we were neceffitate to fett by our felves, and leave them in their feparation from the Generall Asfemblie and Kirk of Scotland. When, by all we could fay, nothing could be obtained, all of us who adhered to the Generall Asfemblie went to the Blackfriers, and thence kept the Synod, leaving our Proteftation with them (C.) Some brethren travelled all the next day betwixt us for a union; we offered it glad- ly, on condition, that they would be content for this tyme of the land’s trouble and danger, to leave all medling with things controverted, or else to confi- tute the Synod according to the Act of the Generall Asfemblie. When neither could be obtained, (as yow may fee in the paper of mediation (D.), we did confitute ourfelves in a Synod by ane act; whereof yow have the tennor subjoyned (E.); and when we had appointed a faft, the caufes whereof I likewise subjovyne (F.), we closed to meet at Irvine at the nixt dyet. To our afent brethren we fent the letter following (G.), and ane information of our pro- ceedings to the neighbouring Synods of Lothian, Galloway, Argyle; also Fyffe, Perth, and the Merfe.

The Remonfrators choifes Mr. William Guthrie for their Moderator, and one James Porter, a devote fervant of their partie for clerk; named a Com- mittee of their moft forward men to goe immediately to Lanark, to purge and plant as they found caufe; fent two of their gentlemen, Sir George Maxwell and Walkinschaw, with the help of their good friends Bogs and Commiffar Lockhart; and when they prevailed not, two of their minifters, Mr. William Somervail and Mr. William Jack, [went] to the Governor of Glaf- gow; Colonell Cooper, for a troup of horfe to guard them at Lanark and Dow- glafs. 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."
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on Mr. R. Hoome, whom we had made minister at Crauford-Jolne contrare
to their mind: their committee laboured to their power to try that their own
invention; but failed therein. There is an old man, Mr. John Veitch, minister
of Roberton, 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
unsufficient. But their chief work was at Dowglafs. The noblemen, gentle-
men, whole heritors and people, and feffion, unanimously had called Mr.
Archibald Inglith, a verie good and able youth, to his father's place. They
stirred up some of the elders, who subfcryved a call to the young man, to de-
fyre 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 filly 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 refuifed 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 refuifed to give a
copie of what he read: without more ado, on Monday morning, they paft all
his tryells in one houre, and came to the church of Dowglafs in the after-
noon 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:
an abominable example, generally much abhorred, which shews what we
may expeæt from that partie. Our Synod appointed some to joyne with the
true Presbyterie of Lanark; who mett the week thereafter; tried with all ac-
curacie possible what could be found in the scandalie of Mr. Robert Hoome;
sand nothing but malice of some parties, fomented by ministers; with the
unanimous consent of the people of Roberton, firstrengthened the minister, and
appointed a helper to be settled there in ane orderly way; admitted to the
Church of Dowglafs Mr. Archibald Inglith, 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 Inglish shall
be tollerated, with much adoe. to preach to the whole congregation, Mar-
quesfs of Dowglafs, Earle of Angus, whole heritors and people, in the
fields, or a barne, without a fexpence of stipend.

In this glafs fee our condition. It is fo in fundrie congregations allreadie,
and like to be foe in many more; not fo much through the violence of the
English, as the unreasonable headines of the Remonstrators, which for the tyme
is remedilefs; and we, for feer of worfe from their very evill humour, give
way to permitt them to plant diverse churches as they like best. This formed
schifme is very bitter to us, but remedilefs, except on intollerable conditions,
which no wyfe 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 content or conni-
vance; we must let them frame our people to the Sectarian modell; a few
more forward ones joyned among themselvves 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 caft out of all churches;
and the few who are countenanced, are fitted, as sundry of them already hes
done, to imbrace the errors of the tyme for their destruction. Against these
abominations we strive fo much, and fo wyfely, as we can. Mr. Robert Dow-
glafs, Mr. David Dickfon, and others, hes yet gotten Edinburgh right: The
taction which Mr. Robert Traill and Mr. John Stirling have there is uncons-
derable. Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Wood keep St. Andrewes and
Fyfe prettie right: Mr. Rutherfoord, to the uttermof of his power, advances
the other partie. Mr. John Robertfon and Mr. William Rate gets Angus
and Dundee right; but the naturally headie men of Aberdeen are come up
to the full defigne too foone; 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 Stanhoufe be made the Englih sherriff.
In Lithgowshire they have used great violence, imprifoned their chiefe
opposite Mr. Jo. Vaugh, forced a sillie man on the miniftrie 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 professed, but reall joyning with the most of the others designes, and Mr. John Carftares's zeall, than any thing that Mr. Patrick Gillefpie hes done, or could doe, by himself. This is the pitifull condition of our Church which is but going on from evill to worfe till the Lord remeeds it.

As for our State, this is its case: Our Nobilitie, weell near all are wracked; Dukes Hamilton, the one execute, the other slaine; their state forfault; one part of it gifted to English fojours; 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 but 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: Dowglafs 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 countrey: he courts the Remonfrators, who were and are averfe from him;—Chancellor Loudoun lives like an outlaw about Athole, his lands compryfed for debt, under a generall very great disgrace:—Marchell, Rothes, Eglinton and his three sonnes, Craufurd, Lauderdalell, and others, prisoners in England; and their lands all either sequestrate or forfault, and gifted to English fojours:—Balmerinoch suddenly dead, and his sonne, for public debt, compryseings, and captions, keeps not the callie:—Warrifton, having refounded much of what he got for places, lives privillie, in a hard enough condition, much hated by the most, and neglected by all, except the Remonfrants, 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 Remonfrants are adjoyned with them: In the Sessioun7 are Craighall, (now dead,) and his brother Hope-ton, Mr. A. Perfon, Southhall, Colonell Lockhart, and Swinton: The only clerks to the Sessioun are Mr. John Spreule and William Downie. The Commiffariat and Sherriffs Courts are all in the hands of English fojours, with the adjunction, in some places, of some few Remonfrants. Strong garifones in Leith, Edinburgh town and castell, Glasgow, Ayr, Dumbarton, Stirling,

7 The Judges here named were Sir John Hope of Craighall, who died 24th April 1654, his brother Sir James Hope of Hopetoun, Alexander Pearson of Southhall, Colonell afterwards Sir William Lockhart, and John Swinton of Swinton.
Lithgow, Perth, Dundee, Bruntisland, Dunnottar, Aberdeen, Innernefs, Inneraray, Dunstaffnage, etc.

Of a long tyme no man in the whole Isle 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 correponding with the King, retired to the hills of Athole. Kenmure haveing escaped from England, when his house wes burnt and his rents seased upon, got to the Lennox with a few horfe: Lorne, being but coarfelie ufed by his father, joinied with Kenmure. To thefe fundrie did affociat, Glengarie, Athole, Seaforth, not so much to doe any thing againft the English, as to make some noyfe of a partie, to encourage the King’s friends abroad to fend him supplies of men, armes, and money. At once a great animositie did ryse in every fhyre of the land; very many young gentlemen made bold with all the serviceable horfe they could find about them; and notwithstanding of all the diligence the English could ufe to prevent, great numbers came safe to the hills. The warre with Holland, and rumor of great help from over-feas, did increase dayly both the number and courage of this partie.

But behold inward diviſion doth hazard all at the very beginning. The irreconcilable discords of Argyle and Hamilton had undone the Isle, and almost both the families. Glencairne, Hamilton’s couſigne, did much mistrust and flight Lorne. Ralſtone, and the Remonſtrant gentlemen of Kintyre, feemed readie to arme for the English, againſt the King’s partie. Lorne and Kenmure, with the men they had raifed, went to Kintyre to suppress thefe. They, on hope of the English affiſtance from Aire, fortified the caſtle of Lochheid; but while neither Argyle nor the English appear in their defence, they rander the house to Lorne’s discretion. Kenmure thinking the besiedged better ufed by Lorne than they deserved, fell in a miscontent, and went frome Lorne to Glencairne with many complaints. Balcarras also unwilling to have Glencairne above him, and conceaveing that it was best for the advanceing of the King’s affaires, that till the King himſelf, or one of authoritie from him, shoulde come, the partie shoulde be ruled by a committee, without any fupreme officer, and that all admitted to counſells and command in the armie shoulde declare for the Solemne League and Covenant. For theſe ends he dealt with Lorne, Seaforth, and Athole, till Glencairne produced a commiſsion under the King’s hand to be Generall, till himſelf
or some from him, should come to take the command. This unexpect-
ed commision 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 plea-
sure. For this end, he, Balcarras, and others, wrote to the King their dis-
content 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 perfute; Balcarras retired; and, a little after, with his Lady, went disguised through England to the King. Notwithstanding 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, were come unto him; so it was thought, at Midletone's coming, he had here and there eight or nine thousand foot, and two or three thousand horfe, of very stout and resolute men as we ever had on the fields, the most of them old sojours. But at Midletone'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 contrarie, the Holland peace was proclaimed; the treaty of the Protector with Swane [Sweden] went on; the French ambaslador at London was solemnly receaved, as the Spanish and Portugale had been; all humane hope began much to faill, 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 subiected the whole priviledges of the Nation to the Protector and his Councill'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-Colonells Herriot, Wishart, Forfyth, and sundry more of our Scotifmen unhappily: All these things were so hard prefages, that the most gave all the King's affaires for gone; and many did think that the King, whether through perfonall weakness, or the treacherie of the few counsellors about him, or the crofs 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 befett Glencairne and his partie, and with much fervitie to cruft them, and for their fakes to lye more heavily on the whole subdued countrey, beginning with the beft of the minifters; who, after mutuall advyce, find themselves in confience neceffitate to keep the King still in their publick prayers. We have been very carefull to give the English no other offence at all; for in all this Northland ryfeing, to my beft knowledge, there is no minifter in Scotland who has had the left hand or any medling. However, for this our great treafon of naming the King in our publick prayers, (as we conceive our duety, Covenant, and Direcorie for worship do require, as ye will see in the papers herewith fent unto yow,) (H.), we are like to fuffer 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 modeftie, with all the fufferings 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 fende 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 fight to fee the generall affliction at the Proclamation of the Protector, of the Act of Union, the Act of Forfaultrie and deep fyning of fo many, the preparation of Monck by sea and land prefentlie to fywallow up the Northern partie, deftitute of all hope of the oft-promised foraigne supplies, as common fame furmifed. 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 fhall increafe, and the next heavie dint fhall fall on the chief of the miniftrie. At once it will not be fafe to have any audible complaints of these things, either to God or man.

I fhall clofe at this time, with a defire of your advyce, with the firft occa-

fion, in a particular of my familie. My second fonne, Henry, a prettie boy of feventeen years, among the beft schollars of his claffie, very diligent and carefull of all duetie, and welbeloved of all as a gracious and vertuous youth, befyde my expecfation, and contrare to my defyre, tells me, that of a long time he has been inclyned, and now is refolved, to be a merchant. All I, or other friends, can fay, does not divert him from this resolution,
which, he fayes, after frequent and earneft 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 fend him over in the hinder-end of harvest to you, to spend the
winter, and what time more you think fitt, to learn Dutch and French, to
keep a merchant-book, or what else you made my brother’s fonne learn, and
then to give him a little flock to ware, at the direction, and with the over-
tight, of some friends. Yow who understand these things, give me your full
and free advyce in this whole matter. I had purpofed him, as also my eldeft
fonne, for the miniftrie; and I thought he had alfe faire beginnings as any of
his age, towards that holy calling. But his peremptor resolufion makes me,
with grief, change that my defigne for him.


While I waited long for a bearer, I add further: Our Triumviri, Maiters
LeviSTONE, GilleSpie, and MenZIES, stayed long at London without much
access to the Protecor: He thought it good to write for Meftrs. Dowglafs,
Blair, and Guthrie. Mr. Blair excufed his health; Mr. Guthrie, by a fair
letter, declared his peremptorines not to goe; Mr. Dowglafs, by Monk’s
friendlie letter, gott himfelf alfo excufed. On their not coming, Mr. Levi-
tone gott leave to returne, and is at home; Mr. G[illeSpie] and M[enzies]
are expected. The buffinefs of the plott gave not the Protecor much lea-
Sure for auditing of them. Only we fear that our Church shall be caft under
SUCH a Committee as now guides all eclefiafticall affairs in England, abfo-
lutelie as the Protecor thinks fitt, the moft whereof are Anabaptifts and
Independents, and gentlemen of no eclefiafticall relation. We thank God
that persecution on the miniftrie is not yet begun, except what the Remon-
trators drawes from the English on some few. Mr. John Vaugh and Mr.
Robert Knox were long prifoners 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 abfence, our Colledge has been long at peace,
though these diverfe moneths all discipline has been loofe among us; the
boys, after the fray among them for the scandalous verfes, never weell
settling; no examination at the end of the year, no solemn laureation, nor much attendance on classes. I think Mr. P. G., if he were present, would see better order. In my preface to my Praxis, I noted the scurvy dictates of some Regents, which all the Universities acknowledged, and were in a fair way to have helped. For this Mr. James Veitch, our eldest regent, did dyte to his schollers, in the midst of his Notes, a pitiful inventive against me, (I); a foulmer injurie than I ever heard was done to any honest man for such a cause. The Lord armed my mind with Christian patience so that I totallie miisent it; only I wrote the inclosed paper and sent it to himself, whereupon he scraped out of his schollers booke, after some dayes, that evill lefson, and no more dinne was here of that matter.

My next vexation was with our Anti-Synod: after their pranckes in Lanark, they met synodically very frequent at Glasgow, fell on a committee for purging all the Presbyteries; I alone went up to them, intreated them with many fair words to delay at least any such work, and for that end gave them in a large paper, which a very gracious and wise brother, somewhat a mid-man betwixt us, had drawn for that end, (K.)\(^a\); which I send also to you, that from it you may more fullie learne our present temper. All this labor produced little; for notwithstanding they proceeded in their work, and appointed their purging and planting committees; but 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 met, and full information of the brethren of Edinburgh and others for our proceeding. We pretentiouly put up a purging and planting committee also well as they, and of these we appointed a number to conferr with them. With much ado we gott them to lay till the first of August, upon a new conference: against that day Mr. James Ferguson drew up a paper of his Overtures for our reunion (L.), and I drew up another (M.): you have both here. What the issue shall be you may hear afterward; only these things lyce heavier on my heart nor on any man’s else I know, for usullie at the tym of these comfortleses janglings, I am fick and distempered with grief 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

\(^a\) 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 discouling of the northern Tories would cost him bot a
few weeks labour; and we indeed did expect no other; for the English in
men, horfe, money, and all things they could defyre, had the clear advan-
tage: yet we cannot hear of any great progres he has made. So foone as
Glencairne had rendered his commiſſion to Midleton; 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 fo much resented by Midletoune as need had been,
together with the King’s too much negleſt, as some fay, in his late commiſſions,
of Glencairne’s very great services, upon the information, as it’s thought,
of Lorne and Balcarras, he left Midleton, and came with a small partie to
the Lennox. The noife of this malcontentment did exceedingly discourage
many; but at once Glencairne carried it fo, that all this discouragement was
quicklie changed; for with the small partie he had he defended the pafs of
Aberfoyle fo well against Monck’s frequent affaults, and fent out, for good
purpofe fo many small parties to Clydefdale, Barrantrow, Cumnynghame,
Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway, as retarded a while Monck’s march to the
north; and when Monck went north, notwithstanding of all his garifones,
and befide them one full regiment of foot and one other of horfe, left at
Glaſgow and Kilfyth, the partie fent out from Glencarne did runne up and
downe the whole countrie, and did what they liked, without great impediment.
Monck fand his march to the north very troublesome: the people caried
all out of his way; stragglers were snapped up; the hills made fundrie,
both horfe and men, ficken and die. It was oft printed, that Morgan had
Midleton fo incloſed in Sutherland that he could not escape to the south;
yet when Midleton thought it time, he divided his men in parties, and
paffed 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 countrie-
people, and near a hundred of them flaine: 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 a intelligencer to the Eng-
lith, and sied with Argyle against Lorne his fonne; fo Midletoune caufed 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 speake alreadie of quartering. It feems Midletone minds no fighting in any bodie, but shiftes till he fee what tyme may bring forth. The countrie every where suffers much; yet is patient, for they fee no remeade; 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 feen 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]dimifion, and why her laft act should have been (without all neceffitie) a strict friendship with the Protector, is much marvelled. Also, why for the Protector's friendship, contrare to the mind of the other Provinces, thefe of Holland should have caft 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 shou'd, by their ambafadors, 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 Salmafius 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 unjuft trouble he was put to for his stipend, after a few day's ficknefs did die, fo sweetlie, and graciouslie, as wes fatiffactorie to all, and much applaued over all the citie, his very perfecutors giving him an ample testimonie. His tratite, De Providentia Dei circa Peccatum, he has enlarged, and made it ready for the preffe. Be carefull to get it well printed, according to the constant friendship that wes allways betwixt yow and him. They hope yow will get it printed freely, for the piece is likely to fell; bot if yow must give any money for its printing, they will bear the charge. Let me know with the firft, your answer herein; for they will fend yow the copie fo foone as your mind is knowne, and your advice given. How is your condition in Middleburgh? The English congregations use to be very fickle, and hard to be keeped by their minifters: if your lot be better with yours,

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 Cousigne, R. B.

Glafgow, July 21st 1654.

That you may know the way of planting our Churches, have this late practice. Mr. John Galbraith of Bothkennar was deposed for tippling and other faults, three or four yeares agoe. When Mr. James Guthrie continued to preach in Stirling, after his deposition by the Generall Assemblie, Mr. John Galbraith followed his example, and returned to his pulpit: his people did love him better than Stirling did the other. Of the Prefbyterie of Stirling, Mr. James Simpfone of Airth, likewise deposed, and Mr. John Hog of Lairbare, adhered to Mr. James Guthrie, and these three made one prefbyterie. Mr. Robert Wright, and other two or three, adhering to the Assemblie, made themselves another prefbyterie. Mr. George Bennet and other two were neutralls, and abainted from both. Mr. James Guthrie began a proces of excommunication against Mr. John Galbraith; but he boasted so fast to excommunicate Mr. James, if he proceeded against him, that this was left off. Mr. James professed to have no medling with the English at all, and to be much averse from all complany with them, yea, to mislike Mr. Patrick Gillepike's way; yet Sir William Bruce of Stanehouse, his speciall and intime friend to this day, lies taken the sherifffhip of Stirling from the English, and continues ruling elder in Mr. James Guthrie's prefbyterie. 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; but 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 prefbyterie to be minister of that kirk; for that people haveing adhered to a deposed minister, must be counted malignant, and so loose their right to call, and their right of calling must fall in the hand of the prefbyterie; so ane order is procured by the prefbyterie's ruling elder, Sir William Bruce, from the English,
to admit that Blair. Mr. James Guthrie causes convene a great number of
his faction, from divers paroches about, and gets Mr. Robert Traill from
Edinburgh, and Mr. John Carstairs from Glasgow, and others, to spend a
day in preaching and prayer at this admission. The whole people of the
paroch meets, and keeps the other out of the kirk; the tumult begins; dry
straikes are distributed; some fell upon the Sheriff’s neck. The gentlemen-
parishioners, soon as the Sheriff produced his English orders for the admi-
ッション, 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
oppression 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 re-
 fused to consent; the youth being so young, and utterly a stranger to us; his
tryells of expectant being haflie past in the Presbyterie of Hamilton; and
none of the ministeres either of Edinburgh or St. Andrewes, the places of his
residence, being acquainted with him, as he professed; also his voce being so
weak, that the most in our kirks heard him not. The Magistrates and
Town-Counfell being utterly against his admission, dealt with him earnestly
not to trouble them: at first, his modesty was so great, that a small imped-
iment seemed enough to sfarre him from accepting of any charge; but so
foone as our Session (which is but the echo of what our brethren spakes) had
given him a call, without hoaft he went on to his tryells, and, over the bellie
of the town’s protestation, was 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 uxes; but 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, not-
withstanding “the new guyse” which offended Baillie, have retained their popularity, and
are still occasionally republished.
present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memorie and understanding. This we must misken, for we cannot help it.

This faction growes much among us: I fear the issue. The Covenant they misregard; the King his reflation, or his partie’s thriving, they seem to fear; their pietie and zeal is very susceptible 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 diverfe mints have been made: time 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 anfwer (N.) On the 1st of August, some of both siders did meet, but could come to no agreement: we gave them in our Overtures, cast in ane other mould, as yow may fee 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 unsought, I cannot say, while they deny and many affirme,) makes us daylie loffe, and them gaine, and many incline to their thriving sids.

After some refreshment from a fruitlefs journey through the hills, Monck is againe to the field. He, Cooper, Twislingtone, and Argyle, are at Dumbartone, advyling on a hard and sorrowfull work, what houfes and what cornes to burne: this work is begun on both siders 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 defyred yow, of your certaine knowledge, to affure him of the contrare, and as I had told him before myself, foe I was purposed at my first leaveure againe to affure 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 was written some yeares agoe, and, as I think, printed the last year, 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 expreslie 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 aliquaundo, and for such things which in our meeting of the whole four Universities was 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 was of these years that, when laureat, let be since, he could not be called Adoloscens, 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) was by dyeing, without all books and all papers, whether of his owne or others. I take it to be many ways evident, that in my wryte there was 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 admission I was at Edinburgh; at my returne I confented 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 kepted so good correspondence as he did defyre, 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 receaved the fifth part of the ill usage which Mr. James is pleased to give me, in that invective which, the other morning, he dyed to his schollers expreslie against

5 Baillie's "Appendix Practica ad Joannis Buxtorfi Epitomen Grammaticae Hebraeae," was printed at Edinburgh, in 1653, small 8vo.
me. It's not enough to make me a printer of contradictions, ("Sed quid multis? Hae proprio gladio fcipta jugulant, aperta sunt contradictoria"); to make me fo ridiculous a blatterer as I must be laughen at in the schollers books, with ane Ha, ha, hae! ("Domino haec blateranti imputanda sunt:—Ha, ha, hae!") not only to declare me, from his owne fad experience, bot to make it good upon me in a single combate, and to demonftrate it in a publick 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 eftis obufi, et ad docendum inepti,—qua si alicui, imprimis domino haec blateranti imputanda sunt; quod experientia nunquam fatis dolenda demonftrare poiffimus:—age ineatur singulare certamen, agatur duoello, in quo apparuerit quis ineptus, quis pinguis, quis crafius, quis obtufus, imo et quibus vel ob indolem, vel ob eruditionem, bellius convenit doctorum cathedra, et quibus melius discipulorum subfellia"): All this I could have born, for it is bot of my weaknes, which I will not deny to be great, yea, in my folemne inauguration to the place I now f tand in, when with much importunitie, and long dealing by all who had intereft, I was drawn unto it, I publiquely profefled myf elf to be much fitter to be a scholler to others than a matter to any. For indeed, I am farr from these abilities which Mr. James profefled here to be in himfelfe: I am none of these who are confciouf of no infirmitie, ("Nec ullius infirmitatis confci.") However, I take it no waies well that he dytes me to his schollers to be guiltie of great wickednes, whereof I think I am free: he proclaims me a "Vitiligator," that is "Vitifius litigator," a man like Theon, a poet, "rabiofe loquacitatis et petulantiffimae maledicentiae," 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 caufe, that my neighbours are pleafed to make ufe of good books, ("Nos vindicemus a quibusdam vitiliatoribus, Theonino dente aliorum famam rodere conantibus,—libris cum scriptis tum imprefiis ufi fumus, utimur, et utemur, ro- dentes interim fueri in interiora Momo"); all my writes, for diverfe whereof I have receaved thanks from the moft judicious divines, not only of Scotland, bot of the Churches abroad, muft be pronounced not only void of all learning, bot a foolifh fpending of my time in writing nothing bot fables and toyes; ("Neque eruditionem effe exiftimo in congerendis et confarciendis nugis et fabulis ætatem terere"); yea, I am declared to be profefled with a bitter
spirit, with bitterness itself, with a spirit plainly malignant, which I take to be no other than the devil: I must be a kail-wyfe crying out with her flinking breath, and openly rageing; I must be a false man, and without reason; I must be a beast, a horfe, and that a furious one, running on my neighbors; ("Quidam hodie—spiritu acerbo, et plane malignante, inftar halitus vetulae olera vendentis, fefe offerentante, falso et fine ratione debacchati sunt,—non audientes fuum amarorem depromere,—inftar equi ferocientis invehuntur.") But that which is worst of all, I must be dyed 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 dyed a faction, so great enemies to grace and piety, that by our impious attempts piety is destroyed, ("Hominés 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 vulgii famam, et alia hujus vitæ commoda, unice venantur et aucupantur"); that we count it a pest and an epidemic disease that God is filling the kirks and the schooles with a generation of young men, whose eminent piety and great learning does good to soules, which we with our impietie would corrupt, ("Res quæ eos angit est pestis et morbus epidemicus, qua laborat ecclesia et ferme opprimitur, in scholam irrepit; foboles adolefcentum exorta est quos Deus replevit vera pietate et egregii in omni literarum genere dotibus, in quos homines quidam, quorum impio conatu corrupta jacet pietas, invehuntur"); and, as if all this had been but little, he imports, that he hes much worse than what is expressed alreadie, ("Cætera praetero," "cætera faceo," "at pluribus parco."")

I wis yow may speake to him of this his strange fact: If he will fland to the defence of it, I pray yow tell him from me, that whatever senfe 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 reproves; 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 affliet us say to our soule, 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 street to them that will goe over; and after Christ his example, to give my back to the smitters, and my cheeks to them that pluck off the hair, and not to hide my face from shame and spitting; yea, if he please to dye alinuch against me to-morrow, and once a-week to write invectives of me to the end of the year, I can take them on my shoulder, and bind them as a crowne unto me, as a part of my sufferings for righteousness. These many years bygane it hes been my resolved practife, wherein I purpose, by God's grace, to continue, in all my personall injuries, to doe good for ill, to pray for them that perfecke me; so I mind not to revenge, I require no satisfaction, but profefs my only mind is, even through this outrageous injurie, be vertew of Christ's command, to doe to Mr. James a good turne, if it lye in my way.

This much I thought fitt to communicate unto you, to be told to Mr. James, who, I think, will take it better from you, at this tyme of his caufeless anger, than from me. Now, leaft you should think I had put a worfe construction on his words than they may bear, take that whole passaage I complaine off, in the beft and most 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 leffon whilk I suppose will trouble both you and me to fett well together, for any good fence; but in what I have touched, I think I have guesfed right enough at his meaning.

"Et si magna pars anni jam elapfs fit, et temporis angufliae quibus stringimur nos moveant ut ad finem Moralis Disciplinae, in cujus amoenis hortis diu fpatiati sumus, properemus, ne tamen inter moralitatem actuum humanorum et ipfam virtutem moralem, nullius discriminis confcientia convicfi, aut nullius infirmitatis confibii, togam deponamus, et ex Almae Matris ædibus rei clamantantes fugiamus, coaetì fumus hic unum vel alterum verbum apponere, ut nos vindicemus a quibusdam vitilitigatoribus, Theonino dente aliorum famam rodere conantibus. Res eft, afficere audemus, Disputationes hafce Ethicas, et iis premiffas Logicas, eti proprio Marte concinnatas, non tamen eft lafcinias ex libris qua scriptis qua impreffis, (neque exiftimo cordatum aliquem scholastici cum vitio vertere alieui uti libris, cum scriptis tum impreffis, quibus uti fumus, utimur, et utemur, rodente interim sua interiora Momo,) imprimis ex penu recentiffimorum Jesuitarum surreptas, aut confutam mendici pallam, aut
confarcinatum multarum nugarum magnum centonem; neque refertas esse erroribus et veris in philosophia haeresibus, ex Jesuitarum doleis haustis, fve vanitate animi, fve indolis poterfvia, fve incauta prudentia, quod quidam hodie in doctores philosophiae hujus regni, (quia in eos eximiant fse posse impune licere, prætermissis aliis in quos non audent suum amarorem depromere,) spiritu acerbo et plane malignante, inftar halitus vetule oleae vendentis, fse oftentante, falsa et fine ratione debacchati funt. Sed vos estis adolescentes. Fateor, sed adolescentia non est vitium si caetera recte procedant, imo et plures ecclesiae pastores sunt adolescentes, in quos dudum plura hujus farinae debaterata effunt, nisi timor notae impietatis et infamiae, ab iis inuitae quorum animi eorum pietate, eruditione, et sedulitate aluntur, extrinseco obitaculo fuisse. Sed vos estis obtusi et ad docendum inepti; (caetera praetereço, quae fli alicui, imprimis domino hae blateranti imputanda sunt, quod experientia, nunquam fatis dolenda, edocti demonstrare poffumus.) Ha, ha, hae! Forfan verum, sed malum a te ferimus; quaedam a quibufdam, sed non ab omnibus. Age ineatur singulare certamen, agatur duello, in quo apparuerit quis ineptus, quis pinguis, quis craflus, quis obtufus, imo et quibus vel ob indolem, vel ob eruditionem (neque eruditionem esse eximimo in congerendis et confarcendiis nugis et fabulis atatem terere) quibus adjiciatur, si fit animus, aetas, bellius convenit doctorum philosophiae cathedra, et quibus melius discipulorum subfella. Sed quid multis? Hae proprio gladio feipfa jugulant, aperta sunt contradictoria; ac penes obtufum aliquem est tot plaustra metaphysficarum queftionum congerere, quas non omnem capiunt, multo minus intelligunt: iniqui igitur Judices, at pluribus parco. Res uno verbo est quae vos angit, pestis et morbus epidemicus qua laborat ecclesia, et ferme opprimitur, in scholam irrepfit; nimium Dei providentia in commodum ecclesiae et reipublicae literariae, sboles adolescentem exorta est quos Deus replevit vera et sincera pietate in Deum, et egregius in omni literario genere dotibus, in quos homines quidam, quorum impio conatu (caetera taceo) corrupta jacet pietas (quod quidem mea sentientia pejus est quam disciplinas alicujus magistelli arbitrio corruptas esse, quod neque concedimus, cum contrarium fit in aperto) inftar equi ferocientis invehuntur; quia splendor pietatis et eruditionis illorum his praeripit umbratilem honorem, inanem gloriam, ventosam vulgi famam, et alia hujus vitae commodae, quae unice venantur et aucupantur.”
[The Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Robert Baillie.]

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 you had known me better than to believe that I would misunderstand your silence, or entertain the least doubt of your friendship, of which I have so many testimonies. Therefore, they did no right who informed you that I was malcontent with your not writing; though I did express a desire to hear from you, yet I am not so easily subject to take the pett, especiallie at a friend of whose kindness I am so confident. I shall labour to obey your counsell, and doe still desire the continuance of your prayers in my behalf, for more submision 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.

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 your self, when from the

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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 House, and preached in the Savoy, that
then, when I had some credite there, I might have used my best endeavours
to have done yow pleasure. Yow feem to promise ane Ecclesiastick Storie: it
were a pity but it should be hasted.\(^5\) However I am one of those who
could gladlie consent to the burning of many thousand volumes of improfit-
able writers, that burthens and harms the world; yet there are some pens
whom I wish did write much, of which your's is one. Mr. Purchase in his
Pilgrimes, from the intelligence he had by English and Dutch travellers and
merchants, together with the printed treatises of some late Italian, Spanish,
and French writers, gave us a very good accoumt of the World, the whole
Universe, the present condition of it, as in his time. I conceive no man
were fitter than yow to let us know, in a handsome, fyne, and wyfe way, the
State of the World as now it stands. If the Lord would put in your heart
to mind it, and give yow encouragement for such a performance, if yow
would put out one part of it, were it the present state of Asia, I trust it
should be so accepted by judicious men, that yow should have from many
all desirable encouragements for the perfyting of the rest. Your cartes
are very neatly and singularly well done: yow would not be sparing of them.
I wish, in your Palestyne, yow added some more, as one or two of Chaldaea,
because of many Scriptures relating to Babylon, Nineve, Ur, &c.; the voyage
of Paul; some cartes of the present state, joyned with these of the old
Scripturall state, as of Egypt, Jerusalem, &c. For these and the like happy
labours, we, at so great a distance, can but encourage yow with praisfe, love,
and prayers to God; which yow shall have, I promise yow, from me, as one
who very highly pryses the two wrytes I have seen of your hand, and judges
by these that the rest yow have done or shall doe, will be of the same excel-
licie. The Lord blefs yow and all your intentions; So prays

Your very loveing and much honouring Brother,

Glasgow in Scotland, August 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 hastene1, 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.' "
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REVERENDISSIMO CLARISSIMOQUE VIRO D. GISBERTO VOETIO,
ARUM PROFESSORI IN ACADEMIA ULTRAJECTINA.

S.

LITER-

REVERENDISSIME VIR,
SINGULARIS tua
literas falutatio,

me coram

in

kumanitas, et arnica femel iterumque per
nunquam obliterandum offi-

imprimis vero eximium illud et

de quo interea temporis per epiftolam multas
Belgica meae ad Bramblium replicse editio Ultrajec~li ;
cium,

jam aufus fim ad

babes exemplaria

;

:

eorum unum tua cura

gratias

habui,

omnia faciunt ut

te tranfmittere binos hofce trac"latulos,

ftudiofae noftrse juventutis gratiam publicavi
tria

ferio
ifta

quos

nuper

in

priorem grammaticum, cujus
deferri cupio

Lugdunum D.

Golio, et alterum Bafileam Joanni Buxtorphio, eo fine quern in prsefatione

Utinam hac occafione

indigito.

a viris praeftantiffimis,

amiciffimis et intus notis, tua auctoritate impetres

rium

;

tres intelligo Praxes, Chaldaico-Syriacam,

Arabicam.

ifla

Magna
omnes

Chriftianae

tibi,

nullus dubito,

meum multorumque defideRabbinico-Maforeticam, et

benencia non folum audtoribus, fed etiam

fcholae lubentes debebunt.

tibi

Si vero contingat,

exoratori,

quod

nol-

lem, ut uterque de quacunque feu caufa feu praetextu refugiat puerilem ilium
ut ego arbitror,

quidem,

etfi viris,

fat fcio,

perutilem, babes, ni

fatis

fallor,

hortatu animati et confilio inftrucli,

tuis

difcipulis

quam

mea magna

fpes.

fieri

Illic

potefl

omnibus,

non paucos, qui tuo

omnes iflas Praxes, parvo tempore magna

cum laude et aliorum commodo, poflunt edere.
moda fcbolarum zelus longe lateque dudum innotuit
fua

ficium velis

et academiis

dignum laborem,
ex

;

Egregius tuus in comipfis bene-

ut hoc etiam

mature procurare, multorum

vos habetis, prseter

alia

eft defideriuin, et

fupra nos, ingens

commodum

Latinorum, Greecorum, Hebraicorum, et Arabicorum typographos, qui rneditata veftra omnia eleganter et emendate ftatim imprimunt.
Quidni ex Parifienfibus et

jam Londinenfibus

jam

in

id

illi,

in ftudioforum et

fuum etiam

cum interlineari Latino;

eft

omnibus Proteftantium

Encyclopaedia

edant

qui caeterorum omnium fumptui ferendo par eft ?
animum
meum magis folicitum habet, eft radicatum
quod

quotufquifque enim

Verum

Bibliis

feorfim Biblia Arabica et Syriaca,

amplum commodum,

nullibi,

quantum

fcholis

cacoethes

;

artium

intelligo, ea accuratia traditur,

et

philofophiae

quam vel

dodlo-


rum vel disciplinarum dignitas postularet. In Jesuitarum, aliorumque monachorum Hispanorum, Gallorum, Italorum, et Germanorum, curfibus verfandis noftri difcipuli omne fuum tempus propemodum conterunt: quantum hoc eft noftris Academiis cum deuceus tum detrimentum? Nulline in Ifraele fabri? Quamdiu nos ad Philiftæos ob exacuenda ferramenta deffendere cogemur? Praeter alia multa hujusce pudendi malum commodum, annon nimis quam multi noftrorum adolefcentum a teneris ipfis unguiculis ea hauriunt incauti principia, quorum odorem tetrum et venenatum non nil! ferio et difficulter, fi modo unquam, eluent? Praeter ea quæ corruptarum mentium magiftri dedita opera infpergunt, ut inde retia et laquei difcipulis tendantur, quibus aliquando pertrahantur ad tranfubftantiationis, adorationis imaginum, liberi arbitrii, Trinitatis in unitate, duarum naturarum in una perfona inconfluentiae, et alia Pontificiorum, Arminianorum, Socinianorum praecifima dogmata; probe noftri quæ fatuus hæreticus Cartefius sub novæ fuae et perfeftioris philofophiae velo molitus fit. Profecło non parum intereft Ecclefias Reformatis, ut orthodoxum, folidum, et perspicuum philofophiae corpus, tam fyftematicum quam textuale et quætionarium, exfert, in communem, si fieri poſſet, omnium Academiarum ufum. Erant apud nos non ita pridem multi egregii philofophi, qui, fi id agere voluſſent, curfus philofophicos non contemnendos publico dediffe potenter; fed ea hodie noftras Ecclefias et fcholas una cum regno calamitas premit, ut a nobis nihil ejufmodi jam fit expeftandum. Necio fi in Anglia aut Gallia fratres ullos in præfentiarum habeamus, quibus volentibus fimul et valentibus onus hoc poſſet imponi. Quantum haætensus intelligere potui, ratio tradendae philoſophiae locis iftis ad hunc diem apud noftrós curta nimis fuit et superficialia. Unica in vobis reſtat ipse. Exiftimo in veftro Belgio, etiam in Helvetia, Haflia, ac Palatinatu reperiri viros, a quorum eruditione et industria, modo huic operæ ferio incumbere a quo- quam perſuaderentur, pulchra adeo liberarum omnium artium et philoſophiae Encyclopædia poſſet expefæt; ut eam omnes, certe permutæ Protestantium scholare, magnis cum gratis ambabus ulnis amplecterentur; quæ magno cum fructu, magnaque cum voluptate ſtudioſis praælegeretur; qua diætatorum Hodie a regentibus, ut nos folemus nuncupare, multi defeōs supplerentur, errata corrigerentur, plurimi abusus apud multos, alias incorrigibiles, profliγarentur, et a Protestantí nomine faeda dedecoris nota tandem aliquando ablueretur, cum non ultra necellé haberemus ad Pontificiorum philoſophorum inſectiflimas

Multi jam sunt anni ex quo Bibliothecam edidisti; valde desideratur edition ejus altera cum auctario; sed quod ante omnia studiasti hic omnes a te expetunt, et cæterarum tuarum Disputationem publicatio, cui dudum in primo volumine obtinixide tete ocelamitant, et mirantur qui tam tardam nomen evaleris. Propinquum, nuperum, et dolendum nimis Spanhemii (neu qualis theologis?) exemplum docere te potest, quam maturanda, imo festinanda...
Lint omnia quae habes in scriniiis; nimis quam multorum posthumi labores variis cafibus perierunt.

Vides quam familiarter in tuum finum effuderim animi mei sensa, confidens summum tuum candorem æqui bonique omnia consulturum.

Quod ad alterum meum tractatum, adolescentibus etiam nostris destinatum, si quid in eo veritati non confonet, oro doceas, ut quanto oiuers corrigatur. Tandem finio, Dominum venerans, velit tibi largiri multos et felices dies, quo suo honorì, et Ecclesiærum emolumento ac folamini aliquandiu adhuc in terris alacer intervirias. Votum hoc est fratris tui observantissimi,

Glasguae, Idibus Septembris 1654.


Reverendo et clarissimo viro Roberto Baleo, Theologie in Academia Glascuensi Professori dignissimo.

planavit Buxtorfius in Grammatica modo dicta, ubi etiam exercitatio comaret.

que ejus dialectis distinctissimae sunt, Armenica scilicet, et antiqua Coptica, seu Agyptiaca. Hodie iam Agyptiaca ante 400 annos introducere, aut potius facta vulgaris, est ipsissima Arabica. Has quinque orientales si quis ex abundanti a limine fuit, operam non Luferit; sed non puto operae pretium facturum quenquam theologorum, si in penetralia earum se immiserit, anteqvam rariores et praestantiores scriptores viderit ad scopum suum aliqua ratione facientes. Multa de Coptica Athanasius Kircherus in Copto Prodromo, multa de Persica alii, plura de Armenica nonnulli buccinant; sed manus oculatae sunt, erudunt quod vident. Libelli paraegetici seu Morales, Liturgici, rhythmico-po etici, catechismi papistici, mythologici, non tantum temporis merentur. Satis mihi fuit acquisita facilitate legendi, et perlustratis grammaticis, partem aliquam in scriptore delibatis et curiosi mea suffacerem, turn ut proprio judicio discernere, et propriis oculis videere possem, an linguae illae essent distinctae ab Hebraica, cum dialectis seu filiabus, an vero ei proprius aut remotius affines. Haec eternus plus sat a linguis.

De chronologia non ita folicitus sum, cum copia magis scriptorum hic laborem existimaverat, ut quis historiae profectus, aut potius minister, unus atque alter vicarius, (illi enim in minoribus ecclesiis mole negotiorum minus premuntur,) ex omnibus scriptoribus chronologicis, tam pontificis quam nostris, magnam partem a me in Bibliotheca Theologica indicatis, methodum artis chronologicae colligat, per definitiones et divisiones, ad exemplum Alstedii in Praecognitis Theologicis, et Scaligeri in Canonibus Ipagocicis; additis ad singula capita quaestionibus et controversiis, cum rationibus in utramque partem adferri solitus, et indicatis quorumque autorum 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 secta, quasi in tabella distribui, et singulis quaestionibus et controversiis cum rationibus utriusque allatis subjici. Videbo an uni atque alteri ex nostratis minimis opus hoc commendare queat.

Accedamus nunc ad philosophiae curium, de quomaxime laboratur. Systemata, compendiæ, synopses tecum relinquimus. Certe in illis plus fatis praestitum videtur. Refsit solummodo, ut controversiae logicae, physicae, metaphysicae, imprimis, deinde etiam ethicae ac politicae, (quae tamen ad theologiam pleraque si rejeci antur, nihil absurdi committitur,) accurate, breviter, perpiciue ventilentur, et rationes atque exceptiones utriusque partis examinentur; ac tandem pro veri-
tate, hoc est, pro philosophia, facris literis atque orthodoxiae ancillante, determinetur, contra recentiores Suarezium, Conimbricenses, Ruvium, Telefium, Baranzenam, Oviedo, Mendoza, Vafquez, imprimis protervum paradoxum et novaturientem sophistam Ariaga, ad hae, contra Taurellum, Gorlaeum, Cartesium, et Cartesianos, Socinianos, Remonftrantes, Libertinos. Aristotelis textum an leorim cum brevibus et perfpicum notis, et generali librorum ac capitum analyti, feu hypothesi, per modum tabellae excudir conveniant, an vero potius cum curfu quaesitionum feu controversiarum, nondum statuerum possum. Certe prolixi illi libri Metaphysicorum vix ullo ordine concripti, et farraginem multarum rerum continentis, non videntur juventuti facro studio deflinatae proponendi. Totius methodos concretae, musicae, staticae, opticae, astronomiae, geographiae, illustriores quaestiones in fasciculum ex praetantioribus artificibus colligendae, praemissis solum elementis necessariis, ex arithmetica, geometria, sphera, musica collec-
tis. Systemata ipsa staticae, astronomiae, geographiae, opticae, studioi dictis elementis imbuti, abique manuductione fuo tempore legerent. Hoc quidem consilium nostrum effet. Quibus autem hac tempestate tam utile opus demandandum fit, et a quibus expectandum, fato me nondum videre. Si enim veltrurum quatuor Academiarum tam praeclassarum institutum in fpongiam incubuit, quid de nostris Belgicis sperandum? Quaedam ex illis per Cartesiam philosophiam graviter consueta sunt; aliae intetinis super eadem philosophia diffildis admodum adhuc vacillant et fluctuant, turbibus nusquam figenti-
bus, nusquam quiecentibus; fabrie philosophantibus contra obtinentibus, et hoc unice agentibus ut clavum tenant, nec fluctibus opprimantur. Nifi Deus ex alto nos respexilet, jam praetentissimum pericum alicubi imminebat, trahendum ad partes theologiae; ita impetum fuiflet in nobis, quod Bernardus de ecclesia paulatim collapfa olim pronunciabat: “In pace mea amaritudo amarissima,” etc. Quod si haec tempestatas aliquando defaeivi, et non amplius protrudantur in cathedras philosophicas novi philosophi eti, eti super petu-
lantes juvenculi, tum demum nobis de curibus philosophicis conjuncta Academiarum opera adornandis cogitandum effet. De Palatinatu, Hassia, aliisque Germaniae partibus, frustra verba facimus; quod scholis nondum aut vix instauratis, veterani et exercitati philosophi illic non fuppetant, quod sicam, qui subtiliter et erudite gravissimis controversiis ventilandis, et ad theologiae stabilimentum adaptandis sufficiant. Celebris nunc apud Gallos et Helve-
tios est Derodo, profeflor philosophiae Araufionensis, qui cursum logicum, phy-
ificent, metaphysicum, ethicum dicitur editurus. Admodum sutilis audit,
et utriusque philosophiae, tam pontificiae quam nostrae, peritus. Amplius
inquiram in Thefes Academicas ipsius, et librum quendam Gallicum de
Euchariftia, contra pseudo-philosophemata Papistica editum, ut ex ungue
leonem cognoscam: ut quidem quodam ipsius disputationes ann. 1648.
editas cursum inficio, deprehendo eum in tota physica fatis esse paradoxum.
Atque haec de instauranda in Academiis philosophia.

Exemplar libri tui D. Golio desinentatum curavi, atque una literis meis
ad ipsum consilium et votum tuum de adminiculis linguarum orientalium
significavi; sed nihil responsi haecenus recepi. Alterum exemplar D.
Buxtorfio transmittam, simul ac studiofus quis eo perigrinaturus obtulerit.
De statu ecclesiae vestræ in particulari parum aut nihil hic certo cognoscimus:
non definimus tamen eam precibus nostri Deo commendare. Post tenebras
lucem speramus. Hoc omnibus vobis agendum, ut ab ingenio doctrinae re-
formatae cum simplicitate rituum ac regiminis religiose custodiatis, atque una
praxin pietatis qua publice qua privatim studiose promoveatis. Quod ut
quiue nostrum in sua statione ex animo velit et agat, Deum nostrum in
Christo supplice veneror.

Tui observantis.


GISBERTUS VOETIUS.

FOR HIS REVEREND AND WEEL-BELOVIT BROTHER MR. J. HAMILTOJ.,
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[ergusson], which I sent you on Friday,7
ane account of their Comittee after the Synod. Mr. Ja. Fer. hes undertaken
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 fol-
lowed. Wodrow indorsed this letter as written in 1656, but it belongs to the previous year.

7 Fergusson's letter, dated "Glasgow, October 5th 1655," is preserved in the same Vol. No. 6.
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count of it ere long. M. P. G[illespie,] and S. G[orge] Maxwell, and Mr. Alex. Dunlope, purpo
es to be there on Tuyfday, with Broghil and Munk, to tak of their party all these calunmies which Mr. R. Trayl wret ye had laid on them. Be on your guard, for they ar to prefs you for a meeting for Union. I feen them a meeting was needles, till firt they gave their fence of our Overtur at our laft meeting; which, for that end, I gave them. I think you would stand by our laft conclusion, that it is needles 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 Inglifh, you need feir them the lefs. It feems Mr. P. G. as he has crufhit 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 so he be fure to be accomodat for himfelf. A paper is neceffar to auntsuer your former arg[uments] of prayer for the King, even in cafe of fuffering; (call no needles meeting of thefe who ar farr off; wher your letters may do as weell: faill no to let us knou all you ar doing;) I can not auntsuer, (nor can I find in my hert to aflay it,) what was brought from the Covenant for that deuty. Let fome there be caifull to fatiffie Mr. Thomas Boyd: M. R. Douglas knoues him, he is a zelous man for our cause, to his pith, and, if onfatisffed, he may fumble a multitude of good people he walkes among. My service to your kind D. [daughter?]

Yours, 

October 8[th 1655.] R. B.

Nothing I few from you the laft week.

They who have redd the New Covenant, fayes it's a very thred peice, of tuo sheet of paper. It would [should] be fearchit for8 with all poiffible cair: it declairs the mynd of thefe who are for it, to flate the fhifme of our Church for ever; it reveels more of their purpoifes. They profeis this their motion for Union is their ultimus conatus; and if it faill on our fyd, fome of them speeks of ane Erafitian Comittee from the Inglifh, of gentilmen and minifters, to purge and plant all the land. Albeit I tak this for a vain boaft, which

8 This alludes to a paper on "Personal 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. 207, 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. Gillefpie] at this tyme, both of his dealing with you for Union, and with the Inglish for pouver to their fyd. The Lord give you wifdom, courage, and diligence at this nick of tym. 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 Prefbiteries, whence now they ar excludit, to act, with our consent, all the materiaalls 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 laft 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 leaff we could receave before we shoulde joyne. Though among ourselfes unanimouslie we had agreed to keep up our part of the Synod, if the subfiance 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 alfo at Irvine, had agreed to adhere to these overtures; and if they, being minimum quod fic, should be refufed, they concluded to set up their two presbyteries in a synod by themselfes, according to their ancient priviledge acknowledged in all our late Generall Assemblies; alfo, 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 peremptorilie refufed our overtures, and drawne on a new conference, to try if two of each side, particularie Mr. James Fergusone and Mr. George Young for us, Mr. James Durhame and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie for them, could fall on any other overtures which might unite us, these four among themselves condescended to the inclofed paper (A.), and ingaged themselves to doe their best to persuade others thereto. When I did see the paper, I fand 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 oppreffion, 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 moft declare their content-ment to accept of it; the neutrals of Aire, Mr. Cobroun 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 Glafgow, except one; and of Dumbartane except two; and of Irvine except two. Finding it fo, 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 prefbyterie, united on fo unjust termes. The brethren of my former mind finding me resolute not to joyne with them, were defirous to keep with me, especiallie the authors of the late overture, Mr. Ferguifone and Mr. Young. Bot this by no means I would permitt; for they having declared almost all their willingnefs to unite on these mean termes, I would not have them draw back, contrare to their minds, upon my diftendent: so with much adoe I got them to joyne, and let me, and a few more, serve my owne mind of abftaining from their united meetings. This hitherto I have done, to the great quietnes 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 fee my predictions too truelie to come to pafs; the Remonstrators, as unquestionable matters, to doe within the bounds of the synod whatever they think expedient. Mr. Archibald Dennifhone, without any considerable fault, they depofed: when he fled to the Englifh, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, as I foresaw, by his greater credite, stopped all hearing there. Mr. David Adamfone, though of many libelled scandals they got not one proven, yet still they keep on the pannel; and our moft regular plantation of Mr. James Ramsay, Mr. Archibald Inghifh, and one in Robertoun, they will have annulled, and the moft irregular plantations of their men to stand. At their next dyett they will fall on whom they pleafe, without controul. However, being free of publick debates, without, as I think, my owne procurement, but the rash imprudence (if not the too much wiſdome) 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 houfe of Purie,
he fell with Mr. Blair to resume his old counsellors of a generall union with the Remonstrators, by ane overture of oblivion of bygones. For this end, Mr. Blair and he deal with Mr. Wood to be content of a conference at Edinburgh upon that subject, together with the other purpsoes we were much vexed with, prayer for the King, and admision of compliers to the communion; also they went on to design the conferrers. For us they named Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Hew Mackell, Mr. W. Raite, Mr. William Dowglas of Aberdeene, Mr. John Robison of Dundee, Mr. James Wood, Mr. James Fergusone and me. For the other, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gilleipie, Mr. John Livingstone, Mr. Samuel Ruthrfoord, Mr. Robert Traile, Mr. John Carftares, Mr. Samuell Aysten, and some three more. So soon as I heard of this motion so far advanced, I was much feared for the consequence of it, and therefore writ to Mr. David Dickson to beware of the danger; and being West, called Mr. John Bell, Mr. William Ruffell, and Mr. Robert Wallace, to advyse on it. All of them were afraid of the issue; yet none would be at the paines of rideing to Edinburgh to consult about it. This I behooved to doe my selfe. When I came there, I fand the brethren not at all minding the matter; but setting the hazard before their eyes, I got them roused up to look about them, and to commissionat me to bring from the West whom I thought fitt for that conference, to write themselves 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 present. When we came to the meeting, I was glad the danger was not so great as I apprehended. The Remonstrators had as little a mind to unite with us as we with them. Mr. Patrick Gilleipie 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 otherways, it was so, that we could have no conference. We had drawne up ane overture, as we thought, very favourable, and so far as we could goe (C.1.), according to the AsSemblie’s late overture for union (C. 2.), and by the hands of the tryfters, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Durhame, sent it into their meeting: also the tryfters had given us both their overtures (D.) to be thought upon; but the Remonstrators told us, in regard of Mr. Ruthrfoord’s and Mr. Livingstone’s absence, 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 metamong themselves, and considered the paper we had given to them, if they could acquiefce to it, or fend us any better whereto we could acquiefce: upon the advertisement of fome probabilitie of accommodation from Mr. Dickfon to us, and Mr. Traile to them, there might be a meeting fo foone 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 ftomacks; and as for that of Mr. Blair's, we were offended all of us with it, as granting to the Remonftrators almoft all their unreafonable defyres. For this we expofutated sharply enough with Mr. Blair, and he with us. But he was much more offended with the other; and both he and Mr. Durhame faid, that fo long as Wariftone 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 evanifhed, yet we conferred among ourfelves, and with Mr. Blair, Mr. Durhame, Traile, Stirling, and Carftares, on other things for good purpofe. For a number of years, the communion had not been celebrate in Edinburgh, Glaifgow, St. Andrewes, Dundee, etc. moft becaufe all the Magiftrates were fo deep in complying with the Inglish, that they wer excludit from the table by the Act of our Church, and long conftant praifife, except they declared their repentance, which they would not doe, nor durft we crave it of them: alfo they were fo importunat to have the communion, and impatient to be longer excluded, that they were on headie and evill defynes againft us, if we gave them not fatisfacion herein. The Minifters of Edinburgh inclined to admitt them on very fmall acknowledgement. We in Glaifgow were all for that, except Mr. Durhame and myfelfe, albeit we were both much modified at that time; bot thefes of St. Andrewes were very averse from their admiffion, except on conditions not to be expected from them. For this end, they had fent us a long paper (F.); yet, after fome dayes conference, we came to agree to admitt them on a generall teflimonie in our doctrine againft their complanice, and private admonifhing of them to repent for it, laying it on their confience to come or not as they thought good. We thought, indeed, time had much altered the cafe; and I drew Mr. Blair by, and told him roundlie, it wes verie unconcordant, not to quarrell Mr. Livingftone's and Mr. Gillespie's celebration, notwithstanding their voluntar moft groffe and avowed
complyance, and to controvert the admission of Magistrates for compelled complyance in a farre lesuer degree. This stopped his mouth, and he contradicted no more. As for prayer for the King, we spake not much of it in publie; but in private I fand, that most of the companie thought it might be forborne, were not for the proclamation to forbear it under the penaltie of losing our stipends; that leaving of it now would occasion a great scandal. While we were in private conferring on this, Mr. Wood overture, that a way might be found to satisfie the English, and keep still our prayer for the King. I thought this impossible; and before I could learne it from him, he was necessitate to goe home. Thereafter I found that Mr. James Sharp had persuaded him and Mr. Robert Dowglafs to goe with Monk’s recommendation to the Protecor, to entreat for our spareing in this conscientious practice, and for the freedome of our Assemblies, on promise of peaceable behaviour. How farr the Remonstrators provocations put on such a resolution, I know not; but no such thing is yet done, and to me it's a matter of a very doubtsome nature. It's true, all the eftates of the kingdome, yea, every particular perfone of note, have submifled, and on occasion of civile rights, have acknowledged the present power, except some of us minifters; and that our protesting brethren, of their owne accord, ever fince Worcefter, having put the King out of their prayers, have provoked heirby the English to perfecute us; yet if all be true what some of us have written for this dutie, how we fhall for any trouble leave it, it's hard to say. I fent yow three papers from very good hands, for the continuance of this practice; and Mr. Hutchefon wrote a fourth, which I did not fee, better, as I heard, than all the former. For myselfe, I never wrote a line on that quefion, but adhered to the thing without quefion; albeit what ye wrote from Voetius fumbled me, and the generall practice of all our brethren of England and Ireland more. What we fhall doe in the end we doe not know. This is the greateft difficultie that flicks in our stomacks; albeit in mine, Mr. Dickfon’s, Mr. Durlame’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 prrefent deliberation: the Lord direct us in it. I hear the King himfelf would gladly permitt us to forbear it, and our flocks would earnestly request 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 some of their neighbours, were forely perfecute, and chafed
sentence 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 he helped, it's uncertaine.

When Mr. Patrick Gillespie was with Cromwell, he alighted and pleasured sundrie 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 Glafgow and Aberdeene, obtained sundry favours; the superiors of Galloway as the Bishop had them, and two thousand nine hundred merks a-year out of the customes of Glaſgow, for maintenance of burfars at our own nomination, with the Toune's maintenance 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 regretted to us his great charge in that halfe-year, that it had exceeded two hundred and fifty pound sterling, and all that he had receaved of Cromwell was one hundred pound, I was content the Colledge should allow him ane hundred pound; but it was caried by vote to three thousand merks. His stipend that yeare, I think, was two thousand merks, and his depursements for us about (one thing and another,) ane other thousand merks, besides 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 ane order to the Judges to allow no intrants any stipends but those who had the testimonie of fo many of the Remonfrant faction, in every diocefs, as they set dounge. There were only a few of our mind joyned, who could have carried nothing against the others, fo the planting of all the churches was, in effect, devolved on that faction. The clauces in the order appointed the judges to affift them in the ejection of all whom they should declare scandalous, as ye may read in the order itselfe 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 Fyfe 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 was supprest, 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 Assemblie of Dundie, than did agree with his former rath-nes, and Mr. James Guthrie's way; though after the breaking of the land Mr. David retracted somewhat of this retracation, yet so much fluck of it as made him not fully of Mr. James his judgment. The people did like neither weell, but Mr. David beft of the two: thence emulation and some contefts in the feffion 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 feffion to his owne mind: who oppoefed his way, were removed, on diverse pretences; the rema'nder were but few, thefe were perfuaded 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 admit him, the people did tumultuously, with cryes, and fhouts, and frokes, oppoef it; yet Mr. James admitted the man, and caused summond above threecore of the chief burgeffes before the English Criminal Court at Edinburgh for a ryot. Being all put to ane affife, to the Judges open difatiffaction, they were all absolved once and againe. Their advocate did publieflie serve Mr. James with very coarfe language; but the Judges did favour him all in their power. This all did misfylke in Mr. James as a dangerous preparative to the whole land: however, it made his people irreconcileable to him. The Synod of Perth mett at Dumblane: when they were about to declare againft 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
go to Stirling, and intimate his sentence of deposition by the Generall Assem-
blie, the nullity of Mr. Rule's admission to Stirling, and of Mr. Blair's to
Bothkenner, to elect a new session for calling of ministers to Stirling, and
to approve that as the Presbytery 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 time. 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 were other
very enormous practices of our brethren: a good and able young man, Mr.
John Jamesone, being planted, almost unanimously, in the parish of Eccles, by
the whole Presbytery of Dunfermiline, some few of the Remonstrant side gives a call
to Mr. Andrew Rutherford; Mr. John Livingstone, with two of the Presby-
terie of Chinnside, admitts 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 clear overturning of our fundamentall discipline (L.): yow
see what an answer Mr. John returns (M.). However, they go 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 Presbytery 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 fatal divisions, which wracked England and our Kingdom first and laft,
which with our eyes we have seen the only considerable means of the ruine
of these who are down, and rising of those who are up, are like to put in the
hand of that unquiet faction of our brethren, or else into the hands of
Eraftian 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 tolerat to goe about that without controll. When Quakers
falls a-raileing on all the ministrick, 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 heartless 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. Calamie for his Imprimatur, yea, a Dedicatorie epistle (Q.), he was so feeble-minded as to refuse both my Dedication, and his owne Imprimatur; yea, with difficultie could I get his Imprimatur to my verie Catechife: 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-Councell 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, 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 fickness the last part of the year he could not wait on his class: our scholars were few, the laureation private, and tryells superficiaire. I got leave to bring all the scholars twice a-week to my Hebrew lessons, and discourses on the Catechisme; 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 sundrie subjects whereof I took no notice. Mr. Patrick, before the end of the year, dyted two or three hours someting on the first of Ezechiel; but his maine talk 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 vixuality makes our rent so small, and our prodigalitie is so great, that we are like to fall in the common diseafe of great scarcity 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 fafhrie, 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 pieces a-year. This I had designd for a son of John Barnes, who lived with his brother a minifter of England: the Toune-Councell presented to one part of the provision, Mr. David Dick to ane other, and the Colledge to the reft; I thought the Proveft, (James Bell, the youth's uncle,) would carrie the Toune-Councell, and Mr. Patrick Gillefpie alfo, for the Colledge, the Proveft being very great with him; for Mr. David Dickfon 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 diffuaded him from all thoughts of it, yet at laft he perfuaded me to be of his mind, if fo I could be fairly difengaged with Mr. George Barnes: This Providence did for me, for the young man's friends fand it not expedient he fhould leave England, and fo thanked me for my kindness. Being freed of this voluntare impediment, I told Mr. Patrick Gillefpie the cafe, fhewing him, that though I was sure to carry the Toune and Mr. Dickfon's presentation, yet I would neither feek, nor accept them, unlefs he were content of my boy to that charge. He defyred to fpeak 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 defyre, I left the fpeaking 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 fhews me, that the Regents and others had been at him, heavilie regrating, and rebuking him for ingagement to my fon in that place; yea, that Mr. Robert Hodges had, besides his knowledge, obtained a prefentation from the Toune-Councell. This un-expected newes fashed me; yet I told him the firft motion had come from the boy, and not myself; that if I had not left the management of it to him, I could eafilie have helped all, and yet I would aflay it, if he knew no impediment in my boy himfelf. He affured, that none had made any exception againft him but that he needed it not. I fhew him that exception was of ignorance, if not malice; for the place in queftion was not like thefe of Profeffours and Regents, which required much abilitie of gifts; nor of our Burfars, either of Divinitie or Philofophie, whose foundation required povertie;
but that was of a third nature. He acknowledged it was so; yet he knew not what to say to obloque. 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 cheerfullnes. When I spake to the Rector, Dean of Facultie, and Regents, all assured me, at the first word, of their great willingnes 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 obloque 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 one 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, bleffed be his name! and afflicts me in all I have to doe, as I would wish. For mariage, 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 mariage, 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 rifeing 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 divions and faction holden in so long as that partie fled 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 divisons, brought them to nothing, and made them capitulate one after another, till at last all are come in. John Graham of Duchray is the last, who indeed was among the most honest, ftout, and wise men of them all. The English gave tolerable termes to them all; and by this wisdome has gotten them all quiet. Glencairne ledd the
way to the rest, 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 wise in tyme. Lorne’s difference with his Father keeped him longer out; yet he also at last was perdued to come in, albeit he and his father are not lyke to be good friends. His Father, leaft 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 repentted, and Gott a new order for their returne: yet they would [goe] on; yea, took up his owne beft house of Inneraray, made the kirk and school 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 flagganning. The Chancellour Gott better conditions in his capitulation than any did expect, albeit his debts and infamie lye very heavie 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, banifhments, forfauters, fynes, as yet continueing without any releasement, and private debts from their former troubles, are wracked or going to wrack. The commonalitie and others are oppreffed with maintaine 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 possified 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 sojours; our Lords of Session, a few English, unexperienced with our law, and who, this twelve moneth, hes 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 Councell of State, with power in all things, is come doune, of fix or seven English sojours and two of our complying gentlemen, Colonell Lockhart and Colonell Swinton. We expect little good from them; but if ane heavie excife, as is said, be added
to our maintenance, 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 unjustlie afflicted by men.

The other year, when the good Parliament fatt doune, we were in great fear. Their first declarations were so pious, but to me so full of the Anabaptiftick straine, that I was afraid of them. They were elected absolutlie by the officers of the armie, and the ministers of their caball, fullie according to the mind of the Sectarian 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 publicklie 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, lest they should have overwhelmed him, themselves, and all, in their new Babell, and took on himself the new office of Protectour, 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 contradiction. 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 allie many. Ours and their choices were men who, for peace, were resolved to doe or say any thing they fand tollerable to their owne large mind, and, I think, were all so complying with the Protectour as he would have wilhed: yet many of the chiefe in this meeting were so unstatisfied with one above a Parliament, (a true and high roylaltie as they conceived,) that at their very first doun-fitting 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 mort as now disposed. The Protectour finding it so, made no scruple to discipline them, and, without more adoie, to purge the House presently of all who, under their hand, did not ingage againe to preserve the modell of government appointed by the Protectour and his friends. When many of the most fluring heads, by the refuileall 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 fitt to dissolve them. Hence all filled with new discontents: but the Protector had so farr, with his witt and diligence, provided for all, that there was no considerable flurr. Lambert and the chiefe of the army were, by hopes, made so fæt, that they concurred cheerfully in all things. Lieut.-Colonell Lilburne, a moft turbulent man, whom I thought no force or skill would ever have gotten quiet, was so cunningly conveyed to Jerfey, and there fo ftricfly kepeed, that there hes been nothing more heard of him than he had been dead. Captain Joyce was put in the fame condition. Generall-Majors Harrifons and Overtoun, with sundrie other officers of the armie, both in Scotland and England, are clofe prifoners, for designes to turne the armie againft the Protector. A number of the Royall partie arifeing, in a very confufed imprudent way, in many fhires, were all easfly scattered, and the chiefe of them made fæt, and sundry execute for their confpiring; albeit in what, and how farr, we know it not. We were glad that no Scotsman was found accesorie to any of these designes: it seems our people were fo ill-burnt, that they had no stomach for any farder medling; only Crauford, Launderdaill, and David Leslie, when the Tower was filled with new prifoners, were fent to farder and worfe prifons, for no new fault that we hear tell of.

These flurrs 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, fhowes the violence of fome spirits. The arifeing of all the three laft Parliaments; the speaking of a Croune, and title of a King or Emperour, which fome thinkes is not vaine; the putting of Ireland under the government of his fon Henrie; and Scotland under a Councell onlie of fome fix or feventh officers of the armie, and chiefly of his neece's Robina Seufter's husband,9 the young Laird of Lee, made great malecontentment in the heart of the moft. To help this, all poible courfes are taken to fatisifie England; but Scotland is not worth the minding: in England, fixty thoufand pound fterling a moneth, the halfe of the maintainance is diminished; but we fear the new excife fhall double our maintainance. Albeit the arifeing 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. —(Analecta 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 satisflying 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 was thought at first, that the navie under Blake, for to affift the Spaniſh against the French, invading by sea, both Naples and Cataloniar, beside the secureing of the ships and cannon, thould have had aﬄured from the Spaniſh for pay two hundred thousand pound fterling; 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 designes did much please the spirits of the vulgare; but now miscontentments are feared, even on that ground also, to arise, that fo hudge expence hes been laid on the people for fruitleſs designes; and that in their farr voyages, many lives have been loft for no purpole. Since this tyme Blake hes lived on the English charge: the Spaniſh hes born 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 medled with, it were a breach with Spaine, which were a beginning of a needles farr at ane unfeamonble tyme; that Penn’s great navie and armie hes done no service at all, but in Hispaniola hes gotten a great affront.—These things from the Diurnals: the miscontent Royalits blaze farr; bot the Protecor is wise enough to fee to all these murmurings of fillie people: in quieting of malecontents he hes a strange both dexterity and skill.

For Church matters, there is no eccleſiaslick 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 Protecor’s perion; yea, we hear of little trouble of Papifts, who grow much in the North of Scotland, more than these eighty years, without any controll. We expect our Councell of State will fee 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 chief enemies, the Spanish and Austrian; 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 dissembles, and seeks the English friendship, till they have done their businesse 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 alio, the Spanih 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 passeage through Savoy, to fall on the quiet Protestants of the vaillies. 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 carreer 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 insist 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 happiness 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 uncredible 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 easely have stopped them; but if to the conquiese of Loraine and Halsatia, 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
Spanish hes been disabled to keep the fields against the French any where, let be in Flanders against the King in person, 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 hudge armie and their confederate Brandeburgh, with the consent of the French, been against yow for your usurpations on the Dutchy of Gulick Cleive, the oppression of the Orange familie, and what other quarrells willing men would not have wanted; we thought your States in as great hazard to have lost their verie libertie, notwithstanding of all the help the English could have made them, as they had been under these fourty 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 myself, my prayers to God was, and shall be, for the preservation of fo noble a member of the Reformed Church, which seemed to be in a clear hazard of ruine. If the Swedes be gone to Pole, in this height of the Polonian calamitie, when the Muscovites and Coacks and their own divisions have so lamentable wracked them, to accompli, their miserie, and prey on that kingdome, without any new cause since their last peace, they will not have the blessing of many Christians to go along with them. For albeit that proud kingdome of Pole, for their grosse poperie and other soule herefies and shamefull avowed incestuous marriages of their two last Kings agreed to by their States, be highly sinfull, yet they were a good barr for Christendome on that side against the Turks and Tarters incroachments; and if they be ruined, a great gap will be opened for these Scythian barbarians to fall on us all. Many here did think the Swedish designe had been for Germanie, albeit we knew no particular quarrell; yet that which we see this day, and know ever hes been the greatest quarrell among States and Princes, ambition and appearance of advantage was evident enough. The Swedes being matter of so great and well provided ane armie of their owne, both by sea and land, and having so great alliances in Germanie, and interest by their new conquest; the Emperor being so weak, sicklie, and near death; his son so young and unfitness for government; the Croune of Hungary being so long denied, the Hungarian divisions being so great, and the Tranyslvanian so powerfull, wise and famous a Prince; the Elector of Saxony being so oft beat by the Swedes, and the Bavarian yet being little above a child; the house of Palatine, Brandeburgh,
Hefle, and Brunswick so nearly at this tyme related to the King of Sweden; Spaine and Pole utterlie unable for to affift the Emperour, and France so willing to joyne his forces for the ruine of the Austrian 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 feecrie, 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 deftitute of all help, to keep up the Turks from Crete. It feemes 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 Turkifh affaires, when the State of China, and the outmoſt Tartars, is so well known. I wish yow fent us that Atlas of China, which latelie that Flemifh prieſt did print at Amfterdam. 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 Chrifṭ’s Kingdome, and of making fouls to be faved, which now fo evidently perifh! It is for this end chiefly that I ever took notice of the motions of States and Princes, to fee if any beginning did appear of performing the Lord’s great promises; the coming in of the Jewes, the abolifhing of Antichrift, and reforming of the Roman church, the bringing of Mahometan and Pagane princes to the faith of Chrifṭ. While nothing of all this does yet appear, my heart is oft grieved, and prayes the Lord to arife to glorify his Sone, and comfort believers. The great declining of Spaine, without a fone, and but ane old daughter, and weaſnes of the Austrian family, made me once hope that the tyme wes near when these bloudie and great supporters of Antichrift should fall: but the Lord is wife, and knows what he is doing.

Postscript. December 1st 1655.

While, for lack of a bearer, this lies long beſide me, my fone Harie, to my joy, comes fave home. Not only by your letters, but by himſelf more, I fee the singular care ye have had of him as I could have excepted or wished. I will not in words express the fentence of this kindness, espeially in
that your wife and ferious dealing with him to returne to his book, it hes prevailed, and he is again as diligent a fludent 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 fpent on it. The fix pounds sterling he borrowed from Mr. Winch at London, I have causd pay, and received Mr. Winch’s discharge of it. The rest of his account to yow shall be anfuered with the first opportunity. In your care of Dr. Strang’s book, yow fhew your friendship both to the dead and living: I am glad it is in Elzevir’s hand; caufe haftte it fo much as may be. I find this fault in the feet yow fent me, that the marginall index is confounded with all notes or citations which were any wayes on the margine, without any diftinction 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 always gotten civile hearing, it was thought fitt, that Mr. Dowglafs and he should repreffent to the Generall the manifold and increafing grievances of the Church; which they did in this paper, (R. 1.). The Generall profefsed himfelf willing, but unable to remeéd them; only undertook to fend them to the Protector; with whom yet they fleep, together with their repreffation againft Mr. Gillefpie’s charter, as they call it. The Generall oft fpoke anent prayer for the King. Mr. Dowglafs, and others, fhew their utter unwillingneſs to quite it fo long as the Proclamation ftood; and when the Sheriff was fett to trouble them, had he not given over his begun proceedes, they had prepared protestations. The Generall declared his unabilitie to take off the Proclamation for the tyme; but hoped the new Councell, when it came doune, fhould doe it. At their coming, the President Broghill, having a good impression from his fifter-in-law, the Ladie Clotworthie, of Mr. Dowglafs and Mr. Dickfon, dealt kindlie with them; and understanding their ftick at the Proclamation, albeit with some difficultie, got the Councell to take it off, (R. 2.); fhewing withall to the minifters the strictnefs of his instructions against all who continued publicklie naming of the King. After much deliberation, they thought fitt to give it over. They once purpofed 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 abftained, 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 sick. 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, Generall Monk was irratat against us, as if we had yielded to Broghill what we denied to him: and from that day, in all occasions, befriended openlie the Remonstrants, to our prejudice, as men to be trusted beyond us, their principles being opposite to the interest of their enemie Charles Stewart, whom we did affect still, notwithstanding of our silence in our publick prayers. Mr. Traile, who conversed much with him, write in the time of our last Synod a long letter to Mr. P. Gillepie, which he read publick to a grand committee of his mind, as if we had uttered to the Generall and President very many calumnies against them, especially their averfence from all peace with us their brethren. On occasion thereafter, both the President and Generall, to their owne faces, witnessed our innocencie; 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. Gillepie and others to clear them of our imputations, and to defyre, 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 fydes from all the parts of the Kingdom. It was not long before it was clear who were the men who made the Union desperat, except on conditions intolerable. Our meetings appointed nine of every fyde to confer. Theirs were Waristoune, Sir John Cheifie, Colonell Ker, Mr. S. Rutherfoord, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. P. Gillepie, Mr. James Naefmith, Mr. Robert Traile, Mr. Gabriell Maxwell: Ours were Mr. Robert Dowglafs, Mr. D. Dickfon, Mr. James Wood, Mr. Robert Ker, Mr. James Fergufone, 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 Waristoune’s materials. The first was this, (T.): It to us was so high and absurd, that we could scarce 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 ane 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 Queerees on our overture, the first of June, (Y.); and withall, ane answer to our Queerees, (Z.). Having pondered these, we returned ane answer to their Queerees, (A. A.), and our sense of their overture, (B. B.). Our concessions were so many and great, that Mr. Patrick Gillespie, Mr. John Carftares, 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 Waristoune and Mr. Guthrie did carry it so in their meeting over Mr. P. G[illespie,] that this verie captious paper was given in to us, (C. C.); which Mr. P. G[illespie] denied openlie to be the sense of their meeting, and Mr. G[utherie] 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 gains 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 deferred 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 so, 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 Assembly [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 ane supplication to the Councell for assistance to that their most presumptuous and unreasonable committee which ever our Church did see.

At our Synod of Glasgow, where this conference for union was hatched, there was other two dangerous motions. Waristone 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 Waristoune and Mr. James Guthrie for this
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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 toune, he sends his mind to him in closed epiftles, 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. Gillelspie, and Mr. Levistoune, disputed against it in vaine. Mr. Gillelspie, so soon as he went west, called a meeting at Kilmar-nock to crush it if he could. Waristoune hearing of his designe, sent S[john] J[ohn] Cheiflie to keep that meeting, where there were bitter and reflecting debates betwixt S[john] J[ohn] and Mr. P[atrick]; yet Mr. P. carried it over S[john] J[ohn] that all should declare their mind anent the Covenant; where all, except four or five of little weight, disfented, yet so that they should enquire the fencie of the godly of the bounds anent it, and report at the next Synod. S[john] J[ohn] in this foyled, prevailed against Mr. P[atrick] in ane other vote of their mind, for erecting of the Commiffion [16]50 for purgeing the Kirk. These interfeirings put us in hope that faction would divide among themselves. At Glafgow, 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 Wfe’s mislyke, the motion for the tyme was laid aside. But behold, from some of the fessions of Glafgow it was moved, that the ordinance for teftifieing, notwithstanding of all the contradiction had been made to it, seemed very innocent and exceeding good to be practifed. To this Sir John oppofed, and Mr. Patrick avowed he knew nought of the motion; but fo soon as he went to Edinburgh to feek a conference for union, the President and other counfellers, of their owne proper motion altogether, without his knowledge, as he affirmes, re-solved to proclaim his ordinance, and did it after his departure; but after his preaching to the Counccell, 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. Gillelspie’s meaning; yet this was visible, as Mr. Guthrie wrote sharpelie against his ordinance, fo he oppofed his Covenant and commiffion, 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-
monstrants 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 Generall Assemblies, not only for condemning of the Publick Resolutions, (which we in conscience judge necessary truths, the grounds of our apologie to forraigne Churches, and the world, for our innocencie in all these fearfull scandles which our brethrons tenets and practises hes occasioned to be cast upon the face of our Church and Nation), but also for condemning the lat 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 Assemble, or whatever defyre 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 paccitie 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; divers Synods hes bot very few of them; as Fife bot seven, whereof two only considerable; Perth at moft 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 furcease from their jurisdiction, and devolve it on a committee for the bounds of every Synod, of the number whereof they shall make the equall half, to judge and determine all matters of planting and purgeing, and whatever falls to be controverted, whose acts the Synods shall have no power to ranverfe without the previous advyce of a generall consultatorie committee out of all the Synods, whereof also the equall half shall be of their judgement, and nominat by them. When we in the Synod of Glafgow defyred 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 diflimilitudes apparent in our case, from this of their demand for the whole land, yet they passionately cryed downe our motion, and rather chosen to rejecct all peace with us than to hear of any such overture. 4. All plantations moft be taken from the congregations and feffions, 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 shou'd yield to them all their defyres, yet doe they expresslie deny to us that which we count the effence of Presbyteriall subordination, a submision to the sentence of our Judicatures for tyme to come. They seem to be for the thing in generall, but not for a submision 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 practife, both to diflent 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 fixth now they are come to, a few of them to name some twenty-nine of their faction which were of the Commision [16]50, to be a settled judicature, with absolute jurifdiction over the whole Church, ever while they think tyme to call a Generall Assembleie. This to us is worfe than Mr. Gillefpie's ordinance, which they so much cry doune, for it was alone for stipends in order to planting; but this is an usurpation of the whole immediat jurifdiction; worfe than Independencie, that increaches not on others, but exempts only their owne adherents from others jurifdiction; worfe than Episcopacie, that never made such havock, and so caufeleslie, of all Presbyteries and Synods at once. The event, is feared, will be the forfaufter of all our ecclesiastick liberties, in taking of them out of both our hands, to be depoiz'd in an Eraftian 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 startet: from this and my former letter yow fee what they have added, and it's not unlyke, as error is very fertile, they will not fland at all they have declared, but lies a farde 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 obserue the corrupters of it, and their corruptions, the great caufe 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 obserue the footsteps of Divine Providence as they offer them-
felves to the eyes of all beholders. Generall Blake's navie lies cost a vast charge, without any profite. The expedition of Hispaniola, as I read it in a London description, is full of shame and loss, both of charges and men, lies drawn on ane open warr with Spain, which will hurt our trade. Our emptie coffers will not be furnished with all the ordinarie incomes, though great, and much greater than before; nor by this new preffour of the cavi- leers, the separating of them from others, even these against whom no new tranfgression is alleaged, only for the holding doune, as is profesed, the great and reflefs faction of the Royalists, we fear doe more harme than good, albeit Lilly's prognoftick we count meerly knavifh. We are grieved at the fearfull scandale of that unhappe apostate the Queen of Swan: it's good she signifies a meer cypher for civile power, and is of fo bad a reputation for her carriage these years bygone; it's lyke her maintainance will be more burdensome than ufefull to the Popifh partie. The progresse of the King of Swan is strange. 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 florme on his own head, without all occasion. If the Lord will be pleased to advance the gospell by that prodigious change, we will quicklie fee: it seems he takes that kingdome by the right alone of arms, and makes it hereditarie to himself and the Croune of Swan, with the Poles univerfall content.

Since I came from Edinburgh, there is two or three papers more paff betwixt us and the Remonfrators, which makes our wounds wyder, especiallie since by violence they avow openly to oppresse us; one part of them under Wariftone and Mr. Guthrie's patronage, though disfallowed by others, puts into their hand the power of making all the churches voyd. They look, by their supplicating of the Engliith, for erecting of themelves in a commission for purging, against which the Prefbyterie of Edinburgh hes given ane honest teftimonie, (I.I.). Ane other part, under the patrocinie of Mr. Patrick Gil-lefpie and Mr. J. L[ivingftone,] by the Engliith ordinance, takes the power

1 Christina, Queen of Sweden. She succeeded her father Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, when only five years of age; but resigned the crown in 1654, and soon after abjured the Lutheran religion. She spent most of her subsequent life at Rome, where she died in 1689. She was interred in St. Peter's, Rome, where there is a splendid monument to her memory, by Fontana, erected at the expense 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 Cousin,

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 saint 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 publisht: 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 hes a good treatise for the preface. 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 wont to hing on the walls of your churches: it will hing ever before the eye of God, the prime Covenant: never a league so openlie and univerfallie tread upon, and obliterate without all just cause. I with Mr. Marshall, for saving of his own soule, before he appear at Christ's barr did exoner himself with the Proteclour, if he come to visit him, as I think he will, or otherways in write, about everie article of that Covenant. I think
the Protectour 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 laft service to Christ and his owne soule,
if yow there will require it of him. But as filentium perdidit Angelas, fo
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 fo much as the shew of a Presbyterie and Synod. Why has
not all England and Ireland fo much? Why want yow a Generall Assem-
blie? Why have ye no power at all to execute ecclesiaftick jurifdiction?
not fo much as Independents, Anabaptifts, or Papifts have among their owne.
For all these, as we hear, are tollerate to exercife their discipline among them-
elves; only yow Presbyterians are either restrained or not carefull to ufe
your libertie. Can it be any maxim of State to deny that libertie to Presby-
terians in England for the exercife of Protestant discipline, which the Popifh
Kings of France and Pole did never deny to our brethren, to whom they per-
mitted the libertie of their religion? But fo far as we know, yow have never
fought this beneftite. Whatever ye doe or leave undone, we here take all in
the beft part it may be taken; confidering your difficulties: yet, for myfelf,
I loved ever any ingenuous simplicitie and honest zeal more than too much
cautious wisdome. While yow are permitted to ufe the shaddow of your
powerles Provinciall Synod, were it not good to appoint a committee of a few
the fitteft to conflult, as on other things fo, how to ftirr up thefe whom they
know fitteft in all England for writing on every needfull subjeft. Yow have
many moft able pens as any Church this day; for want of upftirring many of
them are like to doe no service. What yow commend to me, I have no
leaffure for it, beside all elfe, my weekly preaching and four publict lefions 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 preffe, take me up.
Yow have a multitude there much fitter than I for that and all things elfe.
Mr. Rutherfoord tells me yow have his Anfwer to Hooker at laft: let it be
printed if yow there think fitt. Mr. Dickfon's Cafes of Confcience will be
abroad, I hope, before this come to yow. But some of yow there would be
put on to profecute that excellent subjeft. Will yow let Mr. Cotton's offen-
tative bragges, of the Independents appropriating to their faction this part of
divinity, go as a fenfible truth? Mr. Baxter's writs are read with a good eye
by many; his last piece of Judgement, preached and printed in the midst of your citie, in the preface, commending your citie ministers, and your discipline, so highly offends and stumbles many: it seems to be stuffed with groffe Arminianisme: Why take you 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 loft. Noble Mr. Vynes or Mr. Burges, if they were set to deal 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 longfomenes, 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 preffe, is to me the moft excellent book that ever any where was printed, if Dr. Waltham² perfyte his undertaking. If either you or any of your friends had fashions of³ that to me very commendable man, I wish you made my addrefse to him, that now and then I might write to him for the publick good: let me know if this may be without your fathers. Our arme here is broken for all discipline, most by our diffenting brethren running to a schifme. 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 you here one to shew you what we offered; but we find the true stick to be beyond their old error, (which yet no Church, fully no settled State in the world, will approve) of the unlawfulnes to joyn in defence of the nation against the invasion of a forraigne enemie, if so the nation's armie have some officers otherwayes qualified than a few private perfonls 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 visibly 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 doubtles 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 vol'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 far as they refuse openly submission 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 sight 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 condemn so many unheard, they have flowne out to a strange devise, to set up a few of themselfes as a Committee of the Generall Assemblie, with full jurisdiction over all our land, to put in and out of the ministrue 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 Councell of State, whom they have supplie, 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 mieries. When we had satisfie the proclamation against publick prayer for the King, we expected more equitie and favour than before: we wil we find no much leslē. The Supplication which our Diffenters gave in to the Councell for power, under the name of purging, to make havock of our Church, hes yet gott no anfwer: we suspeet 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 intrant but such as in effect they lyke, though not only we did demonstrate its mischief, but the chief of the Diffenters themselves disclaimed it, in this paper of Waristoun's and Mr. Guthrie's; yet it firmly continues, to our great grief and hurt. In all thefe, and many more grievances, we mourn to God; and upon this occasion I let yow know our condition, that yow may mourn with us, for more can no be
expected from you at such a time. It's an ease to a burdened spirit to discharge itself in the bosom of a compassionate friend, such as long you have been to the Church of Scotland, and myself in particular. The Lord uphold your spirits in his ways in these very defective times. My prayer and blessing be on the constant brethren there, and all their labours. My special love to yourself.

December 31st 1655.

Your Brother,

R. B.

(L. L.). [To Mr. Robert Baillie.]

Sir,

By reason of a weak head and a gouty hand, I cannot possibly write so large as you may expect, and as your letter doth require. This is the first writing which I have undertaken for the space of a fortnight, and now I put pen unto paper with difficulty, that I may not seem regardless of, nor unthankful for your intelligence.

Mr. Marshall¹ was dead before I received your letter, and I cannot give you 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 civil and ecclesiastical, than many of his brethren. Dr. Young² is dead also; and his papers about Discipline are so voluminous, that no stationer will undertake to print them, because that controversy lyeth dead among us, and few inquire for any books of that subject: Hence it is that Mr. Crooke is so backward in putting to preface that Answer to Mr. Hooker, which Mr. Rutherford hath made and sent hither. We have lately lost worthy Mr. Vines:³ thus God increaseth our breaches: His Majesty teach us savingly the meaning of these very sad providences. The same course (whereof you justly complained) is taken in England, to over-

¹ Stephen Marshall. B. D. died in November 1655, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.
² 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.
³ 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 indulge Anabaptists, and other erroneous persons. As for Mr. Baxter, he is doubtless 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 prelde. Through God's mercy, many act presbyterially 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 brevitie 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 busineses that have hitherto hindered me. Truely, 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 all the sad divisions that are between you and your godlie brethren. I shall shortlie find a spare tyme to wryte to you more largelie; but being now at Mr. Ashe's, while he was wryting his letter, I took the opportunitie to present my dear respects to you, and Mr. Douglas, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Smith, and the rest of our godlie brethren, whose daylie prayers I heartilie implore, and shall ever remaine.

Your true friend and brother in the work of the Lord,

Edm. Calamy.
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 Erastianjurisdiction, 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 far 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 totallie 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 mifregard and disdain of all we can say or doe to the contrare. 2. Our fellows in these labours, and moft belov'd, 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, Erastaans, apostates from our Covenant, active instrumentes 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 your selfes greater trouble than yow would eithe. If yow be allwayes silent it is a great sinne, shame, scandle, change of our way of preaching in all our former tymes. 5. Your example draws out any of all the land, whose comeing to preach there, or refusing, may undoe them, and this be a laving 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 ministrue, a farr worfe evill than wicked toleration. 7. Who can recount the mischieves of that hellifh invention? The Protector to this day hath never afayed any fuch thing; but yow will learn him the way: prevention will be the beft, 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 with they were only English, and thefe Presbyterians. The Lord direct yow. I feare the croffe we wold eshew will not be long keepe d off: I know the fpirit of the Remonstrators is reflefs, and cannot ceafe from inventing one mifchief after another without end. We are too little in prayer for a de lyverance from our oppreffion: With verie much ado I got yow followed in abftaining, etc.; bot come of it what will, I will not get yow followed if yow go to this purpofe.

Yours.

January 21ft 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 fweet fellowship with yow, and others there, is oft refrehfull to my heart, though the Lord juftlie has overturned, by the hands of unjuft men, all our once fair blossoming hopes and labours. The occasion of my calling to yow at this tyme, is my defyre to know the condition of that excellent book, the beft to me that ever was printed, Dr. Walton’s Polyglott Bible; we have fo 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 fuch name heard of. I am much in love with the man’s labour, and almoft would venture to feek acquaintance of him by letters, unlefs I had conceaved it fitter to understand firft by yow the man’s qualities. That which I would defyre of him is the printing of an Arabick and Samaritan Praxis. The Samaritan he promifes, by that man who overfees the Samaritan Pentateuch; and I pray yow what man is that?7 Yow

7 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.\textsuperscript{8} I have fent yow a copie of a letter of mine to Voetius at Utrecht, and his answer to me the laft yeare: I have no hope to obtaigne my defyre in thefe parts over-fea; if yow there do it not, it will not be done. I think, if yow or any of our friends would deale in earneft with Dr. Walton,\textsuperscript{9} he could eafily 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 public, and a help to many who, by his Bible, are fhirred up to the study of all thefe languages. But the great thing we have need of is a Courfe of philofophie. I pray call at fome of your fationers for my Hebrew Praxis: confider the preface of it, and compare it with thefe two letters; I doubt not but yow and all reall fchollers 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 fervice and honour, not only of this Ifle, but the whole Reformed Churches, which lye under a great difgrace and grievous hurt, that to this day they are fo negligent and bafe as to take the moft of all their philofophy from the worlf of the Popifh divines, Friers, and Jesuites. I hope love to this ufefull and noble defigne, and old friendship, will make yow content, at your leaffure, to let me know if any thing may be expected of this kind from among yow. My heartie love and beft wifhes to yow and all yours. I ref,

Your much honouring and loving Brother,

Glasgow, Auguft 27th 1656.

R. Baillie.

If my \textit{Appendix Practica ad Epitomen Grammaticae Hebraeae Joannis Buxtorphi}, printed at Edinburgh, 1653, be not eafily found there, I shall at the firft occasion fend 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 publick 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."

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 you would be pleased to write ofter than of late you have done. Your occasions to Rotterdame, and from thence hither, can no be but frequent. I defyre you to try if you can get a course of the French Currents of Antwerp or Brufells; let me try the last moneth of them: you remember you sent me, for three or four years punctually, the French Gazet from Amsterdam; see if the like can be done from Brufells or Antwerp, to which you are now nearer. I long exceedingly for Dr. Strang's book: what you have for the Colledge lend it with the first occasion: I hope your by-gone count is payed, and more money will be sent you shortly. I pray you, in your first to Voetius, remember my heartie service to him for his kind and prolix answer to my letter. Try if he has any returne, either from Buxtorf or Golius, about my motion to them: we all long for a new enlarged edition of his Bibliothec, and a third volumne of his Thefes. I am informed that there is no man fitter to draw a Philosophick Curfus than his own son: will you try if he can be persuaded 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 controverfie with Ami-raud? As long since I defire you to gather the adverfarie pieces of Voetius and Marefius, and fend 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 you may give me ane account of all this, behold I am at the labour to let you 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, affittance in every part of my calling, blessed be his name! I live peaceably with all men; I go to no Church meeting, prefbyterie, or synod, on the ground I shew you before. Mr. James Durhame is independent with me, (which contributes to my peace,) but his grounds are diverfe. When Mr. David Dickfon 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 Aflenmlie appointed him minister for the King. We then called Mr. Robert Ramfay to that profeflion. When Mr. James was wareie 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 difatiffied with many of his wayes, yet I counted him one of the most gracious, wife, and able preachers now in this Isle. I could have been gladly content he had come to Mr. Ramfay’s place in the minifterie, or to Dr. Strang’s place of Principall; but to his former place of profeflion, whereto we called Mr. Ramfay, I was not content he should returne, and did oppofe it what I could; fo much the more, that I found, from himselfe, that he was to en-deavour Mr. Patrick Gillefpie 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 defyre; my friend Mr. Zacharie [Boyd], and others, fell passionat to have Mr. John Young to the profeflion, and caried it, fore againft my mind. Mr. P. G[illefpie], by the English, fet himself doune in Dr. Strang’s place. The feflion drew up fo un-orderlie a call for Mr. R. Ramfay’s place of the minifterie, that the moft of the towné drew up a proteftation againft it: Mr. Durhame counted his proper place to be that of the Colledge which Mr. John Young had posifed, and not caring to tak [talk ?] of the proteftation, did ferve in Mr. R. R[amfay’s] place of minifterie, (no man contradicting him,) from time to time, but in a loufe way; and when our great jarrs in Presbyterie and Synod arofe, did abfaine as well 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 defire of Sir John Clotworthy to have him to Antrim, as he fayes, 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 Prefident Broghill deall with him for that effeect, and put the Protecouer also upon it. My heart truely would be forrie if he should remove: he is the minifter of my familie, and almoft the only minifter in this place of whom my soull gets good, and whom I refeect in fome things above all men I know: he hes a very fatisfaftorie treatife 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 oppofition 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-six thousand pound are already spent upon it: Mr. Patrick Gillespie with a very great care, industriie, and dexterity, managing it himself as good as alone. But our inward and most necessar materials are too much neglected. The Bacheller Regent, Mr. George Sinclair, almost the whole year, was dangerously sick, to the great hurt of the claifie. Mr. P. Young, Magistrand Regent, was exceeding negligent in his attendance, to the great hurt of that claifie. Mr. J. Veitch, the Bajon Regent, partly through sickness, and partly by tryells and call to the minimfrie, neglected much that claifie. 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 Ramfay, 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 chose a ne English sectarie, to whom they promis'd the stipend; when, after two years trouble, the Englishman removed, our brethren Mr. P. Gillespie, Mr. James Durhame, Mr. John Carftares, all much obliged to Mr. R. Ramfay 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 Forsyth, lately a Baxter boy, laureat within these two years, a little, very feckles-lyke thing in his person, and mean in his gifts, but the son of a Gillespie: to him, the parish weary of strife, wherein by the English power they were allways oppresst, yeilded in silence without opposition. In Campfie likewise, in [place of] Mr. Archibald Denneftone, depofed by them without any considerable caufe, 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, against the people's heart, they have planted a little maniken of small parts, whom I never saw; and forced old Mr. Robert Young, albeit as able yet as ever, to give over his miniftrie. 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 Glafgow, Mr. Andrew Gray being dead of a purple fever, of a few dayes roveing, the Magiftrates 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 reft were fo averse, that they were ready, publikly, to have oppofed it. So the Magiftrates 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 Campfie; but Mr. Patrick carried it to Mr. Robert Macquare, who lately, for inabilitie of body, had left his charge in the Colledge, and evidently was unable for fuch a charge as Glafgow: yet they put him in nemine contradi-cente, and that without all the ordinarie tryalls, being unable, for his health, to have undergone them: appearandly the burthen shortly will crufh him, except he go on to doe as he hes done yet, frequently to let his place vaike. Through the violence of that partie our Church, in these parts, is in a hard condition, and for the tyme remedilefs. 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 procès againft him, for small unconsiderable caufes, and depofed him; when he is charged to remove from his houfe, and all he hes there, his fon, by the friendship of Swinton, gets the English to take notice of the violent oppression; who, after a full hearing, decerne the old miniftrie to enjoy all, even what before he had been content to quire. This preparative is dangerous for our whole Church; but the unhappy violence of these unadvyfed men draws on these evills on themfelves 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 opprēs; but a miserable one: it puts all our Church causēs in the hands of the English, who defyre to be judges of them according to their Ernstian principle, though ordinarily our brethren have the ear of the English to doe with them what they please. With much adoe your old friend, a right honest and able man, more than the most of his neighbours, Mr. Allan Ferguson of Drimmen, escaped their hands. The last Synod had put a committee to the Presbyterie of Dumbar-tan to try a number of flanders noyfed upon him: when, beside all his elders, four-score and fourteen witnesēs are sworne and tryed, nothing at all is found against him. This proceeds, and another of his neighbour Mr. David Adam-sone of Fintrie, where also, after much noyse, 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 side, not on ours, if there were any justice. At that same Synod the deposition of Mr. R. Hume was ratified, as I was informed, very unjustlie.

In the other parts of the land we see no relenting of our brethren's fervour. Mr. Livitoun, notwithstanding of all the trouble about the planting of Eccles, hes gone on to the lyke enormous practice at Sproustoun, coming in on the Presbyterie of Dunfe, with two or three of the neighbour presbyteries, and planting Mr. S[amuel] Row, one of their partie, contrare to the mind of all the Presbyterie; how farre against the fundamental laws of all our discipline yow will see in the Presbyterie's declaration, (A.). Mr. James Guthrie is still in contest with the people of Stirling, but in more vexation than formerly; for his colleague, Mr. Matthias Simson, is as headie and bold a man as himself, and hes good hearing with the English, so that he is like to get the stipend; and [Mr.] Rule to live perquire. Mr. James and Wariftoune are on their old designe still, to set up their Commision for tyrannizing over the Kirk; but it's like the English will not countenance them, the thing is so extreamlie and evidentlie unjust; also some of us are fallen in with the English farre enough.

The President Broghill is reported by all to be a man exceeding wise and moderat, and by profession a Presbyterian: he hes gained more on the affections of the people than all the English that ever were among us. He hes been very civill to Mr. Dowglaf and Mr. Dickson, and is very intime with Mr. James Sharp; by this means we have ane equall hearing in all
we have adoe with the Councell; yet their way is exceeding longsome, and all must be done first at London. It's but the other week that Mr. P. G[illepsie’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. Rutherfoord’s daily bitter contentions with him made him wearie of his place exceedingly; the Old Colledge being long vaiking, and he the eldeft matter of it, and for sundrie years employed to oversee it, almoft as Principall, was wishèd by sundrie who loved it and him, to be placed there; and there is no doubt he was the fitteft man living for that charge: but here was the insuperable difficultie; a fair call could not be gotten. The fyve mafters 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 eldeft matter then in charge, alledging it to be his right to succeed, with the consent of other two mafters, went to the English to fute their favour. The President, 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 peremiptor letter to the minifters and mafters of St. Andrewes to admitt Mr. James Wood Principall to the Old Colledge without delay. When the Univerfitie is convened, 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 moft serviceable man our Church now hes: but I am not yet satified 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 caufes, to medle with it. I love not that we shou’d justifie or harden the English in their usurpations in our Universitie’s rights: but these things I will debate with himselfe at meeting.

Ane other paffage of ours I was not satified with: Swinton was excommunicat for his early complying with the English. Sundrie of his friends were earneft to have him relaxed, that in their necessarie affaires they might have the more libertie to imploy his help; he was either fo proud, or fo
feared to offend his masters, that he would neither acknowledge a fault, nor petition for favour. When his friends dealt with the Presbytery of Edinburgh, they sent two to confer 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 Hamilton. 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 Presbytery of Air did relaxe good William Govane, who was at leaft on the scaffold, at the King’s execution, if no more, excommunicat on the lyke occasion; yea, the Synod of Glægow at Aire took the cenure off Mr. P. Gilleipie and Mr. James Naefmith, without any acknowledgement of a fault, or defyre to be relaxed. To this strange enormitie, all formallie voted; only Mr. James Fergusone, Mr. Thomas Kircaidie, Mr. George Young, were abfent; Mr. John Bell and Mr. Alexander Nifbet removed themselves; but no diflent was entered.

Our State is in a very silent condition: strong garrifons over all the land, and a great armie, both of horfe and foot, for which there is no service at all. Our Nobles lying up in prifons, and under forfaultries, or debts, private or publict, are for the most part either broken or breaking. No more word of delyvering Crawford, Lauderdail, Eglintone, Montgomery, Ogilvie, Merfhall, 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 anfwer of it alfo before it came to the King; and yet, under the moft fearfull imprecations can be devis’d, the villain wrote, unrequired, that he had done no fuch things. Some fays, it would have flood 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 purchafe, has made much clamour; albeit none who has any credit has made ufe of it. All the Advocats are returned to the barre. Balcolmie and Ker makes fome more difpatch in caufes than was [before.] The Great Seall of Scotland, (with Cromwell’s large statue on horfeback, Olivarius Dei Gratia Reip. Anglice Scotiae et Hiberniae Protector, under the arms of Scotland Pax.
Quæritur Bello,) is given to Defborough; 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 oppreffions in law-futes, are spoken of to be as great as was ever.

The Spanifh warre has wracked many of our merchants; albeit, in God's mercie, as little losf be fallen on our neighbours of this toune, as on any of the Ifle; for except one little ship taken by the Bifkainers, near Berdeaux, and James Bar's ship, which, with himfelf, by a pitifull misguiding, was blowne up almost in the harberie, we had no more losf 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 ferves the Spanifh in all thefe fpoils. Our fleet, waiting in vaine on the coast of Spaine, does little good to the merchands in thefe coasts, and yet the taxes with us are great; the maintainance was towards ten thoufand pound fterling a month. They fay the excife will be double; fo that the revenue will be above three hundred thoufand pounds a-year, the halfe whereof is never together among us. The trueth is, money was never fo fecare here, and growth dailie fecarer, and yet it's thought this Parliament in September is indicted mainlie for new taxations. What England may bear, to whom the Protector remitted the halfe of their monethlie maintainance of one hundred and twenty thoufand pound fterling, I know not; but Scotland, whose burthen has been triple, beifide the fynes, for-fautlers, debts, and other miferies, feems unable to bear what lyes on already. Wife men think the Protector wifer than to defire 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 wife thinks that our evills 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 needlefs and hurtfull, and hopes by the Parliament it will be taken away.

There was never fo great solicitation for votes to be chofen Commissioners as now among us. It's like there shall be none of the whole number more cordiall for all the Protector's defyres, be what they may, than thefe that come from Scotland. It's faid Mr. James Guthrie and my Lord Waritoun, with their friends, have been fighting more than this fournight in Edinburgh,
drawing their papers, to be sent by some of their number to the Protector or Parliament. They were so absurd, that Mr. P. Gillefpie, 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 cross their injustice and irrational 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 worke.

Through God's mercie our Towne, in its proportion, thrives above all the land. The word of God is well loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought and we defy; yet in no Towne of our land better. Our people has much more trade in comparison than any other: their buildings encr ease strangely both for number and fairnes: it's more than doubled in our tyme. I pray God to encrase his blessing on this place of our birth, albeit I am feared for it; for on Sunday was eight daies at four houres in the morning, August 17th, there was a sensible earthquake in all the parts of the town, though I felt it not. Five or six yeares agoe there was ane other, in the afternoon, 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 foraigne affaires, they are thus represented to us: that the frequent tumults of Constantinople, killing Viifier after Viifier, 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 laft year has buried no l esse than three Dukes. The French continue their fate of unhappinefs beyond the Montes: beside their disafter 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 predeceffors. His self-denied Holinefs 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 1663, to 14,678; in 1735, 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 importunit 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 fearfull civill warres of the Switzers is like to end so soon in peace. We hope their peace will be a guard to the Proteftants in Piedmont.

We marvell that the Cardinall of France shoulde have had so hard contefts with the Parliament of Paris, and so many in that popular subject of money: when the Pope, and the clergy sitting in a Generall Assemblie so long at Paris, are not very weell content; when Orleans is from Court, and Condée in the head of a Spanifh 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 Cardinall's Roman courage than his Italian wisdom. Turenne, to us afar off, seems not to have been more unhappy in this siege of Valencien than unadvised. A half-eyed man might have foreseen the remedilefs 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 easily break, and make the one half of his armie ufeles to the other, in whatever danger: this seems an improvidence unanswerable in a lefle renouned generall than Turenne. That Condée did not fall on his halfe of the armie, as he did on Seneterres, 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 Papifts may count it a complot betwixt him and his old friend Condée, that he was not lighted on. If these diftarers force the Cardinall unto a peace with Spain, I fear it prove much hurtfull to the Proteftants every where. As Orleans is at Court alreadie, so if a generall peace bring Condée alfo, the Cardinall is undone; and whatever this may worke for our King, yet I fear the hurt of Proteftants every where, if Spain, Auffria, and the Pope, be not hindered by France to execute their wicked defignes.
If Sueden and Brandenburg, immediately on the junction, have defeat Caffmire 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 wisdome, that so long has been so great an impediment to his progres, and more of your States, that will fail so far to provoke that Prince in so unseasonable a nick of tyme. It's the Austrian'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 ane earnest defyre 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 Chriflianing 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 far forgot here, that not one man, so far 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 Brogill's parts and temper be long among us, they will make the present government more beloved than some men wish. From our publick praying for the King, Brogill's courtesies, more than his threats, brought off our leading men. My averfenes from that omission, yow fee in my answer to Mr. Dickfon anent that point, (B.): what was said by Mr. Wood for leaving of it, yow have here also, (C.). About the time of abflaining I was a more earnest suppliant 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 scandal, or reflecting on my wiser 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 farther to it: our unhappy Remonstrators did still occasion trouble. Mr. Liviftoun made no bones

\[3 \text{ Vide infra page 343.} \]
to preach and pray publicly 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 Council 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 Council 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 you may see at (D.), and, by God's blessing, got it crush'd for the time; but how long, I know not; for Mr. Livifloun being solifled to go to Ireland, was sent over there by his Remonftrator brethren to make a visitation 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 not: Especially Warrantone and Mr. Guthrie's impatience to be out of work, and kept downe, inclining 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 displeased 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 Sheriff-dome 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 brace 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 diverfe synods to excommunicat him; but I could not be heard, for Mr. P. Gillespie, Mr. John Carftares, 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 Stanhous,
but set 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 own; this fearful 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 chalder of victual, a hundred pound sterling a-year, from the English, out of the stipends of other kirkis, 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 farre as I heard, for any of his publick offences.

This fact 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 ministry and magistracie; some of them seem actuallie possest with a devill, their fury, their irrationall passions, and bodilie convulsions are so great. Lieutenant Ofburne, 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 yeomen, hes turned fo; and their increase is feared, which is the just recompence 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 farre, your letters, with the boy Maxwell, came to me: I shall endeavour to see the boy ufed as yow desire. I have desired that your twenty-two gilders, fix florins, 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-
hauft more than his expence. I have not yet feen what books yow have fent, but the Antwerp Gazet I wish 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: fo soon 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 Amiraldiﬁme; had I perceived it, I would have scraped it out. If that vent weell, the rest 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 Vojﬁus de Hifioricis Graces et Latinis, which I hear now yow fent, 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 wished he were dealt with to undertake this great and nec elfar service; might not Apollonius be moved to mind that matter? Baxter is lyke to fire England; and fo be tymous with thefe errours: See what yow can get done againft that evil.

Our Church-frifes are no lyke to agree; the Remonftrants make it their endeavour to put themfelves, as the Commiﬁon 1650, or under fome fuch notion, in a committee to purge and plant all Scotland, with the English allowance to them as the Godly partie; one of the vileft, moft flamefull, and tyrannick tricks that ever was heard of in any church in any tyme. To prevent this, our brethren there-East hes fent up, with Broghill our profeffed friend, Mr. J. Sharp to Cromwell; with what instructions I know not; but I hear very fair and honest. The Remonftrants cry out on this meffage, though alone to guard againft and prevent their mifchievous deignes; 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 ﬂirife at this tyme is shamefull and dangerous; I love it not: my advyce was never fought to it; but on our part, it feems nec elfar: I wish it may end better than I feare.

I blefs God for that victorie of Venice at the Dardanels, but more for that of Sueden and Brandenburgh at Warfou: The Lord bleff and preserve thefe Princes for the good of the Protestant interest. Your States, as they ﬁand, are
not loved here: they have given to Sueden a great, needlefs, and untymous provocation, which though disfembled, is not lyke will be forgot. My love and service to your kind wife, oft remembered by Harie, and all your three daughters, whom I pray God to blefs.

Yow Coulñin,

1fl September 1656.

R. B.

For the Right Honourable Mr. Francis Rous.

SIR,

Understanding by a letter from Mistref Lammy, that you were yet to the fore, and helpfull to suppliants, and mindfull of me, notwithstanding of all the changes paft, yea, for my caufe that poor gentlewoman's good friend, I did rejoyce. I pray God yet to preferve you fome time, for I know, fo long as yow are able to come to the Councell, or fpeak in Parliament, or come near the Proteñor, yow will, to your power, after your wonted manner, be doing good both to the publict and fo many private perfones as you are able: among others this gentlewoman I still recommend. Yow were a speciall inftument to fave the Churches of Britaine from the mad folies of these Fifth Monarchists of the laft Parliament. I am glad yow are a member of this Parliament; for I doe affure myself you will be a speciall watchman in the Houfe, and a continuall remembrancer to the Proteñor that the Church of God in thefe dominions, (for which I have oft been witnefs of your speciall zeall and care,) fhall fuffer no new detriment. We here had been much hurt by the ignorance and error, if no the disdainfull negleñt, of Erañian men, had it not been for the very great wisdom, equitie, and moderation of that excellent man my Lord Broghill; the moft gaining perfone to the intereft of thefe who employed him, of any that ever yet came from thence hither. Shall the Presbyterians in England and Ireland never wynn to the exercise of their Difcipline? Shall that libertie be denyed us in England, which the Kings of France, and Pole, or whoever fo much as tolerate our religion, hes ever granted? Shall all the labours of the Asfemblie at Westminfter, and fo many Ordinances of both Houfes, turne all to fmoke? It is worthie your laift service to God and his Church, in your extreame old age, to endeavour to obtain of the Proteñor fome reafon to the fervants of God in this point. Shall fuch
men as my Lord Lauderdaleill and Crawfurd 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. Gillepie, and many more of our late dear friends are gone: at once the rest of us will follow, and stand before our Mafter. 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 filently and peaceable as any there could wish us; but for myfelfe, while I live, by God’s grace, I shall never hold my peace to God in fecret for Sion’s fake, nor ceafe 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 Pfalter in England practifed as it is here, and no other? Will you there never come to any Order? Is it poiffible 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 fpeak of these things to yow who knows them better, and minds them more than myfelfe. The Lord blefs and be with yow to your end.

Your much honouring friend and Servant,

Glaifgow, 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 answering, November 28th. Your name shall not be mentioned, nor more use made of your information than for myfelfe, for the flagrant scandall is notour, and a testimoniall is neceffare by all law and cuftom; yet Mr. R. M[acward]’s high commendation will poiffible 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 flamp, and no other, say and fwear what they will to the contrare. See to your Colledges as you may: they are fully
December 8th 1656.

R. B.

It will be needfull yow write a narrative of your translatiion 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 Univerfities, that Independent ignari'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 doe 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, contrarie to all reason, conscience, and law. I gave you an account how far we went, upon our passionate defyre of any tolerable peace, to give them all satisfaction in our conference, November [16]55, weell near a whole moneth; where-in how far sundry of them declared themselves satisfied, themselves and others also can weell 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 lawfullness 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 tranfgreflion sometimes they had fallen into. Their plea here was, that we had Answered these Queries so as we were persuadde in conscience was according to God's word, the law of nature and nations, the constant and never-controverted practive 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 Asemble of St. Andrewes would approve of these our Answers, and would not be gotten to countenance their new most dangerous and unnatural both tenets and practices; before that ever any question came to be debated, they gave in their Protestation and declinature
against that Assemblie, 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 peaceablie with us in time to come. This, in a publick write, they flatly refused, except two points farther 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 ordinance and jurisdiction in all cases that any man should controvert; and that standing committees of ane 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 ecclesiasticc jurisdiction of Scotland. This was too rich a reward for the divisions they had raised, and so long needlesslie kept 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 press'd 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 sore 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 denied, was none of the worst temper, but those chieflie of the very beft: Lothan and Fife, Edinburgh and St. Andrewes, more nor Argyle or Caithnesses. Befide 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 seen faults as
they are this day, nor are church judicatory 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 evidently, 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 purgeing: the insufficiency 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 prefentlie 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 ways, 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 diversely 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, hypocrisy, and falsehood of this same allegiance 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 thyles and burroughs in the Godly, that is, their partie's hands, the clamour was so great against this injustice, that quickly the Councell got that order recalled. When, about that fame tyme, those who are now commissiioners 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 fide, that they were forced to lay it afeide; but this their laft defigne which now they come to repreffent to the Prote&tor, (however, we doubt not, in low, soft, ambiguous words, yet, in effect, importing the ruine of our Church government,) will be found worse than any thing which lately they have designde.

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 induftrie with men, againft the Malignant and Epifcopall partie: you know we were never inlaking to yow to the uttermoft of our power; our distress now is great, we defyre your compassion, your prayers to God for us, and your countenance to our caufe, when yow know it may profit us, and not hurt yourfelves. We are not fo much feared that the moft unreasonable defyres of our Brethren can be granted, by any of farre lefle understanding and justice than thefe who now have audience with the Prote&tor, as that, by our Brethren's fuggelfions and importunite, both they and we, to the ruine of our dearcoft Ecclefiafllick liberties, be put under a new Eraflian government, which fhall end in perfecution of thofe who are truly godly among us. If by your countenance and counfell to Mr. Sharp, or by your dealing with your friends about the Prote&tor, (if fo be yow have any,) yow can help to keep this very dangerous florme from us, yow fhall doe an acceptable service to God, and a great good deed to our groaning Church, and a feafonable favour to all of us here who defyre, in this hard tyme, to be faithfull to God, and the truth he hath committed to our keeping. Expecting herein a comfortable anfwer, I ref

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 you are pleased to signifie, in this season, when old friendship by the moft is buried in oblivion, makes me still confident to use with you my wonted libertie. I hope what I wrote some five moneths agoe with Mistrefs Lammie, you did receive. The purpose of my present writing is to acquaint you with the imminent danger of the Church of Scotland, (which I know you have sincerely loved and highly prized,) to be pitifullie oppreft and enslaved to a few of our brethren, who long have vexed us with their moft caufeles divisions; and when we have been willing for peace caufe to have paft by all their former (as we esteemed) high misdemeanours, yet flatly they refufed peace, unlea 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 jurifdiction 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 ourfelves, who should finallie determine in all questions anent purgeing and planting of Churches, and every thing else that concerned the whole Church. The first is the totall subversion of our Presbyteriall government, on a very injurious and false pretence, that subordination must be denied, not to the worl or weakeft of our Presbyteries and Synods, bot the very beft, from which they are moft averse, as those of Lothian and Fyfe. That our brethren would have broken all in pieces our Church government by weaker and worfe pretences than professed Independents we would never have expected; but that they would have attempted, as they doe in their second demand, the ufurpation of all Ecclefsiaflick jurifdiction to themselves, a farr smaller and more inconsiderable faction among us than the Independents are among you, we did never dreame till themselves did openly profefs it; and when we did refufe it, they supplicat the Counfell here to be infefted in it; and now when
the justice of that court hes 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 priviledge
to have the full Ecclesiastic 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 joined with them, whom yet they know assured-
ly would never associat with them in any such work. Such an enormous
phanie was never yet proponed by any of your heteroclites; yet the present
defyr 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 ways 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 ob-
taine, as the result of their unhappy, rash, unadvised, and careless conten-
tions with us, some one thing or other that may be very dolorous to our
nation, and vexatious to the most of the truly godlie in our land. There is
a brother of ours there, Mr. James Sharp, who can give full and true informa-
tion of all things which concerne our present condition: I wish yow had
some time with him. When you have heard him, I put no question but the
love yow have to God and his truth, and the respect yow 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,) yow will be willing, in this tyme of our distresses and danger
from our owne, (whom leave 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 rashless 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 defyre in other things, for the men are my good friends in
all things personal and private; but the crushing of their forefaid designe, I
count it pietie 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 beseek yow to contribute what yow may, that with the greater cheerfulness 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 truely 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 mislyke 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 conceall, so farr as may be, my name; for my name, I know, is unluckie and unsvavorie to those in power there, nor like I myselfe any thing the worfe 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 Crail.  

James,

Yow see what I have written in the inclosed, at the desire of our friends here; if they mislyke 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

* 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 defyre, so farr as may be, my name to be suppresed; for yow know, beside elder quarells, how oft my name stands printed in Mr. Love's proceffe; 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 defyres of those headie men cruifed; 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 Eraftian modell, which shall be very grievous, albeit farr more tolerable than the tyrannik Turkith yoke of the Protestors. If for the avert of this mischief, yow finde it neceffar to caufe fend up for any more, I think M. R. D., and M. J. W., shall be fufficent: if there were need of more, I think G. H., or J. F., or R. K. of H. might doe weell. If yow come fpeed in the maine, I wish yow laboured to get abolished that very unjuft commiffion of visiting the Universities; and that which M. P. G[illefpie] did obtaine, that no Independent should violently take the church and ftipend of any parish, as was done in Kilbryde and Leinzie, and much lefs that such should take up our Universities, as they have done Aberdeene, etc. I pray God help yow and guide yow; yow had need of a long spoone: 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 show yow, that your old friend, my Lord Warriftone, did, in that conference before the Protector, affirme, (while he was speaking of the evil 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 Resolutioners, 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 opportunitie 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 publickly spoken, but one did speak it privately to him. I am fearing, by what I have heard of late, yow may be the man that Warriftone did meane; so yow may think upon it, and make your own use of it. If yow have had any thing lately from Edinburgh, or if Mr. Patrick Gillepie be come home, or coming before the rest, let me know, who am

Your most affectionat Brother to serve yow,

Hasilhead, March 5th 1657.

Pa. Colvill.

For Mr. James Sharp.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

This is my third; I think it no reafon yow should be burdened with particular anfwers, only I defyre to know, by a word in your’s to the Brethren of Edinburgh, that mine did come to your hands. Yow fee the enclosed. If I were with Warriftone I would fay to him for anfwer: 1. That his profeffions to me contantly, since he was a child, and my scholler, were of fo great friendfhip, and that fuch offices of uninterrupted kindnefs had allways past mutuallly betwixt us, that I could never have thought, that for any caufe whatfoever, he would have spoken of me to any living, much less before the Protector, words which tended fo exceedingly to my hurt, without the leaft signification ever to myself, directly or indirectly, that he harboured any fuch thoughts of me. 2. The thing that I am informed (by this letter of a worthy Brother,) he did fpeak, if truely he meaned it of me, (whereof my old and continuing refpeets 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 fpeech here written, to my knowledge; nor was there any occasion of it, for in my judgment, as he weell knows, his new fingular tenets in the Publick Resolutions were no more prejudiciall to the late King than they are to the
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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 profe. 4. It has never been the Protector's pleasure to trouble any man for his simple judgment or heart's affection in questions anent the Covenant, especiallie where persons did live peaceably and without all offence: Now, as for my peaceable and inoffensive living hitherto, if I were put to an inquiet even of those who differ from me in judgement of the Publick Resolutions, I hope I would pass with as good a report as others of my neighbours. 5. I have had many free private discourses with my Lord Warriftone, 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 lawfullnes to change our present civil government, so far as concerned the terminus a quo, but that he was not clear of the lawfullnes to joyne with the present terminus ad quem. Herein I defyed to be cleared by him; as oft times, in such questions, I was wont to seek and receive light from him. While I was declaring 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 loofed from the former; and while he was beginning to shew me how I might be loofed from it, a gentleman did come in to him, and interrupted us, that we proceeded no farther. Since which time, to my best remembrance, I had no discourse with him, private or publick, concerning any serious busineses; and why he should have spoken before the Protector, of this, my proponeing to him alone, so innocent and simple a cafe 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 professtes 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 fittest friends.

This, and much more to this purpose, I would say to him if I were near him; which, as yow find occasion and expediencie, I wish yow did communicat unto him, or any other, for my clearing from his unadvised speech, if fo be he will expone it of me; whereof yet I doubt. Praying God to help yow 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 yesterdays; 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 yow, when yow confider that, in my letters to Edinburgh, I give notice of the receipt of your’s; and that the imployement 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 truift ther is such notice given to these of our judgement, and to yowselfe in particular, of the state of matters heir, as may plead for my omissions 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 A[h], 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 wreating to yow before this. As to the matter of your last, I shall breifly relate to yow 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 you. While in our debate before 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 answereed 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 answereed to this day; which was, that we had asserted, that one of the reasons why we could not disclaim the Publick Resolutions was, least heerby we might barr the body of the land from ryfing in armes for the aflistance of the King, in case of his invasion. Why I was speaking in answear, I took notice of that instance, posing the Lord Waristoun if he could awerr that ther was any Judicature of our Church which pass'd any act or declaration to that purpose. He answereed, He did not charge any of the Church Judicatures with it, he had only fayed that one of our judgement had profeffed so much in privat to him, which they had putt in print, and was not takin notice of by us. I answereed, That what was spoken by the fuggelion of any one in privat to him, I knew not, nether came I hither to make anfwear for it; but if he could alleadge any thing to that purpos 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 fuggelion of any one perfon. This is the truth of the whole which pass'd as to that, which I think will not be denied by the Protesters heir. If the Lord Waristoun did mean you, I think he hath dealte injuriously with you upon many accounts; but he did not name you then, nether have I since heard, by any in this place, you 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 you, that through an inconsiderat heat, such an expresssion was uttered by the Lord Waristoun which did strike at you, when you confider, 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, bless'd be God, they have little advantaged their own cause, or prejudiced you, and the other honest men who stand for the interest of Christ, with unbyaffed and racionall men heir. And I may say it upon ground, that ther are none of the Presbyterian judgement, in and about London, who doe not difown them,
and express their grief for their scandalous way; and that they are owned and befriended by none but such whose principles lead them to oppose that interest, which we are bound to maintain and plead for. Our holy and wise Lord who is the living protector of his Church knoweth how to plead his own cause, and to overrule the rage they have expressed, the reproaches they have cast upon our poor Church, and to order the said exercises his servants are put to because of these, for the best: faithful is He who hath promised; and that I may be kept up by his strength, under this task, which you true, truly term hard, dangerous, and vexatious, your prayers are expected by him who commends you to the grace which can establish and perfect you; and is, Sir,

Your very loving Brother in Christ,

JA. SHARP.

The relation of our late passages I leave to what may be given you from Edinburgh.

A PARCEL OF A LETTER TO MR. JAMES HAMILTOUN.

However, for securitie hereafter, I pray that no syllab come to me from you that you care all in the Meal-merket did know, so Mr. Sharp will be at ease, and I and you will need no excuse for our fluarie and rash efficiencie; yet I fear our too great and too wise silence is our greatest sin. I see by the English letters, which doubtless you all must know, wherein yet my name needs not be heard, that as the most articles of the City's Remonstrance for kingship are past, nemine contradicente, so especially that of religion, as well for us in Scotland as them in England, that the publickly professed shall be the Christian Protestant, according to the Scriptures; whereby all our Confessions and Covenants, and absolutely all forms and models beside the text of Scripture, are abolished. Also, that who differ from this shall be protected, if they worship God in Jesus Christ, and doe no civil injurie to the peace, which I think all the sects profess, Independents, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Familists, Seekers, Arminians, Lutherans, Socinians, most of the Quakers. The only excepted are Paprie, Prelacie, and Licentiousneffe in
the abstrac: but seeing popish, prelaticall, and licentious men profeffe 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[ite], J. G[uthrie,] P. G[illefpie,] with their abfolute silence, when they are clamouing 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 pericicution has never been the surest way to escape it. Any counsell to yow there, much my wiser and better, I offer not. God help and direct yow.

Your's,

March 30th 1657.

R. B.

(K.) For the Right Reverend Mr. Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow.

Reverend Sir,

I have receaved laitly three letters from yow, expressing the great rencentment yourselfe and others have of the Provisto past heir concerning qualifications, etc. It is known what endeavours I ufit to prævent the paßing of it; and, if our freinds had been in the Houfe, or, as the Houfe was at that time confulituted, had that busines been carried by reafon, and not by violence and faction, the motioning of it had been explodit with shame. I know not what may be the apprehenfions of these with yow of the confequences of it, and though I find that the flicklin 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 their defyres by it, and am of the mind that it shall tend to ther difadvantage, beeng a demonstrable evidence of ther spirit and way to

7 From the Orig. (Wodrow MSS. 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 clearly they drive at domination and rule, and
and be satisfied with nothing lefle; 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 advant-
age they had at that time, so as at the first to stretch matters to the higheft
pinn. Sir, my opinion is, that your people would doe well to compose them-
eselves to silence and patience as to what is past. The leffe notice they take
of it, or noife be made about it, the leffe fear they may have of the prereu-
dices of it. Were yow heir at the fource of affaires, yow would fee that
the Protestors and ther abettors have not fuch caufe to boaft and bragg as
they doe. It is fitt they doe fo, but good for us to wait on God. Doe not
think that the late transactions heir will be the meafure and rule of future
actings in reference to us. Beleeve it, ther will be a greater change then
fome doe imagin, though it is not to be expected that we can have a juft
fatification to our defires in reference to our efthablifhed diiciplin; yet doe
not think that our necks shall be put under the yoak of these men.

I had of late an large conference with the Secretary of State, and made men-
tion of the cafe of your Citty in particular. He promifed to me that fome-
what would be done speedilie for rectifying of matters. If yow marre not your
own bufines by unfeafonable ftirrings, and not keeping close what may be
fuggfeted to yow as a remedie for the prefent, that may be done fhortlie which
will give fatification; towards which I fhall not be wanting in my endeavours,
fo 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 agone, when I was fo preffed by your Bailie heir, that he
would thrust into my pocket five pieces, that I might not come from Lon-
don without a pocket-watch. I was furprifed 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 ufit to the lyke, and without budding, if I
could serve the intereft of honeft men with yow, I am very free to it.]

The Spirit of counfail and courage refi 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 their opinion to the Council: 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 guess at their sense. Your neighbour Patrick Gilleespie’s diseaflie, 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 millyked his way. If the Lord at this time remove him, we are in hazard to have his place quicklie filled with a worfe. Warifloun’s restless diligence will labour his friends there to put in one of his owne humour. Patrick Gilleespie’s wife will ply her husband’s friends, Dr. Owen, etc. to obtain the Protector’s order to our Council here, to command us to make an 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 ajoy to obtaine from Secretary Thurloe, and others there, yea, if yow can in time, from my Lord Broghill in Ireland, fuch letters to the leaders of the Council here, that they might be pleased to call for Mr. Dowglas 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 as fitt for that charge, and alse

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: Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Wood, myself and others, are of this opinion. If yow in this also can marre the Proteftors defigne, and further ours, it will be a notable service; and we all fhall be much bound to yow for it. The way and means to accomplifh it, we leave to yourfelf: 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 fo foone 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 succiffë, and return yow fafte to us.

Read what I have written at Mr. Dowglafs’s desire to Mr. Rous: close and delyver it if yow think fitt. Forget not the buffinefs of our Town.

For Mr. Rous.

Sir,

I did expect to have heard from yow with your Grandchild, when yow fent him to us. However, upon my many obligations to yow, from his firft coming to this time, I have, (as I hope he will bear me witnefs,) been fo carefull of him in his perfon, studies, company, dyet, and all things concerned him, as it lay in my power. I purpofe, God willing, to continue my overfight of him, and am glad to have the occafion to doe service to one of your fo near relations: This is all I have for the time to dignifie to yow. Only one word concerning our brother Mr. Sharp; that fo farr as yow may be pleased to give credit, not fo much to me, as to the farr moft part of the gracious ministers and people in Scotland, what he has delivered in our printed Representation, and from time to time in write to the Councell, and others, there is to our beft knowledge the very truth, unjustly contradicted by thefe men who have broken the peace of our Church, and continue, by their obstinate error, and reftles pursuing of their oppreffive defignes, 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 wisdome and equitie there been pleased to have opened one ear to our anuers, we were afraied they shold, by your power, before this have brought on a heavy and very caufelefs perfecution on us. As in God's mercy to us yow have not hitherto concurred with their unhappie proposals, however gilded with fpacious pretences, fo our trufl is in God, that he will not permitt yow hereafter to affift them, without all caufe, to put us to farder griefe and trouble. Without your help they have thefe diverfe years vexed us to purpofe.

I will hold you no longer at this time, but heartily falutes yow, praying that the Lord would concur with thofe who here have power, for the good of them in both Nations who, in quietnefs, defire to serve the Lord Iefus 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 fick, I make ufe of the hand of another, and doe thank yow for the letter yow fent me, wherein yow expreffed fo much care towards one in regard of his relation to me. But if yow knew the manner of fending him to Glafgow, yow would not have thought it strange that he was not recom-}

mended to yow; for, upon fome reafons, I did put him away from mine own care, and delivered him over to one who was heretofore Clerk to the Committee for the Universities wherein I had the chair, as perchance yow may remember, who did take the care of providing for him: He, meeting with Mr. Gillefpie here, learned of him the way of the College, and of bringing him into it, not knowing your interef therein, but only as a Divinitie Profeflor there. But now yow have gone fo farr to take notice of him in repect of me, I muft acknowledge myfelf ingaged to yow, and shall defyre yow to continue this charitie to him, he being there upon his good behaviour, without which he is like to be loft both with God and man.

As for your publick bufinefs, I am forie that there are fuch differences between thofe that are fo near in spirit, and defire heartily that to the unitie of

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the spirit there might be added the bond of peace. True it is, there have been such differences heretofore between saints, 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 inequall 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 opportunitie to act further in it personallie, but am ready, if God shall give power and opportunitie, 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.

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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 casuallie. 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 Councell, 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 remedy 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 besought 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 pass'd 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 flickering here) for a further discoverie of the practicating domineering spirit of these men, to render them lesse capable to oppress, if the honest men of your Towne do stand to the maintaining of their just rights, and ply the Counsell 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, carnal, and revengefull intendments; and his co-agitators should have seen the Lord's rebuke of their injurious ways. 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 toil 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 you have ane account from Edinburgh, to what pass'd 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 you 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 reft upon you. I am, Sir,

Your's,

JA. Sharp.
I receaved one from your baillie, James Pollock, and was mindful 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 excuse my not sending a particular returne to him, to whom I desire my service to be remembred; his usage 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 receaved 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 businesfs, as by the Councell's order here, it is whollie referred to be determined by the Councell of Scotland, but with this express 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 asflured, that it is so as above written; which is the expression in terminis uttered by him to me this afternoon. If Mr. Gillefpie, upon his return, make any belfling 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 businesfs 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 brag; but believe it, their cause of bragging is more flender since Warifoun's removeing from London, than it was. Mr. Gillefpie, and all of them, are better known here than they suppose: the Lord our God is holy and true, and will not allways 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 beseeke you, Sir, communicate nothing of this letter to any but
such as yow truft for secrecie. The Lord’s Spirit and presence 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 town I receive yours of February 15th. The con-
cernments of your Toune 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 solici-
tate them at times when my being with them may be taken notice of; but I hope
the resull 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 toune. I shall only
say this, that those among yow are much mistaken who think that Mr. Pat-
rick Gillefpie 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-
finuations, he prevail with them to swerve from their liberties in the leaft, they
have themselves to blame for future inconveniences. One of the Councell
told me, he had satisfied 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 shoule in the
leaft recede from their way in owning their just rights, and though I doe not
make much dinn in busineses of that nature, yet I have matter to blefs the
Lord I have not been altogether uselefs in serving so just an intereft. I must lay it upon yow to make my excuse to your Magiftrates 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,

JA. SHARP.

Edinburgh, 25th February [1658.] In hafte.

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[Craill].

JAMES,

How our Towne's business 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 laft week, from London, to the Governour of our towne, I fee the Councell of England are on ane oath of renouncing of Charles Stewart's intereft: 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 perfeccion only for conscience. If we act any thing againft the present power, let them doe to us as they find caufe; but if we refufe ane new oath renouncing an old, whilk the laft Parliament of England drew on us to keep them from ruine, and fo 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 firft 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 moft needless ground of trouble only to tender confciences: to others, oaths are nought but cobwebs. I have given yow a warning; this courfe will undoe many whom yow love, and me with the firft, for any thing I know: do in this what yow may. This, taken in tyme by yow, may easily be remeeded: but if the Protector be once engaged in this perfeccion moft needeles, he will not be fo easily 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.

Glażgow, May 3d [1658.]

For the Right Worshipfull Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock.7

Sir,

As yow defired, I did immediatly draw the inclofed, 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 fend it to yow, who made the motion of it to me, to be made use of as yow think expedient. So refts,

Your's.

May 3d [1658.]

For his Reverend and Beloved Friend Mr. John Young.

Sir,

Understanding that some doubt of my consent to thefe of our Aéts wherein indeed we were unanimous, I doe teftifie, that I did consent and subfcryve not only that Aët of the Colledge, allowing to Mr. Gillefpie three thousand merks for his first service to us at London, but also to the Aët allowing him, during his lifetime, the half of the profits of the Bishoprick of Gallowayne that shou'd be by his pains and diligence augmented; and likewise for his procuring of our laft gift, I did moft willingly subfcryve ane Aët for a gratuitie to him of three hundred pound sterling, out of the firft and readieft incumes of that gift: That my consent and hand was to all this, I am very willing yow affure, in my name, any whom yow shall hear to doubt of it.

May 3d [1658.] [Robert Baillie.]7

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.
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 hes been prettie quiet, our troubling Remonfrants not haveing yet prevailed with the English to get authoritie from them to exercife their tyrannie among us. The great instrument of God to cros their evill designes has been that very worthie, pious, wife, and diligent young man, Mr. James Sharp. The purpose of the few brethren that were on the advife of his going to London, upon my Lord Broghill's desire, yow may see in his Instruictions, subferyved, and at fift feen almoft only by three, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. David Dick, and Mr. James Wood. The Remonfrants agreed not very weell among themselves. My Lord Wariftoun, Mr. Gillefpie, and Mr. Guthrie, these three refliefs heads, looked not one way. But after the affronts Mr. Gillefpie received from the Synod of Lothian; and my Lord Wariftoun's domeftick traits had made him content, contrare to his former refolutions, to embrace his prior place of Register from his Highnefs; and Mr. Guthrie's continuall vexation by Mr. Simpfone his colleague; and Mr. Simpfone of Airth being provoked by the Synod of Perth's meddling with the great scandal of the fatherles child, reflecting fore on him, they resolved at laft to goe up together, and openly to petition his Highnefs for all their defires.

When the Synod of Glaȝgow had taken off the cenfure of the Generall Aslemblie from Mr. Patrick Gillefpie and Mr. James Naesmith, in the strange way I wrote to yow of before, that partic thought it advantageous to them to have that act of Glaȝgow acknowledged by the other Synods. For this end they resolved to fend Mr. Gillefpie correspontent from Glaȝgow to the Synod of Lothian: they thought they would not refufe him for many caufes; and if they admitted him, it was a leading caufe to the other Synods to paffe from the act of the Generall Aslemblie in its cenfure without all satisfaction. That meslage was not much to the mind of Mr. Gillefpie himfelf, but Mr. John

This letter has no date in the MS. but it appears to have been written in June 1658.
Carltares and others would needs have it put upon him. When he came, his commission was scrupled at by Mr. John Smith and others, and laid aside to be cognosced on; they gladly would have shifted the matter, and eschewed all dinm, being unwilling to enter in contest; but Mr. Patrick Gillepie's high humour would not permitt it, but he must needs have their positive answer to admitt or reject his commission. They lenified the question, and since he would have it put, they made it Admitt or Committ. When the votes almost of all was for referring it to a committee to be cognosced on, he took it so ill, that he broke out in a railing, telling them, "Their sword was but of wood, and their arme was broken," and much more evill language; to which Mr. Douglas gave flout and sharp replies. I knew this irritation would not be easilie forgott; it was a spurr for their voyage to London.

There was a very foule scandaill of new broken out on Mr. James Simpson of Airth: A young woman familiar with him, and oft in his house, was found with child; she granted the child, but denied she had known any man. Mr. James, with the advice of his presbyterie, Mr. James Guthrie, and other two or three, (for their number is no greater in the Remonfrant presbyterie of Stirling,) takes the woman's confession, in face of the congregation, that she was with child, and withall her purgation by oath that she knew no man. For this Mr. James and she are both cited to answer to the Synod of Perth: both of them send 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 sent to London, to wait on till his four fellow-commissioners should be ready to come. Their commission I did not see; but it was such as some of their owne, as Mr. John Carltares, and others, refuiffed to subferyve: we may know it by their propofalls, (B.) which to the very laft they presfled to obtaigne from the Protector: to wit; Ane order from him, that within the bounds of every Synod there should be named a committee, of equall number Affemblie-men and Remonfrants, who should have power to determine all differences in planting and purgeing in all the Presbyteries of the bounds. 2. That there should be a committee of delegates from all the Synods, of equall number of Affemblie-men and Remonfrants, to determine finallie all differences ecclesiastick in the whole land. 3. That the Protector should nominate a committee to plant kirks, and that the power of giving of stipends in all vacand churches should be in this committee. 4. That the Parliament
should renew the Act of Clases, 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 Tweddlall 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 Glafgow 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 assurance 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 towne, a letter from the Protector to suspend the new election of magistrates in our burgh till farther 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 defyres, Mr. Sharp, in diverse conferences before the Protector, made them appear so unreasonable, that after more than half a year's importunat folification, they could obtaine nothing at all. One of the causes of frustrating their hopes was, that the London minifters was flatly for us against them. You 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 Councell of State,(D.). Mr. Rutherford did write to Mr. Ashe an information in the favour 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 minifters, 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. Hutčifon, 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 two readie scribes have not answered,) did us much good with all intelligent men.

The Remonſtrants, finding no Presbyterian friends, plyed hardlie the Sectaries, did pray oft with them both privately and publicſly, 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 commissiin to tranfacting an-
tHING 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, fix were conceaved to be presbyterians, and the rest enemies to our
church-discipline. Of the first fort none kepted but one, Mr. Manton; the
others kepted weell, and were readie at last to report to the Councell their
advyc to grant all the desires of the Remonfrants, as they had reason,
being avowed adverfaries to our church-government. When it was at this
nick, Mr. Ahe, 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 fo well satisfied with Mr. Sharp's
replyes, that they drew up their judgement by way of testimonie, (E.)
against the Remonfrators defyres. This wrought fo upon the Councell, that
they resolved not to interpoze in our debates, only to write a letter to the
ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Dowglafs, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Traill, and Mr.
Stirling, to agree at home among ourselves; yet in this letter, by cannie con-
vveyance of their friend Mr. Scobell, (I think,) clerk to the Councell, they had
gotten foilfed in a very hurtfull claufe, that where there was difference about
fipends, it should be determined by the testimonie of four named in Mr.
Patrick Gillefpie's ordours, which the Parliament had exprefly abolished.
That claufe 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
florme we were afraid for, by God's mercy, for a tyme is put by; but how
foon it will waken again, we doe not know.

Mr. James Guthrie left them before they came to their greatest contefl,
whether for want of moneys, or difference among themselves, I know not,
though they put all the minifters of their mind in our bounds to pay, at the
first, forty shillings flerling, for their maintenance, and all of their partie, men
and women, to a voluntarie contribution; whence, out of Glafgow, some say,
there went up one hundred and eighty pounds flerling; yet their charge was
so 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 Warifoun’s refuming his place of Regifter. If it had been upon both their profeffed principle of the unlawfullnes to take places subordi- nate to an unlawfull power, I could the better have excufed it; but Mr. Guthrie, (as one, who should have known it with the beft, 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 fterling out of it to Warifoun; I know not what to fay to it. However Mr. Guthrie left them in the mids, having obtained nothing but a penfion of a hundred pound fterling to his colleague Mr. Rule, out of the treafurie of vacant ftipends, the spoif of other churches, which is now dryed up. My Lord Warifoun is now alfo returned, having, with his place, obtained the moft of the Regifters which were carried out of the betrayed (as many fay) Castle of Edinburgh to the Tower of London.

Mr. Gillefpie remains there forely fick, some think in difpleafure that his defyres were not granted. However, at his laft going to Hamptoun Court, he got no speech of the Protecor: if this grieved him, I know not; but he went immediately from Hamptoun Court to Wombledoun, Lambert’s houfe, being Saturday at night; and haveing ingaged to preach on Sunday morning, before fermion, he had five flooles, and, after his painfull preaching, fourscore before he refited; thereafter, for many dayes, a great flux and feaver, to- gether 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 myfelf, I was grieved, forefeeing the hurt of our Colledge by his removeall. He had obtained from the Protecor to us, all the benefices of the whole Chapter of the diocefe of Glafgow; alfo the Abbacy of Corfregall, and fundrie other things, which, jure devoluto, fell in the Protecor’s power. This gift he could have made advantageous to us; but, as I fufpecl, no other man fhall make any thing of it: befide, our rents are in a confufed 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 courfe with; but my moft grief was, that I feared we fhould truely have gotten a worfe in his place, with whom my life fould
have been more unpleasant; so that, after some weeks despetrat diseasfe, when
his flux and feaver began to abate, I was glad, and wished him to return
quicklie in health. When I fand the faction flickle for securing his place to
their fide, I writ to Mr. Sharp (F.) to guard against that evill, if he could; but
how all these 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 set Mr.
Durhame in it, or Mr. Young, that his profession may be for Mr. Durhame,
I mind not to flickle at all to the contrare; we may soon be worse served.

While thefe debates at London did continue, the reflefs humour of that
partie at home was somewhat quiet, waiting for the ifue. Our Synod of
Glaftgow, 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 gros fciards, is not fo much as
challenged. Mr. Harrie Semple, a bufy agent for them, prevented his pro-
ceffe by death. The Synod of Lothian and Perth has been carefull to try
accurately the challenges of fundrie.

The Quakers make some trouble among us, and increase in Leinzie,
Dowglaafs, and other places, moft where that faction has been troublefome.
Thus does our Church affairs stand.

For our State, all is exceeding quiet: A great armie, in a multitude of
garrifons, bydes above our head, and deep povertie keeps all estates exceed-
ingly 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 some mischief.
What came out doors of the Parliament was this: All who came thither
were complying and confident men, and none more readie to serve his High-
ness, 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 ma-
liciousnes of the faction with us keeped out Commiflar Lockhart, commif-
fioner for Glaftgow, a large moneth: yet at laft, by Ambaffador Lockhart's
letter from France, he got in. The great work at first was, to settle the excite,
and maininance for the army; a vaft foume of money was requisite
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 down. 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 doubtles 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 downe at firft with them. That which made some of them, especially their head, Lambert, fo adverse, was his owne evident interest; for in all men's eyes he was the heir-apparent to the Protector's power; but the King'ship 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 defired, not fo much for recent accidents, which were thought either invented or directed as opportune for that end: to wit, the feasing of a number of gentlemen in and about the city, as if Charles Stewart had employed them for a preuent disturbance of the peace, which fear quicklie evanished as totallie groundles; also Sundercomb's plot to kill the Protector with a blunder-box; the man's denyall of all, and poynoning of himself for fear of quartering quick, made not this to appear; the feasing of the declaration and standard of the Fifth Monarchie fools; the imprisoning of Sir Harie Vaine in Cairbrugh [Carisbrook] castle, and Generall Major Harifon, did quicklie evanish: But that which inclined the moft to further the Protector's King'ship, was their expectation of a regular government thereby, without the perpetuating of a militarie rule by the sword, to which fo vaft and arbitrarie charges would allwayes be neceffary; 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 alfo 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 faid, was willing to have come, and declared his willingnes to accept, after much debate, private and publack, of the
article of Kingship, alse weell as the rest of the advyce, that fame morning his
good-fon Fleetwood came to him, with some papers, afluring a strong com-
| bination in the armie to oppofe that motion. Upon the which affrightment,
his Highnesf went to the painted chamber, and called the Houfe to fhow 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 beet and
moft intime counfellers, Broghill and Thurloe, thought this a great error;
yet it seems it was the beet expedient; for at that time Lambert and the
Generall-Majors power was fo great, both in the Houfe and Armie, that
if their obfbinacie had continued, they might have overturned all. To
prevent this mifchief, a few days thereafter he adjourned the Parliament
from June 27th till October.

In the laft day of the Parliament, June 27th, he was moftfeomnly in-
ftalled Supreame Magiftrat in a canopie of flate and throne, with a royall
purple, furf itrobe, a fword of flate, a fcepter, and Bible in place of a crown,
by the Speaker of the Houfe, Withrington, and was graced, like a coronation,
with a Sermon and feaft. In all the action the French and Dutch Ambaffa-
dors fpread on his two hands, congratulating in their masters name. The
hearts of many were forie to fee in effeft all the Kingship.eftablifhed on
Cromwell in peace. Yet this did not fatisfie; for quickly Lambert was called
for to a privie conference, wherein declaring himfelf unwilling to comply in
all things, his commiffion was called for, and he made a man moft privat:
the chief of the army, in a supplication, excufed their adhering to his way.
Broghill got paft in Parliament a right of a thoufand pound a year for his
good service. All men expected that when fo eafily Lambert was quaffhed,
the next fession of Parliament would have quickly made Cromwell King; yet
it did not sooner meet but great miscontentments were apparent: the Houfe
of Lords, according to the petition and advyce, did fit; Manchifter and many
would not fitt: Casfifis difdained it; there was no more Peers for Scotland
but Wariftoun and Lockhart: yet the chiefe of Cromwell’s friends were taken
out of the Houfe of Commons to fill the other Houfe; and many then came
in to the Houfe of Commons who were excluded before, no great friends to
him; Scot, Hefilrig, Lambert, and many more, who quicklie began to move
high questions about the power of the militia, the name and power of the
other Houfe, to whom the Supreame Magiftrate was to be anfuerable. Upon
their flickling so high, after a few days fitting, 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-lyde to have kept 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 readiness to come from Flanders with an army, and sundrie 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 days after, some thousands of canon, in a formall shape, for many days 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 sundry fhyres are said to be forming petitions to his Highness to accept 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 counsell'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 Oftend, with six thousand men and seven thousand armes: All marvells 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; besides that, the most who professe 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 Magistrats 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 spent 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 maintenance, so that no man, these three or four yeares, of greatest burden, hes been spented
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. Gillepie, so foone as recovered from his deadly di-
feafe, informes the Protector of them as fo misfent men, that he obtaines 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
prejudge us; for, indeed, Mr. Patrick Gillepie's carriage at London was fo
high, vain, and sumptuous, that he became to be mislyked; and his frequent
familiar walking with Lambert, and some idle speeches, of the Remonfrants
power to raise in Scotland twenty-four thousand able yeomen for the good
caufc, reported to the Protector, added nothing to his credit; yet when he
came to Edinburgh in his coatch from London, with his horfe of twenty-five
peeces walking after the coatch, he made a great busines to have all our
magistrates and counsell cast off. Mr. James Sharp had procured a letter
from the Councell of England to beware to hurt the priviledges of Glafgow.
Mr. Douglafts and Mr. Dickfon, on my letters, had dealt with the counfellers
againft Mr. Patrick's oppreffing and calumnious accusations. The Proveift
and Clerk of Edinburgh, and other friends, dealt in the fame, feeing Glaf-
gow's case would be a leading one to all Scotland. So for all that Warif-
toun, Swintoun, Argyle, and the ref of the faction could doe, little could be
obtained againft us; only our folks, being foolishlie confident, went too foone
home, and in their abfcence, Mr. Patrick obtains an commiffion to try and re-
port what could be objected againft the magistrates and counfellers. On the
commiffion were five, Major Dorney, a fectarian preacher, but intime with
that partie, the Governour of the Castle of Dumbartane, an anabaptift, as
they fay, Lieutenant-Colonell Simons, Commissflar Lockhart, and young
[Hamilton of] Orbifloun. At their firft meeting, their proceeding was fo
illegall, that Orbifloun and Lockhart protefted againft it, and refuifed to fitt.
Our Magiftrates appealed to the Councell, and refuifed to anfwer; notwithstanding, Mr. Patrick moved the three English fojours to proceed, as they
did, till they had fworne and heard all they pleafed, on proveift, baillies, and
moft of the counfell; againft fome they fworne about fourtie witneffes with-
out any libell, but What know ye of this man? in a way fo irrationall and
illegall, 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 paffage, how, by the good hand of God, he had gotten all the designdes of the exceeding busie and bold Remonstrants defeat; that the Protector had dismissed him with very good words, affuring he should be loath to grant any thing to our prejudice. He commended himself in his laft speech to four of us in particular, and by name twyfe, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Blair, and me, professing his forrow that he was a stumbling-block to us. The reason of this kindnes, 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 adverfaries are found but unconsiderable, and a headie partie, much joyning with the way of his adverfaries. However, we blesed God, that by Mr. Sharp's labours, was keepep 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 affisting us in what we might have to doe. We appointed Mr. Wood to draw a short declaration of our willingnes to have any tolerable peace with the Remonstrants, if fo, 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 subiect ourselues to their good pleasure. There was something moved in our laft 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[atrick] G[illefpie] was diligent to get his accucaotions clofed in Glaſgow, [before] the three Sojours with their clerk James Porter, (the factious clerk catholick of fynod, prebyterie, common feffion, and the five particular feffions, 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 depofitions; but finding the Councell not fo ready as they expected to goe their way, Mr. Gillefpie takes himself to a new way, wherein he was like to have obtained all their designdes. Their crafts-baillie, John Hall, a wavering and volage man, albeit the Proveyſt's nephew, fuffered his lightnes to be abused, and to tell all the evil tales he could of his colleagues. Walter Neilſon, deacon-conveer, Mr. G[illefpie's]
special enemie, against whom was more deponed of too much drinking and profanitic 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. Gillepie’s defignes; and above all, W. Anderfone, imployed 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 so cunningly, that it was a marvell their plott mifcarried. However, Mr. G. as minding nothing but peace and the Town’s good, that which he knew the Councell had resolved contrare to all his defires, 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 Councell, nothing the more for this supplication, but on Mr. Sharp and other folillation, 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 choice 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 beft might be. When they came to the election, they carried not only that W. Anderfone shoul not be on the lite to be Proveift, but shoul have no place in Councell, as being neither merchand nor craftsman: they got John Anderfone of Dowhill, proveift, [John] Walkinfhaw and James Barnes, baillies, James Campbell, dean of gild, John Hall put off the councell, 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 Councell, so that Wattie now signifies little thing. At this disappointment, Mr. Gillepie and his partie are inraged: they fend back new supplications to the Councell 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 defires. The chief of the Toune-Councell are John Bell and John Walkinfhaw, right wife, diligent, and bold men, who hes had many thred rancounters with Mr. Gillepie before the Councell: 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 fix yeares service, for which he
takes up a very great stipend, he has 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 busines 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-busines for the Town, he took off them fifty pieces; and for some gift he procured to the Colledge, beydye all the charges bestowed on it, which were great, he took three thousand merks from the Colledge as a gratuity, 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 surfars bord; and as if this had not been enough, beside near three thousand merks of depurlements for compts of things needles to the Colledge, he took an other gift from the Colledge, for the same service, of three hundred pound sterling, to be payed out of the first and readieft 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 loyster in his last journey, wherein few doubted but he spoke truth in regard of his hudge wafe. 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 caufe 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 unreasonablie charge. This, and much more, they threaten himself to libell against him: How all will go we will hear shortly. However, he hath 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. Meinzies being wearied of his Indepenency, seems content to return to the Presbyterie and Synod; yet Mr. Cant and he has continuall fighting from the same pulpit, till at last
Mr. Cant is removed, in small reputation. But before his death, his son, Mr. Andrew [Cant,] publickly had foull flytings with Mr. Meinzies, in the schooles, before all the schollers; whereof Mr. Meinzies hes written to all the other Univerfities, complaining, not so much of the affront, as the erroneous tenets of Mr. Andrew. The questions were De Concurfu Dei in Actibus Liberis, wherein Mr. Meinzies follows Twifte and Rhetorford ἐνάτα τόδαις; the other oppofes thefe expreffly, and goes too far the Arminian and Molinisfs 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 worfe does arife about the planting of his place in the New. While he and Mr. Sharp are too lingering in putting in it Mr. Scougle, a good and noble scholler, minifter of Lewchers, Mr. Patrick Gillefpie, at Mr. Rutherford's defyre, gets secrely the Protector's hand to one Mr. Alexander Jamifone, a regent of St. Leonard's, a man very unfitt for fuch an imployment. About this there is a great prefent strife.

In Edinburgh things are more quiet. There is little more concord in their Colledge: Mr. Lightoun does nought to count of, but looks about him in his chamber: Mr. Dickfon, for fear of Mr. Guthrie, was active to get him there. His fon Mr. Alexander succeeded Mr. Lightoun in his minifterie at New-bottle; where my Lord Lothian, his earnest caller, and many of the people, became quickly fo unkind to him, in his ftripend and other duties, that he was outwearied with them. His father, or rather Mr. Dowglafs, moved my Lord Broghill to defire the Toune-Councell to prefent 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 confequence 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 Scouggall, son of Sir John Scouggall of Scouggall, was minister of Leuchars in Fife. He was minister of Darsie in 1636; translated to Leuchars in 1645; from thence to Saltoun in 1653; 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 progresses to London: on his return he
stumbled more than is ordinar to him, to have the young man out; but his
labour was vaine. In a late voyage to London he obtained, after Mr. Gilles-
pie's example, some two hundred pound sterling to the Colledge out of some
Church lands, which, in my mind, will be als-foone obtained as the flim-flams
of Mr. Gillepie's gifts. However Mr. Sharp obtained, at London, that one
of these hundred pounds, when gotten, should be Mr. Alexander Dickfon's
stipend. This anger Mr. Lightoun not a little; but all is quiet, for the
miniftrie there of our mind, carie all things quietly and wisely, without much
noife. In the Toune Councell there is too much, and feen divifion, the
young Proveifl carrying all over the Clerk and others with a proud high
hand, to the Toune's hurt, as I hear.

We grieve for fundry unhappy accidents and sudden deaths among us.
My Lord Killmars, a most gallant youth of nineteen years, among the tallest
men of the Ifle, in a few dayes fickness of a purple feaver, died. My
nephew, my best friend in Glafgow, the strongest man in the town, suddenly
taken away with the fame. So Sir John Grear of Lag, when coming to
Edinburgh to marrie the Earl of Athole's sister. Young Dughall, a very
fyne youth of twenty yeares, taken away with the pokes. John Bell, the
only child remaining to Mr. John Bell our friend, died of a purple feaver.
My Lord Ros, a good young youth, as was suppos'd, fallen in adulterie
with his child's nurfe. The Earl of Eglintoun's heir, the Master Montgom-
rie, convoying his father to London, runns away without any advyce, and
maries a daughter of my Lord Dumfreis, who is a broken man, when he
was sure of my Lady Balcloagh's marriage, the greatest match in Brittain:
this unexpected pranck is worse to all his kinn 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, 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 call 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 fitter matched with my Lord Balgony, Rothes's fitter's son, Generall Leflie's oye; 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 burre 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 outragious jealousy with her; suspects my Lord Bellaffis, whom his brother fights in that quarrell: but suspects Rothes more, and in a rage pofts towards Scotland to fight Rothes. The Protector hearing of it, causes follow and apprehend Howard, and sends an order in hafte to secure Rothes in the Castle of Edinburgh; where yet he lyes in great infamie.

My Lord Forrester [Forrester,] on a great suspicion of incest with his wife's fitter, his brother's wife, with grief of that and other misdemeanours, hes brought his wife to her grave. My Lord Lorne, 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, tricks him on the head, whereon he fell down dead and speechles for a long tyme: his death fundry dayes was expected, but bleffed be God, I hear this day he was better. My Lord Toftes, being weell at night, died ere the morrow. My Lord Clerkinton, Sir William Scot, 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 Balcolmie, the best Judge we had, going in weell to the Tolbooth, before he fat doune on the bench, fell dead immediatelie. Sundrie other sudden 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 so much tyme as to make his testament.

Our friends in town are all weell. Only good Mr. Durhame has keepe his chamber above thefe four moneths, and his bed more than this moneth, of a lent feaver and defluxion, that puts his life in great hazard: in the abfence of Mr. Patrick Gillespie more than a year, and Mr. Robert M’Quare [M’Ward] feeking his health at London, a great burden of continuall preaching lay on him, and the perfecting of his work on the Revelation for the preffe was very heavie: It were a great pity of the man; albeit I have my own differences with him, and sharp reckonings sometimes, yet I love him dearly, and counts him one of the best and ableft men in Brittaine. Our good friend, Mr. William Wilkie, unhappilie, by a wrong fltep on the flreet, fell and broke his leg, which yet, after fome moneths, is not whole.

I blefs God for his kindness to myfelf, my health and cheerfullnes continues. Being married October 1ft [1656], it pleased God, the 15th of July thereafter, to give me a fair daughter, Margaret, who yet is weell. I married my daughter Lilias to a very good young man, Mr. William Eccles, the heir of Kildonald, who now is delivered of a fine child: as a little before my marriage, my wife married her eldeft daughter to Mr. Hew Blair’s fon, minifter near Lithgow. I took all thefe for favours from God; only my fon Mr. Robert’s long fickneff troubles me; he has a fore paine in his belly after a flux, that as yet we cannot get cured, but I hope God fhall be mercifull to me in his delivery. Harie is a hard fludent beſide myfelf, and profits weell. The reft of my children thryve, and are weell, and these are fpurrs in my fide 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 Chronologick Questions to something in tyme. Thereafter I purpose to deale in the questions of Grace, &c. against Baxter and Amirot; but I would have the ice better broken before I goe in that vast deep: Voetius I with heartillie were on that subject. These three years of abfence from Prefbyterie 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 repreffed 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 bad war in Switzerland are turned to a settled peace, we thank God. We are sometymes in fear for your States, their unkindnes to the Britifh familie, and that of Orange, their needless provocations oft of Sueden, by open favouring all his enemies, and drawing to their power Brandenburg from him; also their too ftrait allyance with Spaine, and neglect of France, portends no good, though their succesfull against the Portugall ships, in the very bay of Lisbone, and their boafting of the Bishop of Munfter unto a peace with the City, were very pleafant to us. They are a very noble member of the Reformed Church, which we pray God to help and bleff; albeit their State seems to fland but on tottering props, and they have loft much of the love and reputation sometymes they had, both at home and abroad.

We oft thank God that enables the Venetians fo 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, wife, and good prince, should be put from his eftates, either by the Turks or Auffrians, I should be very sorry. They made us once believe that the Muscoviter had been flobed by his father-in-law; but it seems it was but a fable. We are glad that all his aflayes 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 laft year thirty thousand a-peace, what did they but courfed about? Montmedy, Bourburgh, and Mardick, are but three feckles bicopts; the getting of Heldin recompences weel the loses of all the three. What has Conty, Savoy, and Modena, with all their noife in Millain this whole year,
gotten? And in Catalonia their conquest is nothing at all. We were sorry that the Portugall loft 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 fumnptuous attendance, but the losſe of Blake their generall. As for the burning of fome vessels in the Canaries, it was no great buſineſs, since now all the plate feems to be come home without impediment. Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie preached before the Protecor, in his velvet rarelie cut caſlick, a very flattering thanking for that signall service, thanking God for the great reformation of the Church.

That young prince which Spaine has begun to on his fitter’s daughter in his old age, feemes not to portend great good. But he whom all men begins to look moft on, is Charles of Sweden: in his quarrell with Pole many were not fatiſfied, and generallie all here, for his league with the Protecor, did maligne him. For myfelf, fince the battell of Lipſick, I have loved the house of Sweden to this day above all foreigners, and by the strange fucceſses God gives to their valour, I expect more good to the Church from them than from any others; however that unhappie Christina’s apoftacie, and after mifcarriages, has grieved my heart. I was very glad that the inceftuous Cardinall Cafimir’s crown, which his fooliſh and weak head could not bear, first, by a generall content of the Poloniſh nation, and then by many signall victories over them, who retracted their sworne content, was lyke to be fetted on Charles, fo active, wife, and fucceſfull a prince; when the strong confederacie of Autfria, Pole, Moſco, and others, rais’d that hideous storme on him, I was grieved and feared. But moft of all, my disdaine was againſt the Dane, whose friendship the Swede had fought 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 Cafimir upon himſelf. Who can pitie him in all his prefentufferings? This his madneſs feems to make good that, which many doubted, his father’s league with the Emperour, Pole, and others againſt the Swedes, as they alleadged, when Banier came doune and took from his father fo much of his territorie. That Frederick in his late declaration for his breach with Charles, alleadges nothing of that losſe, I marvelled, fince all elfe he propones feems lighter than what Charles objected to Cafimir at his breach with him. It feems strange, that Charles, with a handfull of men, has fo easily poſſefed himſelf of all almost that Frederick had on
the south side of the sea; that the Danes every where proved fleeing cowards, especially in that last attempt against Funnen, where their advantages were so fensible. 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 easilie it seems, in a moneth 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 Brandeburgh may returne to his old postour, and not draw on himself next the Swedish armies, which the Lord forbid; for after Sweden, we love Brandeburgh next best. We wish Pole in good terms were agreed with Charles; and that the Muscoviter will agree with him we hope, finding nothing to be gotten from him but strokes; and the Poles has promised their crown to the Austrian for his prejudice. Our wish is that the Muscoviter, for reforming of his churches, civilizing of his people, and doing some good upon the Turks and Tartars, were more straitly allied with Sweden, Brandeburgh, the Transylvania, and other Protestant Princes.

We should rejoice 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 associats with the assistance of France and a good Dutch league. It seems no hard matter to get the Imperiall crown, and turne the Ecclesialick Princes into secular Protestants.

A long tract of dreames I have on the successes of Charles, if God help him to begin where his heroick uncle Guftave 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 Majestie 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 further. Mr. Gillofpie 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 unfufficiency for his place, and maladminis-
tration 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 libelld him. - So foone as he came to Glafgow, 
it was his firft care to call a Facultie, and shew us the libell, defying we 
would joyne in a testimonie to clear him of it. All the reft were most willing to 
give him superlative commendations: I told them, I regrated these needlefs 
contests betwixt him and the toune, which he had drawn on himself by his 
perfeuing of them both at home and abroad with great eagerneffs, that they 
did not concerne us; for myfelf, at his entrie, I had protestted of his unfitneffs 
for the Principall’s charge, which under my hand did fland in the records of 
the Councell, which I could not contradicft; for the other articles I should 
be willing to tellfie any thing was true; however, I defyred they might 
draw a paper and shew it me, and if I could I should subfcryve it. Our 
Rector brought a draught to me, fo fimple as he could devife, for my fatis-
faction, as he faid; but I shew him a number of clear untruths in it, which I 
could not atteft. So excusing myfelf, the Facultie, without me, did write their 
testimonie, and appointed Mr. John Young and Mr. A. Burnett to preftent it to 
the Councell, together with a testimonie from diverfe of the students of di-
vinitie; the common Scifion of the Toune did fend George Porterfield with 
ane other, but verie impertinently drawne; the town infifted in their petition 
to be heard, to prove their lybell; the Councell fent all home, advifing to 
agree among themselves against fuch a day, otherways all should have a hear-
ing. Mr. Gillofpie’s spirit permitted him not to fpeak of agreeance, while he lay 
under the infamie and fcorne of their lybell, and fo negleected to make an 
ouverture to that end. When the day came, the Commissioners from the 
toune were eareeft to have their lybell put to probation; the firft draught of 
it had been but extemporall, by John Bell’s hand; but then, more advifedlie, 
Mr. Robert Govean had put it in a farr better frame. Mr. Gillofpie and his 
partiie imputed this to me and Mr. George Young. He denies his part in 
it: I avowed my affifting to my power, by my letters to my friends of our 
toune, in their juft defence; but in their libells I truely medled not; I

1 Sir George Maxwell, vide supra, p. 351.
thought it was no leffe than behoved to be expected, when fo long and fo violently Mr. Gillefpie had been libelling them without cause; but for myself, their first paper I never saw till Mr. Gillefpie brought it to our Facultie meeting; and the other paper, which amended the first, came only to my fight yesterday. I never libelled man but the Bishop of Canterbury, and at this time I was farr from desiring the English to medle with libells against any in our house, knowing in how dangerous tearmes I stood for the tyme with their government. If my open avowing difference from Mr. Patrick in the moft 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 commissioner, was very earneft in Edinburgh, with our town’s-folk not to prefc it furder; their friends alfo of the Councell prefted them to the same; fo they were content to let it hing over his head for a tyme, till they fee if he move any thing farder againft them, which he threatens he will doe; but they doe not now regard his utmoft endeavours.

Mr. Durhame yet continues extreamly fick, much regrated by all: no man looks for his life. My sweet boy Rab, on Tuesday May 25th, was removed to my very fore and jutf grief. All who knew him bore witnefs 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 1650,” is addressed “For the Right Reverend Mr. Robt. Baille, Professor of Divinitie at Glasgow. This.” It begins,—

“Right Reverend.—Immediatelic after my returne from Winton. legi et relegi epistolam tuam perbreve quam quidem, sed ratione morbi diuturni et periculosi quo coriphi audio dilectum tuum Filium, longiorem quam vellem. Morbum indigiant magistri mediici 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.
wisdom, 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 rumbling of wind in his bellie; which within these two moneths did weaken him sore, and made him keep in. Both he and I did still expect a recoverie till the last fournight, when his bellie and leggs began to swell to an hydropick tympanie; then my feares were great, and the doctors who had spent all their art in vaine became desperate. All his seare 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 shotts 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, allways crying to God in great devotion and patience, beseeching a hastening of removeall. When the height of these fits were over, he craved all pardon for clamour, rest 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, compos’d 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 pleausure, but the Scriptures of God had oft been his delight and great refreshment. I can write no more, this sad subject, as ever I felt, makes me to close. The Lord be with you and all yours.

Your sorrowfull Cousin,

[Glafgow, June 1658.] R. Bailly.

Keep all these things to yourself: they are the inside of all our affaires, which I defyre none to know from me but yourself alone.
SIR,

Being desired by you 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 scandal with some pages of it, wherein I conceive, most needfully, he is pleased, in the press 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 sore wounds without all cause, that I do not wonder of that Reverend man, 3 (whom Mr. R. went to reverence, and, as I think, yet does as much as any else living,) who, to divers of you in your High-streets avowed, that before he had written any such things, he could have rather chosen to have had his right-hand stricken off at the Croft of Edinburgh by the axe of the hangman.

Mr. R. avowest,—That the Remonstrants among us are troubled on every side, in the streets, pulpits, in divers 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 misery. This, to my best knowledge, is utterly false. I know sundry whom they have persecuted, and, by their favour with the present power, have kept 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.
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all possibilitie of remeedy; but I remember not any of them that has been put to the least sufferings. Sundrie of them, whom whole Synods hes declared unlawfullie admitted, are, to this day, keeped in their usurped places, by their greatnesws with the civill power. I have seen it too true what the fore-mentioned Brother, reverenced by them as by us, wrote of them in his letter, October 20th 1651, 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, 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 ane other, for to gaine some quietnes.

Thereafter we are challenged, in the streets of London, before all the Sectaries, and from thence to the world, of Six particular crimes: Firft, That we have framed an Engagement for the present power which we allow every intrant to the miniftrie to subcribe, 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 expediencie of the resolution itself, Mr. R. avows: now, that the subscribeng 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 uttermoft did keep up, an order from the present power, That no intrant to the miniftrie 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 prelaticall acts to debarre godly and able intrants from the miniftrie, because they will not be satisfied with the Publick Resolutions. Surely unsatiftaction to these, to my knowledge, was never cenfured among us. When, after much toile and debate, all on both fides did professe their willingnes to lay aside publick agitation of need-

1 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.
let's questions, if one Synod (for of more I have not heard it alleadged,) did appoint their intrants to professe this much peaceablenes 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, keeped out of places for no other caufe but their dis-satisfaction with the way of the Remonftrants. That any one man can be produced, who even for his publict preaching against the Resolutions of the Kirk and State was actuallie kepted out, is more than I think can be showne: 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 necesitie of Obedience to knowne unjust acts, even a tyrannicall and popish, an absolute and illimitat obedience. Why shoule an untruth be fastened upon us, which is point-blank contrary to thefe our papers on which it is fathered, where we speake expressly of that, and no other subordination, which, since our late Reformation, from 1638 to the 1648, was in ordinarie practice 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 shoule 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 impertinentely; 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 adverfares, that the opposers of them will be disallowed by all unbyasid 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 defires, 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 promife neither to presbyteries nor synods, as now constitude, 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 purgeing of all the judicatories
behoved to precede their acknowledgement of any dutie to them as they now stand. This to be the true Scots of their papers, both their formall words, and constant practice 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 generall, 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.

Farther, what here is added to that new Question, feems to overturne not only the presbyterie among us, but all government, civill and ecclesiasticke, in all places for ever, and brings in every where a neceffitie 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 ecclesiasticke. 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 suppos'd alone in a matter of controversy betwixt the judicatories and a particular person. Let all the judicatories proceed as conscientiouslie as can be required: let the Session, Presbyterie, Synod, Generall Assembly, yea, Eccumenick Counsell, unanimously 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 falfae 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 righteousness of their proceedings, and proves it sufficientlie, though they cannot convince and satisfy the oblinnative erroneous person; if such a practice be maintained, shall there be any order remaining under the sun? What possible remeeds shall there be for the ending of any controversy great or small, till every Quaker, every Anabaptift, every Papift, be not only convinced within, but brought to professe without, the justice of the sentence pronounced by the Judicatories against them? This extravagance cuts the fines 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 fo right, if fo the errant
man think it wrong, and adhere to his own fancie, though contrare to scripture and reaon. 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, propose 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 joyned 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 cafe of all these who has oppofed 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 reproved and cenfured, they deny subordination in that cafe, avowing themselves to be right and their cenfurers wrong. What here shall be the reme'd? Must all order give place to confusion for ever?

The Fourth challenge is a fearfull railling againft the body of our minifterie, and, as their papers for union fpeak, the pluralitie of our presbyteries and synods; also againft 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 laft to have written more modeflie of others. He knowes how that exceeding false Testimonie against the King and our laft Armie, must unfeasonable fent before them in their laft marche into Lancashire, was receaved by the judicious brethren there; and the no leffe false witnefs for the Remonstrators againft our Church fent thereafter to London, was receaved by the gracious brethren there. He knows likewise, I fuppofe, how the moft, if not all, the fained fables which are the great grounds of this verie comprehensive flander, were convicted of evident falsehood in very publique audiences latelie at London, where by the agents of the faction they were very boldlie fpread. I am fure in the Synod where I live, where these inveeitves againft the crying weaknesses and scandals of foul-murdering minifters, wont to be moft frequent and vehement; fo foone as that partie, through their opposites weari-
nefs to contend, became masters of the prebysterie and synod, we have heard no more to count of concerning that subject. The few upon whom they tried their inquisition, after near ane hundred wittes, beside all the elders, were sworne upon their proceffe, were found honest men; and although I have heard saye oftener than once openlie in the face of the synod, that the true weaknes and recall 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 leaft 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 engagemet. This needed not to have been objected, for the taking of men's publick repentance, even when they are hypocrites, so long as their hypocrisy 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 diffresse was the leffe 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 forfaken their Covenant, and was excommunicat for it, did appear visible. And what doe they speake of Covenants who openlie has tore our Solemne League and Covenant in peices, and at their own hand has cutt 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 subscrib'd by all who would not have choven to have been excluded from the societie and advantages of their godlie and thriving partie.

The Sixth challenge is but a repetition of the Fourth, that so many un-sufficient ministers are admitted by us. Our order of admission 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 prebysteriall meetings for a whole quarter or half a-year, in one morning. Sundry are grieved with the great weaknesses 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 set a foot. Doubtles more strictnes 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 further strictnes either scripture or reason shall require, will not be refuséd by us.

It is in vaine to mention the Ministers of London, for they all weel 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 keeped 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 weel near for a whole year at London? which the Lord, cheefly by the wife and gracious endeavours of our Presbyterian brethren there, did break, or at leaft delay till this long. How much, first and laft, they have made themselves the Godlie partie in Scotland, though in the streetching 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 weel to put to the inquiest of their neighbours, the true pietie, let be the degree of it, of fundrie no the meaneft of their faction.

So farre for the time I have told yow my mind of a few pages in that Preface. I bleffe the Lord that keeps yet yow and others there at the helme of our Church, when from time to time new storms arise, from whom leaft 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,

Gla'gow, July 31st 1658. R. Baillie.
Cousine,

All yow sent with Robert Smith, with James Maxwell, and the box directed to George Sutie, your gear also, and all I think yow sent hither, I receaved; to your self I use to send no thanks, but to your kind wife, my wife sends many. I am glad all your children are well; I pray God blefs 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 serv’d him most for Ireland; and I also did long much to have him in the minifterie, without the reach of our good faction: his prosperous succeffe yow will see in the inclofed. My boy Harie, bles’d be God, growes in pietie, learning and wisdom; at his own desire I permitted him to goe to Sir James Dundas of Arniftoun, near Edinburgh, to be his chaiplane for some tyme, to see some more of the world, and to fitt him to fpeak in public: he always refents your kindness and your kind wife’s. I have thought fit to fend to yow the fecond part of Dr. Strang’s writ. The Latine that is printed either here or at London, is fo exceedingly ill done, that I will be very loath, if I can otherways doe, ever to employ them either for myfelf or others. I fent in Summer, with one of our boyes, the memorandum yow have here; yow fie the Elfevir’s anfwer. When yow get a fure bearer, fend the book to them, with fo much encouragement from yourfelf and your friends as yow can, for them to print it. If yow cannot get it done, fend it back to me with a fure hand, but doe your beft to have it printed there; for here it will be but fpoiled, for all the English fahr promises to the contrare. Give me an account of Elfevir’s returne to yow, fo foone as yow can.

Though fince my last large one, there is not much I can writ, yet to

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6 Probably Dr. Strang’s work, “De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturae”; the publication of which, however, was completed at Rotterdam, but not before the year 1663.
threw yow my diligence, have our affairs since. Our Towne now is prettie quiet, having at Michaelmes chozen not only such a proveist and baillies, but 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, advised 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, but some moneths before, Mr. Caritares, his brother-in-law, out of his extraoridnary affection, did continuallie preach and pray of him, in a very extraordinary way, the nomination of his succesflour, he took it well 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 years ago with my Harie, who was in the circle with him, and in all things thought his match but in his extreme flattering of Mr. Gillespie: this boy, when named, had never so much as spoken in any publicke exercize. Mr. Francis Aird, of ordinary parts, but so exceeding fickly, that halfe a year’s service of our towne was like to have buried him; but he was good enough, since a prime Remonstrant. Mr. James Fergusfon, my succesor in Kilwinning, was earnestly desir’d 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 feffions whither he pleas’d. Mr. George Young’s power with the Councell was no leffe. The feffion went on firft with the unfittest, Mr. George Campbell, though none of them ever had heard him preach; the towne protestting against his election, till he were heard, he refused the call. The feffion fell next on Mr. Francis Aird. The towne fell on a very good overture, that they should joyne with the feffion in the call of any whom they pleas’d, if so they would joyn with the Councell in a call to Mr. James Fergusfon, for whom they should provide both a new church and a new lipend, 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 feffion was readie to have accepted it, but Mr. Patrick caus’d 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 refuifed to joyn in Mr. Francis Aird's call, and on this difference he
could not hearken to it. Therefore, laft, the feffion called Mr. Ralph
Rodger, who is as unliklie to accept as the refl. The end of it, I think, fhall
be that the feffion, being refuifed by all the three, will turn themfelves to fome
headie one of the faction, who will like their call the better that the Magif-
trats oppofe it; and the body of the townе finding themfelves fo mifhandlie
abufed, and continuallie tyrannized over, without hope of remeed, will en-
deavour, as it is in Stirling and Lithgow, the erecting of a new Seffion, with
the misregard of the old. This had been done ere now, if I had not both
openly and by my owne private wayes oppofed it. Strange, what a few
yeares will produce! Some foure yeares agoe, when our Presbyterie and
Synod both divided, I was the laft who confented to that division, and when
thereafter, Mr. George Young and Mr. James Ferguffon, on very ill termes,
had made the reunion, I was the only man who then and to this day refuifed
it; and now no man repents more that union than the contrivers 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 feffions in Glag-
gow, and gotten a legall call and tranfportation to Mr. James Ferguffon, or
any we had lyked: that this now can no be gotten, the authors of that evill
union now grieues, and I laugh at their too late repentance.

For the Colledge, we have no redrefle of our discipline and teaching. Mr.
Gillefpie's work is building, and pleas; with the din of mafons, wrights,
cartes, smithes, we are vexed every day. Mr. Gillefpie, alone for vanitie to
make a new quarter in the Colledge, hes caft downe my house to build up
ane other of greater shouw, but farr worfe accommodation; in the meane[while,]
for one full year, I will be, and am exceedingly incommodat, which I bear
because I cannot help it. And alfo because Mr. Gillefpie hes ftrange wayes of
getting money for it, by his own induftry alone; an order he got from the
Protector of five hundred pound fterling, (but for an ill-office to the countrie,
his delation of fo much concealed rent yearly of the Crown;) alfo the vacancy
of all churches, wherein the Colledge had entres: this breeds clamour
as the unjuft fpoill of churches and incumbents. Upon these foundations
are our palaces builded; but withall our debts grow, and our ftipends are not
payed; for by his continuall toying our rent is mouldered away. When our
magiftrates repreffed this, and much more, in a libell againft him, his good
friend, Swintoun, obtained to him a fair absolution from all without any cognitio 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 masters wont 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 fterling was allowed in the quarter; a very high rate. Yet when I was last in Edinburgh, Mr. Gillefpie had agreed with a new \textit{Economus} for five pound fterling a quarter, and to bring all the Divinitie-burfars to a second table at fiftie merks a quarter, and the Philosophie-burfars at a third table for twenty four pounds a quarter. With this I was not content, for it burdens our rent with above five hundred merks of needless charges yearly. For the Principall and four Regents twenty pounds fterling; for the fix 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 fix, a hundred pound was needfull to make them fifty merks in the quarter a-piece; the fix of the new donation for Divinitie, and as many for Philosophie, 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, sundry moft hopefull young men would refufe, for shame, to come to a Burfars-table. Against this was alleadged, 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 cuftome. I refused to refcryve without an expreis exception of the article of fix thousand merks for Mr. Gillefpie's journey to London. The other year, when I was in Edinburgh, Mr. Gillefpie had obtained from the Facultie twenty shillings fterling 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 unsupportable; for his vast expences 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 forefaw 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. Gillespie ascerting his loffe 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 paffe 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 date 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 parfonage of Govane, of Kilbride, of Renfrew, of the Bishopprick 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 insufficiency, 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 presseth the expediencie of having a courtier Chancellor of our Univerfitie, and that Thurloe was fitteft. 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 refused it. But the best was, to choice 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. Gillespius Pro-Cancellarius et Praefectus:" A poor glory!

Our Church lyes as it did: the Represantation printed by Mr. Sharp at London, they durft never assay to answer; but our late Declaration of new
desires of peace, they answer'd a piece of it with a very bitter pamphlet; to
which Mr. Rutherfoord printed a preamble in his Preface to a late answer to
Hooker. Being desired, I sent my observations on that preamble to Mr.
Douglas; but on that and their whole pamphlet, Mr. Hutcheson has written
a very accurate and folide Review, with some additions of Mr. Wood's;
all which I think are now on the preface. It is very like the end of this ob-
stinate 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 leffe harme.

The Countrey lyes very quiet; it is exceeding poor; trade is nought;
the English h贽 all the moneyes. Our Noble families are almost gone:
Lennox h詩 little in Scotland unfold; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and
the Baronrie of Hamilton, is fold; Argyle can pay little annuell rent for
seven or eight hundred thousand mersks; and he is no more drowned in
debt than publick hatred, almost of all, both Scottish and English; the
Gordons are gone; the Douglas's little better; Eglintoun and Glencairn
on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families estates 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 unkindnes to Balcarras very ill;
especially that he should oppofe his Ladie's provision to the overflight 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 speake as they lift. What some speake, 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 setted 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 Pro-
testers no Subverters, &c.—By some Lovers of the Interests of Christ in the Church of Scot-
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 towns; 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 piece 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. Brandeburg's armie, and his confederate Austrian and Poler, is great in Holsten; but the countrey, by these pretended friends, is plundered to the bones. I fear Brandebburgh 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 Englishe 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 Englishe 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 blefs God that the Turkish threats hes this year produced no more harme, neither to Ragotfi nor the Venetians. It seems the articles of Munfler 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 caufe 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 Cousin,

R. B.
Postscript.

In Edinburgh, at their election, there fell out a passage much against the mind of many. Sir Andrew Ramfay, a right sharp young man, but very proud, had carried himself for two yeares in the place of Proveifl, very haughtillie; and in his abode at London had been at vaft 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. Thomfon, the Clerk, who had brought him to his place, became very ungracious to him, by the fuggellion moft of Baillie Jausie, who defiring to have his fon conjunct clerk with W. Thomfon, was refused, on fear that such a conjunct should put himself to the door. Upon this differing, the Provoft 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 moft gladlie had Archibald Sincerf for Proveifl, the farr fitteft for the charge: but Ramfay keeped Sincerf from the lites, according to the late act of the English Parliament, for his guilt of the Ingadgement; and got on the lites himfelf, Baillie Jausie, and (being perfuaded that none would give him a vote,) Sir James Stewart. Thomfon finding it fo, he wrought underhand, that any living might be choften rather than his enemies Ramfay or Jausie: thus Sir James caried it. This offended many, and feared them, leift (the man being very wife and active, and an open favourer of the Remonftrants,) it might make a great change in Edinburgh and all the land for that parties advancement. When I met with Thomson, 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 Proteftor. I was impatient of all apologies; yet I hear Sir James has given aflurances enough to Mr. Robert Douglaufs, and others, and denies his Remonftrantifm. 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 Joiiiie 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 truft him; but feares the great evill of this pranck of the clerk: Sir James once caft him out of his place; if he doe it again, no man will pitie him.

Being weared, I have now laid aside my Chronologie. I have drawn the storie, facred and profane, shortlie from the fountains through the whole Old Teftament, in feven epochas, to every one of which I have subjoyneed the moft of the ordinarie queftions of chronologie; and, after a prettie free debate with all forts of men, determines them after myne owne mind. I have alfo fett downe the storie of the New Teftament, the firft epocha of it to the death of John the Evangelift, and at the back of it, feventeen of the chiefeft queftions: Being tyred, I subsift: It may be I revife it and adde more queftions, especiallie from the Apocalypfe; therefore what you find of new books that may further me in this defigne, let the Colledge have them: I think we want few of the old. This year's studie I caft it on the noble head of Juxtification, moft to meet with Bishop Forbes, printed latelie at London by Mr. Thomas Sincerf, Bishop of Galloway, T. G. and our moderat midmen, whom I have esteemed, ever since I knew them, reall Papifts in the moft and maine; alfo to meet with Baxter, whom albeit I highly esteem for pietie and learning, yet I think a very unhappie bruiller, a full avowed Amiraldfift, and a great confounder of the head of Juxtification. I pray you in your firft to Voetius, remember my heartie fervice to him, and tell him from me, that many his lovers here long for a third volume of his Diſputations; alfo, that they excedingly defyre fome Exercitationes from him on the way of Amiral, and that the head of Juxtification were vindicat by him from Baxter and Forbes, and all other adverfars. We love here very well Marefius's writts, all but his bitter flittings with Voetius: We long to hear, that thofe two very eminent and usefull men were better friends. What you fent us of Jefuit Sempill is but a preface to his Dictionarium Mathematicum, which we pray you 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 Modesta et Pacifica Contraversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum &c. London, 1658, small 8vo. pp. 466. The Editor, Thomas Sydeserf, was the only one of the Scotish Prelates deposed in 1638 who survived till the Restoration of Charles II.

6 Hugo Sempiliius Craigbateus Scotus, De Mathematicis Disciplinis. Antwerpiae, 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 intolerable boldnes, after his avowed Amidaldisme, to follow and goe beyond miserable John Goodwin, in confounding the great head of Justification with such a flood of new and unsound 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 seriouslie reply; yea, that Dr. Reinolds, or if ye have any abler pen, would take him to task in all his errors, which truely 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 evil remedied, at least stopped. Your addresse by Dr. Reinolds to his Highness, before the Independents by Dr. Goodwin, I doe not well understand how it was not a very solemnne and public buriall of the Solemn League and Covenant; but here we are exceeding sparing 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 kindnes 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 send him to some familie for one year, to serve [as] a chaplane, 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 myselfe fallen more tender than before, my purpose is to have him at home after the term, but so that he stay till yow get 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 presence what now I write. Praying the Lord to bless 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 send 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 address 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 familie, near Edinburgh (vide supra, p. 382,) and it appears he had been treated with great kindness.
serve 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 advyse 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 Erafians, these being the chief statefmen who must agent our petition, or else it is like it will never be read. 5. What securitie shall we have that our commissioneer 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 designes. 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 what ever expence a committee shall modifie for carrying on that petition.

When Judge Ker and Sir John Cheifly appeared as elders in the Synod, their designes were suspeeted 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. Eceles 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 satissfactorie reaons to the contrarie at the next diet of the adjourned Synod in the end of May, to proceed with the petition, and to send (for the opponents satissfaction,) Mr. P. Colvill up with it. Mr. P. Gillefpie told them, that so soon as his health and affairs 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 tearms, 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, Montrofe, 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 flirred up a few headie fellows of Bamor to presse for Mr. Nicol Black, a domeflick 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 hoot, contrary to the Act of the Presbyterie of Irvine, and all the diffents and protestations of our towne, they appoint Mr. Ralph Rodger, before the first of June, to come hither.

Many were greeved, when the Judges were here, that one Foyer was not hanged; a most wicked hypocrite, [who,] under the colour of pietie and prayer, hes acted sundry 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 adultery, for which he was but scourged: great appearance of his witchrie also, if he had been put to a reall tryell. Yet that which greeves 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 minifter, albeit our session for the time is nought but the good pleasure of Mr. Patrick Gillefsie, who absolutely rules it; the Presbyterie is no leffe obsequious. The whole parish, almoft 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 subcriving of papers, and that the session, according to their right, would provide them of a minifter. The other Sabbath, Mr. James Blair, minifter 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 evills 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 remeal against these violent unreasonable usurpations of proud men. I humbly pray you to let me know your mind, if ye know any remedie possible against this hardly tolerable tyranny. That which many here would be at, if they cannot have Mr. James Fergiisoun, [is] to deal with some stout honest man, Scots or English, who on the Magistrates, Council, 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 sought but their adversarie, Mr. Gillefie. This I understand not. My owne remedie is a Generall Assembly, if so you 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 fears; 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 you there have no other remeal for us but this third, I shall acquiece to it, though I think ere long it will come nearer to you 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 interst in the familie of Eglintone and parish of Kilwinning hinders me to move for Mr. James Fergiisoun'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. Douglase, Minister of Edinburgh.

Sir,

We have sent unto you this expresse. By what the town and I writ to Mr. Sharp, you will see our condition: you 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 neceffare that Mr. Sharp fhould stay still a little while longer. M. P. G[illepie] is thought here to have taken journey this day, with the Lady Swinton, towards London. He expects no les than ask and have; yet I truft the Lord will marr him nothing the les that he has no visible impediment. Having little more ado in the Weft, I think they will begin the execution of their new orders on Lothian and Fife. The Lord help yow, who, under Chrift, are at the helme of our poor toffed Church in this high danger.

May 18th 1659.

Your's, R. Bailly.

Will Mr. Blair ever be silent, and never neither speake nor write one word for us?

For his Reverend and Weel-beloved Brother, Mr. Ja. Sharp, Minister at Creel.  

Dear Brother, Glafgow, May 18th 1659.

I wish this may overtake yow 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 bargain all of a thousand pound fterling for tithes, and many law pleas; yet yesterdays 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 defire from those that now are in power, and many here fear he will renew all his former irrationall defires for the prejudice of our Church, of our Towne, of our Colledge; nor know we who will oppofe him, but that, without all hearing and debate, by my Lord Fleetwood, Lord Lambert, and Dr. Owen, his familiar friends, he fhall obtaine whatever he lykes: His former committees, for flipends, yea, for tryall and cenfure, of his owne nomination, yea, whatever new forme he and Warriflon shall invent for our

5 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 MSS. of Letters, the year 1659 is given; but the letter itself would have fixed that date.
whole Church; lykewise, 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 Glasgow 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 fitter'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 boast him with a processe. When he finds that will not doe except he can carie more votes in our Facultie than in that caufe he is confident of, he resolves to bring in more members to vote with us. Always 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 keeped them off; but now, on a meer desire to strengthen us, he propones to bring in Mr. R. McQuard to be our Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. Alexander Jamefone to be Deane of Facultie. The moft 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 Collidge of the Chancellorship, which I doubt Mr. Thurloe never accepted, being informed of the desighe; yet in thankfullness he got Mr. G. the Protector's hand to a charter, and command to us, to add to Mr. Gillepsie's flipend 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 himselfe the Vice-Chancellorship, and since has ever subscrib'd Principall and Vice-Chancellor; but yesterday morning he peremptorlie layes doune his Vice-Chancellorship that it might be put on Mr. R. McQuard, to be sure of a new vote. This we carried over him, that the Chancellor shold name the Vice-Chancellor. His purpose and profession both is to move Mr. Thurloe to put his Vice on his confident Mr. McQuard. 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 meddle with it; and however, if he knew that our Chancellor never named a vicar, but by the advyce, content, 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 best in this, and, by whom God will be pleased to help yow, lay a stray in Mr. G.'s gate, though I know no faint now yow or we have there but the Wife's of Kilmarnock, Jesus Christ alone, when the Reformers had pulled from her all images she wont to pray to: Weell is us that Christ cannot be pulled off his throne. By all means stay there awhile, were it but to be a witeners of our countreymen's great infolencies. The Lord be with yow, and give yow courage and direction.

Your's to serve 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 so weell accepted. Yow have alwayses 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 earnestlie 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 enclosed 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 Confession of Faith, they except the thirtieth and thirty-first chapter, to which no Sectarie gave in a diffent, but only two Erastians, that the world may know, within their jurisdiction, Christ may be allowed no spirituall government of his Church; this is weell begun): I hope yow will get us Visitations for all our Universités, 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 prefous 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 refufed my hand to this, though I with he got the thing, only with the exception of one gift, moft unjust, a hundred pound flerling a-year, out of our rents, to himself yearly, beside his flipend. Mr. Thurloe, whom I am glad to fee again Secretary of State, got to him this order from the Protecor, Richard, on three very falle 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 toyes and focrates, 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 Economus 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 doun his charge, which none will take up; no man hes gotten a fixpence of flipend this year, nor is like to get. This is not only for want of law, but also throw his needlefs waftrie, that hes caift us in much debt; who, at his coming had many thoufand pounds to the fore. Mr. Thurloe is our good friend, but hes been abufed by Mr. Gillefpie to pafs fuch a unjust gift; alfo, he got an order from him, (who, I fuppose, never accepted of our Chancellor’s oath,) to nominat Mr. Robert M’Quard our Vice-Chancellor, alone to serve Mr. Gillefpie in his evill defignes. I know yow could easilie have prevented all this, if yow had got my letter in tyme here inclofed. Only, now I defyre yow marre, if yow can, the paffing of his gift. I with the ref were confirmed, but with a claufe of excluding any personall gifts since the year 1650, or fome fuch thing. Alfo, I think, Mr. Thurloe would doe weell, as a stranger to our nation and affairs, and, at fuch a distance, unable to be duetie informed of many things paffes among us, in a letter to us, to signifie his unwillingnefs to continue longer under that title of our Chancellor, which Mr. Gillefpie did put on him, alone for a trick, to serve his own defignes. 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 thefe be come to your hands.

Be carefull none fee thefe, especlally William Thomson, my old very good and familiar friend, with whom, at the Crofle of Edinburgh, the laft
tyme I faw him, I bitterlie discorded for his putting Sir James Stewart in the Proveeftrie. Now and then I am praying to God for yow, and purposes to continue.

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 pleafe 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 Epifcopacy. Concerning this great difficultie I suggeft unto yow this my advyce, to caufe sett with all poffible fpeed some ferious and judicious pen, (I think Dr. Reinold’s were the fitteft,) in a few sheets of paper, to print the tenets, and point out the writes of the prefent leaders of the Epifcopall party, Dr. Tailor, Mr. Pierce, Dr. Hamond, Mr. Thorndyk, Dr. Heilin, Bifhop Wran, Bifhop Bramble, and others. Their humour is exceedingly bitter, and high even, in their late writes, not only againft the Covenant and all Presbyterians, but the Reformers abroad: they are moft exprefle and bitter for all Arminianifme, for the farre moft of Poperie, as much as Grotius maintains. If shortly and plainly, their prefent tenets, beside Books and Bifhops, were put in the text, and the proofs in the margins, in their own words, (as I did in my Ladenfium,) I think it might prove a notable meane, by God’s bleffing, 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 leaft to allay and cool all honet Protestants towards their defignes. 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 paflages, Dr. Reinolds, or Mr. Prin [Prynne], or fundry others, in a fourntnight, might get it readie for the preffe 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 lateft peeces. Baxter is unhappy;
he would be requested either to be silent, or simplie regulat in his wri-
ting, by these brethren who are wiser than himself.

Tell my Lord Lauderdaill that I am the old man towards him, and
readily may dedicat my Chronologick Questions to him, if he continue honest,
and better tymes make him no worfe. If yow have leasure, let me know
your receipt of this and my former.

Your's,

Aprile 16th [1660.]

R. B.

Postscript.

Dr. Waltoun, albeit bitterlie Epifcopall, yet, for his great work\(^1\), I wish
he were cherifhed, though it were with the Proveiftrie of Eaton Colledge:
that afe Lockier\(^2\) being caft out, it might be a means either to win or silence
that highly deferving man. Our reftlefs Remonstrators, as I hear, are still
on plotts for new divisions; their first designe is, to divide Lauderdaill and
Glencairne, two moft eminent men that now are left to our nation. The
world knows the Remonfrants love neither, bot 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 peip out from under that rubbish, whether
the coal of our former remeadilefs divisions, and it alone, lately did bring
us: if so soon these begin again to besturr it, we are worfe than mad. No
man I know fitter than yow to keep these two men together, in spite of the
devil; see to it, as God shal be pleased to help yow. I hear the great pro-
jectors are my Lord Lie\(^3\) and Sir John Cheiffie, and that their maine end is
to bring in Colonell Lockhart in employment for Scotland, a man exceeding-
ly sincere, who, all this while, hes been very zealous for our King, Kirk, and
Countrie, no ways self-seeking, as all the world knows.

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\(^1\) 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 inclofed 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 mind for the present: Guil. Elphiston, B. of Aberdeine, builder of your Old Colledge, borne in Glæfgow, a merchant's son, but a landed gentleman, near cousin to the Lord Elphiston:—Mr. Peter Blackburne, Bishop of Aberdeine, whose hand was chief to order your Marishall Colledge, just after our orders of Glæfgow, borne and bred in Glæfgow, an honest merchant's son; a Regent of our Colledge, when translated by King James to Aberdeine:—George Buchannan, borne in Strablaine, seven miles from Glæfgow, 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 parcel 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 Principal of it:—Trochrig, borne with us, and our Principal; see what I write of his life before his book:—Dr. Strang, borne in Irvine, but long our Principal, 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 Glæfgow, 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 Principal before he went to St. Andrews:—Mr. Thomas Smeaton died our Principal, one of the learnedest men of the

1 William Elphinston, 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 Jesuit Hamiltone's doeth shew:—Bishop Spotfwood, as the Superintendent his father, and the President his son, were all bred in our Colledge:—Blasius Laurentius, Mr. R. Laurie's grandfather, born with us, and long a Regent in our house, one of the bravest philosophers and humanists in his time:—Marcus Alexander Bodius, that excellent poet, as I knew it of his brother and nephews, was, I suppose, born near to us, and bred with us; Joannes Rofa, Mr. Jo. Roffe, borne and bred with us, a brave poet, (as Robertus Magnus, born here, a Regent here, and our Professor of Physick;) their versus you may see in Deliciis Poetarum Scotorum:—Guil. Hegatus, Principal of the Colledge of Bordeaux, a good philosopher and poet, born with us:—Tho. Jakeus, long Master of our grammar-school, an able poet, as his Onomasticon 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 not, or do not for the time remember.

As for your Sermon, I send you no cenfure upon it; for I was so much offended with your former book, before which the glorious name of your Principal, Mr. Row, did so magnificently stand, and your very idle and false gloriation of whole two hundredth year and above antiquitie before St. Andrews and us, that I have not read any of your writs in patience since, nor I think ever will, till, for these two lourd escapes, you give great satisfaction. The Lord be with you. Our Remonstrators remaine what they were, men for their owne faction alone.

Glasgow, May 23d 1660.

R. B.

1 Smeton's work, dedicated to James the Sixth, is entitled "Ad virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii apostatae Dialogum," &c. Edinburgi, 1579, 4to.

2 Mr. Robert Laurence, who was afterwards Dean of Edinburgh, and Bishop of Brechin.

3 Dr. Robert Mayne: See his funeral inscription in M'Ure's Hist. of Glasgow, p. 258.

4 The "Onomasticon Poeticum, etc." by Thomas Jack, was printed at Edinburgh 1592, 4to.

5 "The Stable Truths of the Kirk require a suitable behaviour: Holden forth by way of Sermon, &c. before the Provincial Synod of Aberdeen, April 19, 1659. Aberdene, printed by J. B. in March, Anno 1660." 4to.

6 "Academiarum Vindiciae, in quibus Novantium prejudicia contra Academias etiam Reformatas averruncantur, earundemque Institutio recta proponitur." Aberdoniae, 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 Theses. 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 laft, I find our factions in a new flame of spirit; it's like some thing hes been resolved among them there-east, they are all miscontent with some thing in this change. I have heard some of them preach these three laft Sundays, but 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 Bihops, Books, destroying of the Covenant, setting up of profanitie; and heirupon pressies privie meetings, as in a tyme most necessiar. The sermon this day was spent on that purpose. These fett meetings, to my fenfe, are exceeding dangerous, caveat them as they will. My heart is very grieved, that when myself and many others were content to have pass'd 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 feifume and a partie of the godly, as they will have them called, for themselves, that shall obey no Church Judicatorie farther than they please: This spirit is now aloft more than ever, stirred up lately in their Edinburgh meeting, from Wariloun, Mr Guthrie, Mr. Gillespie, and Mr. Rutherfurd's commission, by Mr. M'Quard: advert to it, let it goe to a new mischief. Argyle and Mr. Gillespie are this day at the communion at Pafley, 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 evil spirit of caufelef's divifion 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 farther ruptures. God help yow who there are at the helme. My service to Margaret and Alexander. I rest,

May 27th [1660.]

Yow let us know nothing, neither what Mr. J. Sharp nor what yow there are doeing. We are wearied with complaints of this and will say no more of it.

For my Lord Lauderdaill.

My Lord,

I would have been loath to have broken of my long silence 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 thofe who, in my heart, and all needfull expressions, adhered to the King in all his diftreffes: He had my continuall prayers to God for his reftitution, any way God pleased, even the moft hard: diverse know my frequent expressions of readinefs 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. Alfo yow, and your neighbour Crawfurd, 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 pafs, 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 thofe who were not fo 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 Elic (I fear Dr. Wran), the worfl Bishop of our age after Dr. Laud, preached there? Hes the Houfe of Lords paft an order for the Service-Book? Oh! where are we foe foon? 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 folemne oath of the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, subscribed so oft
by their hands to eradication 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 publicly read? Is Cromwell, the great enemie 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 scorne to tell us of moderat Episcopacy, a moderat Papacy! the world knows that Bishops and Popes could never keep cawtions: The Episcopall faction there were never more immoderat than this day. You know how farr Pierce, Hamond, Heylen, Taylor, have in their late writs justified all the challenges in my Ladenfium, and gone beyond them to all the Tridentine poperie of Grotius. T. G., Thomas Gallovidianus¹, for his printing Dr. Forbes, [Bishop] 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. Yow were the man who procured and brought downe to us the ordinance for abolition of Episcopacie. I doubt not but yow 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 Assemblie of London, of Lancafcy, and other fyres? 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 easlie buried? Though all fleth, English and Scots, for their own designs were silent at so needfull a time, I doubt not but the Lord himself will hear our cryes against that beast, which has gotten so deadlie wounds as all the kings and parliaments of the earth will never be able to

cure. I, and many more, who have, and will ever rejoice for the Restoration of our King, resolve to complain to God and man, while we live, for the return of Books and Bishops.

Thus far I have poured out my heart to you at this time, who, I believe, will be loath for any cause to apostatise from your well-tried constancie. This is from your Lordship's old friend and servant,

R. B.

June 16th 1660.

[For the Earl of Lauderdall.]

My Lord,

I receaved on the 30th of June, what long before you sent to me by Mr. Jo. Wilkie, two copies of the French letters, vindicating the King's constancie in his religion. The one, as you directed, I sent immediateley to our noble friend L. M. Kennedy; for this favour I thank your Lordship. I write the 18th [16th] of June, by Mr. Jo. Wilkie's packet, a very sad regrett, which I hope your Lordship hath receaved. This is on a particular. Mrs. Gillesepie has gone to her friends at London to solicit her husband's pardon and confirmation in his place of Principall in our Universitie. I would no be strait-laced in pardon almost to any penitent man; but truelie if his Majestie should be that far abusd 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 senfe, 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 Collidge 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 you with Lambert in your prifon. But by all the interest I have in you, 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 Remonftrance. Ye would wrong our Univerfitie, oppreft 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 firen's fongs: for her venturous boldnefs she ought to be fent home, if not with a affront, yet with a severe frowne.

This is from your Lordship's old friend and servant,

R. B.

Glasgow, July 2d 1660.

For Mr. Huchesone.

George,

I got your laft, and all my papers back on Saturday. I am oblidged to yow, and yow only, for a serious 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 feventy 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 fend yow one of them. In your notion here of pointing out the Epifcopall 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 fo 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 fhall fitt dumb and never open our mouth, neither to the King nor Parliament, nor our brethren the minifters of England, to request them to adhere to their Covenant and Petition againft Books and Bifhops? I fear we cannot answer for our miferable slacknefs herein alreadie. It is more than time that all the gracious minifters in the citie and countrie should doe their beft to procure fo many and fo strong petitions as poiffible, to the King and Parliament, to hold out Bifhops 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 yow let me know what yow hear of these things. They are, if true, deeds openly done, which easily yow will get tryed by daily comers from London. We have lost a fair game by mean misguiding. A pitie but Hyde and some others had been removed from Court long before this. That Middletone, a sojour, is to be Commissioneer of our Parliament and Assemblie, I fear it import some unpleafant service to be in hand. The Remonftrance, 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 yow advyse, to deall with Hamond and Jesuit Petavius, and King Charles's Reafons for Episcopacie; but I cannot determine when, till I have seen Hamond, (I expect him shortly from London,) and I have gotten my Chronologic to the preffe: 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 shoulde require nothing but some bound copies, to be distributive to friends. Assist me in this, else I must let it lye stille, I know no how long. Let me hear from yow so soon as yow 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 yow an account thereof. I have need begin with a large apologie for my silence to yow all the tyme I was at London, even after twice provocation from yow,
but at present neither tyme nor expediencie will allow me to write that which may acquitt 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 opportunite of satisfying yow. The King at my first address 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 send by me a gracious Letter to the Presbytrie of Edinburgh to be communicated to all the Presbytries in Scotland, which I am confident will satisfy all who are satissiable; it will be printed, and within a day or two, a copy transmitted to yow. However the affairs 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 duty. I have brought a letter from some citie ministers, bearing an account of their late procedure to an accommodation, for moderated Episcopacie, and the Church contends 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 compoising of these differences untill a Synod be called. Your noble friend who hath sent yow the inclofed, (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 bless 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 amisst yow did make a step hither

3 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 fitt for you to know, and give advyce, which cannot in this way be communicated. The expectation I have of your coming doth put a flop to my further writting. 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 Provost John Bell. I beg his pardon for my incivilitie in sending no return to what he wrote to me at London. I truft the reafon upon which I fell into that omission will plead for my excuse when communicated to him, which I purpofe to doe 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 unfatified with it, for I defire 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 severitie, and not too much acting for Remonftrants. But we will, I hope, agree when we meet. All the account I can now give you is, that instead of pleading for Mr. Gillefpe, I have obtained a grant for another to be Principall of Glafgow, and waits but for a formall preffentation for his Majeftie's hand; he was preffented by the Ufurper, and therefore the King makes no bones of the difpofeing of that place, and, I affure you, I did not plead for his continuance. This you may believe better than these who told you I was pleading for Remonftrators; this honest bearer, Mr. Sharp, will tell you all that you would know from this place. I fhall only add, that whatever ye hear, I am where I was, and by confequence, 

Your affectionat friend to serve you, LAUDERDAILL.

Whitehall, the 22d of Auguft 1660.
[For the Earl of Lauderdaill.]

My Lord,

I receaved 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 deceive, 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 readiness, with all the little pith I had, to do him willing and sincere service; nor did yow deceive 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 defireous of any place but one, the regenecy 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 peremptorilie refuse it, Dr. Strang, to whom it did truely belong, being then alive. Age and weakness make me now more unseet for it than I was then. Befide that, Mr. Gillefpie, by his good administrition, has put that place for the time in a very miserable condition, as at our first Visitation will be apparent. Befide 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 fecklefs snifties, who has no witt nor action to end what he has so magnificentlie begun and advanced. It is true, viis 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 bleffed change that God himself had wrought, become of us and our building what God pleafes. The Chancellor affures me, that the King and State will help us to perfite that work, (which indeed is the prettieft building in all our land,) and will not be outtripped by Cromwell in kindnefs to our Univerfitie;
but of the time and ways 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 getts his Majestie's hand to so many things will get it also to this little particular, were it but for your kindnes 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 frontifpiece of our work, his Majestie's name and armes, (which the English defaced,) in a more flately 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 youy 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 College out of that debt [in] which the vanitie and prodigalitie of that man has almost drowned us. The Lord bless and help your Lordship in that high and ticklish station wherein now you 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 gratiosly granted at Seton, the 14 of Julie 1633;" and beneath it, in a different hand, "This soume 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.
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 fears, I hope causeless and vain, yet for the time they vex me, and I communicate them to you alone. For the time you may do some good, as I conceive, but I know no how long. If the wreck of the Remonstrators, with our help, be but a false design 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 meddle with our Solemn League and Covenant, with our connivance and silence, it will be Mr. W. Rysie'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 worse. I think my Lord Cafileis 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 worse of a little advyse; you have more power than any man with Mr. Dickfon and Mr. Dowglafs: 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 medling with our Covenant, else be assured all honest men will exoner their hearts to testify against mainsworn 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 busines of Robertson, in Kirkaldy, which flowed from your Turner and Wood, 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. Alhe 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 fend; dispose on it as yow, Mr. Douglafs, and Mr. Hutchefon shall find expedient. If you find meet to fend it abroad, let it be namelesfs, and well corrected at the preffe 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 you concerning the matter of that letter. I sent your letter to Launderdaill, which came

7 A brother of the celebrated divine John Cameron: vide vol. i. p. 432.
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 seventh day after I sent it to Edinburgh. My Brother was with his Lordship in the time when he receaved [it]: the King’s hastening to meet his Mother the Queene, did divert my Lord from sending to yow an answer, which he promised to my brother, at his parting from him, to send by the poast. Since which tyme I have receaved no letter, save one the other day by my Lord Crawfurd; and all my Lord Lauderdaill writes in his letter of 2d December to me touching that matter is, that “The King’s commands keep me here, so that I shall not see yow till the Spring. In the mean tyme, I long for your advyce as to what I wrote of Glasgow, with a draught of the presentation.” These are the words. In that letter I sent to his Lordship with your’s, I was positive in my desire that the presentation might be sent downe for yourself; and sure my Lord, through multiplicitie of busines, hes forgot what then I wrote; but I shall this night, by my letter to his Lordship, renew my desire; and I think it will be fitt that a draught of a presentation, conform to Dr. Strang’s, be sent up, if that can be had with yow, or any other which will be valide. Upon sending it hither to my Brother, (if I be not in towne,) I will engage for his secrecie and fidelitie in transmitting it to my Lord Lauderdaill, who, I am confident, will take care of it. Courtiers, they are so taken up with other busines, that they have neither leasure nor mind for framing draughts, and the readieft way will be to send a draught to them. I doe not think but he hes either alreadie written to yourself, or will writ to yow by his brother Charles Maitland of Halton, who is now coming down.

Mr. Young did his busines, before my coming to towne, with the Committee of States, so that I had no opportunitie to serve him, which I would have done upon your accompt. He can acquaint yow with proceedings here. I shall only tell yow this, that I am confident at this Parliament there will be no medling with the matters of our Church. I believe reports and apprehensions with yow, may lead into fears of the contrary; but I see no cause for them. I wish from my heart the peace yow stand ingaged to complete were sent hither. I shall be in this towne again within a fortnight. Let me know wherein I can serve yow, who am in sinceritie,

Sir, Your’s,

Ja. Sharp.
JAMES,

Yours of the 13th I receaved the 15th; whereby I see your great kindnees to me continues, for the which I remayne obliged. That pamphlet (as I write to yow before, which yet I see is no come to your hands), I made ready for the preffe, and sent a good while ageo to Mr. Dickfon, according to my promise, and had done sooner, had no Mr. Andrew Kerr made me write once, twice, thrice, for some papers I thought fitt to add. Yow will see the frame I have put it in, and my additions, and doe with all what yow and the brethren in Edinburgh think fitt. I think indeed it will help to dif-credit 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 creat any trouble to any flesh by any of my writs; therefore I write to Mr. Dickfon that it shoul not goe to the preffe till the Parliament (and I wish the Church also) had ended all they have to say to any of them. However, I have performed what I have ingaged to yow.

Lauderdaill should no play the courtier with me: since he hes forgot, (as I believe it weell,) both what yow and I write to him, I send yow herewith the double of mine, that if yow think fitt, he may look on it with one of yours to seconde it. Mr. Gillefspee indeed hes left us in such a condition, that (as I hear he boasts, on too good grounds, few shal defire it in haste,) I will be loath to medle with it, if his Majeftie, by Lauderdaill's means, will not help us out of our ftraits. My firft motion for a præcept to the Thefaurer I thought would have had no difficul-ty. For a præsentation yow have here Dr. Strang's laft7: 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 wellbeloved counsellor, we greet yow weell. Whereas we are crediblie 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 sufficiencie 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 must 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 since the death of Dr. Strang, with a line of his Majestie’s disallowance of Mr. Gillefpie’s intrusion. When such a presentation, with a kind letter from the King and Lauderdaill, comes to me, it’s tyme, and not before, for me to advyse what to doe. For the present my name is toffled more than needed, by all here about, and our Houfe suffers many wayes by this vacancy: put it to some point, the sooner the better.

I have many things to say to yow which I cannot write. Cannot our peace be secured without Argyle’s head? See they go no farder with Mr. Rutherfoord; whatever be his deserving let him have his stipend for his short tyme. If the Parliament medle with our Covenants they will grieve many, and me with the first. For the tyme yow can help many things [as much] as any man I know, but be affurred no man’s court lasts long: be doing good while yow have tyme. My service to James Wood, if his Archi-Episcopall pride will permitt him to accept it; but I let him weell to wit, that the Archbishops of Glasgou were large as proud as ever St. Andrewes could be. James, God help yow!

December 17th 1660.

Your’s, R. Baillie.

For Mr. James Sharp.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

My anfwer 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 scarce good carriage of some of my neighbours. I think, indeed, that since Dr. Strang’s death, the first place in our Houfe is no leffe than my due and juft deserving, 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 so farre averfe from changes and advancement, that I have ever embraced, most contentedly, my prefent condition, with a true loathnefs to leave it. This disposition hes kept me from moving hand or foot, dire&ly or indirectly, to feek that which I count my due otherways. Only when yow advertised me, and Lauderdaill by his letter also was pleased to signify unto me, that it was his Majeftie's pleafure to appoint me for that place, I returned to yow and Lauderdaill, the procurers of this without any defire from me, (as yow know better than any man,) my thanks, shewing, when that presentation came to me, I would advyfe about it with my friends. While too long a time goes before any conclusion 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, Regifter, Advocat, Clerk of Edinburgh, and diverfe of the State, is very great, not only is procureing that place for himfelf, but laying these things on me with our State-men, 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 iflue and hafte, at leift to bring me fairly off it, that it may be settled on some honest 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. Gillefpie than with him; and if he shoule be the man, I think I would leave the Houfe, and go to a country church. From time to time I have had ingratiitudes 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 ac\'tivitie, that hope is turned into fear, for if our visitors fhall be the persons which they will choice, and moft eafily, by canny convoyance of the Regifter, or Advocat, or Chancellor, on the Proveift's suggeffion, will be paft in Parliament, we may get no good, but much harme of such a Vifitation; and I fee now clearly that they are confident, doe what I can to the contrare, to have such 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 reolve upon a way to vifite all our Univerfities, for some good purpose. I think poffiblie it were good that the Parliament should give that power, for this tyme, to the Generall Assemblie; 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 Montrofe: [for] Gentlemen, Commissioners for the Lennox, Luffe, Kilmahew, for Baranthrow, young Houston, Craigends, also Kilfyth, Heislet, Cunninghamhead, Bedlay, Commisfar 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 Minifters, Mr. James Ferguson, Mr. Alexander Nisbet, Mr. P. Colvill, Mr. Gabriel Cunningham elder, Mr. R. Wallace, Mr. Hew Eccles, Mr. R. Birnie, Mr. James Hamilton of Camnathen: Nine a quorum, four minions and five others. This, if yow pleafe, yow can manage well, or something like this; and because there may be some Sederunts at Edinburgh, the Thesaurer and Caſſills might be put in, Mr. R. Douglaſs, Mr. Dickfon, Mr. Hutcheson, yow, and Mr. Wood, Mr. Smith, etc.

James, I pray yow let me know if this and my formerly have come to your hand, and what I may expeft from yow; for it is on yow only, under God, that I lay these affaires. The Lord affift yow; the ſelfines and ill desigines of my neighbours diverts me from the publick and better thoughts. I expeft yow will eafe my ſurrent discontent.

Your's to serve yow,

January 1ft 1661.

R. Baillie.

For the Ryght Reverend Mr. Robert Bayly, Professor of Divinity in Glaſgow.¹

Reverend Sir,

I receaued two of your letters laſty, the one whyl I was at home, two dayes befor I was fent for to attend the Commiffioner; the other by the bearar, who ſeems to be a discreet perſon, and can give yow fuch ane 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 abufe and gros 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. xl. 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 wery judicious and moderat perfon, and, by his carriage in the publack councills, 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 Lawderdaill 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 poaft; 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, before my coming from London, yow had the King’s word for it, which I truft he will not alter. It is necessarie yow come, within eight or ten dayes, to this place, to pay your respechts from your Univerfitie 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 hear, was unseafonable, and will doe more harm then good; it scapes not the construction of imprudencie and unhandsomenes putt upon it, at the left. I have not yet seen your peece yow sent to Mr. Dickson. I was presfled to preach the laft Lorl’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 speake with me. Yow see how I scrible; 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 Baille.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 inclosed paper, which indeed

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² John Earl of Middleton. ⁴ John Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay.
³ William Earl of Glencairne. 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 calumnie 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 impression on me. By God's
grace, I shall study to serv my gratious Master and my Countrey faithfully,
let idle men talke, and others beleev what they pleafe; it shal little trouble
me. This paper shoulde have comd long agoe, if I had sooner gotten a copie
of a presentation. His Majestie gratefully 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 frendship, and that I am, in the old manner,

Sir,

Your most affectionate freind to serv yow,

Whitehall, 24th January 1661.

[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 Glasgaw, the said Colledge
hath been without a Principall, and that the intrusion of Mr. Patrick Gille-
pie into that place, in these late tymes of Ufurpation, hath been no small pre-
judice and detriment thereunto, and being very senfible 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 dis-
charging thereof, and knowing well that Mr. Robert Baillie, Profeflor of
Divinitie there, is a fitt and well-qualified person for this employment:
Therefore his Majestie ordains a Letter to be made, past, and expede, under
his Highnes Privie Seall of his Kingdome of Scotland, nominating, present-
ing, 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 College of Glasgaw; giving, granting, and dif-
poning, likeas his Majestie by these, gives, grants, and disipenes to the said Mr. Robert the stipend, fees, profites, emoluments, causalities, 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, ufe and dispone thereupon at his pleasure, all and every the famen, ficklike as freely and fully in all refpecls as any other Principall of the faid Colledge has, might, or ought to have done heretofore: Heirby requiring the Moderators of the Univerfitie of Glafgow, with all convenient diligence after fight hereof, to enter, admitt, and receive to this imployment the faid Mr. Robert Baillie, and that the faid Letter be further extended in the beft, due, and ample forme, with all claufes needfull and in fuch cafes accustomed.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the 23d day of Januar, in the year of our Lord one thoufand fix hundred fixty 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 Glafgow for all the dayes of his life, with the stipend, priviledges, profits, and causalities belonging to the fame.

Lauerdaill.

[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 defired, and as my cuftome is, I give yow here ane account of our affaires since my laft long letter; though yow readilie know all, yet it's not unfitt yow shold know our fenfe and conception of them alfo. We expected this year for great quietnes at home, and for troubles abroad; but God, who governs all, has much disappointment both our hopes and fees, making farre more confusion at home, and quietnes abroad, than was expected.
When the Portugall had defeat the Spanish army at Elvas, and Turein had posseffed so many places in the midst of Flanders; the English being master of Dunkirk, and, with their navie on the coast of Spaine, scaring the plate-fleet from coming 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 Ragotfi, of the Venetians, and the Baffa 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 allynce with his cousin of Spaine seemed not so desireable, the Lady being so farr in years beyond the King, and no great matter for tocher offered, as we can hear. How Piementillie, who cheated the poor Queen of Sueden out of her religion, her kingdome, and reputation, should have gotten the Cardinal of France so farr inchantted as to lay down armes, when they moft propered, we marvell, and wait for the end. In the meantime, Spaine has gotten tyme to breath; the riches of his safe-landed fleet; the death of Modena; the discontent of Savoy for the French refufe of his fitter, after the interview at Lions; Archduke Sigifmund [in] readines to march to Flanders with the Imperiall army; the changes in England drawing our thoughts home for the time; the Pope’s obfinate adherenee still to the Spanish againft the Portugall; the Queen of Spain’s two fons has put that old languiffing King once again on his feet; your States beatiing of the Suedifh navie; the King’s repulses from his too furious and unreasonoble afaults of Copenhagen; the Imperiall, Brandeburgifh, and Polish armie, falling on Pomer; the Dutch league of Colen, Mentz, and others, making no diversion; France lying off; the English navie’s going 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 Rofkill’s capitulation. However, the fearefull ruining of all Denmark’s countrie, and the stopping of Sweden in all his defignes through the strong armies leagued againft him, seems to be the work chiefly of your States, on some reafons of their own, more than yet are visible to the world. We blefs God, that leffe blood is flied in these bounds than we feared: we are forie for the ruining of the Prince of Holften and Courland; the Turks alfo seem to be in a much
better condition; the Persian invasion of Babylon being a mere fable; the Basha of Aleppo and all his partie ruined; Ragotshi put to depend on the Emperor for a subsistence; the Vizier, by fea, putting in Candy what men he will; the Mufcovites victories against the Tartars and Cofaks being of no consequence: So, where we expected a quick overturning of states and impires in a short time, affaires are so turned about, that what was shakeing is more firmly established.

But with us all contrare: our very firm-like foundations in a moment overthrown. The Protecor Oliver indeavouring to settle all in his familie, was prevented by death before he could make a testament: He had not supplied the blank with his son Richard's name by his hand, and feare 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 fall before his death, in his prayer, is said to have spoken such words: "Lord, we pray no for thy fervant's life, for we know that is granted; but to have 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 sins of England." Both these are now out of favour at court as court-parasites. But the most spoke, and yet doe speak, very evill of him; and, as I think, much worse than he deserved of them. His buriall was large as magnifick as any King of England. Richard immediately fate downe on his clyre; and, after a most folemn infallment, got addrefles almost from all the fhyres, cities, regiments of the armies in England, Scotland, Ireland, Dunkirk, from the navy, from the ministrie, Presbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptiflick, all striveing who should be firt and moft promifeing. All neighbour-states of France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Brandeburgh, Hamburg, Portugall, congratulating his succefion. No appearance of the smalleft air of opposition, till the officers of the armie did begin to petition for a General, and payment of their arrears. For their satiffaction a Parliament was summoned against the 27th of January. This did meet frequently: some fay it was prettie well chofen, of men who for the moft had good defignes for the publick, and aimed at a solid settlemet both of Church and State; but among them were many for contrare defignes. The firt fencing was about the Act of reognition: 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 pass till the limitations of his power, the full securitie of the privileges of Parliaments, and libertie of the subjects, should pass in the same Act. A committee was appointed for that work, and Sir Harie Vaine sett in the chaire. The Houfe of Lords also did passe; but in a poor and flighting way of ane other Houfe.

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 suppleie 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 frigot 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 nyneteen hunder thousand pound sterling; the necessarie charge of the Armie and State was above twenty-two hunder thousand; it was no marvel 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 Wallingsfurd-houfe. 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 selfie innovations, to abolish the other Houfe, 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 Wallingsfurd-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 Houfe is advyfing on that vote, the Protecor joyns with it, and accordingly commands the officers to be gone to their charges. He and the Houfe supposed that they had fo great a partie of the armie and citie for them, that there was no hazard of any force: but they fand themselves quick-ly 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 Protecor had provided any thing for opposition, they came immediately to Whithall, and made the Protecor confent, under the Great Seall, not to the ad-journing, (which at firft would have fatified,) but the dissolution of the Parliamant. To this moft hardly he did confent; but his uncle Difbrough, and brother Fleetwood, drew him to it with firme promises of the armie's readinesſ still to serve him. When the officers faw the Parliament fo easily dissolved they fand themselves unsecure, till, contrare to Fleetwood and Difbrough's mind, they made the Protecor lay downe his place, and took, for a tyme, the government of all into their own hand. To this alfo the Protecor did quietly submitt, and, from a very great Prince, did descend to a very private and quiet gentleman. The officers immediately put down the Councell of State; removed out of the armie all the Protecor's confidents; the regiments of the Protecor, Ingolfby, Whalley, Goff, Falconbridge, Howard, and others, were given to Lambert, Overtoun, Okey, and fuch whom Oliver had outed. The Tower was taken from Barkfed, 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 advyfement, they fell on a very unexpected overture, to fet down with a Parliamentary power, fo many of the Long Parliament that remained uncaft out, when the Protecor, in the year 1652, had dissolved them. Of thefe they fand in the citie and about it, about fourtie; whom, with Lenthall, their Speaker, they moved to fit downe in the house, the fixth of May; who fince that time hes ruled as a Parliament. At the very firft all the Armie's proposalls paft in Acts of parliament: A Councell of State of threttie-one was constitute. All this was done without any dinne, except what Mr. Prin and fome other sharp pamphleteers made; which they misregarded. For the citie of London, the moft of all the regiments in the three
nations, did send them congratulatorie 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 sturr was expected from Henry [Cromwell] in Ireland, Monck in Scotland, and some other of the Protecor'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 Houfe, to receive their new commiffions, 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 indued all this as coming from the hands of their trufthy 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 horfe, 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 miscontent among the people every where in England, which bred a conspiracie in many shyres, to take armes at severall rendezoues, the 18th of Auguft. But before the 1st of Auguft, all was revealed: Maffey, Titus, and others, from the King, were paid to have been for diverfe moneths at work in the citie and countrie to make a pairtie. The chief stickling was where leaſt expected, in Chelfhyre 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 unconsiderable. Fleetwood and the militia of London, keppe down the citie, the rifeing whereof was moſt feared. A few old troupes and the new militia of the shyres did preveene, and easlie suppressè, the rendezoues in Kent, Hartfhoire, Gloceſtershire, Nentinghame, Derby, Leiceter, Shropeſhire, 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 Chester: his ten thousand horfe were become towards two thousand horfe and foot; the dispute was nought scarce half an houre; Sir George had not threttie killed, and Lambert hardly one. Chester, Manchester, Preston, Liverpool, randred on the firft summons; Sir George fleeing towards London, in women's apparell, was taken at Newport-Pennell [Pagnel], the Earl of Derby in Shrewsbury: in a very few dayes all wes compefct without blood. Sir George Booth's confessions, they say, are fo liberall, that manie talks he hes been but ane emisfarie of purpose to discover who were dif-affectted to the Parliament, to have them crushed; but others, who know the gravitie of the gentleman, and considers his declaration, doe not believe neither this, nor his rumoured confessions. At the firft, many of the Presbyterian minifters in the city and country, was fayd 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 businefs; 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 difsolve, and pay off the countrey-militia, that it might not fland when there was no more ufe of it than to be a visible curb to them. Yet the people's generall miscontentment remains: for though the decay of trade hes increafed the povertie of the countrie, yet the neceffities of the armie and navie increafes the taxations very much, nor is yet any government eftablihfed. The Parliament and army agree against all monarchie, whether of Kings or Proteftors, and againft the Houfe of Lords; but what forme of Republik 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, choien according to the qualifications which this Parliament shall agree upon; others for a Parliament of two or three thousand of the people, with a co-ordinat power of a Senate, to be a check on the peoples extravagancie: what of these shall be determined we expect 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 some wise Presbyterians, Independents, and more fober Anabaptifts, to fyncretisme againft their danger, will force the armie once more to raife the Parliament, and supplicat
Lambert, a very wife, 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 sixtth of May without all law, nor appearance of any in haste. My Lord Warifloun 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 Aberdeenhyre, and fat 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 arreifment for debt, flipped away home with small credit or contentment. The rest of the Scots commissioners, Swinton, Garfland [Garthland], Major Barclay, Earle of Lithgow, Earle of Tweddale, etc., comply as they pleased, did signify little thing; but Warifloun 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 lay 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 Garfland, young Dundas, our Quakers, and many others, for a full tolleration to be infert in the act of our union. This was so well backed by some of the officers of the armie, that till it be ratified, nothing can be gotten done, though Warrifton 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 prifons; Montrose, Calendar, Lorne, Selkirk, Kenmure, Didup, Loudoun, David Lefley, Sir James Lumfden, 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 defigne, 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 diviisions, and outward hazard. As yet the Engliſh troubles us not: and truly they have no caufe; for, whatever be our thoughts, yet in all expressions we are so quiet and peaceable as they could wish. Being afrayed for Warrifton’s unceffant deſignes, the brethren of Edinburgh moved Mr. Sharp to goe up again to attend his motions. The Protecor Richard took very weell with him and fundry members of Parliament; but when these were put down, Warrifton deferred him to the Counsell, as correſponding with Maffey and Titus. Being upon this called to the Counsell, Sir Harie Vaine and Mr. Scot were sent out to conferr with him, to whom he gave abundant satisfaccion, and a little after was sent home in peace.

The passages of our laſt Synod of Glæſgow, you may read in my letter to Mr. Dowglafs; and of our Colledge, in my letter to Mr. Sharp. Mr. Gilleſpie, by Secretary Thurloe, had procured from the Protecor Richard a patent, commanding us, out of our rents, old and new, to adde yearly to Mr. Gilleſpie’s former ftipend, a hundred pound fterling yearly, upon three very untrue narratives. 1. That he was not fufficiently provided; while he had a hundred and threette 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 ftipends 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 difpleased 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 paffe from his former gift of the half of the augmentations of Galloway; 4. That this his gift shoul not be for his succesfor. On this a write was drawn, and all subſcryved; but herein I was offended, that when he defired the by-runs of the augmentations of Galloway paffing from them in time to come, and we
granted his desire; in the very first article, he put in the teinds of Staplegorton, which came to two thousand eight hundred pound, which was to him one thousand four hundred pound; at this I formed, that composition being obtained in Dr. Strang's tyme, though formallie clofed after his coming, and long agoe spent. From this he pafted; 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 refted here; but his nift motion was, to pull down the whole forework of the Colledge, the high Hall, and Arthurlie, very good houses, all newly drefed 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 coft 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 diverfe of us, yet warrant us by Mr. John Young's vote, we behooved to let it goe. I reafoned much for a delay, till in the next spring we had gotten some money, and faw how the world would goe; but all in vain: preffentlie the Hall was pulled down. All fince, I think, repent their rashnes, 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 alfo fahed 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 beftow on it eighteen thousand merks. We had fourteen thoufand merks of burfar-money, there would be two or three thoufand of by-run dutie, and we behooved to borrow the reft; to this alfo we confented, but not very willinglie, for fear of clamppers in the end. The bargain yet sticks unperfected. He appointed a new factor to take up the bygonies, of the readieft, his wife following him to London, a thoufand merks, as he had done another when he went. Our order is, that our ftipends fhould be payed to all men proportionable; but when he had that two thoufand merks, there was not a great to give any man of that year's ftipend, the half whereof was due at January 1ft, and the other at July 1ft.
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 Reector 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 mislives 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 businesse; but grieved that we mifregarded our buinesse 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 coatch. What will be his next designe we know not, but I think we will not be long a-hearing it.

Our Tounge has been in more peace than formerly. Mr. Gillefpie's four months absence, want of publick judicatories has helped to it; but no good will in some is inlacking to keep in the fire. The last trick they have fallen on, to ufurp 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 Warifloun's diligence, some orders shall be procured by Mr. Gillefpie, to have all the Magistrates and Counsell chosen as he will. These in place has guided the tounge so moderately and wisely, that none are expected to doe it better: notwithstanding of their huge charge to defend themselves against Mr. Gillefpie's pleas, they have still kept the tounge free of all taxes, when all our other burghs are wracked with them. They have builded a fair marketplace, which has been near three thousand merks; a fair bridge at Colin's port, whilk will be above one thousand merks; a very fair merchant-hospital, near the bridge, which will be a great soume, and is most done by contribution. Their losse of Mr. George Young\(^1\) was very sad to them; he was wise and active, and very watchful for their good, keepe them at peace among themself, prevented and crusshed many desigines of their opposites, let 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 encreased upon him, and made him take his bed with some fever, which grew still with a great defluxion, where-with he was chocked, being hale in all his noble parts, and in vigour enough; he spoke but little, but very well and graciously, and expired without paine on the Saturday March 26th, the sixty-first 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 providing of his place there has been much din, and like to be more. The Magistrates, Town Councell, and all the parish, who are considerable, did choice Mr. James Fergusson; but the session choice Mr. John Livistoune as one most active for their partie, wife and powerfull with the English. Mr. John Carisfares's superlative praises 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 coldrife; yet the great diligence that is used with him, by the chief of the party, may make him to come. If his Synod loue him, which readilie they will, for any opposition of magistrat or people he will not regard it, who diverse times has admitted others contrarie to the mind of session, presbyterie, synod, and all. We will shortly see the end.

Mr. Ralph Rodger, for all his avertnes, his Presbyterie's determining him to stay, and our Town's protestation, yet on the Synod's act 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 shortly of a fever 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 Decerfe [Dalferf] poor Mr. John Hamilton was put out, I know no for what: his two succifors, 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 sins, yet both his succifors, Mr. Hew Binny [Binning], and Mr. David Veitch, died in their youth. Mr. John Crichtoun was too justlie depofed from Paflay,
yet his successor, Mr. Colvert, was fuddenlie overtaken with a palfie and died; and Mr. Alexander Dunlop is so gone with the scrubie, that he is not like to live long. I have a long catalogue of such sad examples. I believe guiltie men, of crimes deserving deposition, ought not to be spared; but the violence of sundrie pursuings their brethren without reason, I never did approve.

Sundrie heavy accidents have latelie fallen out amongst us. Baillie Walkinshaw's most prettie boy of four or five years old, on a Sunday afternoon, fell down his stair, and spake no more, but died. Thomas Brown, late baillie, having fupped, lay down and died before midnight. Thomas Main, our factor, at his breakfast wee, while he stretcht out his hand to the cup, is fuddenlie overtaken with a palfie; spake no more, but in a day or two dies. Thomas Robison, in Salcots, sitting at his own fire-side, was flobbed to death by a highlandman, put upon him by Pennimor to get his goods to his son who had married Robison's daughter. A daughter of Mr. Archibald M'Lauchlane, minifter at Luffe, a widow, a very weel-favoured woman, being found in the act of base adulterie with William Watson, and William Hume, was put in the tolbooth where she hanged herself. Janet Hieget 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 seven yeares was taken by all for dead, yet now appears againe safe and found in his own house. He was much ingaged for Duke Hamilton: fearing the creditors might fall on his person and estate, and knowing, if he were reputed dead, his wife, by conjunct-fie and otherways, would keep his estate; he went, with his brother and two servants, towards England. Thelie returned, affirming, that in Solway Sands my Lord was caried downe by the river, and they could no rescue him. His horse and his hatt they got, but when all search was made, his bodie could not be found. His Ladie and friends made great dool for him, and none controverts his death. 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 perishd. So soon as the Duke's debt was satifiied by selling his own lands, the secret journies of my Lord to his own house were efpied, and so much talked of, that he now at last appears in publié, for his great difrepute; and though he disposes of his estate to his good-son Sillertoun 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 beft. What you inquire of the apparition in Galloway is notourlie known. In Glenluß parish, in John Campbell a weblere's house, for two or three yeares a spirit did whiles cafl' flones, oft tire 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; sundrie minifters of the Prefbyterie did keep fasting and praying in the house without molestation; sometyme it spoke, and the minifter, Mr. John Scot, was so wise as to intertain large discourses with it. It were long to write all the passages: this twelvemonth it has been silent. A sturdie beggar who had been a most wicked and avowed atheift, for which he was hanged at Dumfreis, 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 sparing 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 Lilias lives weell in Aire, and hes heired Kildonel [Kildonan] with a fine boy. I maried my step-daughter the other moneth to Mr. Robert Watfon, minifter at Cardrofe, a young man of verie good reputation. My daughter Helen is almoast 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 blest 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 Silvertonghill.
My desire is that it may be weell with yow, your kind wife, and all your children. Our cousin, good Nanie Gibfon, had a felt gravel ending in a hulcer; it created her great pain, till in a moneth or two it took her away. A daughter of Ja. Tran, of a great flone, but after a yeare’s great pain, of late expired: her husband and his parents were doggitly unkind to the young woman, though a good one, of a good portion. Caftelmilk, a good meek gentleman, near fourscore, healthy all his dayes, sitting down weell to breakfast, presently fell downe in a found, and died in a few houres. John Gibfon of Clayflop, a vigorous old man of eighty yeares, going home from Glasgow 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 Herbertfon long weak in his chamber, yet on the bonesfire-night supped, drank the King’s health, and within an hour died unexpectedly. Mr. Gavin Hamilton, late minifter 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 fee some fettling of these extraordinar and happie changes, which the hand of God, above all humane hope or reafon, hes wrought its alone. After Sir George Booth’s defeat, all did almoft despaire of human help for our evills. I heard sweet Balcarras at the Hague did die of grief for that calamitie; his bodie his lady brought home, and caused burie honourable at his parifh-church: without doubt that was one of the moft brave and able gentlemen of our nation, if not the moft able. I am not yet satiffied with Chancellor Hyde’s very unjust breaking of his neck: God will fee to it. It was the Parliament’s work, especially Vane, Haftirig, and Scot, to search out all the complices of Sir George Booth; and doubteles, if God had not, in anfwer to the prayers of the choice minifters and people of Lancashire, given them somewhat else to doe, they had made much execution of many good and honest men. But behold, when they are running to fuck this blood and fpoile, the Lord cafts one 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 subfcryve a petition, to get all the generall officers eftablifhed, and when this did not weel relifh in the Houfe, (for Haftirig and

4 Alexander Second Earl of Balcarras died at Breda 30th August 1659
Vane were very jealous of Lambert,) they preft it harder: whereupon the House, trusting to the late oaths of obedience from all the officers, makes bold to call her 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 judicial blindness fell among them: all were malcontent, and raised in mind to expect and desire a change; but none durft venture on any more action.

Our Noblemen, very secretly, moft by the mediation of the Lady Weims, a wittie active woman, whose daughter Buccleugh 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 Hafilrig and others had importuned him from England to affift the Parliament against the violence of Lambert and his partie, he called the moft of the armie to draw near to Edinburgh. He sent for Commissioners from every one of our thyes, and desired them to advance fix 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 thoufand pound Sterling, which helped him to give good satisfaction to his fojors, while the armie in England was put to live on free quarter, all the thyes refusing to pay any more money till a free Parliament did command it. There went a strong Remonstrance amongst the moft thyes, 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 refolute to march into England for that end, Fleetwood sent down to him Mr. Caryll, Colonell Whalley, Goff, and his brother-in-law Dr. Clargis. Thefe wrought him to a treatie, for which he sent three of his officers to London, Cloberry, Wilks, and Knight: thefe were so laboured on by their friends, that they made an accord, and subfervyed 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.
Sorrie, Holnes, and many Anabaptists, filling their places with a number of Scottifh old fojors, he refused that accord as done contrare to his instructions. Finding him grow in resolution and strength, they sent to the north Lambert with five thousand of their best horfe, 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 Caldftreim, with fix or seven thousand good foot, and within two thousand horfe. Many of our Noblemen came to him at Berwick, and offered to raife quickly for his service all the power of Scotland; but the moft of his officers refuiled it, fearing the ftumbing of their armie and friends in England; for as yet all of them, in their right-weell penned papers, did declare as positiuely as ever, with divine atteftations, againft all Kings and Monarchie, and for a free Parliament, and all former principles. Lambert was the farr ftrongeft, and eafily might have cutted in pieces all Monck’s partie, and made havock in our poor land, as they fay it was their purpose, defigning the chief of our nobles and minifters for the scaffold, and many minifters for Jamaica, whereof I heard myfelf was one; but blefled be the Lord who kepted us from their bloody teeth. Monck refolved to keep his ground at Caldftreim, and if he were beaten, to retire to Stirling, and take our help. Our nobles, by his allowance, but without all ingagement, fent Major Buntein to Breda, where the King was, with his Sifter, in a very hard condition. He had gone to Bayonne, conferred with the Cardinall and Du Haro, to gett his interef, confidered in the treatie. He got from both courteous words; but, in effeét, was by both negleeted. Coming back with a perplexed heart, with his brother York, through France and Flanders, to his Sifter at Breda, fcarce tollerat by the States Generall’s connivance, to abide in the Prince of Orange’s bounds, he is much refrehed by what he heard from Scotland. About the fame time Broghill and Sir Charles Couts fends Sir Arthure Forbes to him from Ireland, and fome from England makes him hopefull of Lambert. This puts him in an uncertaintie to what partie firft he fhould apply himfelf: Hyde inclined moft to Lambert; Lauderdaill’s letters, and thefe from Scotland adviſed to truft Monck or Scotland; however, Ormont inclynyed to accept the Irish offers. All the meffengers he difmiffed kindly, with good anſwers. But in the meane time, Colonell Wotham invited Hafilrig, and fome of the militia of the late Parliament, to Portfhouthe, where he commanded. Here,
incontinent, forces are gathered, some four or five thousand men, who march directly to London. The people favoured them rather than their opposites. But Fleetwood with his forces in the citie, and Defborough 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 Defborough retired, and Hafilrig entered; and incontinent fat 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 speedily towards London, and, with Fleetwood and the rest, accepted the act of indemnity, and retired to their houfes.

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 farther. Mr. Dowglas 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 wife, 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 commッション, to curb his power. They had put Vain, Whitlock, and others, out of the Houfe; 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 Houfe, 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 fitted long in the citie, very secretely, a committee of two from every shyre, and four of the citie, advising how to cast off the yoke of flaverie. When they found 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, unjustly by Cromwell cast out, to be readmitted; and all that could be obtained from Hafilrig, who then ruled all, was to supply the Houfe 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, met in common council, and voted no more addresses, nor more payments, till a new free Parliament did sit. Herewith the House is incensed, and votes the unciving of London, a casting down of all their gates, posts, and chains; for walls they had none since Cromwell pulled down their lanes of communication; the common council 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 council is changed; but behold a present change. The fool Hasrilrig had wyped the City’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 resentment of their favor to the City, and dallying with Fleetwood, Lambert, Vaine, Ludlow, and others, though declared against; farther, of his own engagement to the City, that within five days they should issue letters for calling a new free Parliament against the 25th of April.

In the mean time, Hasrilrig, Scot, and others, did send many messages to him; and near had gained him to come out of the City, and lie at Whitehall: but Mr. Sharp’s night labours here were happy. On the 20th of February Monck went to the House, and set down the excluded members. At this the city and country’s joy was unexpressible; bells and bosomeverywhere; Monck made Captain-General of all forces by sea and land of the three kingdoms, and General-Major of the citie-militia; Hasrilrig, Secretary Scot, and others of the rump, sneaked away to the country; Lambert and Overtoun were put in the Tower; a Councell 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 Lauderdale, Crawfurth, and all of ours, were freed of their long prisons. Commissioners from our shires, Glencairne, Durie, Carden, William Thomson, 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 message,
to both Houses, to the Citie, to the General, which satiﬁed all. An order of Parliament given to proclaime the King, May 8th; which was done over all England most solemnly. A Committee of six Lords, twelve Commoners, three Aldermen, nine Common-Councillors, with sundry citie-ministers, Calamy, Manton, Reinolds, etc. sent to Breda to haste the King home; ﬁfty thousand pound [sterling] sent him in money, ten thousand in gold; to his brother [York], ten thousand in money, one in gold; to Gloucester, ﬁve in money, one in gold. Landing at Dover, he stayed Sunday in Canterburie, Monday in Rochester, Tuesday, May 29th, his birth-day, came to the Citie, with the most solemn shew and heartiest joy that, I think, was ever in England. At Whitehall, Manchester and Grimftone, the Speakers of the two Houses did welcome him in more cordiall than eloquent speeches. He had from Breda given full securitie, on his word, to men of all profeffions, to live in peace; for satiﬁcation to the fojourns of their arriers; for keeping them in possession of the Croun and Church lands, till they were satiﬁed; for pardoning of all by ganes, except a few, whom the Parliament might except, for their eminent hand in his Father’s murder. The ﬁrst morning he came to Whitehall, he issued a proclamation against profanitie, swearing, and healths. Thanksgivings to God for this his own work, with bells and boneﬁres, went quickly through all the three Kingdomes. Monck was made Baron, Earle, and Duke of Albemarle, mafter of the horfe, one of the Privie Councell, Generall of all the forces under the King; Ormond, stewart of the house; Manchester, chamerlaine; Launderdaill, 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, Gloucester, Ormont, the most of the courtiers, made Colonells of the standing regiments, the Colonels willingly ceding to be Lieutenants. But quickly the Parliament fell on a better way, with all possible speed to disbanded all forces by sea and land. For this end, byfide the maintenance and excyfe, a pole-money was appointed to defrac arriers; great soumes came in, and a cheerful eneugh disblanding was made; so that before this, except a few gari- sons, and a very few horfe and foot, are all peaceably disbanded in the three Kingdomes: a mightie, unexpected work.

The King, in wifdome, moderation, pietie, and grave carriage, giving hudge satiﬁcation to all; the Parliament restored him the power of the militia, his
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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 preslied the Houses to haftle the bill of indemnity. 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 flamefull death; to hing up the bones of Oliver, Bradlaw, Ireton, Pride, on the gibbet at Tiburne; to disgrace the two Goodwins, blind Milton, Owen, Sterrie, Lockier, and others of that maleficient crew.

The most of our Nobles, with very many of our Gentrie, run up to Whitehall: all were made welcome. Old places were restored to Crawfurd, Caflillis, and others. No wonder the Chancellor’s and Secretar’s place were taken from Loudoun and Lothian, and given to Glencairne and Lauderdalell; yet with recompence enough to them both, whom some thought deserved little. Loudoun had his pension of a thousand pound5, 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 Glaфgow given to him till he was payed of a great foume; Argyle ordained to refund him a great foume. Selkirk made Duke Hamilton, and out of the customes of Leith twenty thousand pound sterling assign’d. Marshall got ten thousand pound sterling of the customes of Aberdeen. Dudup, Earle of Dundee, a foume out of the customes of Dun-dee. The King gave among them all he had in Scotland, and much more. For Judicatures, he appointed the Committee of Estates of the year 1650 to fitt down, and the Parliament, December 12th. For a Commissioner, by our Nobles conent, least strife should be for it, the Lord Middletöne, Earle of Fettercairne, was nominat; who was not very acceptable to many; especiallie not keeping the day of the Parliament, but caufing it to be adjournd to Januar; yet when he is come doune, his wifdome, sobrietie, and moderation,

5 In the MS. it is "10,000 p."

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 sterlimg, and one [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 well, to the great joy of all.

But as nothing is perfectly bleffed on earth, some water was quickly poured in the wine of many; I am sure in mine, as I expreffed it in a sharp and free letter to Launderdaill. Bishops and Liturgies were every where fett up in England and Ireland without contradiction: our League and Covenant, by a number of printed pamphlets, was torn to pieces. This was the more grievous, that at the beginning it appeared moft easie to have been remeeded: his Gracious Majettie was ready to have been absolutely advyfed by his Parliament; the leading men there were avowed Covenanters and Prefbyterians: Launderdaill 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 Epifcopall men were fundrie of them as evill as before; Bramble, Wran, Helein, Thorndik, Coolins, Sincerfe, Hammond, Peirce, none of the beft or moft orthodox; Jukfon and Duppa, smallie learned; Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very wife men; but the overturning of all the Reformation of England, without a contrare petition, to me was ftrange, and very grievous, and I suspeft we know not yet the bottom of that misterie. I with all our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faithfull: sure they have not been fo prudent and induftrious as, I think, they should have been. However, as this was the original of all our late trouble, I think it will not faill in time to procure new commotions, if petitions and remonftrancies 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 miferies, together with fear leaft any jutiling, 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 defires; especiallie the King promising, by conſerence with the chief Prefbyterians and Epifcopalls, to doe his endeavours 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 Epifcopall, 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, Syderfe, Hammond, Pearce, Juxon, &c.
tent; the Presbyterians fand the other had gotten too much, and more than in confience they could ever affent to; yet, for love to the King, they were silent, when all the Bishops were feomely infalled, and the Liturgie every where reftored, clear contrare to our Covenant, and Acts of the English Parliament since 1641. Chancellor Hyde was thought the great actor in all this Episcopall businefs, while a few hour's treaty, or but a petition from the Houfes, Generall, and Citie, fent with the Comminioners to Breda, might eafilie have freed us, for the great good of the land, of all thefe vexations.

It was a hudge grief also to us, and more to the King, that the Lord was pleased to remove that moft excellent and exceedingly hopefull Prince the Duke of Gloucefter, in a few dayes fickness of the mailles or small 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; efpcciallie that third heaviest stroke following, the death of that moft excellent Princeffe,\(^9\) and exceedinglie beloved both of the King and all his fubjects. I with what fome fpake of her [Mother's] clandestine marriage with Harie German's [Jermyn's] brother's fon may be found to be a moft falle lie. However, thefe moft fad accidents did temper our exceeding great and juft joy. Also there were fome feares of the fectionarie 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 fppeach, clofeing the Parliament, fhow their defigne, on the 25th of December, to have fired the citie, feated 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 auctuallie appear fince; for while the King is convoying his Mother to Portsmouth, fome of thofe fanaticks did rife two diverfe times in the night; but were eafily, by the mayor of the citie alone, compelcit, without any conifeerable blood, bleffed be God; for fure it is, that partie is yet too strong; but likelie their own madnefs will shortly annihilate them.

The Bishop of London did baptize Charles the Duke of Cambridge at Worfter houfe; the Lady Ormont was godmother. The Queen entertained that night the Dutcheff 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, sister 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 weft to have had meetings in thyres for new Commissioners. They lyked not Glencairne's imployment; they spoke of Lauderdaill and Crawfurd; but their designe was, Lockart and the Remonfrators interest. My Lord Lie, Sir John Cheiflie, Sir George Maxwell, my Lord Stairs, Mr. Gilleispie, and others, were said to be the contrivers. They laboured to have had Selkirk and Caflilis 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 fit downe in our Parliament Houfe, to prepare matters for our Parliament, Mr. James Guthrie having mett before at Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with divers of his partie, did tryt it fo, as he and they met in Robert Simpfon's house, the next door almoft 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 suppreffe Bifhops 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. Gilleispie, and the chief of their partie in the weft, to meet them at Glafgow the next week, with fo 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-fitting, to have to doe with minifters; but Mr. Guthrie's reftles and proud infolence did irritat, espelliallie when all their number, Masters R. Traill, John Stirling, Alex. Moncreif, John Semple, Mr. John Murray, Mr. Gilbert Hall, and sundry others, did absolutely refufe to acknowledge any fault. Surely they had no warrand to meet, being no Kirk judicatorie, and their ill band of Remonftrance 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 Caffle. 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.
Ramfay 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[llespie] to the castle of Stirling; Mr. James Simpson to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; as also Mr. John Dickfon, minister at Rutherglen, for many odious speeches in pulpit against the statesmen. Mr. James Na.fmith also, for speeches in pulpit, was confined to his chamber in Edinburgh. But above all, Mr. Rutherfoord was disgraced; his book, *Lex Rex*,^2^ burnt by the hand of the hangman at the crofe of Edinburgh and St. Andrews; himself confined to his chamber, his stipend sequestrat, and himself cited before the Parliament. Mr. Andrew Cant, preaching against Mr. Rutherfoord'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 courteoufie, and likelie will protect him from trouble. Sir James Stewart and Sir John Cheiflie were sent prisoners to the Caftle, where yet they abide. Wariftoun fled, whereupon he was declared fugitive, and all his place 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 advertifed that the King took kindlie with all men, ventured to goe to London; but in the chamber of prefence, before he saw the King, a warrant under the King's hand meets him to be caried to the Tower clofe prifoner: 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 hypocrifie 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 Caftle, and Swinton to the tolbooth clofe prifoners. Captaine Govan was cast in the tolbooth for a long tyme in irons; Jafray of Aberdeen, Osborne the Quaker, were likewise put in the tolbooth; the chief of the Remonstrators were cited, and made to subfcribe their renunceing of the Remonstrance, and appearance before the Parliament, and something else whereat

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^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, subscryved 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 Patcrfon, subscryved it. James Porter, our catholick clerk, was confined to his house, and referred to our magistrates, to be disposed on as they pleasfed. That whole partie was clean run downe to the contentment of the most; for they have been ill instruments of irreconcileable division for twelve years, both in Kirk and Kingdome. For myself, I rejoyned 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 easlie obtained, though before it was desperate. The pitie and favour of many is turning towards them, by the infolent behaviour of some, who are suspeected may make a new party among us. Our State is very averse to hear of our League and Covenant. Many of our people are hankering after Bishops, having forgot the evil they have done, and the nature of their office. An exceeding great profanitie, and contempt both of the minifterie 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 wifel and beft are yet quiet till they see whether these things will goe. The goodnes of the King himfelf 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 warrs\(^3\) being quieted. He sent his wife to London, to offer all service to the King, as Sinclair\(^4\) said to Glencairne, and he to Mr. Sharp, who writ it to Mr. Douglaes, 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 fluck only at a forme of presentation, which he desired Mr. James Sharp, when he came home to fend up to him. The interveening of other things makts it fluck yet there; for myfelf, 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 Ramsay,

\(^3\) Wanroost, 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 Assembly. Since his death, Mr. G[illespie] 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 busineses in our hands, which few who know will be very willing to undertake; yet, on the report of my refusal, sundry are busie seeking it by their friends, far and near. Many of my friends deal with me to take it: I have promised, when the presentation comes, to advise; 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, hes secured the thing, whilk else would have perished; for Kilpatrick is but a trickier 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 it no to medle in that matter, though to my conception all of them be in his mind. For myself, I honour him 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 piece ready for the preffe: because it's in Latine, and long, I will not get it printed here. I debate sundry questions modestly, but roundly, with Doctor Waltoun, and sundrie 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. Paullii Opus Historicum et Chronologicum.
will: I hope yow may get it printed there freely. If yow advyse, I shall send 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 send to your kind wife are not sent, on this and that excufe, whereof I am not content. I have no forgot your debt, but want of law puts moft men here to a fland. 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 Sweden’s death, though moft 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 otherways appointed. That generall conspiracie against him, procured by your State, with the French and English deferting of him, hes broken his heart; though his ficknes 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 loft any of his reputation, and to have his fon crowned, under the tutorie of his mother and some statefmen, 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 quietnes, blessed be God for it. What means the foolish Mufcovites, after fo manie difallters, to trouble Pole? Shall that inceftuous unhappe 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 fifter, Edward of Palatine’s wife’s daughter, is like a trick of Mazarin to get Condé and his fon out of France, at leeft to divert their fanfies 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 prifon 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 Turkifh furie: I fear his states shall turne Turkifh or Auffrian. Still we
marvell what Mazarin can mean by his Spanish peace, when West Flanders, Catalonia, and Millain, were likelier to have been conqueifed by the French than these 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 house of France, fpooled in his minoritie, by treason, of his patrimonie. The Venetians not afferfed either by France or Spaine, with any considerable 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.

January 31ft 1661.

R. B.

[Reverendissimo clarissimoque viro D. Gisberto Voetio.]

Reverendissime Frater,

Tuas ad me dudum accepi, etfi aliquot mensibus postquam a te scriptae fuerunt; alteras in gratiam viduae concivis mei Walteri Bowie, alteras de duabus quaestionibus a Facultate vestra Theologica nobis propositis. Quod præter meum morem responsum tamdiu dilatum est, culpa saltem primaria mea non fuit. In viduae caufa nihil fere a triennio potuit peragi; nam leges apud nos a longo jam tempore filuerunt, et adhuc silent, adeo ut cum nullo debitore ob quodvis æ aliumus aliquus momenti lege potuerit aut adhuc poftit agi; præterquam quod viduae debitor lapfus fit bonis, nec, si leges aperi-rentur, folvendo fuiflet, nisi Patricii Beli, de quo scrivis, hominis honestiflimi, et singuli D. Bowio tam vivo quam mortuo amici, charitate ac diligentia remedium, fpero efficax et tempestivum, fuiflet adhibitum, de quo ipse epiftola hae inclusa viduae rationem reddit. Ausim fpondere veram, tam a meipso quam D. Belo, amicitiam viduae in quocunque nostra opera poterit illi effe utilis.

Quod ad alteras de quaestionibus, ut primum venerunt in manus meas, in paucis diebus responsum, quod jam mitto, exaravi, et ad Edinburgenfes
transmissi, ut cum Andreapolitanis et Abredonensisbus communicaretur, omneneque ad maturum, amicum, et plenum responsum hortatus sum. Ipsis institutionem fuit commune nostrum omnium nomine scriptum concinnasse, quod cum aliquot menibus exspectassem. tandem comperi, ex quorundam tam apud vos quam nos cauam interventu, consilium eos mutasse. Ne autem ego etiam tibi deessem, quem profiteor post breve illud quod tecum habui Ultragjecti colloquium, et perleeta tua varia scripta (omitto multa amiciissima tua erga me officia) tulisse me semper et ferre in oculis animoque, ut theologorum qui hodie in ecclesia Reformata vivunt vere primarium pietate, eruditione, diligentia, zelo, et omni qua theologum ornat virtute; ne, inquam, ego pro mea parte ductius tibi deessem, et si fero, tandem tamen, communico sententian meam quam puto docetnae et praxi ecclesiæ Scoticæ formem, tuaeque ac collegarum tuorum menti confusionem. Rerum nostrarum statum, imprimis a felicissimo Regis reditu, et diu deiiderata sectariorum usurpantium ruina, scripti, ut folio, fufe D. Spangio. In praesentia multa nobis sunt γίορης αγώνα, quæ speramus mirabiliter nobis benignum Deum suo tempore commutaturum in dulciora, prout infinita ipsius sapientia videbit suum honorem nostrunque commodum requirere. Ipse te tuisque collegas, omneneque reformatarum ecclesiæarum veros doctores conservet a malo, et aspiet omnibus omnium alboribus. Sic precatur tui studiosissimus et honorantissimus Frater,

R. Baleus.


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 Lordship by long letters. Your Lordship is now, by your goodnes and all our desires, become the head of our House; when I was with your Lordship I shew our extraordinarie necessitie; your Lordship was alsfe willing as we could desire to help us to your power. We were, by the good English powers, (who, blest be God, are now annihilat,)
possessed in the vacant stipends about us. This was the chief ground whereupon Mr. Gillepie ventured to cast us in so great debt. The Parliament, we hear, hes for seven yeares decreed all vacant stipends to belong to the King, to be distribut unto the ministers who hes suffered for their loyalty to him and his Royall Father. I am sure our House 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 Glasgow, 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. Gillepie comes before you, it feemes 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 obliged 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 bleffe your Lordship and your whole familie.

Your Lordship’s servant,

Glasgow, 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 laft of thanks for your very kind and refreshfull one to me; Mr. Hamilton writes he sent it over to yow. I would not have fahed 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 promisef from Lauderdaill; that which I moift 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 excrefe to a great foume: we have great need of it; for we are turned the vereft divers [dyvours] I know. Mr. Gillefpie fand us in twenty thoufand merks to the fore, he leaves us large in twenty thoufand merks behind; as the Visitors will fee in our counts: he hes left us work now neceffarly to be perfited, which ten thoufand pound will not doe. James, if we get yow no a joynt beggar with us, we are undone. Good James, what fhall 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 fo much power as to fay 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 Universitie of Glasgou humblie mean and show,

That whereas, through the occaſion of Dr. Strang, a moft loyall divine, his removeall from his place, and Mr. Gillefpie's intruſion therein by the English Usurpers, we are brought to great povertie and debt, fo that this year we have been neceſsitate thus to give over our table, and no Mafter within the houfe hes gotten any part of their ftipends; yea, the large half of our last year's table and ftipend lyes yet unpayed; bedefe a neceſsitie is laid upon us to perfect our farr advanced building, which ten thouſand pound will not accomplifh: We doe humbly supplicat your Lordhips that our fuffering condition may be considered, and recommended to the Honourable Lords of Councell, to be redrefſed out of some part of the vacant ftipends in our bounds, or what other way their Lordhips fhall find expedient. So fhall your humble Supplicants and Servants allways pray for your Lordhips prosperitie and happinefs.

In name of the Univerſitie of Glasgou, their Commissioner,

R. Baillie.
Address by Principal Baillie to the Commissioner.\(^8\)

My Lord,

I am sent to your Grace from our University, in all humble duty, to congratulate your Grace's high employment, and to declare their very heartie wishes that, as you have begun and hitherto continued, so you 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 Seminary, 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 erection to this day, his Majestie and his blest 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 bleffe your Grace with the continuance of his Spirit upon you, for the refreshing of our languishing countrey after many fore diffresses; 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 Glasgou, on which, since its first being, all our Soveraigns and their representatives have looked with as becoming an aspect, and bestowed as sensible marks of their favour, as upon any other University in the whole Kingdom.

For Mr. James Robertoun [of Bedlay.]

Sir,

As I told you, I found my Lord Chancellor very kind and courteous to

\(^8\) 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 advyse. I heard of a lift, I think drawn by Provost Bell and Mr. John Young's advyce; the perfons were all honourable, and above exception: Duke Hamilton, Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Eglinton, Earl of Wigton; but what needs my Lord Cochrane? Gentlemen, Kilsyth, Luffe, Kilmahew, young Houton; 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 Ramfay, and Mr. Matthias Simpson, and Mr. Edward Wright? These are put on us for a trick, I know, and fhall tell you at meeting. Why should the Provost and Baillie of Glafgow, and John Bell, the auditors of our compts, and for the time interested in our pleys, be fet over us? May no the Provofts of Aire, Irvine, Dumbartane, serve for burgesses? Mr. Gabriel Cunninghame of Miniabrock, Mr. Matthew Ramfay, 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, Haiflet, Cunninghamhead, and fuch 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 fooles 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 caft out men for small faults, and put far worse in their place; it will be so compos'd as to pas over the most guilty. I know, if we muft have it, yow will doe your beft by the Chancellor to have it so right as may be. I shall fay no more for the time. The Lord be with yow.

Your Cousin,

R. Baillie.

Monday, Mart.

So far as I can learne by Patrick Hamilton, your sone, and his wife, and all in Bedlay, are weell.

If we needs muft have a Visitation, see it containe no power to plant places but according to the settled order of our Houfe.

\(^9\) 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 dutie 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 addresse, in the Hague. But it is, and shall be one of my remembrancers, to walk in that place in my great weaknesses according to his Majestie's expectation, as one minding dutie to God, to his Majestie, and those over whom, how unworthysoever, he has been pleased to set me an overseer. And for your Lordship I have no words to change with you; you know me weel enough. It's my heart's desire oftentimes to God to preserve you from many, many snares are dailie near you. I will write nothing of that I have to say, if God ever grant me a meeting with you. Only what I wrote once or twice to you before of the great necessity and debt which Mr. Gillespie's gloriofitie and vaft spending has put our poor House 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 subscrib'd to Dr. Strang in the year 1633. To this you think not fit to anfwer 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 wayes. If I may by a line from your Lordship know of the receipt heirof, it will be a superaddition to your old kindnes. However, I rest what long I have been,

Your Lordship's affectionat friend and servant,

Glaflgow, Aprile 10th 1661.

R. B.
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 close it, and I hope afflit me in my petition. That I beg more quietlie than I have cause, I have desired Mr. John Young, the bearer, to let yow read (and hear him verifie it all,) what havock he [Gillepie] has made of our goods, and yet has the modestie to petition the Parliament for more off us whom he has wracked: I hope such impudence will not be heard.

The mater of our changes lye near my heart: I think they will haften my death; yet I make no noyse about them. The Lord blefs yow and direct yow in your eminent station.

Your much obliedged 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 affhiredlie 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 haftening me to my grave. My prayers dailie, when my heart is loosed, are for the King and yow, for his bleffing on yow both. I have no private defires nor fears; but I think we are very ill-guided, and very needleflie so. What needed yow doe that differvice 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

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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 same delignes, the same practifes, will they not at laft bring on the same 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 highest minifters of State ought, in all reason to answere on their highest pain for all miscarriages. It was one of King James's wifeft practifes to permitt his greatest favourites to sink, before that, by protecting them, the grief of his people should fall on his back: ye have seen the contrare principle destructive, and it will still be so.

My Lord, ye are the Nobleman of the world I esteem moft and love beft. I think I may say and write to yow what I like. If yow have gone with your heart to forfake your Covenant, to countenance the introduction of Bishops and Books, and strengthening the King by your advyce in these things, I thinke yow a prime transgreflor, and lyable among the first to answere to God for that great sin, and opening a door, which in haft will not be clofed, for persecution of a multitude of the beft persons and moft loyll subjests that are in all the three dominions. And if otherways 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 stand in a ticklih place, and some of these yow doe converse with to be but men. Remember your cousin Hamilton's poisoning before King James's eyes without search: my heart whiles trembles for yow. I will continue to pray for yow doe what yow will. Mr. Guthrie, I ever opposed his way, but see that none get the King persuaded to take minifters heads: banifhment will be worfe for them than death: how shall they get bread if put without the bounds of the English 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. Gillespie got in wealth, but, through his waftrie, hes left in twenty thousand pund of debt, and in a neceffitie of expending twenty thousand pund in perfecting his glorious buildings. The English furnished 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 shall not be long; for your Presbyterians 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 soules, have swerved 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,

Glaafsow, April 18th 1661.

R. B.

[For Mr. Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow.]

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Your's to my Lord Lawderdaill, 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 easily forsee what occasion of jealousies and false surmiseth this my journey 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 presling, else I may be charged with exceeding folly at this time to enter upon the stage. Your [praye]rs I hope for me will not be wanting. I shall be your [Chancellor]r'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.

* 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.
George,

Your's came hither when I was out of town. What ye desire me to write to Lauderdale I have done it already, as my Testament to him, fully and sharply enough. There was no inlaik in that kind. It was to obviate the Chancellor, R[othes], 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, whereupon forne 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 satisfied if the word "Civill" were expresslie added. In my own judgement, striving for this addition is but wrangling, which none of the anti-Episcopall divines in England ever offered, nor our folks did, so far as I knew, ever move before. The Course of Conformitie flicks not on the oath of Supremacie. Not only the articles of the Confeffion of England, and Uffer with King James's printed thanks, expone that oath only of a Civill Supream power *circa sacra*, but all, both Popilh 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 ἡπίκκοτος ἀδ ὀμνία, τὰ ἔξω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ? 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 wilfulnes, and possible something worfe, but is not ground enough for our refuse all 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 foolish. 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 oppose both books and bishops to my pith. Though you get your word "Civill," they would no lesse conclude all power they intend from it, than they doe without it. I pray God direct you there in this particular; it may be an occasion 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 KIRKCUBRIGHT, 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 not; he was not at ws: be assured I shall never countenance any such man as ye decribe. Agree among yourself[es]: Let the Presbyterie and people ther, with the satisfaction of my Lord Kenmure, agree on a gracious able man; and for our part, we shall further his plantation in any thing lies in our power. Wishing the Lord to be with you, I rest

Your friend and servant,

Glasgow, the 15th Julie 1661.

R. Bailly.

We shall entreat you to cause deliver the tuo enclosed, by a sure hand, with your first conveniencie.

FOR MR. SPANG.

Cousin,

I hope ere now you have receaved my book, and that ere long I shall have your sense of the printing of it. Since my last long letter, thus our affaires went, so farr as I understand and remember. The Commif-

¹ From the original, Wodrow MSS. 4to vol. xxix. No. 95. It relates to supplying a vacancy in the parish of Tungland.
tioner was met at Muffilburgh with a thousand horse. The Parliament sat downe the beginning of January, on the Tuesday; it rode in a very magnifick way: few of the nobles were away. The Chancellor had so guided it, that the stude and burroughs should choice 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 was quickly felt; for when Cassilis 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 Alleadgence was next appointed to be taken by all the members: there was insert in mids of it, the maine clausc of the Oath of Supremacie: "That the King was Supreme Governour over all persons in all causes." About this sundry 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 civil power to put churchmen in all things to their duetie: all were satisfied, and took it in that sense; only Cassilis 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 Seffion, and others in shyres and burroughs, should take it. The Ministers of Edinburgh desir'd 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 fore; 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 Alleadgence and Supremacie thirty-four years agoe, when I entered Regent, and yet never scrupled it. My Lord Cassilis, without doubt the truely best man of our nobilitie, and as loyall as any, for this scruple is as good as removed from Parliament: and though he be lince at London, and hies favour and countenance enough of the King, as well 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 Sherifdom of Air had elected Sir James Dalrymple of Stairs, with the laird of Blair, the Chancellor's brother-in-law; but their scrupulosity being feared, a new election was made of Kilburnie and Haiflead [Hazlehead]. Kilburnie, following Caifillis's vote, did no more appear in Parliament.

Their next work was about the Prerogative: with very little or no difficulty, all was given to the King he desired; sole power of peace and war, 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 privileges of Parliament. At first it was only spoken to annul the Parliament 1649, which had annulled that of 1648, and had sent for the King on an unreasonable Treaty. This passed eafilie; but at once the deisgnᵉ appeared of annulling all the former Parliaments since 1633, which had given any civill function to the Generall Assemble of Glasgowe 1638, or any after Assemble which ratified our Solemne 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 denied; 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, Glasgowe, and others, were preparing petitions against this, they were fore 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 remeſl; but yet that appears no. Launderdaill, in whom we trusted, being overpowered and diverted by the greater court of Hyde, and the great zeall that fundry 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 Majeflie'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 between 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 alleadgements of fears, tentations, inconveniences and the like, which will never be wanting.

The most of the Parliament's work was on delinquents processês. 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 Commissioner also sharp enough; Sir John Gilmore in many things reaoned for him: there was no inlack of full hearing and debates to the uttermoft. His act of indemnитie keeped 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, compliancy with the English, his sitting in the Parliament at London, his afflicting 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 satissactorie answers; Monck was moved to send downe four or five of his letters to himself and others, proving his full compliancy with them; that the King shoule not reprieve him. The Chancellor and Rothes went to Court to shew the hazard of his escape. The man was very wise, and questionles the greatest subjeсt the King bad; sometime much known and beloved in all the three dominions: it was not thought safe he should live. The condemnatorie sentence he took weel; supped the night after cheerfullie; parted with his gracious lady that Saturday at night CHRISTIANLY. Mr. Douglaſs and Mr. Hutchefon preached to him in the Tolbooth on the Sunday; Mr. Dickfon prayed with him all Sunday-night, except a little tyme of his sleepe. On the Monday, he breakfasted and dyned; about two o'clock he went through the streets, with his hat on, with his friends, very cheerfully; did mount the scaffold, at the Croffie; spoke well at the corners of the scaffold; prayed twyce: Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Hutchefon waited on him. He
bled the King and his family; attested God of his freedome from all de-
signes against the King or his Father; gave some pieces to the executioner;
laid down his head on the block very couragiously; at the stretching out of
his hand, (the signe agreed on,) the Maiden⁴ quickly stroke off his head. 
However he had been much hated by the people, yet in death he was much 
regrated by many, and by none insulted over. His friends in the night, in
Marishall’s six-horse coatch, did carry 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 set
up in the west-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 Abbey-
Church; whence, on the King’s charges, he was carried to St. Geiles to be
intombed there, with a greater solemnitie⁵ than any of our King’s ever had at 
their buriall in Scotland. His son is a good modest 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 best and most excellent man our State of a long
tyme had enjoyed; but his compliancy with the English and Remonftrators,
took my heart off him these eight years; yet I mourned for his death, and still
prayes to God for his family. His two sons 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 thousand pund; his old debts 
of four or fyve hunder thousand merks will not be gotten payed. Many won-
der of his debt, and think he must have money, for he got much, and was 
allways fober and sparing. My goodson, 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 strange yowling, and glowring up to my

⁴ "The Maiden," or instrument used for beheading State-criminal, is preserved in the 
Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

⁵ There was published at the time, probably by Sydserff, "A Relation of the True Funer-
as of the great Lord Marquess of Montrose, his Majesties Lord High Commissioner, and Captain
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 phyfiognomie, 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 wittilie answered; yet he defended all he had done; justified the matter of the Remonfrance, 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, perfisting 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 perfuaded him to recant his Remonfrance, Protestation, compliancy 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 Ormoniloun, and six miles about it, till the first of March. Mr. James Nasmith, 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 Glafgow the way I wrote to yow before, in a sett sermon of purpofe, declared his grief for the Parliament's hard ufage of the Covenant, wherein all honest men did concur 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 witneffes; such terms none did approve, yet for all that either one or other could say, he did obstinately fland to all; which provoked them to passe a sentence of banishment upon him.⁶

All the rest of the imprifoned ministers are fet free, some upon one satisfaction, and some upon another. How long their or our libertie shall laft, 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. Douglaes indeed began, but was no more employed; Mr. Dickfon, 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 Sincerfe the diurnaller, a profane atheifticall papift, as some count him. Mr. Blair, Mr. Dickfon, and Mr. Hutchefon, were, without all caufe, mischantly abused by his pen, without the refentment of our State, till his Majeftie himfelf commanded to silence him. 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 fycophants; diverse are flaggering: but what his Majeftie was informed, that the moft part of the Miniftrie, efpecially the moft grave, wife, and learned, were for Epifcopacie, is utterly falfe; for the moft and far beft part are lying in the duft before God, for what they fee, and for which they fear, the great plague of God, even for the encreafing abominations of burgh and land.

Many blames Mr. Sharp, as the great court-minifter, by whose fole advyce the King and Statefmen, both Scots and English, are put on and directed in thefe medlings with our Church; but I have always found him fo kind a friend to myfelf, that I will be loath to admitt fuch thoughts of him. Indeed the Chancellor and Prefident of the Councill, when the Parliament fent them to the King for removing the garifons, took him up with them, as some thought, to be an agent betwixt them and Lauderdaill, who was faid to be colder in purfuing Chancellor Hyde’s desigines in Scotland than some others; yet we hear no but Lauderdaill and they agree weell eneigh, and that he keeps fully his court.

The Parliament laid on no taxation, for the land is exhausted, and very

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7 Thomas St. Serfie, or Sydserff, 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 Sydserff 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, fouzy thousand pund sterlun a-yeare during the King's life; but to be lifted in a way not very burdensome, a moderat excife on drink alone. When all this also is distribute among weell-deferving men, the necessitie of many, and greed of fundrie, will not be gotten fatified.

At the beginning of the Parliament there were many brave designs for Fisjing, and more use of Trade; but after much toome-talk, all seems to be vanished, the burroughs flicking absolutely to their old job-trot for their own hurt. The charge of the Parliament was great: it had fitten long for no very pleasant purposes. The moft defired it to rife without adjournment, and choiced rather to be governed simply by the King's good pleasure, who was an equitiae and wife 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 praeparatorie to all was in England; alfo to fyne many for small faults, to supply the waftrie of undeserving men. The Act of debitor and creditor was very heavy to these had to doe with it. It was a pitie, when the King intendezd nothing but to eafe his people, and make the hearts of all that loved him rejoice, it should fall out, through the improvidence at leaft of sone, to the contrare. Our good Towne was particularly greived that the nineteinth part of the Excyse should be laid on them alone, notwithstanding of all their very diligent commissiuner John Bell could doe to the contrare. The Towne of Edinburgh got a part of their Excyse to defray their present burdens: but get what they will, it does little good; for their debt(y)it is above nyne hunder thousand merks, though still they be stenting their Towne for their needle's prodigalitie. They say, the dinner they gave to the Commissioner, in the Colledge-hall, 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 College; 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 Bonnely 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 solemne, 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 shires, men commissiionat according to the heart of the court: the Presbyterians also made some flickling 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 met, the Chancellor's speech advertised them to beware of the Presbyterian ministers, as pestiferous incendiaries: this grieved us sore. But when the House of Commons did not only vote the Bishops into the House 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 fatt downe the same 8th of May, was not behind, but put Bishops in the House of Lords; yea, choiced Bishop Bramble to be speaker in the House of Peers, though Mr. Davis of Derrie was readie to challenge him of many adulteries, and other odious crimes. The persecution 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 case of Presbyterians; but all was neglected. The Bishops and Books were fully establisshed, as of old, without If’s or And’s: this causers a very great miscontentment in many. What the end will be, the Lord knows; only for the time, thousands, who heartilie 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 siders flei thick abroad.

The King declared to all his three Parliaments the unanimous advyse 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 Princeffe 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 fay) at changeing the Act of In-
demnity; 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 expec-
ted. It was much, that Sir Henry Mylmie [Mildmay] and Robert Wallop
escaped with drawing to Tiburne with ropes about their necks on hurdles.
They speake 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, sundry of our nobles posted to
court; the Commissioner, Duke Hamiltoun, Montrofe, the Thesfaurer,
Athole, Aboyne, and others. There was there before, the Chancellor,
Rothes, Lorne, and more. It's thought their agreeance will be fcarce good
upon their private interefts, and especiallie about Lorne, whether he shall be
restored or not; but I fear they shall agree too weell to trouble our poor
Church. The King's late declaration is no wayes satisfactorie; it continues
our Church-discipline only dureing pleasure, and discharges any preaching,
petitioning, or medling with the Church-government. Mr. Sharp is the
only man with whom the King advyfes; and many fay 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 pre-
sentation came downe at laft, 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 fet over our heads. I moved
the Facultie to call to my profession Mr. James Fergusfon, a moft wife, gra-
cious, 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 Tomb now is absolutelie guided by the Bells and Campbells alone. They guide indeed weell, but keeping the government among themself 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 fundry of your’s latelie, two yefterday together, May 3d and July 4th, for which I thank you. I think before this you have gotten fundry of mine also. I long to hear if you receaved my book, and your fentie 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 publiç testimonie of my loyaltie; also my prayer and exhortation at the laureation.

I expected from you, before this, the French Gazet of Amfterdam; whiles it is a refreshment to us to look abroad. It’s to me a marvell that the French can fit fo 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 retirings out of England, with her daughter Henriet, some thought was more on miscontent 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 fen, will be loath to venture on a warr with England. If the warr of the Turk were reall with the Emperour, it feems Germanie and Italie would not be so drawen to it. Our heart is sore for the condition of Tranfylvania. 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 Papifts, grieues us sore. Though that fool Christina of Sueden be contemned

¹ William Earl of Glencairn, Lord High Chancellor. ² James Roberton 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 progress, 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 progress for this year; he is not for to send for his Queen in haste. What may be the reason of this change, we yet do not know. I am glad to find yow continue just in my sense of our public affairs.

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 sorry that none of our old friends keep correspondence with yow, at this so necessarie a time. 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 has 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 successful agent of the nation in the late dangers of our Church in Cromwell's time: 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 deceive us notablie, 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 time, there be two favours I intreat from yow: First, that you would help our College in its very great necessitie. This year we kept no table; not one matter 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 aught and
the prodigall wastrie of Mr. Gillefpie 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 these our two Noble friends, I think we but thrash the water. Had I not expected by yow and them some relief of that kind, I had never put my head in that comfortles yoke, wherein now it sticks. Dear James, help your old friends out of beggarie and dyvorie if yow can: I am sure his Gracious Majesty 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 Majesty be pleased to send 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 Majesty; 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 fafhrie 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 with your Lordship, from my heart, a prosperous returne, so soone as the publik and your Lordship's own affaires may permit. These papers Mr. John Young delivered to your Lordship, I hope are remembred. 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 lift 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 Usurpers to this work, most out of the excife of Glægow, above twenty thousand merks, and yearly two thousand four hundred merks for twelve bursars,¹ payed quarterly, out of the customs of Glægow. I hope I am in no error, to think that your Lordship and I should be no lefe sibb to the King and his bountie than Mr. Gillespie and his Chancellor Thurloe was to Oliver. My good Lord, be in-treated 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 fave all the miniftrie and gentry, be-weft Glægow, from the fore trouble otherways would have come on many of them: so, if ye would win and weir, while ye live, the bleffing of us all, defert not our poor Church at this tyme of her greatest need. Permitt not our gracious Soveraine to be deceived, by any whomsoever, that it will be so eafy a matter, with his people's contentment, to make any change in our Church. It's true, if ye will make moft humble and loyall supplications a crime and dif-loyaltie, (which yet hes been a naturall and necessar libertie for all subjeets in all places and all tymes,) yow may doe what yow will, and none speak against yow fo much as in a supplication: but I am sure our Prince will egregiouslie be abused, if truth be not told him, that putting of Bishops upon us

¹ As Baillie so often reiterates his charge against Patrick 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 pity, that this man should ever have been ensnared in mistakes: for he is a generous and publike spirited Soul, witness his great emprovement of the University of Glægow, both by the enlargement of the fabrick, and increasing 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 cause a more generall grief and miscontent in Scotland, than any action of any of our Princes hes done these hundred years. And since God hes put your Lordship for the present in the chief place of authoritie in our land, and credit with his Majesty, 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 most oblidged, lend us now a lift; that, in the true account I may readilie give to the world and posteritie of what is past among us these thirty-six years, your Lordship's just character may be with the faireft of all, as I wish and hope it shall. The confidence of my loving and honouring of your Lordship from a child, emboldens me to all this freedome. The Lord blefs your Lordship, fo prays

Your humble and much oblidged servant,

R. B.

For my Lord Lauderdaill.

My Lord,

That I get no answer of any I wrote to your Lordship, I take it weell, knowing what else you have to doe. It satisfys me when I know ye receive mine, to be made use of as ye think fit. I was a while in perplexitie for you, hearing stories of combination against you; but as I took them for fables at first, so I am glad they have proven such in the end. At this tyme I have but two things to say: The one concerns our Colledge; the other our Church; concerning the first I have written, I think thrice alreadie. Mr. Gilleespie hes left us both in a debt of above twenty-five thousand merks, and in a necessitie to perfyte his buildings, whilk ten thousand pound more will not doe. No Master of our house hes gotten this year a tuppance of stipend; yea for our last year's table we are in debt yet above one thousand pounds. Had I not surely expected, by your Lordship's mediation, to have obtained some help from his Majesty, when so many of no greater deserving have obtained so liberallie, I had never put my head in that yoke, under the which already I groane. Shall Mr. Gilleespie for his vanities get between twenty and threttie thousand merks of the Usurpers, and we for our necessities get nothing from the King, no not his Father's debt subscryved to us in the year 1633, the Acts whereof, as yet, I hope are no
revoked? 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 increasing. Yow lately subscribed a Proclamation discharging all supplications anent Church-Government. Were supplications discharged to any subjects in any time or place in the world, when modest and loyal? 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 travel, 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 country, that Bishops would become so lovelie creatures to us as we were ready to receive them, without so much as a supplication to the contrary. I think I could make good that, by his Majesty's permission, in twenty days time, 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, Cunninghame, Clydfdaill, Barranthrow, and the Lennox. Also, in the Synods of Galloway, Dumfries, Argyle, and the Isles, I hear not of one man that would not join on their knees with us. The qualities of these light men about Aberdeen, who have been ever for all changes, are well enough known. It is all the pities 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 hundred 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 time, before he be engaged, yea 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 griefs of the people will light at last, tuckerlie, on some of your heads.
I have sent my Chronologie to Holland for the press. 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 cousins, the Father of the last two Dukes [of Hamilton], and eminent Balcarras. Your Lordship's servant, 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 kindness of all the courtiers in Christendome.

FOR MY LORD LAUERDAILL.

My Lord,

As the world goes now, I fear I will be forced to importune your Lordship oftener 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 Glafgow; 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, by some cheating printer there, to make some old copies of the first and only impression fell. 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 tracts 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 Majestie.

Your Lordship's Servant,

September 9th [1661.] R. Baillie.

For my Lord Lauderdaill.

My Lord,

I have written sundrie to you of late, with greater freedome possible than the tymes doe admit, but I shall endeavour to trouble your Lordship with little more of that kind, resolving so 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 Majestie 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. Gilleespie, beside the great debt he left us in, having found us in none, continues to vex us yet farther. By his numerous and powerfull friends, in the last day of the Parliament, got through an Act, whereby he claims of us fifteen moneths stipend since October last, (twelve whereof are expressly 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 beseech your Lordship, if ye may think it convenient, to get a line from his Majestie to the Chancellor, to command Mr. Gilleespie to desist from such sycophantick perfuits of us, whom he hes peeled to the bones alreadie. His Majestie, in my presentation, hes under his hand declared, That Mr. Gilleespie 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 discharget 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 foumes of money he hes taken from the Colledge, over and above his ordinarie flipend: such an order from his Majestie, and nothing else, I know would eafe us from great trouble and expence, which otherwise his restlessnes will quickly put upon us.

In a second [thing], also, I befeech your Lordship to pitie our condition. My Lord Chancellor, when laft there, obtained, under the King's hand, a recommendation of our hard cafe to the Counciell, to be helped out of the vacant stipends, and other ways 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 fute to your Lordship, to prefent a line to his Majestie for his hand, not to the Exchequer, but the Collector of the Exceyle of Glasgow, to pay us at laft that two hundred pound sterl. 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 enclofed do shew, but never a penny of it could we obtaine to this day. Indeed Mr. Gillefie got from Oliver, weell payed, a gift for our building of fuye hundred pound sterl. also for twelve new burfars out of the cuftoms 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 recompenfes 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 Subdeeanrie of Cader and Monkland, which we latelie did purchase from the Dutchefle of Hamltone, with all the mortified money we had, as my Lord or my Ladie, I hope, will teftify to your Lordship; our lawyers advyfed us to feek from the King a signature of novodamus for that our intereft: We
did prepare it; but our great friends, my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Sharp thought it unexpedient to send it up at this tyme. Only we hope your Lordship will be carefull that no other get a presentation to that Subdeanrie, which we have bought at a dear rate, without the which we are not able to sublift; and if your Lordship could think it expedient to get a line from his Majestie, signifying his pleasure to ratifie to us what the Dutcheffe 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 epiftles; but you know I am one of your old servants, and it is for an University which in the tyme of my Prefidencie 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 advertified. 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 preffe haste because our action with Mr. Gillefpie, before the Counsell, begins 19th of this instant, and ye know he drives furiouslie. I hope old kindneśs will not yet permit yow to defert 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. Gillefpie, 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 laft 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 Majestie 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 beds, and leave this situation 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 storme that comes on us, by a new claim 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 confess, but, as I count, thretie-six thousand? Should he be heard to plead for more money from us, even since the first of Octuber, 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 go 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 situation; 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 kindnes; and if I did, I would not thus trouble yow with my letters.

Your twenty-year old friend and servant,

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 bargain good Mr. Gil-
lefpie made for us with your Ladyship, our last payment of it to Prestoun of two thousand merks, with annual rent, 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 bargain, except by your Ladyship's and my Lord's help we get a new signature of it from the King. For the time we requeifl your Ladyship, or my Lord, may be pleased to declare to my Lord Lauderdaill the truth of our bargain, and your willingness that the King's hand should be put to a signature for us, so soone as we can get it ready to 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 keeped my chamber these fix weeks, and yet does keep it through a rose in my legge; but, bleffed be God, I now walk up and downe my chamber and yaird. The Doctor thinks I have a scrubie: I find an univerfall weakneses, 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 spicaill defys 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 spicaill favour. It is in fyne paper, a brave letter and volume; I could not have wished it better; only I would intreat yow would haften it fo much as may be, that it be not opus posthumum. As yow have fent me the two first sheets, I wish yow fent me likewise what since are cast off. The corrector had need, for the credit of the preffe, to be more carefull: in these two sheets yow see what groffe faults are escaped, which makes solacifms and nonfenses. Do your beft to caufe help this.

Your new peice of Vossius is but a bagg of clatters, blown up with infolent pride, unbefeeoming a schollar, or any modest man; whom I mind
never to know. The refl yow sent us were without catalogue or price, but it is good yow keep brefide yow an account of all fuch 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 defryed, one hundred and one pound, fifteen flilling: yow have herewith her discharge to yow of it, and fuch testimonials from our Toune as yow defired. Let me know your receipt heirof with the fame bearer.

The fluffe 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; fo that it is a Dutch ell and a halfe leffe than what yow fent, when Adam Ritchie with a Dutch ell-ward hes meafured it sharplie. This cannot be helped. I have fent yow here a patterne of the fluffe, that yow may fend me two Dutch ell and ane halfe of the fame fluffe, 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 fo instrumentall as we could for his reftitution. We had loft much blood at Dunbar, Worcester, and elsewhere, and at laft our libertie, in his caufe. We did firmly expect, at his Reftitution, a comfortable subsiftence to ourfelves, and all our Presbyterien brethren, in all the dominions; and believe the King’s intentation was no other; but, by divine permiffion, other counfells thereafter prevailed, and now carry all. When the King was at Breda, it was faid he was not averfe, from eflablifhing the Presbytery; nor was the contrary peremptorily resolved till the Saturday at night, in the cabbin-councell at Canterbury. At the beginning it went on foftly: Calamy, Baxter, Manton, Reynold, were made chaplains: but at once it altered. This did come from our fupine negligence and unadverfence; for the Parliament, then confifting of the fecluded members, the Citie, Monck also, and the Armie, were for us: Had we but petitioned for Prefbytrie at Breda, it had been, as was thought, granted; but fearing what the leaff delay of the King’s coming over might have produced, and trusting fully to the King’s goodnefs, we haftened him over, without any provifion for our fafetie. At that time it was, that Dr. Sheldon, now Bifhop of London, and Dr. Morley, did poyfon 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-house, the King weekly, and ofter, uxes 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 feemes he hes
undertaken to doe in our Church that which now he has performed easilly,
and is still in acting.

He had for co-operators the Commissioner, Chancellor, and Roothes:
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 fend for Mr. Douglaes and others to conferre about our af-
fares. The latf Mr. Sharp hindred; for with him alone it pleased his Ma-
jestie to conferr: and the fense of the firft, few of us dreamed till it came
out thereafter. We were amazed at the Proclamation, discharging all pe-
titioning againft Epifcopall 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. Fairoull, and Mr. James Hamilton of Camnethan;
also Mr. Lighton, then at London, to be confecrate by the English Bishops;
which, after some tyme, they were by the Bishopps 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 layed there some moneths
longer than was expected, that they might be sufficiently instructed in the
English way. When they came downe, they were receaved by a number of
Noblemen, Gentlemen, and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, magnifickly: the
Commissioner’s Lady feasted them and the Nobilitie that night, as the Chan-
cellor did the morrow thereafter. Mr. Sharp had bought a fair new coach at
London, at the fides whereof two lakqueys in purple does run.

The Parliament of England did all things for the King he pleafed; aug-
mented much his revenue beyond what any King in England ever had.
After some conferences at Worcester-houfe, betwixt the Bishopps and a few
of the Presbyterians, where it was hoped his Majestie would bring the
Bishopps to a great condefcension, at laft 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 demur, and yet does; but we doubt not of their agreeance to it at last; and from thenceforth a fearfull perfeccion 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 cafe shall be little better.

Our Parliament was adjourned from the 10th of March to the 8th of May. The Commissioner and our Nobles defyr'd not to leave London till they had seen the Queen. Also much talk was of difcord betwixt the Commissioner and Thefaurer, about the collection of the new revenue of fourty thousand pound flerling. The Thefaurer pleaded it might come in to the Exchequer, and the other had obtained a gift of collecting it to his goodbrother Lord Lyon: the Secretar party'd 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 Commissioner came from London on the Wednesday, and came hither on the Sunday morning; the Archbishops did confecrate other five on the Wednesday at the Abbay-church, Mr. Haliburton to Dunkell, Mr. Paterfone to Rosie, Mr. Murdoch M'Keinzie to Murray, Mr. Forbes to Caithnep, Mr. Robert Wallace to the Ifles; Dr. Wifhart designd for Edinburgh, and Mr. David Mitchell for Aberdeene, are not yet come out of England; nor old Sincerfe appointed for Orkney. Mr. David Fleather [Fletcher], whose patent was for Argyle, refu'd it, the rent being naught. The Commissioner gave the feast after the confecration, as his Majeftie had defrayed liberallie all their charges in England.

Our Bishop,5 the other week, took a flart to come to Glasgaw. The Chancellor convoy'd him, with Montrofe, Lithgow, Calender, and sundry more noblemen and gentlemen, with a number of our towns folks, both horfe and foot, with all our bells ringing, brought them to the Tolbooth to a great collation. He preach'd on the Sunday, soberly and weel; but Mr. Hew Blair, in the afternoon, ridiculously worse than his ordinarie. Some of my neighbours were carnft that the Chancellor and he should have a collation in the Colledge on Monday morning. Against this I reafoned much; but was over-vot'd, to our great and needlefe charge: two hundred pound

5 Andrew Fairfoull, Archbishop of Glasgaw.
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 town. The Bishop was very courteous to me: I excus'd my not ufeing of his styles, and profes'd my utter difference from his way; yet behov'd to entreat his favour for our affairs of the Colledge; wherein he promis'd liberallie. 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 Epifcopacy, only will not have him abide in St. Andrewes to be a dayly eye-fore to his Grace. Also they called Mr. John Carftares, that he should not fitt in Glasgows, to preach after his manner against the tymes, to bear him company. Mr. James Nasmith is likewise written for, as is thought, that the Deanrie of Hamiltone may vaike for Mr. James Ramfay; and with him Mr. William Adair of Air, the two minifters of Kilmarnock, Mr. James Veitch of Machlin, and Mr. Alexander Blair of Galftoun. The guise now is, the Bishops will trouble no man, but the State will punish feditious minifters. We are in the most hard taking we have feen at any tyme. It's the matter of my daily griefe, and I think it has brought all my bodily trouble on me, and I feare it shall doe me more harme.

I pray yow haften my book. I intend no other preface than it hes. I purpofed a dedication for Lauderdale; but it seems it now will not be welcome to him. I writ to him of it, but he did not anfwer: however that will be the laft sheet. For verfes here, I intend none: I care no for vanities. Let me have my count with yow, that I may know what English moneys to fend yow. My hearty service to your dear kind Wife, and all your sweet children. I rest, after the old fashion,

Your Coufin to serve yow,

Glasgow, May 12th 1662.  

R. BAILLIE.

6 James Sharp Archbishop of St. Andrews.
APPENDIX

TO

VOLUME THIRD

OF

BAILLIE'S LETTERS AND JOURNALS.
APPENDIX No. 1.

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 Glafgow, 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 Gillespie] 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 University of Glafragow, for the Correspondence of the Universities, 56

28. An Oath of Association, in pursuance of the ends of the Solemne League and Covenant: Baillie adds, "by War[riscoun] and Gil[lespie,]" 37

1649.

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
LIST OF PAPERS.


1650.

70. Reasons why his Majestie’s owning the League and Covenant for Scotland, cannot be satisfaction, 17th April.

71 b. Reasons presented to the Generall Assembly, by the Commissioner of the University of Glagow, against the Act of their late Visitors concerning the Election of Regents.

72 b. The Humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Commission of the Generall Assembly to the King and Parliament, 29th November.


74. A few Animadversions on the Western Remonstrance, by Baillie, address’d 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 Generall Assembly upon the Western Remonstrance, 26th November.

77 b. An Answer from the Commission of the Generall Assembly to the Querie 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 Prefbytery 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 admission of Malignants to the Army, 18th March,

96. Reasons of Diffent (by Baillie, and others?) in the Synod of Glafgow, against a vote of diſtisfaction with the proceedings of the Commission, 4th April.

101. My Answer to Mr. Robert Ramfay's Quærie, Whether In-gadgign Officers who have satified the Church, may lawfullie be employed in our present Armie?


103. Lancafliyre's Queries 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. Rutherfoord, and fent in by Mr. Murecraft to Mr. Gee, in Lancashire, immediatlie before the Kingis March to Worcefter, June 1651."—There muft, however, be a mistake in this, for the paper itself comes down to May 1652, with a Poffscript evidently written in July or August that year.

105. Letter from Mr. Robert Blair to Mr. David Dickfon, 20th October.


106. The Provinciall Synod of Lothian's Act againft the Protetlers Commission, 5th November 1651; and "Their [the Protetlers] faucie Anfwer," 14th November.

1652.

106 b. The Commission's Letter to Mr. John Robertfon, minifter of Dundee: (Baillie adds, "by my hand.") 7th March.

107. A Breiff Information to Minifters, concerning a prefent neceflarie Warning againft the Tender. (By Baillie, and intended to have been enlarged by Mr. Robert Blair.)
112. b. Proteftation againft the Provinciall Afiemblie of Glasgowe, 
8th October [1651.]

113 b. Memorandum for Caution in Conference about Union with 
Remonftrators.

116. Advices and Answers from [Mr. Robert Douglas, and others, 
in] the Tower of London, to my Questions, 29th June. 177-184 

119 b. Proteftation againft the Prefbytery of Glasgowe for not chooſing 
Commiffioners to the Affembly, 7th July.

121 b. Reasons of a Faft appointed by the Generall Affembly to be 
keeped in all the Congregations of the land. on the 2d and 
3d Lord's days of September.

1653.

128 b. The Synod of Louthian’s Proteftation againft the Ufurpation 
of the English, in April, after Mr. Douglas's returne.

1654.

155. C. The Proteftation and Declaration of the Synod of [the 
Resolutioners, at] Glasgowe, at their parting from the Anti-
Synod, 4th April.

155 b. D. The Summe of these Endeavours used for preventing or 
healing the breach of the Synod of Glasgowe, 4th, 5th, 
and 6th April.


159 b. F. An Act for a Synodical Faft, 6th April.

160. G. Letter from the Synod [of the Resolutioners], to the abfent 
brethren of the Prefbytery of Air, &c. 6th April.

164. K. Mr. James Ferguffon’s Letter to the Anti-Synod, pre-
sented by Baillie, 12th June. 

168. L. Mr. James Ferguffon’s Overtures to the Anti-Synod: or 
Overtures breiflie proponeed. 

169. M. 1. The fame Overtures enlarged, and the Equitie of them 
Afferted.
1654.  

LIST OF PAPERS.

176. M. 2. My Overtures, entitled, “Overtures for Union in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, propounded in a Conference by the Brethren adhearing to the late Generall Assemblies; to the Brethren Protesters against the famin, 1st August 1654.”

177 b. N. Scruples against the Constitution of the Synod Answered.

178 b. O. Overtures agreed upon by the Committee to be propounded to the Anti-Synod. 1. Overtures of Reunion propounded in conference by the Committee of the Synod of Glasgow and Air, to their brethren Protesters against the late General Assembly. 2. Overtures for ordering of Planting. 3. Overtures for ordering of Purging.

1655.

208. JJ. Exhortation from the Presbytery of Edinburgh against the Protesters Commission, 5th December.

1656.

236. A. Instrucitions to Mr. James Sharp, for London, 23d August.

238. B. Proposals to be sought by the Protesters from the Lord Protector.

243. Q. Paper given in by the Protesters at London to the Lord Protector and some Members of Parliament, [for excluding Engagers, &c. from places of trust.]

243 b. R. Articles exhibited against Mr. Patrick Gillespie, wherefore he ought not to be Principall of the College of Glasgow.

1657.

245. Information and Representation to the Lord Protector’s Council, by three of the Referees, against the Proposals referred to them, 14th July: signed, Lambert Godfrey, William Cooper, Thomas Manton.
1658.

249 b. Approbation by the Presbytery of Edinburgh of "the Declaration [printed in May 1658.] for healing the woefull differences of this Church,"

256 b. The Declaration [Sir George Booth's in name] of the Lords, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the once happie Nation of England. . . . 428, 437

265. Overtures for Union or promoting of peace in the Church, presented to the Synod of Fife, &c. 4th November.

1660.

267. Letter from King Charles the Second to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 10th August. . . . 410


268. Letters from the Presbytery of Edinburgh to Charles the Second (in answer to his Majesty's Letter,) and to the Earl of Lauderdale, 20th September. . . . 410


1661.

274. Form of the Oath taken in Parliament, 1st January. . 463


285. Baillie's Answer to two Questions proposed by the Professors of Divinity in the University of Utrecht, (in Latin.) 451
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. Gillespy, (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 desirable 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.—

VOL. III.

3 l.
"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 Complyance 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 Useful Case of Conscience Discussed and Resolved, concerning Associations and Confederacies with Idolaters, Infidels, Here-ticks, 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 await 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 uprightness 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 successe, 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 successe, 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 Herefies, and such things, as in your judgment and ours, was defective among them. We have acted in another capacity, debating with and affurting the Assembly of Divines their debates: much of their time hath been taken up with the trial 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 carried on to no small measure of perfection.

The Confession of Faith is framed, so as it is of great use against the floods of
hereisies 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, Popifh, Antinomian, Anabaptiftian, Independent errors, &c. The Confeflion of Faith fets them out, and refutes them, fo far as belongs to a Confeflion. This Confeflion of Faith hath been, to my knowledge, very much commend'd of them that had occasion to fee it, even by some of the Prelatical party too. It is not yet fully approven by the Houfe of Parliament. The Houfe of Lords have approved it; the Houfe of Commons have approved the firft chapter of it, and was going on in con-consideration of the reft of it, at that tyme when they were taken off by the late commo- tion there, and emergent differences.

For the next Head of our Commiflion, ye know the Directory for Worrh is settled long ago by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. I confefs it is not yet oberved by all there fo as it ought, yet it is oberved 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 ne-cessitie of the change of the old Paraphrafe. This new Paraphrafe was done by a Gentleman verie able for the purpofe, but afterward it was revifed by a Committee of the Assembly of Divines, according to the originall, and was approven by the whole Assembly. The Houfe of Commons hath given it a full approbation. The Houfe of Lords hath not as yet, many defyring and preffing other Paraphrafes also to be made use of in congregations, if they please. All the Animadverfions sent by you were taken in due consideration. There are also here some new amendments made by the Gentleman himfelf: Here is the book, the perfect copy and ultima cura of it.

The Third Head was Church Government, which, as it was the moft contraverted of the reft, fo it hath suffered manieft obftacions. There was a practicaull Directory for Church Government drawn furth without Scriptural Propositions: but becaufe fome 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 Scriptu-ral truths, proving the fame. Here they are both.

Now in relation to this head of Church Government, there was a Committee of the Assembly and Parliament appoynted to fee if the Ditfening 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 fome hopes of ane Accommodation, but becaufe of fome difficul-ties, efppeciall for that they would have had a liberty of gathering their feperate churches out of others already conflitute; upon this it brake up. Only a new motion was made of it for eftablifhing that Committee of Accommodation before I came away, and their differences are yet lafting, and their ways, as I conceive, inconsistent.

Now, the crecting of Prefbyteriall Government hath been oppofed by diverse parties: Firft, By thefe that deny all Governments: These are Eraftians. 2dly, By thefe that would have another form of Government than the Prefbyteriall; of thofe fome have
studied to get in a moderate Prelacy, and a model of that sort 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 receaved 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 point of suspension from the Sacrament. They have made a great deal of restrictions in that bullines, 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 caften, being conceived a breach of privilege. Among other incongruities, they urged a double number of Ruling Elders at leaft to that of minifters, and if they please, four tymes more, so that all what minifters do say, may be made null by the major part of Ruling Elders. To this we gave in our Reafons to the contrarie. It was upon the occasion of this prudential modell, that the Nine Queries were sent to the Assembly by the Houfe 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 fo 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 anfwer from Scripture, fo 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 Prefbyterial Government, because there be many that would be content of it, fo 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: Doctor Taylor, the King's chaplain, hes written a large book for the defence of Liberty of Conscience.

The last Head of our Commiffion 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 condefcend to the capacity of the common and unlearned. Therefore they are a-making two distinct Catechisms, a Short and plaine one for thefe, and a Larger one for thofe 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 wisdome of this Assembly can very well judge of them, without great information; yet, since ye are pleafed to defyre an account of affairs there, I shall shortly express what we conceive to be the greatest dangers hindering the advancement of the defyred Reformation in that land, and thefe we conceive are growing greater, when we were in expectation they were growing les than before. The difafe was in the body; now it is broken furth in the spirits,
before the gross 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 time they see that their interests and principles are inconformable.

2. A second danger there is, which needs must be great, because there is a resdivination which is worse than the first disease; that which hath been built up is now a-cafting down, and that which hath been a-cafting down is a-building up. The Service-Book, which we thought had been buried, is now allowed at Court, and the sequefrat Ministers are by this means animated to intrude themselves in their former places, and sundry are receaved.

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 fundamental the point denied or contraverted, the more it ought to be tolerated, because being the more remot: from sense and reason, and so the deniers or affirmers of it ought the less to be controlled.

4. As the Solemn League and Covenant was juftly conceived to be a sovereign remedy against the former evil, so when that is cast aside, it must make the danger the more and greater: many refuse to subscribe that League and Covenant, and it is no wonder, seeing it hath not a civill faction urging it upon the people. The King hath not agreed to it. The Parliament, though it hath enjoyned 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 flighted, 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 Presbyterian 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 if of the forementioned dangers, yet, on the other part, there is hope in Israel 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 ane Almighty hand working for them, should disfruit the thorow bearing of this work, their fin 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 closure 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 time to time 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 Presbyterian; although they have not come up so far as the Assembly of Divines have held forth to them, yet that is the only government owned by them, and is put in execution in sundry places in England. They have Classical Congregations, Presbyteries, and Synods, in London; and elsewhere there are beginnings. There is a parochial eldership in Yarmouth and other some in Suffolk: they have received appeals from parochial elderships, as the superior 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 array, 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 defrayed me to assure this Assembly of their solid resolution of adhering to Presbyterian 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 withal, 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 otherwise most seriously employed. I shall only add, friends in England do bless God for this Assembly's writing at such a seasonable time, and expects so much shall come forth from you as shall refresh their addled hearts, and advance the opposed work of Reformation.
LXXIII.

ATTESTATION IN FAVOUR OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BAILLIE.
22d 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: \[\text{...}\]"
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 prodigate 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 Subscribres 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 aggret betwixt LIEUT.-GEN. CROMWELL and LIEUT.-GEN. BAYLIE, that all armes, ammunition, collours, and other furniture and provision of warre, be delyvered without imbassellment to Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell, or to whom he shall appoint. That Lieut.-Gen. Baylie, with all Officers and Souldiers with him, shall be prisoners of warre, and that with the consent of all the said Officers and Souldiers.

That they who shall fee rander themselfies, the said Lieut.-General Cromwell shall assure them all of saff 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 mean tym to be furnisshed with horses for their journeys.

O. CROMWELL.
W. BAYLIE.
We doe lykewayes declar 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 keeped their armes.
4. Since the 13th of Auguft they had received bot 2 pound of victuals a-peice.
5. There was no ammunition at all amongft them.
6. When by Lieut.-Gen. Baylie’s ordour they were brought from the open field nearer the Bridge of Waringtone, for the defence of the fame, into ane incloiture, the whole collours were not accompanied with fcarce 250 foldiours; the reft left their armes and ran to the Muir, from whence no perfuafion of Officers could bring them until the Capitulation was clofed.

7. Before Lieut.-Gen. Baylie had brought up the reare of all that were uncutt off, my Lord Callander had given ordour to diverse officers, to wit, to Lieut.-Col. Kerr, Major Knox, and Capt. Rutherfoord, as Kerr deponeth, to prepare for a barricade to the Bridge, and stopping of all the straggling foot at the Bridge, till they could fee what beft appointment they could make for themfelves. Likewayes Lieut.-Gen. Middleton did advyfe Col. Dowglas, by Collington, and by mouth, Col. Turner, to cause barricad the Bridge-end and guard it well, and to tell Lieut.-Gen. Baylie, when he fhould come up, to make the beft appointment he could for himself and the reft of the foot. The lyke commiffion he gave to Major Wm. Dowglas, and defyred that the reft of his horfemen might be fent him up from our recr. (Si: subscribitur).


Information would be had of the Reasons:

1. Why the Horfe quartered, ever after we went from Kendale, fo 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 Prefton-Muir, and our provision there?
4. Why we left our quarter above Waltone, and our whole ammunition, and did not rather make our Horfemen come up?
5. Why the resolution at Standifh Muir to fight wes altered?
6. Why in the march from Wiggen, there wes not left such a reare-guard of Horfe as wes requisit for the retreat of the Foot? for want whereof the moft 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 Majeftie 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 allways acknowledge your Royall Father his just power and greatnefs, and powred forth our supplications and prayers to God on his behalf, and doe abhorre these unparaleled proceedings of Sectaries against his Majestie's person and life; so we doe willingly and cheerfullie acknowledge your Majestie's most just 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 Majestie, that you may feare the great and dreadfull name of the Lord your God, and reigne in righteoufnefs and equitie, and the Lord's people under you 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 counfells of the ungodly as a maine cause of all these evills. 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 monarchy, 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 Jesus 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 authoritie.

And seeing the Lord now calls your Majestie 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 Majestie, in the name of the Lord Jesus, whose servants we are, that ye would not only shut your ears against calumnies, but avoid the companie, and shun the counsells of the ungodlie, who studie to involve your Majestie'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 Majestie would avoid all the temptations and snares that accompanie youth, and humble yourself under the mighty hand of God, and seek him early, and labour to have your senses exercised in his word, and that your Majestie would establish Presbyteriall government, and allow and enjoyne the Solemn League and Covenant, and employ your Royall power for promeasing and advancing the work of uniformity in religion, in all your Majestie'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 suggest 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 to speedie and sure a way for securing of Government in your Majestie's person and posteritie, and disappointing all the desigines of enemies both on the right hand and on the left.

We trust it shall yet afterwards be no griefe of heart to your Majestie to hearken unto us in these things, (we have hithertill obtained mercy of God to be constant to our principles, and not to declyne to extremes, to own the way either of Malignants or Seectaries, and we were faithfull and free with your Royall Father, would God he had hearkened to our humble advyce.) The Lord grant unto your Majestie wisdome to difcerne the tymes, and to make use of the opportunitie of doinge acceptable service to God, and engageing the hearts and affections of people in the beginning of your Majestie's reign, by condescending to these necessarie things; so shall the Lord bleffe your Majestie'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 Majestie, and to praiue God in your behalfe; but in their places and stations, by all other suitleable means, to endeavour your honour and happiness, that your Majestie may reigne, in prosperitie and peace, over these King-domes, which is the earnest desyre and prayer of

Your Majestie's loyall subjects and humble Servants,

The Commissioners of the Generall Assemblies.

Edinburgh, 7th February 1649.
LXXV.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CHURCH
SENT TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE. MARCH 1649.

1. You shall be careful 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 counsels 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 feeks God in private or not.

2. You shall express your deep sense and detestation of the proceedings of the Sectaries against religion and government, and of their proceedings against the perfone and life of his Majestie's Father.

3. You shall reprent unto him the affection of the Kirk of Scotland unto Monarchie, and the continuance of the same, as in the perfone of his Father, so in his perfone and posteritie.

4. You shall shew him how Presbyteriall government is not only consistent with, but helpful to Monarchie; and to take off calumnies to the contrary.

5. You shall represent unto him our faithfull dealing with his Father, and our continuing constant in our principles in reference to religion and government, without declining unto the extremes either of Malignants or Sectaries.

6. You shall in a discreet way, at fit 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 Leaque and Covenant, and the true grounds of ours and England's entering thereunto, and persuade him to subscribe thefe Covenants, and to enjoyne the same, and to advance the work of Uniformitie, and esstablish Presbyteriall government, the Directive of worship, and Confession of Faith, and Catechisme, in all his Majestie's dominions. And you shall shew him how that this only and effectuall way for securing Religion, establishing his throne, and settleing and secureing the union and peace of these Kingdomes.

8. You shall take occasion to shew him that Prelacie was a mere usurpation in Scotland, and never establiished 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 perswade him to lay aside the Service Book, if he use it in his familie, and to conforme himself to the practife of the Kirk of Scotland.

10. Yow shall effectuallie and feriouslie repreffent to him the evills and defignes of the Popifh, Prelaticall, and Malignant partie, and labor to persuade him to forfabe their counfells and courses, and to cleave to those that are straights for Religion and Government, and will be faithfulfull 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 evills, both of fain and of punishment, that have affilicted these Kingdomes. And thereupon feriouslie to repreffent unto him the evill and danger of Popifh marriage, and labour to diswade him from marrying any that is not of the Reformed religion.

12. Yow shall labour to perswade him to hearken to the defyre both of Church and State, as that which will secure Religion, establiſh his Throne, fatisfie 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 fe sunt profefli fratres a nobis ad Synodum Westmonafteriensem deputati in su ad Hollandos diverticulo, efficit ut noftrros jam ad Regiam Majeftem in Hollandia delegatos tuae curæ fidenter audeamus commendare. In magnis cum Rex tum res tota Britannica in praefentiarum horient anguflis. Attollimus oculos ad Dominum, in quo noftrum auxilium et unica fpes fixa re-manent. Expeftamus a fratribus tranfmarinis perseverantiam in fuis ad Deum pro nobis precibus, omnibusque qua fe dat occafio charitatis officiis et mutuis operis, ut Chrifti Regnum, quod mancipia Satane cunctis internis machinis labefacitari fudent, fartum teérum confervetur, et incrementum capiat. Non laborabimus, fcienti, ut putamus, com-monfrare que fit rerum noftrarum hodie condiio. Si quæ, hac in parte, dominum late-ant, docebunt quam vole prolixè coram quos mittimus fratres. Abs te, Reverende Vir, obnixe petimus, ut pro magna tua prudentia, et auctoritate qua in Aula Araufonenfi ac Reginae Bohemica polles, velis pro virili promovenda cura que Sereniffimo Regi per deputatos fratres humilla posfulata et saluberrima confilia deferenda commiſsimus.
Quam hie navaveris Deo, Regi, Ecclesiæ, et nobis operam, fæussa fit et fœlix, remuneratur certe coelitus Jehova; et nos gratifiima mente repositam conservabimus.

Tui in Domino Fratres amantisimi a Nationali Synodo Deputati, ac, omnium nomine,

Dabantur Edinburgi, pridie Kal.


Martii 1649.

LXXXVII.

LETTER FROM THE SAME TO DR. ANDREW RIVET.

CLARISSIMO VIRO AC FRATRI IN CHRISTO DILECTISSIMO, DOMINO ANDREÆ RIVETO, IN ACADEMIA LUGDUNENSI SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ 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 praefentia status per fratres nostros dilectissimos tuae prudentiae confidenter aperire, et a tua pietate fraternali auxilio expectare non dubitemus. Probe novissi, fat scimus, quam atrociam, quam diuturnam malam, Regna haec et Ecclesiae jamdudum vexent. Maximum Temper bonorum hie omnium defiderium fuit per prosperam pacem imponendi tandem aliquando finem durissimis calamitatibus, quibuscum integro jam decennio, et quod excurrat, conflictati sumus; sed ecce nova semper tempestatas, prioribus favior incumbens, rejecit in novum malorum mare. Dederant nostris quantam maximam valebant operam, ut asquis conditionibus thronus, pristinumque splendor, et quascunque defiderari ullo jure poterant, Regi restituerentur; sed male feriati fufurrones, calamitatum nostrarum vel priores, vel affidui fautores, nunquam definebant pleisme consulum principem suis artibus perdere. Status Regni, ut primum infatuum de Patris nece (quod facinus toto pectore execramur) nuncium accepere, quam fieri potuit maxima folemitate absentem statim Filium edicto publico Regem declararunt, et Literas egregiae; voluntatis plenæ, tam terra quam mari percurta sunt; Legatos suos Londino veñram Hagam proficisci jufferunt, et alios itius Legationis socios hinc amandarunt, qui humillima sua postulata, et saluberrima consilia novo Regi communicarent. Id quod ante alia in praefentiarum folicitos habet, tenella est Regis adolefcentis indoles, licet optime fpei, quem circumfederunt jam multi piorum in utroque regno confulis vel aperti femper hostes, vel non fatis confiantes amici: hoc est, Reverende Vir, in quo tuam operam induftriamque nobis necessariam arbitramur. Scimus quo zelo flagres erga Dei veritatem, et quo tenearis desiderio videndi nostram Britanniam in puritate religionis, et jufta legum libertate, fir-
maque pace stabilitam: scimus quantopere abhorreat tua aequanimitas ab eorum hominum perversitate, qui vel suis erroribus pericaciter adherentes, vel suis privatim compendiis promovendis, aut re reparandis difpendiis inhiantes, incidunt regem in precipitia fecum abducere, totaque regna, ac integras nationales Ecclesiæ novarum ruinarum faxis illidere flocci non faciunt. Hic est ubi magnum Legatis nostris a Diabolo certamen metuimus, et ubi tuam pietatem exoratamecupimus, ut velis non gravate confilio et auctoritate tua, quibus plurimum idic locorum vales, adesse fratribus quos illuc delegavimus ad res omni maximas procurandas, quam non nostram tantum tam Regni quam Ecclesiæ, sed et totius insulae, regis infuper regiaeque familiae salutem, imo vero reformatum omnium Ecclesiæarum emolumentum, unice spectare certissimum habemus. Exspectamus Aureas Principem, et regiam ipfius conjugem, Reginaeque Bohemiae, flecendi tenellum Regis animum ad fana confilia non medici facultate pollere. Scimus quanta meritissime gratia apud ilorum omnium Serenitates valeas: quantumque tuae prudentiae visum fuerit piissimo huic operi incumbere speramus Dominum in suo die remuneraturum, nos certe gratissima semper mente recognituros sollicemur.

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 FIDEI
ADMINISTRO, NUNC INTER NATIONALIS, DELE.
GATOS DEGENTI HAGÆ COMITIS, S. P.

Reverende Vir, et Mihi observande in Christo Frater,

Memini probe quantum debuerim ab oètennio, et ultra, humanitati et benevolentiae omnium vestrum, quorum Londini confortio et communicatione fum usus, tuae imprimis, qua etiam Hagæ Comitis, sed, vobis fesfinambus, ab breve tempus sum frutus. Filius meus, qui inter Principis domesticos Hagæ vivit, monuerat quidem venisse ex vestra Scotia delegatos, qui agnitus Regem salutarent, et cum eo agerent de juftis condition-
ibus ei proponendis, ut Regnum apud se inchoaret, et inter eos esse quodam eximios Dei fervos; sed eorum nomina non mihi indicaverat, alioquin ego te saltem praevenisset, et veterem inter nos confuetudinem renovassim; quod uunc facio, tuis literis, et nostris Spangii fratris & amici conjunctissimi, admonitus. Ego certe, ab initio accepiisem literas, quas a celeberrima Synodo ad me missitis, et credidiisse me aliquid posse, ut aliqua ratione negotium vestrum promoverem, nihil me retinuiisset quo minus ad vos excurrisset, præfertim hac anni fatis vacuae et non incommoda temperatę. Sed cum mihi suisset nunciam CelciSimum Principem meum pronum fatis ex seipso esse ad res vestras promovendas, et Regi Serenissimo confilia omnia suggerenda quibus flectionetur ut se fidei fuorum apud vos subditorum committeret, quod etiam D. Spangii nomine fuerat confirmatum, atque ita apud eum necessarium non esse meum interventum, substiti hie, meque ad preces converti, ut Deus vestrae negociationis eventum ad optatum finem dirigat. Non fane angore animi intelligo alia prævaluisse confilia, et Regem esse in procinctu, ut ex Gallia in Hiberniam se conferat, et per nos etiam hic brevis iter suum instituat; quae via mihi videtur ad perniciem Regis et regnorum, reformatae in illis ecclesiæ, tendere, et indicium esse iram Dei noundem deferbuisset, qui hae confilia finat prevalere. Vices etiam vestras doleo, et laboriosæ peregrinationis parum felicem succedum, nisi quod percéperitis bonorum omnium in his regionibus benevolentiam vestris rebus faventem, sed efficaciam deede, cum solius Dei fit animos regnum inflectere ad meliora confilia. Scribo ad Reverendissimos Synodi vestrae Pastores; eis gratias maximas ago pro suo de me judicio, et omnia defero quae a me expectari possint in communi Ecclesiæ regum causa, quod apud te, Vir Reverende, iterum profiteor; tibique, et D. D. Collegis, felicem et faustum ad vestros reeditum, et meliorem eventum rerum veftream voveo, quam qui expetatur debeat a confiliis eorum, qui non solum a carne et fanguine pendent, sed qui, affectibus etiam sui indulgentes, animos gerunt adversus Dei caufam exacerbatos, quos vel flectat Deus, vel reprimat. Interim me precibus tuis commendo, et meorum vicissim subsidium vobis promitto, tibique omnia prospera voveo. Vale.

Tuus omni officio et affectu in Christo,

Andreas Rivetus.

Brædæ Brabantorum, 5 Kal. Junias CIœIœc.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 affairs, for it alienates from him his greatest strength, the hearts of Scotland and the Presbyterians of England, more than from his Father, who had more impediments within his own breast to take the Covenant than the King can now have.

2. The Scots and English Covenanters will never forfake that Covenant, nor joyn arms 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, joins together, for his service, not only the whole Covenanting party in the three Kingdomes, but 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 means for it is his cordiall joyning in that Covenant; his refusing of that means is clearly to keep all his friends devided amongst themselves, and to force the most of them to sit still and doe nothing for him.

5. Upon this dissatisfaction, the Scots and the English Covenanters sitting still, the King must put himselfe upon strangers and his Father's broken party, whose first service must be to overthrow the Presbyterians in the three kingdoms, who gladly would have been serviceable friends, but when once their blood is shed by the hands of strangers, and their former enemies the Malignant party, they may turn desperate. In the mean time, the Sectaries get time to settle their new Republick.

6. It is believed, generally, that the King's obstinacy comes not from himselfe, but his Counsellours, and that they durst not hold him on so apparently destructive ways, if they had not warrant, and encouragement from some other elsewhere.

7. That it is marvelled what can be the true ground of the flick. The Papish party are no more at all hurt by the Covenant, than by these Acts of Parliament against them, to which the King's Father allways promised his full consent. The Covenant cannot come near any Papist, but by particular 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 Prelats, the King's father offered Acts of Parliament to abolish their vote in Parliament, to divest them totally of all civil employment; to set up Presbyteries with them, to put the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction in the Presbytrie, as much as in the Bishop, their Moderator. These cessions destroy whatever argument either his Majestie or the Prelats can bring for keeping up any roote of Episcopacie, either of honour from former lawes and customs, or of conscience from scripture: For the legall and alledged scripturall Bishop is offered to be abolished, and a new one essentially different from the former, a meer stranger to England and the world abroad, altogether also unsatisfactory to the Covenanters, is urged to be put in his place.
9. See if they be happy and wise Counsellours 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 Majestie's affairs doe not require that with all speed, cheerfulness, and fullness, it be offered; how often his gracious concessions by parcels, and out of time, been for no purpose?

1. But it is Objected, The King, by granting this desyre of the Scotts, will lose the service of many more than he gains.

Ans. This is a groundlesse allegiance. No Scottsman at all will fall off him for the Covenant. All the late ingagers professit ever for it. James Graham's friends also doe boast of zeal against Bishops and Ceremonies. None of the English or Irish Protestant nobilitie or gentrie, and very few of the Cleargie by their owne principles, believes Bishops and Ceremonies to be so necessarie, but the Church of England may want them as the rest of the Reformed doe, and that the King and Parliament may lawfully lay them aside on the prettior of smaller inconveniences than now doe compass the King and his kingdoms. If any of the Cleargie be in ane other judgement, their number and power is so inconsiderable, that their obstinacie in this needs not be struck upon. As for the Papists in Ireland, they need be no more offended with the King's joyning in the Covenant, than with his affenting, as his Father did, to Acts of Parliament as severall 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 Majestie's gaining to his service of Scotland entire, of all the Covenanters in England and Ireland, and so many other, as by his Majestie's example and authoritie, will be added to them, be a more sensible advantage then by refusing of the Covenant, his keeping these of the Popish, Prelaticall, and Malignant party, who will in no tears joyne in the Covenant, with the certain losse of all the true Covenanters in the three Kingdomes, who are tyed in conscience not to associat in armes or counsell with Anti-Covenanters remaining in that condition.

2. Object. His Majestie's conscience is contrare to the matter of the Covenant.

Ans. How can it be so? Shall the King enjoin in Scotland what is against his conscience? But what in the Covenant is against his conscience? The abolition of Paperie cannot, for in this he is no more tyed to persue 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 doe, 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 neceffite for a Bishop in England than in Holland, or any other of the Reformed Churches, who all have laid them aside; his Majestie's Father offered to depute Bishops of all civill employment, and to joyn with them for ordination and jurisdicition a pref-
byterie. This is to abolish the legall and alleaged scripturall Bishop, and to put up in his place a new Bishop essentially differing from the former, whose abolition, not being the scripturall Bishop, cannot be against a rightlie informed conscience, nor against the honour of the King of England, not being the Bishop which either the law or customes of England did ever know.

LXXX.

A NOTE INTENDED FOR MYN HEERE WILLEMS.

I earnestlie defyre, since his Majestie in his third paper to the States Generall does plainlie declare his resolution to go for Ireland, that the Prince, Princefs Douager, and some of the States Generall, were dealt with to indeevour, that the States Generall in their answers to his Majestie's defyers, might be pleaded in a friendlie earneftnes to advyse his Majestie much rather to goe to Scotland than Ireland, for such reasons as their own widomes will easilie suggeft ; for the present thefe come in my minde.

1. His going to Ireland now joynes him with the worft part of his subiects, and declares that his chiefe confidence is in them who, byfde their avowed Poperie, are fo defiled with innocent blood, that age association with them cannot bot be cursed of God, and detested by all the rest of his good subiects.

2. This cannot faile to blast his Majestie's designes 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. Thomson's Edition of the Acts of Parliament: Vide Vol. VI, pp. 400, 435.]

The Estates of Parliament being most defyreous that his Majestie by his authoritie would joyne and give his Royal assent and concurrence in all things for the good of Religion, his own honour and happines, and the welfare of his Kingdomes ; and considering how necessarie it is that this Kingdome make their speedy addresses, and render to His Majestie their faithful advice in these things which are necessarie and effectuall for these ends, doe hereby therefore nominate, appoint, and authorize, and give power to the Right Honourable the Earl of Caflills, Earle of Lothian, Laird of Brodie, Laird Libbertone, Sir John Cheesly, Alexander Jaffrey, and William Glendinning, all seven being present together, or to anie two of them in case of the absence of the rest, to repaire to the King's Majestie, for doing, acting, and prosecuting 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, repair to the King's Majestie, deliver our letter, show your commission, and tell the true reasones and excuses of your not coming sooner to his Majestie.

Yow shall shew his Majestie, that as this Kingdom was not wanting in their faithfull counsells to his Royal 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 Sovereaigne, as their letters, instructions, declarations, and their Commissioners papers witness.

Yow shall shew his Majestie with what unanimity, alacritie, diligence, and solemnitie, the Parliament did acknowledge him King of Great Brittan, France, and Ireland.

Yow shall shew his Majestie that his Father's opposition to the Covenant and work of Reformation was the chief cause of his and these Kingdomes troubles.

Yow shall shew his Majestie how unacceptable the enemies and opposers of the Covenant and Reformation are to his Kingdom.

Yow shall communicate to his Majestie the Act of the date of the 7th of February instant, as that which contains the necessarie satisfaction which is defyred and expected from his Majestie by this Kirk and Kingdome, for securing religion and the peace of the kingdom, and for gaining, not only the outward obedience, but 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 turrs and dangers; lykewise you shall, by all the good reasons which you can thinke upon, endeavour to persuade his Majestie to give the satisfaction defyred heartilie and speedilie.

If his Majestie shall shew his willingness and resolution to give the satisfaction defyred in the said Act, and to make the same known to the Parliament here, and to the Commissioners of the Kirk, you shall in our name invite his Majestie to come to his kingdom of Scotland, and assure his Majestie, that he shall be receaved and entertained with all satisfaction, freedome, and honour, duety 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 Kingdoms, or against whom this Kingdom hath just cause of exception; and declare, that he will in matters civil, follow the counsells of his Parliament, and such as are or shall be authorized by them, and in matters ecclesiastick, the counsell of the Generall Assembly, and of such as are or shall be authorized by them.

You shall deliver our letters to the Queen of Bohem, to the Prince of Orange, and to the Princess Royal; and you shall defyre them to interpose, and make use of their assistance to move the King to give satisfaction as is above specified.

You shall lykewise deliver our letter to the Estates of Holland, and shew how sensible we are of their kinde respects to our King, and our defyres to entertaine all friendship and amitye 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 Kingdom.

You shall shew his Majestie the great dangers, and irreparable losses which most inevitably ensue upon his delay or refuall of the forefaid defyres; for by delay his enemies will be encouraged and strengthened, and the people be forced to cough under the burdens, and submit to their yoke, despairing of any means of relief or deliverance, and then the redress 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 chief cause of his and the kingdoms 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 claim the right of his Government, before Democracy, or any new modell of Government under the name of ane agreement of the people, or any other name or device be settled or take root; it will be more easie to maintain Monarchicall Government, than to proeall and cast out any new forme of Government, after it is once establishe, and the people habituated thereto. And if now, when by the power and prevalance of Sectaries, and the armie in England, that Kingdom is subdued and almost lost, and Ireland in very great distraction, his Majestie shall delay or refuse to satisfye the defyres of the Kingdom of Scotland, especially concerning Religion and the Covenant, which is the strongest bond to tye 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 straine them in such an extremitie to resolve upon some effectuall course by the Parliament to preserve Religion and the Kingdom from ruine and distraction.

And his Majestie's granting of the forefaid Defyres, will so farre indcase him to this
Nation, and assure their affection and duties to him, as they will not only receive him with all thankfulness, and most willingly render to him that subjection and dutiefull obedience which can be expected from loyal subjects to their King, but lykewise 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 effectuall way to establisse his Throne in righteoufneffe.

Yow shall concurre with, and be assisting to the Commissioners of the Church, in pursuance of their Instructions, taking their advyce also in managing of your’s, especiallly in these things relating to Religion.

If the King’s Majestie be willing to give satisfaction to this Kingdome, yow shall desyre him to recall all Commissioners 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 Monarchicall Government in any of his other Kingdomes.

LXXXIII.


[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.]
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 address 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 followeth:—

May it please your Majesty,

While the Parliament of this Kingdom are making their [humble] addresses 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 unparallel'd practices of some against the Person of your Majestie's Father, and their subverting the ancient and fundamentall Lawes and Government of these Kingdomes. Our humble and earnest petition to your Majestie is, That you would be pleased to grant the desires of your loyall subiects, who sincerely seek the establishment of your throne in righteoulinefs; 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 coursies 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 Majestie more fully with our minde, unto whom we humbly desire your Majestie may give credit, and interpret our freedom and plain dealing by them, as a reall testimony of our unfained affection to your Majestie'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 resolv'd to walk still after the same rule, in our several fitions and vocations, amidst all the difficulties and oppositions wherewith we are assaulted on either hand. Praying for your Majestie, that the Lord of the whole earth would multiply all sorts of mercies upon your Royall person, and graviously incline your young and tender heart unto the speedy embracing and following of the counsels of truth and righteou—
nefe, and grant unto your Majeftsie a long and happy reign, that we may live under you, a peaceable and quiet life in all Godlineffe and honestie, who are

Your Majeftsie's loryall 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 auffay the putting away of that which we feared might prove obtructive to all our intentions: Before our comming, that unhappy and curied man James Graham had been sent for, and too well interpreted by these of the English Couniell, who left affected our Covenant, and all the late proceedings of our Nation: Our firft Paper therefore on Fryday, March 30, was for the removall of this evil man from his Majeftsie's presence and Court. The Commissioners of Parliament had defired the fame before. the firft answer they got was but dilatory: we conceived it the more necessary for us to joyn with the fame 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 cenfure of Excommunication may be discountenanced by your Majefty, and removed from your Court; especially James Graham late Earle of Montrofe, being a man most justly, if ever any, caft 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 convering with every one whom the highest cenfure of excommunication made as Ethnicks and Publicans. Your Majeftsie's walking in any other way would be contrary to the rules of Scripture, to the pratiife of these Princes whose gracious examples will be your Majeftsie's most wholesome patterns, and would certainly give a great strack to all the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, which your Majeftsie'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 Majeftsie will never intend to alter: least of all at this time, in the hopefull 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 murtherer in our Nation.

We hope for so much mercie from our God, that his gracious Spirit shall incline your Majeftsie's heart to give us just satisfaction in all our necessary desires, that the cordiall union of your Majeftsie 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, per-
nitious counsell, and contagious company, cannot fail (so long as he remains in his ob-
stante impenitence) 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 Majesty 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 wholesome
counsels which we are intrusted with, should be obstructed and frustrate.

Friday March 30, 1649.

Cassils. Robert Baillie.
George Wynram. James Wood.

His Majesty’s Return to us both was in this Paper.

I do insist 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 presage, that notwithstanding all we could doe by our selves,
or by others, this man remained still in our way, as an open enemy to all our designs;
also that his Majesty’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 satisfactorily answer in reason, to that our first
Petition, so soon as the rest of our propositions were given in; and judging his Majesty’s
receiving of our message, and answering of all our papers without any quarrelling of our
Commission, whereof in every paper we made express mention, to be a real acknowledg-
ment of us as Commissioners from the Church; and not being instructed to break
off all treaty at the beginning, upon differenfaction in such things, as the Commissioners of
Parliament, so we also thought fit to proceed.

The main things we were instructed to propone to his Majesty, 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 Gov-
ernment, the two Catechismes, as they were agreed unto by the Generall Assembly and
Parliament of Scotland. These six pieces we did bind together in a book, and delivered
them to his Majesty, speaking somewhat to the matter of every one of them, and ent-
treating 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

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But it happened, that your Majesty's several acts of Parliament, as well as his letter to the States-General, were dissatisfied with it; but our positive desires concerning these particulars, we gave in on Thursday, April 15, in this Paper.

**May it please your Majesty,**

Wee the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, hoping for an answer satisfactorily in reason to our first paper, according to your Majesty's gracious promise, do go on according to our Commission, to signify, in the name of that Church, that after their hearty prayer to God, for his blessing on your Royall person and government; it is their most earnest desire that it may be your Majesty's pleasure to give them assurance, under your hand and seal, of your approbation of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, subscribed 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 Assemblies of Scotland, the two Houfes of the Parliament of England, and the Assembly of [Divines at] Westminster, after long and seruous deliberation, have unanimously found to be the best and necessary means of settling Religion, of establishing the Throne, and bringing back prosperity to your Majesty, and all your three now lamentably disstressed Kingdomes; also of the Directory of Worship, Confeffion of Faith, Catechisme, and Presbyteriall Government of the Church, agreed upon, according to the Word of God, by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Generall Assemblies of the Church of Scotland: the copies of all which we did, the other day, deliver to your Majesty. Likewise that your Majesty would be pleased to subscribe the Nationall Covenant, with the Solemn League and Covenant, and give your royall assent to such Acts of the Parliament of Scotland as shal be offered to your Majesty, for the establishing and enjoyning of the premifles in Scotland, and to such Acts of Parliament as shall be offered by the two Houfes of the Parliament of England, for the establishing and enjoyning the same in England and Ireland; and in the mean time, that your Majesty would be pleased to lay aside the ufe of the Service Book, and conform the worship of God in your Royall Family to the Directory. We are fully perfuaded that your Majesty's cordiall joyning with your loving subjefts in these means of advancing the honour of God and true religion, shall procure from heaven the Lord's powerful affiftance, to bring your Majesty and your people out of the great tribulations and dangers wherein both for the present are plunged. We are also confident that your Majesty's granting thefe most humble and earnest desires shall be a chief and effectual mean to knit to your Majesty, in all duty, the hearts of all your good subjefts, not in Scotland alone, but every where else, and shall loye to your Majesty none at all, who either loves the truth of God, or minds your Majesty's happiness above their own particular unjust interests.

April 15.

**Cassils.** **Libberton.**

**Robert Baillie.** **James Wood.**
1649. ORIGINAL LETTERS AND PAPERS.  

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 Saturday 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 propose 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.

Cassils. R. Baillie.  
Libberton. James Wood.

April 7, 1649.

The days 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 columns wherewith our malignant enemies, with much artifice and malice, did labour to poison the ears of his Majesty and all about him against our Church and Kingdom.

But finding time to drive over, and no answer according to our mind appearing, we gave in on May 1 5/8, the following Writ.

Upon the 5/15th 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 Majesty's throne, and for putting of them in a confident expectation of the Lord's blessing upon your Majesty's Government; since that time we have been always waiting, 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 loss of more time, now at laft we may have so gracious and satisfactory 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 thefe their counfels: which are most likely to procure to your Majesty and all your dominions, an happy deliverance from all their present diftreffes.

May 1649.


Hereby we obtained from his Majesty, May 1649, this Answer.

I have considered the several Papers and Propositions, delivered to me by you, and do affure you, that I defire nothing more, then that I may entirelie unite the hearts and affections of all my good fubjects of Scotland to me, and amongst themselves as well for the honor, peace, and profferity of that Kingdom, as that they may joyntly and unanimously affift me, in the revenge of that horrid and impious murther of my Father, and the recoverie of my just rights in my other Dominions, (to which they are equally ingaged by the laws of God and of that Kingdom;) and to the obtaining of fuch an Union, I will conftant to all that in conffeince and honour I may, without imposing on my other Kingdoms. As firft I will maintain, confirm, and defend the Government, Ecclefaftical and Civill, of Scotland, as is settled by law, and the ancient known laws of that Kingdom, as likeways all fuch Acts of Parliament as have been actually confented unto by the King my Father, being personally preffent in Parliament, or by his Commissioners lawfully authorized by him; and particularlie, the laws concerning the National Covenant, the Confefion of Faith, and Prefbyterial 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 repective Parliaments of thofe Kingdoms. by whose advice and confent onely, lawes are there to be made and altered, neither can I confent to any thing which fhall oppofe or difturb the Peace lately concluded in Ireland, but I am very willing to refer the full confideration of the faid 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 fo to do, by whose advice I am resolved to govern myfelf therein; in the mean time, as I am very ready to do all that is in my power to the fafe and quiet protection of my people in Scotland, under the benefit of the laws of that Kingdom, as likeways 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 bitterness 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, unparaleled, horrid act, of the murder 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 setting 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 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 1649, given to us in answer of all our former, must in conscience of our duty with all humility make known to your Majestie, 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 bleffe God that your Majestie assures us you will maintain, confirm, and defend
the Ecclesiastic 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 Ecclesiastic 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 subcribe the same; no answer at all is given. But our prime disatisfaction is, that what we petitioned concerning the Directory, Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and approven 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 yourfelf 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 Majestie's granting to us what we desire in the Covenant for securing the Protestant Religion, who have themselves been counsellors and perfwaders, that your Majestie, without all scruple either of conscience or honour, shou'd 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 Majestie 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 ratificed by the Parliaments of that Kingdom; which, when your Majestie 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 press 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 Ile of Wight did, as we are informed, offer to confirm the Directory, Presbyteriall 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 mozt of England, the best part of Ireland, do judge the abolition of Popery of Prelacie, of Liturgie, and joining 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 establis 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 arms and hearts of your best people to imbrace your Majestie’s person, to second, with their lives and estates, all your just desires, to employ, with cheerfulness, 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 Subjectts, who otherwise are most cordially affected to your Majestie’s service, may tempt you to alyances with idolaters, to a dependence upon strangers, to a course of cruell persecution against your best subjectts, will be pleasant to none but to such as are your Majestie’s mortall enemies, who cannot but accompt it the joyfulllest 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 Weftminister 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 loyal thoughts at your Majestie’s feet, expecting your Majestie will be pleased to review our former Papers, and yet grant us such a
satisfactory return as may send us home rejoicing, and make us be received for our glad tydings with praise to God, with blessings upon your Majestie, and confident expectation of a speedy change in the face of affairs in all your Dominions.

May 23, 1649.

June 27

Cassills. R. Baillie.

Libberton. J.A. Wood.

Hereunto we received from his Majestie this last Answer.

I am much satisfied 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 satisfaction 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 entire 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, send you by the Express mentioned in my last Paper, the more particular answer I then promised: I shall likeways 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 Majestie, as we heard, being resolved before he made any conclusion to speak with the Queen his Mother, and to send 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 promis'd 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 truely 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 beft affections and prayers going along with us in all our defires, as he signified to us in his private letters, and as, we suppofe, he doth exprefs in this to the Assembly, which here we prefent.

Cassills. ROBERT BAVLIE.

GEO. WYNRAME. JAMES WOOD.

Edinburgh, 10. July 1649. Ante meridiem, Seff. VI.

The Generall Assembly, having taken in ferious consideration the Report of the Travells and Proceedings of the Commissioners sent to his Majefiy, prefented 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 Trufť 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. ultimo Octob. 1649.

Right Reverend,

Altho’ I had not the happiness to see you at my pairing, I know ye will neither forget the worke nor the unworthy instrument that is [in] employment: and I beg it of you. I know ye will see all: and theirfor I fall only tell yow how much the Assembleis Declaratione sticks with the Engadgers, that they say, (with all humble submission to the Kirk of Scotland,) they can not subscribe that, wapes they will proclame themselves perjured traitours: and wapes something be done in relatione to them, it will be impossible to except ane accommodatione with the King. So, think wpone it. I can not conceal frome yow also, that the Prince of Orange fayes he is informed, in Scotland the young minisfirs 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, thenes the company of Engadgers, and will doe nothing to strenthen their hands. He preaches heer, and if he will embrace it, can not want a call longe. I hear he speaks with a great deal of submissione of, and prayes earnestly for the Kirk of Scotland.

So, their is hopes that the King will acknowledge the Parl. and desyre a treaty: which, if he doe, I am persuaded it will be your care to study soo much moderation as ye are able. with fawtie to Religious and the Covenant: unless his Majo. get satisfactions in some things, they will suffer him to die in misery, and we will have no settled peace. The Engadgers say it is hard that more is craued of them then all Jas. Grahaeme’s complices. God willing, ye fall hear more nixt week frome your affectionat seruand.

For the Right Reverend Master Robert Douglas.

Minister at Edin.

GEO. WYRAME.

No. 2.

Right Reverend,

If I found follow myne owne inclinatione, I wold trouble yow more at every ocazione then were fitt in regard of your imployment. I know ye ar not a louer of repetitions, therefore I must refer yow to my Lo. Chan’s and Registar’s letters. The bearer will acquaint yow with all particulars passages. So, now is the tyme to pray that the Lord wold prevent the King with his tender merceis, for indeed he is brought very low: when he hes not bread both for himselfe and his seruands, and betuixt him and his
brother not ane Inglish shilling; and worse yet, if I durst wryte it. I am confident no ingenious spirite will tak advantage of his neceffiteis; but for all this, (as I have heard yow aduyfe them to deal with [his] Father,) wfe him princely. France is neither able nor willing to helpe him: The Prince of Orange hez suffred 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; foe that his cafe is very deplorable, being in prifone where he is lining in penurie, forounded be his enemeis, not able to Iive any where ells in the world, wnelcs he would come to Scotland, by giving them satiffaétione to their juft demandis; yet his pernicious and deuillish Counfell will suffre him to starue before they will suffre him to take the League & Covenant. I am persuaded no rationall man can thinke he will come yf length at first; but if he could once be extricate frome his wicked Counfell, their might be hope. If a treaty be effectuat, much will depend wpone the perfon: 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 desperat. But I persuade myselfe it will be the wisdome and piety of the Commiffione to fend such as may gaine the King by the spirite of meiknes, and not such as fay their is no helpe for him in God. But I fear I have gone to far, and that my affectione have 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 feruand,

Campveer, 9ber, 18-8, 1649

Geo. Wynrane.

Sir, I fall entreat that thees may remember my louc and fervice to all friendis, and to Mr. Baillie, with whome, (as I hear,) the King is very angry for some passages in his booke, efpecially one concerning himselfe; and if I can doc yow any fervice in the pairts where I goe to, I hope yez will use freidome with me.

For the Right Reuerend Mr. Robert Douglas,

Minifter at Edr.

No. 3.

Right Reuerend,

I know ye ar particularly informed of all that hes paft from other hands, yet I can not lett this bearer goe without a lyne. Ye will perceave be the papers sent yow what length the King is come in his conceffiones; and his Maiy hes faithfully promised to per-fyte them at their fight who repreffent Church and State, in tymé and place convenient. All of ws ar fully perfuadaed of his ingenuity and fuit dispoitione: he can not be perfuadaed to dißemble, tho no small induftrie have bein ufit to perfuada him to it. And when ye consider his education, and what counfellers ar about him, both for his confience and affaires, and what doctrine is taught to his face, that if he subfcryue the Covenant.
he is not only guyltie of his Father's murther, but can not efchew damnatione; espeically be our countrieman Crichtoun, whome old Ruthen did chyde bitterly, saying, 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 Master's name, all affistance for a happy agriement; which ye will perceau more fully be the letter to the Parl.

S't, I will not troble yow with needles repetitiones, but refer yow to my other letters, which I know will be communicatte wnto yow. This much I dar positivly 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 instrumentall in this addrefle; and I hope ye will then say that ye haue not been deceaued be

Your affectionat servuant,

Breda, Aprill \( \frac{3}{2} \) \( \frac{0}{0} \) 1650.

G. Wynrame.

For the Right Reuerend Mr. Robert Douglas,
Moderator of the Commission of the
Generall Assembly.

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 Douglas,

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 defirous of it, that I shall be very much oblig'd by all those that
shall be industriously instrumentall to it. I intreate you therefore to vse your credit amongst the Minifters, to perfwade them to reaonable 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 understanding betwene vs, for the lafting happines of that nation. I hope you shall neuer haue cause to repent what you shall doe herein, and I affure you it shall be effectually acknowledged by

Your affectionate friend,

Jerfey, the 15-5 of Febru, 1649.

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 Baille 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.

I.—The Old Version. 1565.

Without entering upon any minute details respecting the older Version of the Psalms, it may briefly be noticed, that the Scotish 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 Psalms." 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 Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to synge
them withall. Faithfully perused and allowed according to the order appoynted in the Queenes Maiesties Injunctions, &c. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, be nethe Saint Martins. Cum gratia et privilegio 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 Psalms in four partes, (Tenor, Contra Tenor, Medius, and Bassus,) which may be song to al musical instruments. set forth for the encrease of vertue, and abolyshynge of other vayne and trifling 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 Lekprevick, printer, two hundreth pounds [Scotch money] to help to buy irons, ink, and paper, and to fee craftsmen for printing of the Psalms.” And the Assembly, on the 26th December 1564, further ordained, “That every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, shall 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 receiued by the Churche of Scotland, whereunto besydes that was in the former bookes [of 1561 and 1562], are also added sondrie other prayers, with the whole Psalms 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 Whittingham, 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 became 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 Whittyngham, 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 House- hold, 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 Tyre thy mare Tom boye." He became minister at Child-Ocktord, 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 Scotch 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 143 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 Assemble;" but no further notice occurs of any such revision. 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 Whittyngham, already mentioned as Dean of Durham.
PSALME LVII. v. 1—3, and 5. By Robert Pont.
From the Edition printed at Edinhrgh by Robert Lekprevik, 1565.

1 Be mercifull to me, ó God, be mercifull to me:
For why? my soule in all assaults shall euer trust in thee.
And till these wicked storms be past, which ryse on eerie syde:
Vnder the shaddowe of thy wings, my hope shall alwayes hyde.

2 I will therefore call to the Lord, who is moste high alone:
To God who will his worke in me, bring to perfection.

PSALM XC. Ver. 1—7 and 12. By William Kethe.

3 He will sende downe from heauen aboove, to saue me, and restore
From the rebukes of wicked men, that fayne wolde me deooore.
God wil his mercie sorely send, and constant truth also:
To comforte me, and to defend against my cruel foe.

4 Exalt thy selfe, ó God, therefore aboue the heauens bight:
And ouer all the earth declare thy glorie and thy might.


1 O Lord that art my God and King,
Vndoubtedly, I wil thee praise:
I will extoll and blessings sing,
Vnto thyse h brute Name alwayes.

2 From day to day I wil thee blesse,
And laode thy Name worlde without end,

3 For great is God, most worthy praise,
Whose greatnes none may comprehend.

4 Race shal thy worke praise vnto race:
And so declare thy power, ó Lord.

5 The glorious beaute of thy grace,
And wondrouse worke, wil I record.

6 And all men shall the power (ó God,) Of all thy feareful Actes declare:
And I to publishe all arode,
Thy greatnes, at no tyme will spair.
11 The glory of thy Kingdome, they
   Do shewe, and of thy power do tell.
12 That so mens sonsnes 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
   On thee waite, that here do liue:
   And thou in season due dost send
   Sufficient foode them to relieve.
19 The Lord wil the desire fulfil,
   Of such as do him feare and dread:
   And he also their eyme hear wil,
   And saue them in the tymo of need.
20 He doth preserve them more and lesse,
   That beare to him a louing heart.
   But workers al of wickednes
   Destroye wil he, and clean suauert.
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 prelatic 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.”


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 Majestie’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 only 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 Archbishops of St. Andrews:

“Whereas it pleased our late dear Father of famous and eternall memorie, considering how imperfect the Psalms in Meeter pretentlie 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 truttie and wellbeloved St' William Alexander knyght, to consider and review the meeter and poefie thaireof, So our pleafour is, that zow and some of the moft learned Divynes in that our kingdome confer them with the originall text, and with the most exact translations, and thairefter certifie back zour opinions vnto ws concerning the fame, whether it be fitting that they be publisht and sung in Churches, instead of the old translation, or not; To the intent that we may neglece 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 Psalms of King David, Translated by King James. Cum Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis.” Another engraved leaf has the royal arms, and the King’s authority, allowing these Psalms “to be sung in all the Churches of our Dominions;” and this imprint is at the end of this volume,—“Oxford, Printed by William Turner, Printer to the famous University, M.DC.XXI.” 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 Psalms.” This paper is inserted in the Bannatyn 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 whatsover, be either printed heirefter 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 Psalms 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 revisal, 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 Counsellors guide:
Nor in the way of Sinners stands,
or 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 streams of waters neare;
Whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit,
in season of the yeare.

4. His leafe it never wither shall
as winters blasted prey:
Aod whatsoever he designes,
shall prosper every way.

5. But wicked men are oothing so,
for they as chaffe shall prowe;
Which whirligig windes doe drive away,
and from the earth remove.

6. Aod therefore they who wicked are,
In judgement shall not stand:
Nor shall the sinoers suffred be amongst the righteous hand.

7. For well the Lord doth know what way the righteous follow all:
Bot of ungodly men the way it surely perish shall.

**PSALME I.**

(Edit. London, 1636, folio.)

The man is blest, who to walke in th' ungodlies counsell hates,
and stands not io the sioners way,
or 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 growth
the streams of waters neare,
whose pleasant boughs bring timely fruit
in season of the yeare:

4. His leafe shall oever withered be,
as wioters blasted prey,
and whatsoever thiog he doth,
shall prosper every way.

5. They who are wickedly dispo'd,
no such assurance finde:
but like unto coometned chaffe,
are tossed with the winde.

6. And therefore they who wicked are,
in judgement shall not stand,
or shall the sinners suffred be amoogst the righteous baod.

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.

(The Edit. Oxford, 1631.)
The Lord of all my shepheard is,
I shall from want be free:
2. He makes me in green pastures lie
and near calm streams to be.
3. He doth restore my weary soule,
that it new strength may take:
And in the paths of righteness
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 annoynyt my head,
and makes my cup o're flow.
6 Thy goodnesse and thy mercy sure,
shall whilst I line blesse me:
And of the Lord I in the house
a dweller still will be.

PSALM XXIII.

(The 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 near calm streams 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 fear 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 annoynyt my head,
and mak'ft 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 subjoyned." 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. Psalm 47, Ver. 7. מיי רבא נֶטֶל. Aprill 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 Psalms.

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 usual 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. Rows 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.

**Psalms I.**

(By Francis Rous. London, 1643.)

1. The man is blessed, that to walk in wicked ways doth fear;
And stands not in the sinners path,
nor sits in scorners chair.

2. 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 fail, 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 feel 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 he; 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 devour me, God shall send his mercy, truth, and might.

**PSALM XCVIII.**

The Lord doth raign, 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 stablisht is thy Throne of Majestie; And thou without beginning art from all eternitie.

4. The flouds, O Lord, have lifted up, they lifted up their voice: The flouds have lifted up their waves, and made a mighty noise.
5. The Lord this noise of many floods
   io might exceedeth farre;
The Highest overcomes the sea,
   when his waves mightly are.

6. Thy testimonies are most sure,
   and surely lead to bliss:
   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 Psalms Translated and presented for a proof to publick view, wherby to discerne of the whole being conformed to this Essay: By a Weilwiller 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 setts
   on God's law his delight;
   And steadfastlie his law doth mynd
   and muse on, day and night.

3. Hee shall be like unto the Tree,
   sett by the river syde;
   In season due, which fruit brings foorth,
   whose leaves ay blooming byde,
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 stoops 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 bis law day and night.

3. He shall be like a planted tree,
   rivers of waters by;
That in his season bringeth foorth
   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 More.
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'e 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 presence of my foes; With oyle thou dost anoint mine head, by thee by cup o'riflowes.
6. Mercie and goodnes all my dayes with me shall surelie stay, And in thy house, to dwell always O Lord, my count I'e 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 righteousness, and that for his Names sake.
4. Yea, though through valley of deathis shade I walk; I'e fear no ill, For thou art with me, thy rod and thy staffe me comfort still.
5. Thou set'st in presence 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 publickly 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 Burgesse 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. Burgesse 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. & נביה מַבְּשָׁת. 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
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 Psalms translated into English out of the Original, by Mr. Rouse, conceiving them fit to be publickly made use of throughout the Kingdom: That they had likewise perused the Psalms translated by Mr. Barton, who deserved much commendation for his great care and pains in them, but conceived the other most fit for publick use."—*The Kingdom's 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, compofed 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. Roufe'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. 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 so 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 Essex, Comes Sarum, L. Viscount Say and Seale, Comes Lyncolne, Comes Suffolke, Comes Midd. D^n North, D^n Willoughby, D^n Bruce, D^n 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 23, 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 Burges, 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 Committee of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, by Mr. Robert Baillie, 21st January 1647.)

And becaus the singing of Psalms 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 General 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 Psalme book, reprinted with the last amendments sent us from your Committee there, is not yet come from the preffe, but it is promis’d to ws the next week, and we shall then, God willing, send it to yow. (ib. p. 156.)

11th February 1647.

The Commission appoynts a letter of encouragement to be writtin to Mr. Zechariah Boyd, for his paines in his Paraphrase of the Psalms, shewing that they have sent them to their Commissioners at London, to be considered and made ufe of there by those 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-House, the 9th of Feb. 1647.

SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.

Geo. Gillespie.

Direct, For the Right Reverend the Commissioners
of the Gen. Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.

(Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners at London, presented to the Commission, 23d February 1647.)

Wee now send yow the new Edition of the Paraphrase of the Pfalmes as it was approved by the Assembly heir, and by yourselves; the Animadversions with you sent us being taken in their proper places, as the worthy Gentleman, who hath taken most pains in the worke, assureth us. If yow be now satisfied 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 Paraphrase. And we humbly conceive there will be as little controversy that this which we now send you, as it hath come through the hands of more examiners, so it will be found as near the originall as any Paraphrase 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 pleasant 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-house, the 16th of Febr. 1647.

G. WYNRAME.

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 necessarie that a number of the new Paraphrase of the Pfalmes be writtin for; and appoynts the clerk to send 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 instant moneth we have received this day, together with
the new Edition of the Paraphrase of the Psalms, whereof we cannot give opinion by this occasion, especially being so few copies have been sent. We do acknowledge that one Psalme-book in the three Kingdomes were a considerable part of Uniformity; but it can hardly be fully agreed upon, if Presbyteries gave a previous consideration of it before the meeting of the Assembly; which may give them great satisfaction, and facilitate the approbation of it in the Assembly. Therefore, you will be pleased to send down a number of copies of this late Edition to our Clerk, whom we have appointed to cause dispatch them to Presbyteries with diligence, to be considered by them; which we think the best and surest way to obtain a full approbation of the work here; whereof we make little question if you send a competent number of copies in time.

We remain, Your loving Brethren,

The Commissioners of the General Assembly.

Edinb. 23d Febry. 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 followes:

Reverend and Beloved Brethren,

Wee received yesterday your's of Feb' 23d, and shall take care to provide (according to your desire) as many copies as can be had of the new Paraphrase of the Psalms 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. Wynrame.

Samuel Rutherford.

Geo. Gillespie.

Reverend and Loving Brethren,

Wee have, according to your desire, provided a number of copies of the new Paraphrase of the Psalms in Metre, as it is approved by the Assembly of Divines, and since corrected in several places according to the Animadversions which ye sent us. Wee have now fourscore copies in readiness to be sent by the first ship to your Clerk, that by him
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they may be directed to the severall Presbyteries . . . So befeeching the Lord to
direct and bleffe yow in all your affairs, we reft,

Your loving Brethren to serve yow,

G. WYNRAME.
SAMUEL RUTHERFURD.
GEO. GILLESPIE.

Worcester-houfe, the 9th
of March 1647.

Direct for the Right Reverend the Com[.] of
the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scot-
land, mett at Edinburgh.

(Minutes, pp. 184-185.)

Edinb. 8th Julij 1647, Ante meridiem.

Recommends to Mr. Johne Adamfone to revive Rowes Paraphrafe of the Pfalms,
and Mr. Johne Rowe’s observationes thereupon, and to have his opinion thereof ready
for the next Assembly.

Ib. p. 234.)

Ses. XXV.—Edinburgh, 28th Augst 1647, Ante meridiem.

ACT FOR REVISIGN THE PARAPHRASE OF THE PSALMS Brought FROM ENGLAND, WITH A
Recommendation for translating the other SCRIPTURALL SONGS IN MEETER.

The Generall Assembly having considered the report of the Committee concerning
the Paraphrase of the Pfalms sent from England, and finding that it is very necessary
that the said Paraphrase be yet revifed: Therefore doth appoint Mafter John Adamfon
to examine the firft fourty Pfalms, Mafter Thomas Craufurd the second fourty, Mafter
John Row the third fourty, and Mafter John Nevey the laft thirty Pfalms of that Parap-
hrase; and in their examination they shall not only obferves what they think needs to
bee amended, but alfo to fet downe their own efiay for correcting thereof; and for this
purpofe recommends to them to make ufe of the travels of Rowallen, Mafter Zachary
Boyd, or of any other on that fubjeft; but efpecially of our own Paraphrase, that what
they finde better in any of these works may be chofen, and likewife they shall make ufe
of the animadversiones fent from Presbyteries, who for this caufe are hereby defired to
haften their observations unto them; and they are to make report of their labours
herein to the Commiffion of the Assembly for Publike Affaires, againft their firft meeting
in February next. And the Commiffion, after revifing thereof, shall fend the fame to
Provinciall Assemblies to be transmitted to Presbyteries, that by their further confidera-
tion, the matter may be fully prepared to the next Assembly. And becaufe some Pfalms
in that Paraphrafe fent from England are compofed in verfes which do not agree with the common tunes, therefore it is alfo recommended that these Pfalms be
likewife turned in other verfes which may agree to the common tunes; that is, having
the first line of eight syllables, and the second line of six, that so both versions being together, use may bee made of either of them in congregations as shall bee found convenient. And the Assembly doth further recommend that Mr. Zachary Boyd be at the paines to translate the other Scripturall Songs in metre, and to report his travels also to the Commission of Assembly, that after their examination thereof, they may send the same to Presbyteryes to be there considered untill the next General Assembly.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

(Extract of a Letter to the Assembly of Divynes at Westminister.)

The other things communicated from thence unto this Church, namely, a Directory of Church Government, Catechisme, and new Paraphrase of the Psalms in metre, are printed and published here, to be considered and examined against the next General Assembly, to be held in July 1648.

Subscribed in name of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, by

Edinburgh, 26th November 1647. Mr. Robert Douglas, Moderator.

Direct, To their Reverend and wellbeloved brethren,

the Assembly of Divines at Westminister, the Ministers of London, and all other well-affect
Brethren of the Ministrie of England.

(Minutes, p. 278.)


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 Roufe Psalms, and to confer with those brethren therupon, and to report their opinions to this Commission. The first dyet upon Monday at 10 hours in this place.

(ib. p. 375.)

Edinb. 20 Aprilis 1648. Post meridiem.

The Commission appoynts Mr. John Adamfon, Doctor Colvill, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, John Neve, and Patrick Gillaspie, James Gutterie, to revise Roufe's Psalms, and the amendements sent in from thefe that were appoynted by the Assembly to revise them, and to report their opinions. Their meeting to be the mornote at 7 hours in the Colledge.

(ib. p. 386.)

Edinb. 1 May 1648, Post meridiem—Sederunt.

Ministers.

Mr. Roë. Douglas, Mod. Mr. Zacharie Boyd.
Mr. James Hamiltoun. Mr. George Leslie.
Mr. Evan Cameron. Mr. Roë. Blair.

Elders.

Libbertoun.
Findawrie.
Sir James Stewart.
The Commission appoynts Mr. Ro\(^1\) Dougla\(s\), George Gillaspie, William Colvill, James Hamiltoun, John Smith, with Mr. John Adamson, to revife Roufe's Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes in meeter, the Animadversions thereupon, and to Report their opinions.

(Minutes, p. 433.)

Edinburgh, 10th Augst 1648.—Ses. xxxviii.

**Act for examining the Paraphrase of the Psalms and other Scripturall Songs**

The Generall Affembly appoints Roufe[']s] Paraphrafe of the Psalmes, with the corrections thereof, now given in by the perions appointed by the last Assembly for that purpose, to be fent to Prefbyteries that they may carefully revife and examine the fame, and thereafter fend them with their corrections to the Commission of this Assembly to be appointed for publick affairs, who are to have a care to caufe re-examine the Animadversions of Prefbyteries, and prepare a report to the next Generall Assembly; intimating hereby, that if Prefbyteries be negligent hereof, the next Generall Assembly is to go on and take the same Paraphrafe to their consideration without more delay: And the Assembly recommends to Master John Adamson 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 Commission for publick affairs, that after their examination the fame may be also reported to the next Generall Assembly.

(Printed Acts of the General Assembly.)

Edinburgh, 5 January 1649, Ante meridiem.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly having this day received a printed copie of Roufe's Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes, corrected according to these Animadversions given in to the late Assembly: Therefore, doth appoint a competent number of these corrected copies, now printed, to be fent to Prefbyteries, that according to the Act of Assembly, they may revife and examine the fame, and thereafter return the Animadversions and corrections thereof to this Commission; otherwise the faid next Assembly is to goe on and take this Paraphrafe to their consideration without delay.

(Minutes, p. 115)

(Extract from a Letter directed to Prefbyteries.)

Right Reverend,

Yee shall receive copies of the new Paraphrafe of the Pfalmes, at a merk the peece, which yow will be pleased to perufe carefully, and that yow would amend any

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fault yow finde in them, and send in your corrections to us with diligence; for it is not enough to finde out faults except yee also set downe your owne effay correcting the same.

Your loving Brethren,

The Commissioners of the General Assembly.

Ed. 30th January 1649.

Edinb. 7 Junij 1649.—The Commission appoints the Reports of the corrections of Roufe’s Paraphrase of the Pfalmes to be delyvered into the Clerk, that he may lend them out to Mr. John Adamsone, to be considered against the next Assembly.

(ib. p. 226.)


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 Pfalmes 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 pursuing the same during the meeting of this Assembly, viz. Masters James Hamiltoun, John Smith, Hew Mackail, Robert Traill, George Hutchefon, 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 Pfalmes, to haften their corrections; and so soone as they have done, that the Moderator conveen 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 wryting of the severall copies of the Paraphrase of the Pfalmes, corrected from time to time, Doe therefore appoint the Brethren appointed to
Edinb. 20 Novemb. 1649, Post meridiem.—Sederunt.

Ministers.

Mr. Robt. Douglas, Moderator.
Mr. George Hutcheson.
Mr. Robt. Row.
Mr. Pat. Gillaspie.
Mr. John Murray.

Elders.

Mr. Samuel Rutherford.
Mr. Thomas Lundie.
Mr. James Hamilton.
Mr. James Gutterie.
Mr. Pat. Gillaspie.
Mr. George Benet.

This seotion spent only in the reading and examining the Paraphrase of the Pfalmes.—The nixt meeting the morne at 8 hours.

Edinb. 21 Novemb. 1649. Post meridiem.—A number of the Pfalmes of the new Paraphrase this day surveyed.

Edinb. 22 Novemb. 1649.—A number of the Pfalmes this seccion surveyed.

Eodem die, post meridiem.—A number of the Pfalmes this day surveyed and examined.

Eodem die, post meridiem.—Sederunt.

Ministers.

Mr. Robt. Douglas, Moderator.
Mr. George Hutcheson.
Mr. James Gutterie.
Mr. Robt. Row.
Mr. Pat. Gillaspie.
Mr. John Murray.

Elders.

Mr. John Livingston.
Mr. James Hamilton.
Mr. George Leslie.
Mr. John Neave.
Mr. Wm. Row.
Mr. George Benet.

Lord Register.
L. Craighall.
L. Brodie.
L. The Depute.
Quhytbank.
S. John Cheislie.
ACT FOR ESTABLISHING AND AUTHORIZING THE NEW PSALMES.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly having with great diligence considered the Paraphrase of the Psalms in Meter, sent from the Assembly of Divines in England by our Commissioners, whilst they were there, as it is corrected by former Generall 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 Psalms 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 Maij in the year 1650; And for Uniformity in this parte of the Worship of God, doe seriously recommend to Prefbyteryes to cause make publik intimation of this Act, and take speciall care that the same be tymefously put to execution, and duely observed.

COMMISSION TO THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH FOR ORDERING THE PRINTING THE NEW PSALMES, AND FOR SATISFYING THE TRANSCRIBERS.

The Commission of the Generall Assembly, for the better ordering of the printing of the new Paraphrase of the Psalms, that they may be correctly printed, and that the people be not extortioned 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 preffe, and that the printed copies be well corrected. Giving them also power to determine and modifie what they think reasonable to give to the transcripter 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 interpone their authority for the publishing and practicing 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 rhime. 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 1.**
(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 be 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 1.**
(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 chaffe 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 knowes; 
Whereas the way of wicked men unto destruction goes.

**PSALM XXIII.**
(From the Edition, 1646.)
The Lord my shepheard is, I shall not want; he makes me ly
2. In pastures green, me leads by streams that do run quietly.
3. My soul he doth restore again, and me to walk doth make
Oo in the paths of righteousness, ev'n for his own name's sake.
4. Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale, I'le 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 oyl anoint, My cup 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 judgment 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 shepheard, I'le 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 cup 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 hie,
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 holiness 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 he
    and gird about with might.
The world is also established,
    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 holiness, 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, Mr. 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 Councill, 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 Pfalm-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. Doolittle.
Thomas Vincent.
Nathanael Vincent.
John Ryther.
Will. Tomson.
Charles Morton.
Edm. Calamy.
Will. Carlake.
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 Februariij 1648.—The Commision desires Mr. Jo. Adamson to revife Mr. David Leitch's papers of Poecie, and give his opinion to the Commision thereof.

(Minutes of the Commission, p. 306.)

Edinb. 5 April. 1648.—Concerning Mr. David Leitch, The Commision appoynts the letter following to be written to the Presbytery of Allan, [in the margin, Ellon.]—

Right Reverend and wellbeloved Brethren,

These are to shew yow, that our brother Mr. David Leich, being employed in Paraphraing the Songs of the Old and New Testament, hes been in this town some tyne, and for als much as he yet is appointed to continue in that employment, our earneft defyre is, that yow endeavour your selfes joyntly, for his further encouragment in that work, provydng that it be no hinderance to him in his present charge. So recommeding yow and your labours to the blisng of God, Wee reft,

Your louing Brethren, etc.

Edinb. 5 Aprryl 1648.

Direct to their Reverend Brethren of the Prefbytery of Ellon. (ib. p. 362.)

Edinb. 1° Januariij 1650, Ante meridiem.

The Commision of the Assembly understanding the paines of Mr. Jo. Adamfon, Mr. Zacharie Boyd, and Mr. Ro⁻ Lowrie have been at in the translation of the Psalmes and other Scripturall Songs in Meeter, and how ufefull their travells have been in the correcting of the Old Paraphrafe of the Psalmes, and in compiling the New, Doe therefore returne them heartie thanks for thefe their labours, and that the Moderator shew this to Mr. Jo. Adamfon, Mr. Robert Lowrie, and wrytte to Mr. Zacharie Boyd to this purpofe.

(Minutes, p. 260.)

Edinb. 22d Feb° 1650.

The Commision understanding that Mr. Ro⁻ Lowrie has taken some paines in put-
ting the Scripturall Songs in Meter, They therefore desire him to present his labours therein to the Commision 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 re-published, 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. svo, 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 alheat they be very unfatified with publick proceedings, yet I find them more desyrous of conjunction then I expected. I wif 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 Clasies, ye know my mind, that though I was not satified with sundrie things in it, yet I think it very unexpedient it be cancelled in anie pait at this tyme. Ye know well how all the answers given to ther Querries have been abused, to the farther renting both of Kirk & Estate, wherof they would be grave-lie remembred and admoneifhed at this tyme. Yea, farther, I have often heard, and from a good hand this daye, that they whom the Act moft concernis, are moft silent about it, and they that defyres it leaf, & yet will yeald to it for the strenthening of ther faction, mak moft din about it, and yet will be readie to scoff at a yealding anfwer, and traduce you therefter. As alfo, it is better to keep this Act over the heads of them that now are admitted to imploymt, to mak them better bairnes when favours ar granted to them by degries. Consider alfo how, in yealding, we pafs from our late anfwer to the firft Querie, wherin we defyred that power could not be put in ther hand: to recall that fo quicklie, I think it both fin and shame, till they deserve it bettir. And yet farther, wer not this the waye to unite us with our Brethren the les hopefull and farther out of fight, when needleflie we goe farther from them. And albeft, evin this confideration is not to be flighted, 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 felfynes vented therin, I nevir 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 creft every wher, which we have nead to look to in tyme, if it be not alreadie almoft out of tyme. My opinion and earnest requeaft is, that this matter be left intear to the Gen[eral] Afts[embly] for so ye and others that lye under the burdein of busines will be bett exonered. Grace be with you.

Your loving Brother,

M. ROBERT BLAIR.

For his Reverend and beloved Brother, Mr. Robert Douglas,
Minister of the Gofpell.

No. 2.

ST. ARS. [St. Andrews,] 16th March 1651.

REVEREND AND BELOVED BROTHER,

I still continow craffie [infirm], and am not like to recover health or strength. I like not the present repealing of the Act of Clasies; it was ill made, and now it were as ill revinced, for thereby would be strenthened 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 frankly defyed by the Commision, and a place assignd to him for the interim, that he may be induced to hearken to that defyre. I earneſtie with 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 wise 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 withed him to show his dislike of all such flatterie. I defyre 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 yow 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 Gospel of Christ, These.

No. 3.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

In this troublesome time ye are put to great travel, and hath but small encouragements, when all things are so far out of frame. The settling 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 kynd. The first daye I came out to the Presbiterie, which was Wediniday last, I was surprysed with the reading of ane Exhortation and Warning, indirecstile applying the characters of Malignants to dissenters, and requyring Presbyteries 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 counsel and courage rest upon yow.

Your loving Brother,

27th Apr. 1651.

M. Robert Blair.

For his Reverend and Beloved Brother, Mr. Robert Dowglas,
Minister of the Gospel of Christ.

No. 4.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

Though the enimie be within few mylles, yet my infirmitie puts me from thoughts
of going anie wher. We ar under a terrible ftorne of Divine displeasure. The folie
of the Protefters, I think it very preumpitous; yet I think it not wifdom to goe to
the height of deferved cenfures, confidering the extremitie of the tyme, and former de-
serving of the perfone. 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 fack in it, hald hand to it I pray yow, it will help some-
what to mitigat the alienated mynds of good people. Mr. Ja. Fergufon is a wyf and
grave man: I wif he wer joyned in attendance upon the King. This fame scribling
ftrifes 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. Assemblie at Dundie.

No. 5.

REVEREND & DEAR BROTHER,

We fcarcelie gott a word one of another, when we were beaten afunder. I ever
feared, our Brethren would ufurpe, and would raither put others to suffering than to
fuffer themfelves. They invited me to come to their meeting at Edinburgh, by one letter
dated from Glafgow; but befide the inabilitie of my bodie, I had fundrie reafons why
I went not to them. I wrof to some of their number, that they fhould content them-
selves with conference, and not ufurpe power to which they had no calling from God
or man. Notwithstanding they have begune their ufurping wayes, and fitts, as haveing
Commiffion from the Assemblie 1650, whilk is expyred. And though they fitt peaceable,
they [there] are parties fent out to apprehend minifters in this fhire, fo that our synodi-
call meeting was hindered. The prefbyteries here are mending the matter, as they deft
may; and this day our Prefbyterie hes emitted the inclofed A\&, and transmitted it to
their neighbours, haveing also appointed ane Falt, the Lord’s day come eight dayes, for
the finnes and fufferings of the land. God help us, we are compaffed with inumerable
evills. Lord help our captive Brethren, whose 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.

FOR MR. DAVID DICKSON.

M. R. BLAIR.
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 resolved, upon Mr. Blair's advice, to goe immediately to that charge, untill the Assembly dispose of me and it, as shall be thought best. I doubt not quehn men are to be named, but yee will be carfull to see them such as that taske requires, which I ingeniously 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 discouragementes which accompanie it. I can say little of the publike, being allmost afraid of everie event I can think of; yet, if God wold bleie som overturs I heard from Mr. Blaire, of waveng all bypait debates at this tyme, by entreeing on a new ground, I thinke it the only way of healing; quheras, if things shall concluad by hotenes, after debat, it doth not cure ye' evill, but will readily bring on acts and censurs on men, quhich 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 deimed to act by ane other principle in that then the present contraverfie. I was greived 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 fee not how he can justly be charged in that, having undertaken no promife, and stayed so longe a tyme, mor than I thinke wold have beine defire, if a tyme had beine set. Befud, 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 leffe offence to have forborne. But I know yee fee in these things further then I: and how farr men may outrune resolutions, for persuing ther own principles and ends, hes beine observed by yow long befor this. Though I grant ther be undrie things in some men, quherin yee may be offended, yet I doe expec yee wil rather privately cheke them for it. then anie way publicly to seem alienated in your affection from them, quherof I my selfe have no feare. The Lord direct yow in this strait tyme, quhen the ey- of all are on yow, som with feare, and others with expecatione, quho. I hope, shall be prevented or dilapointed, which is and shall be the prayer of your looing 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 injurioufly reflect upon the late Generall Assembly, and was carryed on mainlie by men censured by that Assembly, and others preingaged 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 oune names and in the name of foe many as shall adhere, doe Dištend and Proteft against that paper, and all other proceedings of that Synod contrarie to the late Generall Assembly, appealling therefra to the next lawfull Generall Assembly; and desiring this our Protestation and appeale to be insert in the Synod books.

J. Bonar.        Mr. R. Baillie.        Mr. R. Watsone elder.
Mr. Johne Burne. Mr. R. Inglis.       Mr. J. Adamsone.
M. R. Wallace.   Mr. Jo. Bell.         Mr. Ro. Watsone younger.
William Blair.   Mr. Wm. Crookes.      Mr. Ja. Fergusone.
Mr. Robert Aird. Mr. Ja. Taillour.      Mr. Pat. Colvill.
D. McAlpine.    Mr. Jo. Hume.         J.
M. R. Spruile.   Mr. Tho. Kirkaldie.    Mr. Wm. Mortone.
Mr. Hugh Eccles. Mr. Wm. Castellaw.     Mr. Geo. Young.
Wm. Rodger.     Mr. Wm. Mortone.      Mr. Aird. Dennesstone.
M. R. Maxwell.   Mr. Geo. Young.       Mr. R. Watson younger.

REASONS OF DISSERT.

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 disallowing the Publict Resolutions; but this was refused, as appears be their Instructions.

2. They divided the Overture, and to make the firft part more taking, they changed the word in the Overture ‘Diffatished,’ into ‘Not being cleare to read prefentlie.’
3. The Synod having voted only "That they were not clear to read presentlie," they voiced the whole Overture in a second vote; they keep the word "Disatisfaction," which, for obtaining voice in the other, they had taken away.

4. They not only voted Disatisfaction with Publick papers, but did imply, that while [untill] they were satisfied, they would no ways joyne for opposeing the enemie; as appears be compareing the first and third Instruction.

5. They did admit Ruleing 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 be the Brethren to show, that the Commission had not been deficient in these things, be 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 be 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 five or six weeks after the Synod; albeit it was proposed in the Synod and Committee be them, yet nothing was done against them in the Committee, and nothing spoken against them till the Synod was to rise, and nothing at all was reported against the Sectarians be 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 moit of them being agreed upon be them all, yet the like was refused, though the present condition of the Kingdom did necessarily require the same.

9. Though the present condition of the Kingdom did necessarlie 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 Presbytery Records of St. Andrews, furnishes the names of the Ministers who were surprised at Alyth, and carried prisoners to London.
Septr. 1, 1651.—"The Presbyterie mett occasionallie for aduyfeing q't is incumbent to be done by y' in relation to certaine Brethren, lateley taken prifoners at Elie' as Mr. Robert Dowglas, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. Mungo Law, Mr. Johne Smith, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. George Pattullo, Mr. Johne Ratray. Ministers, and Mr. Andro Ker, Clerk to the Generall Assembleie; did appoint a letter to be writen to Lieutenant-General Moncke for y' reliefe, and a letter to the Brethren for comforting and encouraging y' under y' sufferings; and Mr. Alex'. Wedderburne appointed to goe with both."

It is hoped that care has been taken for the elections in Presbyteries of qualified and well-affected persons. The next labour is for the constitucion of the ensuing Assembly. To which effect it will be necessarie that some few meet together on the Monday or Tuesday before the meeting of the Assembly, to prepare, order, and consult on all things necessarie, and to informe themselves of the results of the meetings of the Declining pairtie, and to arm 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 necessarie that the present Moderator of the Commission speak to Mr. Robert Blair, and afterizeing him, to write to Mr. David Dickfone to show them it's a dutie 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 incapacity of the Moderator 1650 to moderate in this now ensuing Assembly by his Declining [the Assembly of] 1651, and consequently this which is convened by the authoritie of that: In case of Mr. Blair's infirmity 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 lese to moderate until he have paffed from and renounced under his hand-writing the Declinitor, which neither he can give, nor the Assembly receive, before they be constitute; and so one other must moderate and open the Assembly: much les is it questioned that he should be debarred, if he acknowledge this Assembly under any Proteftation or declaration, That the acknowledgeing of this is not to be understood as any acknowledgement of the preceding Assembly, or such like.

That the Assembly may be constitute be vertue of the Indiction of the proceeding, Let the Act of Indiction be firft read before receaving 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 propounded upon the speious 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 Indictment; or, That the Assembly is to be held legal or lawful without relation to the Indictment, or any such, are all upon the matter real 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 pairtie stronger. What Synod, or Presbytries, or Minifter, would or could owne that Assembly or their Acts, if the authoritie of it were so flighted by this Generall Assembly, no obedience to their Acts could be urged, nor disobedience censured.

2. It were at the leaft to keep the authoritie of the preceding Assembly under question, and so the Declyners shall have jut reaon to think that yet sub judice lis est; which were a weakening of the authoritie of the Assembly, and a strengthening of their usurpation.

3. If this Assembly either put or leave the authoritie of that under question, the Declyners should have jut reaon to disacknowledge their cenfures, and notwithstanding thercof, to exerce their ministrie untill it be taken from them by ane unquestioned authoritie: And this were in the Assembly a fearfull prostituteing of the Ordinance of the Miniftric and Church cenfures to contempt, and to leave the precious Ordinances of Chrift to be esteemed valide or invalide, lawful or unlawfull, according to the pleafure and humor of men, and their vertue and value to be changeable with times and perrons.

4. It's a falvo to all such as doe, or can be moved to disclaime the late Assembly, that a strong pairtie of such may be admitted, under pretence of peace and union, but indeed to trouble the publict peace and order of the Kirk; who, being admitted, will plead (and possiblie can with some appearance of reaon, from the fame argument of peace and union,) that other Acts, alsewell as the Act of Indictment, these especially of cenfures may for a time not be owne; and so as they have a falvo to difowne 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 adhcarers 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 disowning 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 having 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 Commisioners can affirme or declare that their meeting is not in relation to the Indiction of the former Assembly, without manifeft and unfaithfull contradicting of their Commisions, which doe expresse relate to that Indiction, and bears that as the narrative and cause. And so such declarations being of neceffitie to be registred, and the Commisions also to be kept in record to all posteritie.

If any Commisions from Presbyteries bear such Declarations and Protestations (which is to be carefully observed,) or any Commisioners make such verbally, in our opinion the Commisions may be rejected as limited, and the Commisioners removed, as limiting themselves; at the leaft they ought to be laid aside untill the remanent Commisions be given in, and the Assembly be constitute of uncontroverted members.

None depofed or suspending can in any tearmes be admitted to this Assembly, nor can these who subscryved the Declinator given in at St. Andrewes, except they passe from and renunce the Declinator by a declaration under their hands: as for the adhearers 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 aswell as deelyners.

After the Commisions are given in, the nixt is to choose the Moderator; for ordering whereof, the Act made thereonent is to be read. And we pray the Lord to direct the Assembly upon one of abilities for the imploiment, unquestionable integritie for the cause of God, and of knowledge and foundlnefs in the present debates and differences.

For want of the Registers, the Assembly must be content at this time with the printed Acts, and extractes of such Acts, as usuall 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 formalie 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 poiffible hastie to a
conclusion, ingadgeing themselfs in alfe little buisines either of publict or private concernment as can be. But these seem necessarie:—

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, Miniftrie, and other ordinances of Christ, and against Separation; with a recommendation to Presbytries and Synods to take effectuall course for opposesing these evills, especiallie where any Separatists already appear.

2. The Commission for publict affaires would be renewed; 1. Of a recommendation, for further cenfure of any depofed or suspended minifters by the late Assembly at Dundee, or by any others whatsoever judicatorie of this Kirk, or commiffions issuing from them that have exercised any part of the ministeriall function since the sentences given against them. 2. Of a particular power to consider the several conditions of all cenfured minifters, according to their abilities for the miniftrie, repentance for their offences, and good behaviour since their censures, to put them in a capacitie of readmission to the miniftrie, if the Lord shall offer them a call.

3. There would be a generall renovation and continuation of all the references and commiffions appointed by the preceeding Assembly.

4. It seemes necessarie alfo that there be a recommendation to Presbytries and Synods to take notice of minifters that have employed any depofed 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 Declinatour, they know what they ought to doe; yea, if they meet with greater opposition, we confidently hope that confidence of dutie, and former presidents, will animate them to shew faithfullnes, 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 shineing of flaming fire by night, and upon all the glory a defence," etc.

These are our thoughts, as we can conceive, of your business, from sense of duty, without the least presumption of prescribeing 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,

Blessed be the Lord that preserved you in your homgoing. I shall soone goe through the booke, and profess diligence on others who are too slowe. For newes, Lieut. Gen. Monk, we hear, is now, or will be this week, on his journey to command in Scotland, and withal is reported to haue sayd, that he could live with any but the Remonstrators and Protesters in Scotland; and that he has commission to burne and destroye wheresoever the Highlanders are resettled. There is some report as if the M[arques] of Newcastle, Inchquin & Langdayle, were come to the North. Their is a declaration of the Causes of a Fast in England, in which their are some good, some doubtful, and some bad things. M. S. R. has seen the ordinance to the thirty ministers and elders about planting Kirks, and sayes, it is lyke the old High Commission. I have not yet seen it, but on[e] of the diurnals says, the Council of State is about the settling a gouerm[ent] of the Church as before of the Staite. M. R. D. preached last Sabath bitterly against vs as making humiliations and communions in the country 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 rulers as worse than the English, and that he durst not in secret praye for their restitution. Middleton, I hear, has an absolut commiss[ion], not only in military and civil affairs, but also in ecclesiastical, with express power to depose and putt out ministers. I think it an observable circumstance of tyme by Providence trying the 20th of Merch to be the day of the Inglishes appoynting their Faft, and of our begining our notes of our Testimonye, and the 24th of Merch to be the daye of their Faft, and of our finis[ing] our Testimonye letter, and meeting; which I wish they would talk for an good aunif[er] of their Faft. I hear their ordinance about trying of ministers expressly declares their tryal and approbation to be no sacred or soleme setting a man apart to the ministrye, but the ground and warrant of the magistrats giving to such the stipend, and to shuffle and shutt out ordination, &c. It pleased the Lord to a[l]iſt 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 forenoon, and in the Tron Kirk in the afternoon, and such a thinnes in the rest of the kirks as we haue not reall[ly] seen the lyke since the 1638. He preached pairt of our Testimonye. M. R. D. sayd wee had sent vp three of our number, and som of vs maid som opposition to it only because wee was not called vs our[sel]ves. Yee would not forgett to send in the pap[ers] to S. J. Ch. and also your draught of the Testimonye to the synods. We haue sent an expresse to Mr. Jh. Leviston with the letter and two subscrib[ed] Testimonyes. I heard that Col. Lilburne sayd to on[e], that he was the occasion of sending for the three ministers, by a letter of his to the General, as a waye to satissifie the godly in Scotland; and
if he had knownen befor what he hard nou, he should have defired letters to have been written also to M. S. R. and M. J. G. Som hes maid a report goe throu the countrey as if wee had quetely agreed with the Inglifes, and that wee wer rayning a Whigimyre road vnder Argyle; who, in the meantime, I heare, hes written bailyly flattering and ingaging letters to the Protector. Alex'. Jaffray is lying seake, and so is Mr. Jhon Meinzeis belaff and not aible to goe vp. I have written you al the neues I know. I send to you hearith with a copye of the firft paper which was written, to mark the cheifefest passages of scripture, to be the matter of meditation and an advisandum befor any incorporation or ingagement, that you may send it to Mr. Jam. Simpfon to persfe; at the leaft the last paert of it from the midle of the 8th sheet to the end, which is anent arguments from the Covenants and Ingagements, wherwith he may compare the new gouve[r] in its four articles, and sett down shortly the direct antitheses between the tuo. Lykas I send you the firft fix Aunfuerers that war written in 1652 to the objection about Daniel ch. vlt., about our former principles, that you may send it to him, becaus the vther paper which he hes relates theirto; and defyre him to send me back both thes papers, and the former that he got with him, and his short draught and his long draught both of his reaons against taiking places. I cannot aunfuer that any of thir copyes ar right; for I have 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 condeftcens as fenfible since our pairting as ever of befor; blisf, blisf be his nayme. A speaking Chryft will provuc a working reigning Chryft in the sight of his freinds and foes. The grace of the Lord be with you, and with your wyfe and children.

Your loving Brother, A. Jhonston.

M. P. G. is not yet come heir.

29th March 1654.

To my loving Brother Mr. James Guthrie, Minister of God's Word at Stirling.

XCII.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. JAMES SHARP, FOR LONDON, 23d 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 impression of the disposition of the Ministers in this nation who stand for the Public judicatories of the Kirk, to live peaceably and in-
offensively under the present government, by shewing what testification they have given heerof: 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 President in February laft; and 3. By what many others of them, from the severall Presbytries, or at this present tyme voluntarlie declaring in petitions to the Counsell of Scotland.

2. To clear and make manifest the groundles 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 laft differences were juftly esteemed and looked upon as the moft eminent, honest, and godly ministers in this Kirk, and were moft instrumentall in the work of God, doe adherence unto the Publick Judicatures unto this day. 2. That (which is undeniable and notour,) a great part, if not the farr greatest part, of our Dissenting Brethren, have been admitted to the ministrie within these few yeares, most part of these also being but 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 thefe in power such aspersions against the generalitie of the ministrie; yet, when in their respective Presbytries, at the visitation of Kirks, and in their respective Synods, at the tryall of the severall Presbytries, they are required, upon their confciences, 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 general aspersions spread and published by them, they have often been in judicatures and publick meetings earnestly attired to condefend upon particular persons and challenges, and solemn promises have been made to them that judicatures should forthwith goe faithfullie and impartially about the tryell and cenfure 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 laft 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 warrantable 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 laft bypass; so that we have thereby found not only good evidence of the godly conversation, and of the found and edifying doctrine of ministers generallie; but
also more painfulnes in their labours, and more succces thereupon, throw the Lord's blessing, than hath been before. 6. Although we will not deny, but it is very probable that in fundrie parts there may be found some men in the ministrie unsuitable in conversation to their holy calling and insufficient, (and we wish from our hearts that our Brethren who aperie 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 bypaft, by which they have taught men to vilifie the authoritie of Judicatures, and to contemne the exercise of Discipline, hath been a great obstruccion and hinderance to tryall, finding out, and cenfuring of such. And we give assurance that the Judicatures of the Kirk, they not being hindered to go about the work, nor being expos'd to have their authoritie in the exercice of ecclesiastick Discipline contemned, shall use all diligence, faithfulness, and impartiality to try and cenfure such where they can be found within their respective bounds; as some Synods of late, alsoone as they had libertie to convene, have given proofe of their fidelitie and zeal in this work, by removing from the ministrie some who were of their own judgement as to the matters of Publicit differences. 7. In a word, we can say in truth, the Lord bearing us witeness, that this aspercion of insufficiencie, scandalousnes, and corruption cauit by ourBrethren upon the generalitie of the ministrie of our judgement throughout the land, is most uncharitiable, 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 effectuall 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 saftie of the State.

2. That the ecclesiastick government be permitted and allowed to runn in its right channell, and to goe on in its exercize, 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 Assembly, yow would most seriuallie reprefent the inexpediencie thereof for the time, and indipofednes of this Kirk for it in regard of the present differences and diuertiments; which would readily be encreased and heightened to the great prejudice of religion if there were a meeting in a Generall Assembly, before there be time to compose and settte matters and men's spirits in inferior judicatures.

4. That there be no intrusion allowed of perions into the ministrie in congregations, without the lawfull and orderlie consent and election of the congregations, or without orderlie tryall and ordination by prebiteries; but that the whole calling of perions 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 Assembly 1649, intituled the Direction for Election of Ministers.
5. That the Ordinance concerning the setting of maintenance upon ministers in Scotland, emitted in the year 1654, be made void and taken away, in regard it doth overturn 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 certificates from their respective Presbyteries, bearing testimonie of their calling and admittance unto the ministrie, in congregations within the respective bounds of the presbyteries certifying conforme to the order abovementioned, and of their blameless and godly conversation, and of their ability 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, contrarie to the aforesaid lawfull and established order of calling and admiting ministers.

7. That the Ecclesiastic discipline be permitted to be exercised by the Judicatures of the Kirk according to the order therein established; and the Ecclesiastic censures that shall be enacted and pronounced against any members of this kirk, ministers, or others, for scandales and offences, be not impeded nor stopped, nor any persons so censured disobeying, contemning, or opposing the discipline of this Kirk, be countenanced or encouraged in their disobedience, contempt, or opposition.

And whereas some may be buffet to suggest, and upon such suggestion it may haply 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, flander, 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 fad, 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 admit 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 Publick differences, (which thing we were allways calllie willing to declare and performe for our part,) leaveing 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 prebys-terie 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 aforfaid, take upon them the authoritie and jurisdiclion 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 actions owned as deeds of a lawfull Judicature.

9. Because our adversaries may be buffle 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 Presbyterian 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 equall numbers of both judgments for purging.
2. That we required subordination and subjection of inferior judicatures to their respective superior judicatures, according to the nature and order of Presbyterian Government in this Kirk, and the constant uncontroverted practice thereof before the time of our unhappie differences. The unreasonablefnes and inconfitency with Presbyterian Government, and the established order in this Church, of requiring the former and refusing the latter, is fully and clearly evidenced in our laft two papers relating to the Conference.

10. If it shall happen that any new motion be made for union with our differing Brethren, it would be showen, that we cannot possibly condescend any further then we have done alreadie 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, unlefs we would condemme ourselves, and renounce our judgment in the matters of difference betwixt them and us, which we could not doe without wronging our own conscience, quitting truth, provoking God, and rendering our Church and Religion hatefull to all Civill powers, nations, and Churches about ns. 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 cenfured 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 proceed, 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 cas de doune into a confusion.

Mr. David Dickson.       Mr. Robert Dowglass.       Mr. James Wood.
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 fit, 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 laws 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 zeal for the work of reformation; whereof the one half to be agreed upon by those who are for the Publick Resolutions, and the other half by the Remonstrators, for planting and purging 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 several Synods, of an equal number of both judgments, to be chosen 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 forefaid Visitations; and such Visitations and Committees to continue until the present differences be healed, or the Lord shall in providence minifter some better way for the settleing 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 defyre you to favor me with your, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Sharpe's company, somewhat early to-morrow morninge, because I heare of som frends
wil be with me all the afternoone, wherby otherwise I may be deprived of that time I intend to spend amongst you. Pray favor me with sendinge to Sterlin for Mr. Symfon, to be with me at Edinbrough, on Tuisday morninge, without fayle, before the Councill does fit, for som reasons shalbe communicated to you when you com out.

Sir,

Pinky, Lord's day in the evening,
10 of Aug[i] [16]56.

Your very af£ friend,
and humble servant,
Broghill.

For my worthy frend Mr. Rob't Douglas, Minister of the Gofpell at Edinbrough: In his abfence, for Mr James Wood, or Mr. James Sharpe, Ministers 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 DUTIE, AND MALADMINISTRATION OF THE REVENUES OF THE SAID COLLEDGE:—AND FIRST OF HIS INSUFFICIENCIE AND NEGLECT OF DUTIE.

1. First, The Principall of the Colledge of Glasgou, according to its foundation, and the ordinarie praftife ufed in that Houfe, is obbled to be chief Professor of Theologie therein, to have each week publick lefions of Theologie and Philosophie, as these who formerly were Principalls did carefully act the same to the great advantage of the Students of Theology and Philosophie, and credit of the Univerfitie, and that notwithstanding that the burden of the manageing 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 so it is, that the said 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 space of five yeares, will be comprehended in two fheet of paper: And therefore he is not sufficient for that charge.
2. Secondly, The Principal of the said Colledge, according to its foundation and ordinary cuftome of the Houfe, ought to preceed to all publick actes and difputes: To wit, when the Theologues give out Theses before they be licentiat to preach, or those who by publick programmes were invited to difpute for a Regent's place, when any vaikèd, the Principal alwayes was Prefes in these difputes: But fo it is, that to this day Mr. Patrick hath not at all preceeded in any of these difputes, but left them still to be gone about by ane other. And for the private difputes of the Theologues amongst themselves, which used to be weekly, he hath very seldom been preuent at thefe; but ordinarly leaves thefe to be ordained by the other Professors, notwithstanding that by agreement betwixt him and them, he be oblidged 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 examinator of the Students of Philofophy, both at those times when they are to be promoved and called in yearly, and likewise at the solemnne 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 search how the Students were taught by their Masters, and did profite: But fo it is, that Mr. Patrick, since his taking upon him the office of Principal in the said Colledge, to this day hath not examined, at these solemn 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 Principal was eafed of that burthen, yet it is most necessarie that he who is Principal, 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 far 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 clofe of that action he was desired, by one of that meeting, to pray and fend away the newlie Lawreat Schollers with a belling, after a little paufe, when it was expected that he would pray, he rofe up, and without prayer dismiffed them, saying "Ite,"—"Goe away;" Yea, it is his ordinarie cuftome, (which ufed not to be done by any Principal before,) to pray in English when he meets with the Theologues at their private difputes, or with the Students of Philofophy in the Common-hall: And therefore, his deficiency and weakness being known, he is altogether insufficient for the forfaid charge.
ARTICLES OF MALADMINISTRATION OF THE RENTS AND REVENUES OF THE
FORSAYD COLLEDGE.

1. First, Howbeit the said Mr. Patrick Gillepie hath a fair and large fallary each year of the first and readiest of the rents of the said College, yet he not being satisfied 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 sterleng money for maintenance of some Burfars of Theology; and notwithstanding, his Highness did allow him sufficient maintaineance for his journey, and that according to his own account, given up by himself of his disbursements. in obtaining of the forfaid gifts to the said Colledge, there was paid to him by the Colledge ane hundredth pund sterleng 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 commissioneat by the Remonstrating partie, with others, to negotiat these things which by them were committed to him, and those who were joyned to him in that commissioun, and by that partie large summes were collected and given to him and others joyned with him, for defraying their expens with 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 Commissioun 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 Highnes 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 during his long abode at London, (beside all that he gott liberallie from his Highnes, and lykewayes from the Remonstrating partie, who were those that sent him up in that journey.) he hath taken of the Colledge 20 th. sterleng 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 sterleng, and above.

3. Thirdlie, As if the summe 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 sterleng 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 Highnes has past in favour of and for the behoof of the said Colledge: And besides both these soumes, which extend to 600 pound sterleng, 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 means to better the yearly revenues of that Colledge whereof he is Principall, yet he hath taken a gift, and hath a right paied to him by the Moderators thereof that what he can finde out for augmenting the old rentall of the Colledge, speciellie in the Bishopprick of Galloway, the equall thereof shall be appropria"t to himfelf 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 moit able men, who have been Principals in that Colledge thefe many yeares bygane, and faithfullie went about the discharge of their duttie therein, divers 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 hes 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 Bishoppick of Galloway, and other casualties; 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 otherwayes. Secondlie, Because it was well known that unlefs the Principall of the Colledge be willing, and content, 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 rife from himfelf, 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 imployed in pious and publick uses, for the behoof and maintenance of poor Students, of the Fabrick, and Bibliothec, 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 appropria"t 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 Gla"fgow 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 sorrie that our breach should beare such charact"ers of judgement, as ar mor then legible in the mifgiving of all endeavours which haue been applied for healing,
and doe put a discouragement upon all men who wishe our Unione henceforth to endue our it. I need not reprent to yow things which have been experimented by us on all hands, how much the work of the Gospell, and the ordinances of Christ, suffer through our diviisions; but I desire to put yow in mind how much wee ar at a losse, by our differences, upon 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 because of difference about these things, which gaue the rife to our breache. This bespeaks us in the judgement of sober men, to be of very vnfober spirits, and of extremlie 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 Unione, and were not agreed unto upon on[e] part; and to see what abatement may be of your demands, and what farther condéfection for peace-fake, as I am also willing in like manner to think of these things demanded on on[e] part, and so far as I can, with a good conscience, to stretch myself, and to beseech others, to all possible and lawfull condéfection. And however I have been reprented to yow, in my undertaking this journey, or management of my trust hear, (as I haue mor then probable ground to think I haue been mis-reprented), yet I am confident to make it appear that an honest peace hath been deigned in the first place by me and these who sent me hither, and that inculpata tutela hath but a second consideratione with us. If yow judge any thing hear worthie your thoughts, (wherin I proffesse I haue no designe beside the preperation of our Churche Government by our own concord, for which I could be exiled if that could procure it), upon your intertainent of the motione, in any probable way of agreement for careing on the work of Reformation, yow shall command my cordial service, and poor endeauors for that end.

Your louing Brother to serve yow,

P. GILLESPIE.

For the Reverend Mr. David Dickfone, Professour of Theologie in the Colledge of Ed', and Mr. Robert Douglas, Minister at Ed'.

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 ane 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' Craill, August 2, 7 aclock 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 busines at present, being to preach to morrow, and on Weddensday the exercise before the Prefbytrie lyeth upon me, that it will not be possible for me to goe about the dispatches to London, in reference to your Town's busines. Since the petition from the burghs, and that also from your Town, are not sent to London, I know no furier way to gett them presented to his Highnes then by our friend there, else Mr. Lockart, or the Prowost of Edinburgh might have offered them, if they had been in time sent to them. I am hopeful that our freind will be returned to London befor that our letters can come thither, and I think I may perfwade him to ufe means that these petitions shall be delivered to the Protecor, 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 receaved 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 inclof for your perusal, that when yow have seen it, and considered of it, yow may send it to Edinburgh to my Brother. I know the subcrevyer of the letter, Alex' Blair, to be diligent and punctually faythfull in what I or my Brother will put upon him, and a fitt perfon to manage such a busines; 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 theranent 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 express to Edinburgh, that by the Saturnadayes poaft they may be tranmitted 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 busines, that an essay be made upon him by the Printer at the time of the delivery of my pacquett to him. I could with that the charge of these books might be awoodyt; but I am still of opinion it is the most promisig way yow can fall upon for the effectuall profecuting of your busines. 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 writ 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 you an account of what shall be done with them. The account of the port charge will be given to you by my Brother also. I would not keep the bearer for losing of time to you. I need not mind yow of the necessity of keeping the matter of the books and the Stationer with all clofenes, and that your resolution therein be speedily sent to Edinburgh. I have not as yet seen M. John Carftares. 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 very loving Brother,

Ja: Sharp.

Prefent 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 remembred.

No. 2.

Reverend and Deir Brother,

Vpon the receipt of yours. and the ficht of the inclofed that was direct to your Brother, by Alex'. Blair, John Bell was sent from this to Edinburgh, wha, (as ye defyred in yours,) delyvered Alex'. Blair's to your Brother. As for the books mentioned thairin, your Brother thocht fitt that David Thomfoun shou'd 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 Toun; bot that morning he went to fie my Ld Suintoun, fo I miffed him because I behooved that day to uait upon Deborou, and I left the monie w't Wm. Mitchell, merchant to be delyvered to him quho hath sent me the letter:) and since a letter beiring fo 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 assurance for the port, &c. quhatfoever it shou'd be. How sune thses 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, but wald be glaid to ken quhat zee have hard thairament, for it was not thocht fitt that anie of our wyfe secret freinds heir shou'd mak inquirie for thses things, leait uthirs thairupon micht have drawne inferences. The Lord Keiper and Suintoun 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 fitt for the Lord Keiper, quhilk readdilie 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 respecks to his Lordship; Suintoun
also was saluted, and courtefly intertinnied. 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. Gillefplie, and told, that Mr. Gillefplie was willing to sub-
mitt all to him; quhairvnto they replyed, that if the particular quhairin the difference
hes bein, wer a mater of their fortoon, or sik as wer in thair power, they wald willing-
lie lay it doun at his feit, to be dispofed vpon at his Lordship's pleafour. Bot in regaird
that it was the liberties of thair Burgh, quhilk to thair pouver they wer obbligned by oath
to mentein, and that the whol Royall Burghs had looked vpon that buflines as a mater
concerning them all, and vpon that consideration had petitioned his Highnes, the Lord
Proteftour for the burgh of Glaifgow; upon thir and uther weightie reafouns they wer
forced to beg his Lordship's favour, and intreat that he wald not tak it ill that in in
that they could not agre to anie submission. And with all they shew his Lordship that if he
or the Counceall of Stait in all the narrow and acurat search that had been taken, fand
anie perfoon of thos quha wer in office, or on the Toun-Councell, that deferved to be re-
moved fra truft, or for a tym to be laid afyd, they profeffed that moft willinglie they
shoul geiv obedience thairvnto. Quhen the Lord Keiper fand them thus resolv'd, without
anie fignification ather of diftatiaction or of fatisfacon with thair anfuer, his Lord-
ship prefled them no farther, onlie it was thocht that he shew Mr. Gillefplie that the in-
terposition quhilk he offered to mak wald not prove effectuall for what Mr. Gillefplie
defyred. Quhat fource heirafter will be followed by Mr. Gillefplie in profection of
that report, (whilk zit is not fent vp to Lundoun) wee can not tell, or how the Lord
Deburrow will carie in the buflines, wee heir ken not; onlie, it is apprehendit that
one of thrie may now be effayed, ather to get the report with all speid fent up and baked
with Swintoun's myon, that upon its being prefented to the Proteftour, ordour may be
givin to remove the prefent Magiftrats, and put in P. G. his pairtie; or it may be that
the tym of the election being neir at hand, vpon the firft Twyday of October, they will
deall for a new letter fra the Proteftour to ftope a new election, as they did the laft zeir:
or that the whol mater be fent back to the Counceall of Scotland that they may deter-
mine in that buflines heir, and till that be don, a letter be procured shorlilie fra the Coun-
ceall of Stait in Scotland, direcl to the prefent Magiftrats to stay anie new election till
his Highnes, upon the report fent up to him, declair his pleafour quhat he will have don
in that mater for the cloifng of it. As oft befoir, the Toun, in thair striats, fo now alfo
they have fent this exprefe, and by my letter to zow, aexcants zow with thair buflines
how it stand, intreating that ze wald be pleading to writ anew to zour freind above; and
try at the Prenter's quhats is becum of the books that wer to be put in the Stationer's hand,
and how he was fatisfied with them; as alfo quhidder zour freind the Stationer hes gottin
the box above fent vp, and quhat is don with the petitions and uthir papers that went
up in it. As alfo, 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 any course that can be taken underhand or otherwise by P. G. and his friends their to the Town's prejudice, and because C[ol.] Watham will best found Desborrow's mynd anent his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the Town's answer given to his Lordship his, they intreat that zee wald writ to him theirenant, in so wise 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 Council of Stait heir, that he wald sie to it, and hinder it so far as may be, at least till the Town be called to plead for themself. Your secrete friends heir have sum thoughts of sending up a verie active and honest young man to wait for sum tyme on their affairs their. They will direct him to Mr. John Lockhart, quha is now at Court, (if at all he be sent,) bot their 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 the mainlie by the Stationer; so that ather the Town, or he that shall be sent their, may ken quha zour freinds is that acts for them abow, at zour intreatie; but the information may be conveyed to him be the mediation of the Printer or sum vther handsome way yee will prescryve. But in this they intend to follow zour advye, in sending one vpe or not to wait their as agent for them, to remember their friends of their business, as said is. The Town has hithertills holden aff anie nomination of a pefoun for filling Mr. Durham's place, and by fair general dealing with our commoun fession hes kepied them from their paremptour way. Bot in end, quhen matters cums to a paremptour, they then intend to follow the advye they have gottin fra their freinds their East; and withall they have thoughts of intendouring, (if they send vpe anie perfoun to attend their affairs,) to obtain a letter fra the Protectour to the Council of Stait in Scotland, for ordaining that the Town of Glasgow may be warranted to mak choice of a minister for their vacant place, and that none, against the consent of the Magistrates and Council and the bodie of the Town, be thrust upon them. If ze think this feasible, zee will geiv zour best advye how it shall be obtained, and quhat course shall be followed for that effect. And lykways they conceave it may be essayed to obtain fra the Protectour a favorable letter for the Town of Glasgow direct to the Council of Stait their, upon the Burrows their petition presented to his Highnes for the town of Glasgow. Your singular respects to the publick interest and to the good of this place, imboldens me to be thus troubleous, as to intreat for zour patience in reading, and wisdom and wounted redlines to do, in the above-mentioned particulars, so far as zee conceave may be for their good, and with all by zour letter with this beirer, to let me ken quhat zee think fitteft to be don in their fending of one vpe, and in that whilk relates to a Minister, and to the Burrows their petition: For the testifeging of the Town's respects of thankfulness, to zour self for all the expense and pains zee have bein put to in their affairs, I shall for the tym fay nothing. Bot if they can be vsefull to the publick interest, or any thing can be don[e] by them to testifie their respects thairto, let me know, and I dar fay in their nam they will not be inlaiking.
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 speake my knowledge of this subsequente 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 plain and useful 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 shortness did admit; yet it maketh very plain and useful 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 clofed his Exercife, were made to me so clear, that I judged his Exposition might well be acquieded into without much more debate.

That wit were more than ordinary weak, which durst promisfe from the pen of any man a clearer and certain Exposition of all the Revelation before day of performance of these very deep and mysterius 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 censur, that there is here laid such a bridge over that very deep river, that whoever goeth over it, shall have cause to bleffe God for the Author’s labour.
The Epistle speakekth 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 Ministry at Glafsow, 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 pleuare 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 Baillie 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 Ministry of the Gospel, having left the Univerity 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 country, from which he did, no doubt, to the great diflatisfaction 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 Ministry whereof he was immediately therafter settled here at Glafsow, where it hath not wanted a sael in the consciences and hearts of his hearers. And also because of his eminent piety, fidelity, gravity, prudence, moderation, and other great abilities, whereof the venerable General Assembly of this Church had such persuasion 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, fickerest, 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 animosities; 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 Jefus Chrift as to that ministraion.

In the whole series [of these Lectures]—thou wilt 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.

Glasgow, 23d September 1658.

JOHN CARSTAIRS.

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 counsell, 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 undertook this quarrell. I have bin very much satisfied with several discourses that I had with you, not long before my leaving Scotland, wherein you have expressed your care of the Church of God, and your indifference 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 whatsoeuer. As for Presbytery, 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, for itt be moderate and tender, otherwise itt will but inraze our disrace and increafe our wound: And I bleffe the Lord that I have received your concurrence in this particular. As Scotland hath bin alwayes deare to mee, foe much more am I now engagd for those large expressions of their love and affection to mee, which I have foe 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 settlement wherein wee might have protection from Tyranny and Anarchy, and the Churches of Jesus Christ their just liberty; foe that I hope, while wee are going forward to those good ends, good men will not 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 been a great instrument of good in that Church, and therefore do desire you to use your interest for the preservation of the peace, and the quieting men's spirits, which is indeed both the duty and the glory of a Christian, and the especial work of the Ministry of the Gospel. I hope you will not misinterpret these expressions as if I had the least jealousy of my dearest friends in Scotland, but judge they proceed from my tenderness and care, for the prevention of future troubles and divisions. I have no further but to beg the continuance of your prayers. I am,

Your very loving friend and servant,

S. James's 14 Mar. 1659 [1660.]

George Monck.

For the Reverend Mr. Robert Douglas at Edinburgh. These.

C.

THE EARL OF MIDDLETON TO THE LORD CLERK-REGISTER.

[Orig.—Wodrow MSS. Svo. 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 daft 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

cressse—increase, accession.
cress—exertion.
cresse—concerns.
crayse—to terrorify.
croth, croocht—fluttered, in a flurry.
crooeance, greance—agreement.
cricht—direction.
croanieric, allenarly—only.
croutterly—altogether.
crooone—as soon.
croa—however, nevertheless.
croirs—embers.
croessoris—ancestors.
crood—if.
croent—concerning.
croession—the act of assessers.
crohort—abroad, far and wide.
crohort—athwart, through, across.
cro at once—by and by.
crooned—at one, brought to concord.
croght—ought.
croghtand—owing.
croocks—call away, prevent.
crore (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.
Bardik—impertinent.
Baseness—humble terms.
Baward (ii. 75)—bankrupt.
Baxter—bakers.
Befall—sexton.
Been—being.

Bensel—bent-sail, bias, propensity.
Beseech—beseech.
Bicker, bikkering—contention, strife.
Bivocks—a term of reproach.
Blew—to flatter, to coax.
Blink, blink—to look with a favourable eye.
Bleak, blink—slight personal, a glance.
Blumenthan—mere pretence.
Blew bore—fair appearance, an opening in the clouds.
Block—to plan, to devise.
Blocking—framing, rough hewing.
Blustered—blotted, disfigured in writing.
Blyth—glad.
Boast, boasted—threats, to threaten.
Bocardo—spectre, bugbear.
Boony—elegant, fine, beautiful.
Boord-head—head of the table.
Boord—boarding.
Brac—declivity.
Braid and wide (i. 16)—far and near.
Braungled—to confound, to throw into disorder.
Breast a brac—to climb, to surmount a difficulty.
Brether—brethren, brothers.
Broaching—hatching, opening up.
Bruckel—brittle.
Bud, busses—a bribe, bribes.
Buits—matches for firelocks.
Burn-ill—suffered severely.
By—besides.
Byname—in time past.
Bygone—denoting what is past.

C

Caged—imprisoned.
Call, ca—to drive.
Canny, connie—sly, prudent, cautious.
Canniness—prudence, caution, skill.
Carder—player at cards.
Cass—to annul.
Catches—ketches, ships
Condriiveness—coolness, want of ardour.
Caulds, chalms—moulds.
Causen—street.
Cavel—lot, to cast cavelis.
Ceeding—ceding, yielding.
Cessing—taxing, assessing.
Chainzied—chained.
Chock, chnock—critical moment, or state.
Clayo—clog.
Clanculary—secret.
Clap—instantaneously, in a moment.
Clatters—idle reports.
Coff—bought, purchased.
Coinzie-house—mint-house.
Coldriff—lukewarm.
Compear—appear.
Compararence—presenting one’s self.
Composse—to restrain.
Composed—defeated, restrained.
Conditions—stipulates.
Concern—to combine.
Cotters—cottagers.
Coul—cap, night-cap.
Copers—horse-jockies, horse-dealers.
Crow—crow.
Cracking—credit decreasing.
Craig—throat.
Creevishes—crayfish.
Crisis—crisis.
Crooke—iron chain by which the vessel is suspended above the fire.
Crowner—colonel, commander of troops raised in one county.
Crub—cumb.
Cuffis—blows.
Cumner—gossip.
Cunninglie—skilfully.
Cusing—cousin.
Curtains, current—diurnals, journals.
Curious—anxious, fond.
Cuttely—hastily, sharply.


Decairt (i. 303)—discard.
Decerned—adjudged, gave judgment.
Decret—sentence.
Dement—to deprive of reason.
Demented—distracted, unsettled in mind.
Devoir—devour, swallow.
Dilled down—died away.
Dilligat (i. 307)—accurate, refined.
Dimit—to resign.
Dinitted—gave in his resignation.
Ding—beat, drive.
Dinn, dinne—noise.
Disjaw—breakfast, to swallow up at once.
Dittay—indictment, accusation.
Dicott—terf.
Doctor—teacher.
Doe—to do.
Dool—grief, mourning.
Doofull—doleful.
Dorlex (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.
Drifting, dividing—small rain.
Drumly—muddy, troubled, applied to the state of public matters.
Dwanging—oppressing, twisting one about.
Dyte—to dictate to an amanuensis.
Dyted, dicted—dictated, indyted.
Dygour—bankrupt.
Dygourie—state of bankruptcy.


Effarat—to make wild, to madden.
Eik, eiks—an addition, additions, to add.
Elshu (i. 250)—eschew.
Eldership—kirk-session, or vestry of a particular congregation.
Else—already, even now.
Emme (i. 241)—aim.
Enagves (i. 97)—abilities.
Enterese, enteres—interest.
Eych, to (ii. 76)—to searce, to shrink from.
Excited—shunned.
Exempted—exempted.
Exponent—to explain, expound.
Eyed, not yet much, (i. 113)—not yet much examined or looked at.
Eylist—eye-list, a flaw, an eye-sore.
## GLOSSARY.

**F**

- **Faint**—failure.
- **Fairly** (ii. 161)—gently, in a civil manner.
- **False**—falsehood.
- **Fanned**—laid hold of.
- **Further**—farther.
- **Fusched**—to trouble, troubled.
- **Fuscherie**—trouble of mind as well as body.
- **Fused**—troublesome.
- **Fought**—fight, battle.
- **Fleck**—number, quantity, effect.
- **Fleckless**—helpless, useless.
- **Feud**—feud.
- **Fell**—considerable.
- **Ferd**—force, fervour.
- **Feus**—quit-rents.
- **Field-corn**—in.
- **Fum-flams**—trifles.
- **Flitt**—remove.
- **Flighth**—flight, battle.
- **Foot** (i. 191)—system of executive.
- **Foraainst**—opposite to.
- **Foranent**—in front of.
- **Forbears**—predecessors, ancestors.
- **Frae**—since.
- **Franche**—frank, forward.
- **Fray**—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, gallziard**—brisk, lively.
- **Gott**—got.
- **Gloom, gloaming**—frown, gloming.
- **Glorring**—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.
- **Guyses**—fashions, ceremonies.
- **Gyed not**—turned not to one side. *ajee*.
- **Gyred**—jeered.

**H**

- **Hable**—able.
- **Hail**—whole.
- **Hair, against the**—against the grain.
- **Half quick**—half-alive.
- **Halse**—throat.
- **Hawk** (ii. 63)—coarse, or ungracious?
- **Haunched, haunshed**—eagerly caught. snatched at as a dog.
- **Headiness**—rashness.
- **Heard**—to be heard, scolding or wrangling.
- **Hemly**—familiar, homely.
- **Hendred**—a lure, stratagem.
- **Here yesterday**—day before yesterday.
- **Hiest**—highest.
- **Hrick**—reserve.
- **Hinderend**—latter end.
- **Hingning**—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.
- **Horsebeit**—although.
- **Horses**—difficulties, the background.
- **Hunder**—a hundred.

**I**

- **Ignaries**—ill-informed persons.
- **IIk**—each.
- **Hllighten**—enlighten.
- **Impeachit**—accused.
- **Impesched**—prevented, impeded.
- **Ingeminat**—to repeat, reiterate.
- **Inkling**—distant hint.
- **Inlaik**—deficiency, to run short.
- **Interest**—interest.
- **Interloquitor**—(a law-term.) decision, intermediate decree.
- **Inthorned**—entangled, surrounded.
- **Into**—often used for in.

**J**

- **Jutors, jutes**—tipplers.
GLOSSARY.

K

Kist—chest.
Kyth, kythed—appear. shew. shewn.

L

Ladderlit—scaled with ladders.
Laigh—low.
Lambs. Lammas—the term of Lammas.
Lashes—laxxes.
Latters—hinderers.
Law—hill.
Lay to—charge one with.
League—encampment.
Leek—leaky.
Leet, leit—list.
Leit, upon the: Leitit—in nomination to be
elected to an office.
Legere—resident commissioners.
Lent-fire—slow fire.
Let be—much less.
Libel—indictment.
Lof—gallery.
Lope (i. 6)—passed to their friends.
Loppen (ii. 27)—past time of leap.
Lourd—to stoop for concealment. to steal
a march.
Lourd'en, lurdane—a lazy, worthless fellow.
Lunts (ii. 422)—matches.

M

Maiser, messer—macer.
Make (to)—to muster. to assemble.
Malison—evil wish, curse.
Mr.—Master of Arts.
M aestress—Mrs., wife.
Meines. make meines—use means.
Mell, mellit—to meddle. meddled.
Minds—reparation.
Mids, midse—means.
Minded—resolved.
Mint—to attempt. to aim at.
Mischant—mischievous.
Mishappens—misfortunes. unfortunates.
Miskien—to misknow. overlook.
Miskent—to seem to be ignorant of.
Mister—want. need.
Mor—more (in number.)
More matters—greater matters.
Morrow—the next day. the day after.
Moyen—influence.

Mun-toure—piece of mechanism. a watch.
Mynde, myndit—to mine. undermined.

N

Near—fists.
Negie-naggies—trifles.
Nill he, will he—whether he will or not.
Nipsbot—drawback: or to give the slip:
Nocht—nought, not.
Nomothetick—legislation.
Non-fance—want of confidence.
Nor—than.
Notare—notaries. attorneys.
Notary—publicly known.
Novation—inovations.
Nuits—corners.

O

Oblish—oblige.
Opposite—opponents.
Outermost—utmost.

P

Paiked. pyked—drubbed.
Palme—the hand. or index of a watch.
Passed—pense. thought.
Partie—opponent.
Pasche—Easter.
Patrocinie—patronage.
Peats—turf.
Peck of troubles—many. a deal of troubles.
Pendick—appendage. a pendant.
Perquire—by heart. distinctly.
Pretense—pretence.
Pickand—piquant.
Picks—pikes.
Pley—plea. quarrell.
Pock—bag.
Port—carriage.
Pose (i. 72)—questioned.
Pose (i. 199)—imposed.
Pouch—pocket.
Predominating—predominating.
Precade—to neglect.
Preceen—to anticipate. prevent.
Profession—professorship.
Propone—to propound.
Prospect—a perspective glass.
Puddler, pulder—powder.
Puddlit—besmeared.
Pure—poor.
GLOSSARY.

Pyked—drubbed, thrashed.
Pyking—picking.
Quatt—quitted.
Racked—raked.
Raid—rode.
Ramage—wild, reckless.
Ramage hawk—a wild untamed hawk.
Ratt—a file of soldiers.
Readily—possibly, probably.
He crew—recruit.
Heel; reek—smoke.
Refer, referes—matters referred.
Rejected—remitted back.
He me—remedy.
Repes—(iii. 369) presses?
Reported—replaced.
Rsstringed—restrained, limited.
Retreat—retract.
Ridd-hand—taken in the act.
Rowne, round (in the rare)—to whisper.
Rave, rover, raft—to clinch, settled beyond the chance of alteration.
Ryves—teareth.
Salebosities—rugged or ticklish grounds.
Sark—shirt.
Sarvin—sown.
Scabrous—rugged, troublesome.
Scoulled—to dismiss, to break up.
Scourced, (iii. 417)—scarcity, scanty.
Scant—scarce, scarcity.
Schoot—shout.
Scirp—to carp.
Sconces—fortifications.
Scrubie—scurry.
Summer 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—sherds.

Shew—the past time of show.
Shoare—to threaten.
Shored, short—threatened.
Shreeve (shrewd)—wicked, unhappy.
Shirving—confession.
Sib—nearly related.
Sickerlie—surely, smartly.
Sicklike—such-like, in the same manner.
Sinte—seldom, few.
Skait—damage, hurt, harm.
Skag—shelter.
Slippen—slipped.
Smallie learned—an indifferent scholar, with a small share of learning.
Snoord—smothered.
Sned—to lop, to prune.
Snael—smart.
Snifties (iii. 412)—insignificant persons.
Sojors, sojours—soldiers.
Solist, solisted—to solici, solicited.
Soone or sync—sooner or later.
Sopit—to lull asleep.
Sopour—slumber.
Souple—supple, active.
Soupe—sweep.
Souper—swept.
Spaite, spapat—undation.
Speared, speired—asked, inquired.
Spied—observed.
Spleen—heat, irritation, umbrage.
Spank—spark.
Staffage, staffrige—obdurate, unyielding.
Staill—numerous.
Staill-post—main-post, in the army.
Stark—strong.
Stearing—stirring.
Stick—stob, stab.
Stick—interfering obstacle.
Stoops—supporters, pillars.
Strange—strange, strong, bitter.
Stray, straes—straw, straws.
Sturr—stir.
Swa—so.
Subdolous—cunning, subtle.
Sunry—sundry.
Sute—request, supplication.
Sutit—solicited.
Syncretisme—promiscuous union.

T

Tacks—leases.
Tuill—tale.
Takin—taking, being taken.
Talpouns (i. 293)—long fibres at the roots.
Tarpe—shield.
Tasset—drinking cups.
Teddered (i. 355)—tethered, stranded.
Tender—sickly.
Tekeest—toughest.
The mor—tomorrow.
Theercynent—concerning it.
Theere-east—in the east, eastward.
Theere-fore, these—opposed to therein.
Thir—these.
Thought—though.
Throw—to twist, to wrest.
Throwcard—backward, reluctant, cross.
Through—to carry through, to perfect.
Throughed—carried through.
Thrumbling (i. 123)—pressing into.
Thus and so—so and so.
To, tag (ii. 113)—to trifle with, or tease one another.
Tinkled upon—to ring chimes about.
Tint—lost.
Tirilies—trellis or lattice.
To—till.
Toker—dowry.
Toke's birds—fox's brood, evil brood.
Toolethe, tolbeuth—prison, jail.
To-morrow—the day after, the next day.
Toome—empty.
Toome—tone.
Tope (ii. 83)—to check, to resist, to defeat.
Traked—weakened by fatigue.
Trash—refuse, lumber.
Traveil—labour, pains.
Travese men—Highlanders, men wearing trews, or long pantaloons.
Trinket—clandestine correspondence with an opposite party.
Tryst—appointment, to meet with.
Twize, tuylie—contention, affray.
Twitch, twitch—t Touch.
Twa part—two-thirds.
Tyne, tae—to lose.

U
Uncanny—mischievous, dangerous.
Undermyndit—undermined.
Unfriends—enemies.
Unke—unknown.
Unlawes—escheat.
Unpounded—unpledged.

V
Vaes (ii. 420)—to evade.
Vail—to be vacant.
Vakings—becoming (or already) vacant.
Voice, voyce—to vote.
Volee—volley.

W
Waided—selected.
Wait—blame.
Wanst—on who causes inquietude.
War, warr—worse.
Warred, woured—out-stripped.
Water-brae—river-bank.
Weir—wear.
While—till.
Wiles, whycle—sometimes, at times.
Whilk—which.
Whinger—hanger.
Win—to get in, to reach.
Wrack—wreck.
Writ, wryte—writing.
Wyte—blame.

Y
Yoking—engaging.
Yocked—begun, engaged.
Yondest—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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35 10 feared and        feared; and
45 18 29th              19th
45 29 22d               21st
84 3 Reafons            Reafons (E).
87 19 nouñe              nocht
91 17 flott              flott
92 33 flouñe            flouñe
93 26 bygons             bygane
94 20 England            England (S)
103 3 (K)               (R)
123 3 deñafe            deñafe
130 16 that; his Witt   that his Witt,
140 4, 5 delivered      brought
143 34 inceraving       in craving
171 22 their            thir
171 23 Tuesday          24. Tuesday
250 3 mñother           [mñother]
250 32 meetings         meetings (B);
253 12 Act              À (A),
259 30 out of           non (in MS.)
259 4 would             would not
281 17 ordered          willed
295 9 would goe         was likely to goe
293 26 connection       correction
311 17 Simonds          Simpño
345 13 dangling         jangling?
432 4 little            little more

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344 note Godwin         Goodwin

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109 3 coming            cunning
131 Thursday            Tuesday
136 note Robertson of   Robertson of
                        Bedlay
179 15 founder          founded
241 note Scottish       Scottish church
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297 31 Guthrie hac      Guthrie had
335 14, Univeritics; and Univeritics, and
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469 25 debt byit        debt byt
527 8th May 1608         8th May 1606.
536 by cup              my cup